A CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS

Nr 48

Journal of the Human Rights Movement in the USSR

Amnesty International Publications

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Number 48

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Preface

A Chronicle of Current Events was initially produced in 1968 as a bi-monthly journal. In the spring of that year members of the Soviet Civil Rights Movement created the journal with the stated intention of publicizing issues and events related to Soviet citizens' efforts to exercise fundamental human liberties. On the title page of every issue there appears the text of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which calls for universal freedom of opinion and expression. The authors are guided by the principle that such universal guarantees of human rights (also similar guarantees in their domestic law) should be firmly adhered to in their own country and elsewhere. They feel that 'it is essential that truthful information about violations of basic human rights in the Soviet Union should be available to all who are interested in it'. The *Chronicles* consist mostly of accounts of such violations.

In an early issue it was stated that 'the *Chronicle* does, and will do, its utmost to ensure that its strictly factual style is maintained to the greatest degree possible. . . .' The *Chronicle* has consistently maintained a high standard of accuracy. As a regular practice the editors openly acknowledge when a piece of information has not been thoroughly verified. When mistakes in reporting occur, these mistakes are retrospectively drawn to the attention of readers.

In February 1971, starting with number 16, Amnesty International began publishing English translations of the *Chronicles* as they appeared. This latest volume, containing *Chronicle* 48, is, like previous ones, a translation of a copy of the original typewritten text. The editorial insertions are the endnotes (numbered) and the words in square brackets. The table of contents, abbreviations, extracts from the R S F S R criminal code, illustrations, index of names, bibliographical note and material on the outside and inside of the cover have been added to help the general reader. None of this material appeared in the original texts.

The endnotes have been kept to a minimum, partly because the Russian text already refers to earlier issues, and partly because the index of names gathers together all references to a particular person. Ukrainian names are usually given in transliteration from the Russian, not in Ukrainian forms.

Since Amnesty International has no control over the writing of *A Chronicle of Current Events*, we cannot guarantee the veracity of all its contents. Nor do we take responsibility for any opinions or judgements which may appear or be implied in its contents. Yet Amnesty

International continues to regard *A Chronicle of Current Events* as an authentic and reliable source of information on matters of direct concern to our own work for the worldwide observance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Amnesty International
July 1978

RSFSR Criminal Code

Each republic within the Soviet Union has its own criminal code. The *Chronicle* frequently refers to specific articles of these codes. The articles mentioned most often are found in the criminal code of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic — RSFSR for short. These articles read:

Article 70 Anti-Soviet Agitation and Propaganda. Agitation or propaganda carried on for the purpose of subverting or weakening Soviet authority or of committing particular especially dangerous crimes against the state, or the spreading for the same purpose of slanderous fabrications which defame the Soviet political and social system, or the circulation or preparation or keeping, for the same purpose, of literature of such content, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of 6 months to 7 years, with or without additional exile for a term of 2 to 5 years, or by exile for a term of 2 to 5 years.

The same actions committed by a person previously convicted of especially dangerous crimes against the state, or committed in wartime, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of 3 to 10 years, with or without additional exile for a term of 2 to 5 years.

Article 190-1 Dissemination of Fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet political and social system. The systematic dissemination by word of mouth of deliberate fabrications which defame the Soviet political and social system, or the manufacture or dissemination in written, printed or other forms of works of the same content, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding 3 years, or by corrective labour for a term not exceeding one year, or by a fine not exceeding 100 roubles.

Abbreviations

ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Subordinate to an SSR (see below) and based on the minority nationality whose home is on the territory. The Mordovian ASSR, for example, is subordinate to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and so named because it is the home of the Mordovian national minority.
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
KGB	Committee for State Security.
Komsomol	Communist Youth League.
MVD	Ministry of Internal Affairs.
OVD	Department of Internal Affairs.
OVIR	Department (of the MVD) for Visas and Registration.
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic, of which there are 15 in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).
UVD	Administration for Internal Affairs.

The Struggle for Human Rights in the Soviet Union Continues

A Chronicle of Current Events

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19

Number 48 **14 March 1978**

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The expulsion of P. G. Grigorenko. Repressions against the Helsinki groups. The case of the Podrabineks. Arrests, searches, interrogations. The trial of Anatoly Ivanov. In the prisons and camps. In exile. In the psychiatric hospitals. After release. Persecution of the Crimean Tatars. Events in Lithuania. Persecution of believers. The right to leave one's country. Extrajudicial persecution. Writer-parasites. In the Central House of Writers. Miscellaneous reports. In the pages of the Soviet press. Letters and statements. Samizdat news. Addenda and corrigenda.

ELEVENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

The Expulsion of P. G. Grigorenko

Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko has been expelled from the U S S R by a deception.

On 10 March Soviet subscribers received *Gazette of the U S S R Supreme Soviet* No. 8 of 22 February 1978, from which they learned that on 13 February the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet had stripped Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko of his Soviet citizenship 'for activities discrediting the title of citizen of the U S S R'.

On the same day, 10 March, when the Grigorenkos asked at a Soviet embassy if it was true that P. G. Grigorenko had been stripped of his citizenship, they were told: 'The rumour has not been confirmed.'

At the beginning of November 1977 a K G B official, while informing P. G. Grigorenko that permission had been granted for him to visit his son, had assured him that he could 'book a return ticket this very instant'. In a statement for the press made on 11 November P. G. Grigorenko expressed his certainty that he and his family would safely return home (*Chronicle* 47). On 30 November the Grigorenko family flew to the United States.

On 11 March a press conference took place in New York for P. G. Grigorenko. Pyotr Grigorevich said that this was the saddest day of his life. The government of the U S S R had illegally and unjustly deprived him of his homeland. With great emotion he said that now he would not see his sons and grandchildren who remained in Russia, and his many friends, and he would not be able to visit his native Ukraine or the idyllic Crimea. 'They have deprived me of the right to die in my Motherland.'

On the subject of the cruel persecution which had hit the members of the Helsinki groups, P. G. Grigorenko said, "They have decided to deal with me differently.' He recalled that the authorities had deceived him when giving him a visa, and emphasised that the decree on deprivation of citizenship had been announced in cowardly fashion 'the day after the Belgrade Conference closed'.

P. G. Grigorenko called upon his friends in the Soviet Union and upon the governments of countries participating in the European [Security] Conference to support his protest. He read out his statement to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet in which he demands to be given the opportunity to return to his native land in order to prove his complete innocence before an open court.

On 14 March **A. D. Sakharov** made the following statement:

> To statesmen and public figures of all countries, veterans of the Second World War and defenders of human rights throughout the world.

The Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet has deprived one of our country's worthiest citizens, Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko, of his citizenship on a charge of activities detrimental to the prestige of the U S S R and incompatible with the title of citizen of the U S S R. This charge is of an unsubstantiated nature; it is not even specified where these activities took place — in the U S S R or abroad — or what they consisted of. The charge is not based on a judicial investigation. It is in fact absolutely false!

Pyotr Grigorevich has rendered great services to the state, the people of our country and to mankind by his selfless struggle against fascism at the front in wartime and his no less heroic fight against arbitrariness, lawlessness and the violation of human rights in time of peace, by his defence of victims of injustice — the Tatars of the Crimea, political prisoners, the inmates of psychiatric hospitals, religious believers. Right after his first public statements Grigorenko was stripped of his military rank of Major-General and his academic degree; at the end of the 'sixties he became a victim of severe oppression culminating in unlawful incarceration for four years in a psychiatric prison. Although gravely ill when he emerged from it, Grigorenko did not cease his noble activity in defence of human rights. Grigorenko is a transparently honest, broad-minded, intelligent and courageous man who commands the profoundest respect of his friends and of all with whom he comes into contact.

Grigorenko is attached to his country by all the threads of his life. Now he has been stripped of citizenship of the U S S R, stripped in fraudulent, treacherous fashion. I support Pyotr Grigorevich's demand to be given an opportunity to return to the U S S R and to prove before an open court the injustice of the accusations made against him. I call upon veterans of the Second World War, defenders of human rights, statesmen and public figures throughout the world to support Pyotr Grigorenko's right to return to his homeland, which is the indubitable right of every person!

Repressions Against the Helsinki groups

The Moscow Group

Extension of Pre-trial Detention

In November 1977 nine months had passed since the day of **A. Ginzburg** and **Yu. Orlov's** arrest, and in December since the arrest of **A. Shcharansky** (*Chronicle* 44). Thus for all three the maximum period of detention in custody during the investigation of a case (see article 97 of the Russian Code of Criminal Procedure) had ended. Their relatives were told orally that this period had been extended by half a year by special decrees of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet. On 25 December 1977 the Moscow Helsinki group published a statement on this matter (document number 27), addressed to the Belgrade Conference and the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet. The group regards secret 'personal decrees' of this sort on the extension of a person's detention period, the issuance of which 'has become common practice in Soviet legal procedure', as illegal, anti-constitutional and inhumane. The statement cites the text of article 34 of the Fundamentals of Criminal Legal Procedure of the U S S R and the Union Republics (which coresponds to article 97 of the Russian Code of Criminal Procedure). Reference is made to article 18 of the Statute on Pre-Trial Detention in Custody, which directly stipulates expiry of the period of detention in custody 'as a basis for the immediate release of the arrested person'. The group notes:

> No other grounds for extending the term of detention in custody for a prisoner under investigation are prescribed either by the Constitution of the U S S R or by any Union law whatsoever now in force.

The statement also says that not once has any of the three men seen his relatives or received permission to write even a single letter, although the law allows both meetings and correspondence during pre-trial imprisonment. In its concluding part the statement says:

> In a legally-based state, all the more in one which calls itself socialist, even with regard to rapists, murderers and terrorists it is impermissible so flagrantly to violate one's own laws and trample on the rights of a citizen who has not yet been judged a criminal by a court.

In a letter accompanying its statement, which it sent to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, the group insists 'on the repeal of these anti-constitutional and illegal decrees' and on the immediate release from prison of Yu. Orlov, A. Shcharansky and A. Ginzburg.

In December **I. P. Milgrom,** the mother of A. Shcharansky, sent a statement to the Chairman of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, L. I. Brezhnev. She reminded him that no one may be punished without trial and requested that her son be released from prison until the start of the court examination. On 3 January 1978 I. P. Milgrom wrote a statement to Procurator-General of the U S S R Rudenko. She writes that, in her view, her son is in fact already serving imprisonment without trial. In the same statement Milgrom asks for a doctor to be allowed access to Shcharansky in order to examine his state of health.

On 7 January 1978 **Leonid Shcharansky,** Anatoly's brother, also wrote to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet:

> On 16 December 1977 I inquired in the reception rooms of the U S S R Supreme Soviet concerning the illegal detention in custody

of my brother A. Shcharansky for over nine months during pre-trial investigation (see article 97 of the Russian Code of Criminal Procedure).

I talked with a reception official, comrade Fiklistov.

The purpose of my visit was to elucidate whether there exists a decree of the Supreme Soviet on the extension of pre-trial detention in custody beyond nine months, as the investigation is referring to it without producing any document.

This claim by the investigating organs appears dubious, since extension of detention in custody beyond nine months is not provided for by the law (see article 97), irrespective of the duration of the pre-trial investigation.

Comrade Fiklistov evaded the issue and recommended that I address myself to the USSR Procuracy, to which I did not consider it necessary to apply, since by the time of my conversation with Fiklistov the Procuracy's term of authority in the case had already expired. I left my complaint in the reception rooms' despatch office and to the present day have received no reply.

There is nowhere else I can complain to. Once more I am writing to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and I draw your attention to the fact that a basic law is being violated with regard to my brother — article 156 of the Soviet Constitution which states: 'Justice in the USSR is administered on the principle of the equality of all citizens before the law and the courts.' Thus article 97 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (and article 34 of the Fundamentals of Criminal Legal Procedure) apply to all citizens, but to my brother A. Shcharansky they do not apply. This means that with regard to my brother the principle of equality before the law is being violated.

One more question to which I would like to receive an answer is: if a decree has ben issued, why are they refusing to show it to me? Is it permissible that such decrees relating to individual freedoms and rights of citizens should be secret?

* * *

On 17 January 1978, the day of the opening of the second round of the Belgrade Conference, **I. Zholkovskaya-Ginzburg, I. Valitova-Orlova** and **Leonid Shcharansky** sent conference delegates a letter about the situation of their near ones. In this letter, as in the Helsinki group's statement, the illegality of detention in custody for over nine months is examined. The wives of Ginzburg and Orlov and the brother of Shcharansky write about the investigation's methods:

> In order to obtain the necessary evidence they are putting pressure on witnesses, even threatening them with legal proceedings as accused persons. They are refusing to include in the case the testimony of obvious witnesses for the defence. On the other hand they are trying to lure certain other witnesses with promises of a job or an apartment, while those who want to leave the country are promised that their emigration cases will be speeded up.

They write about the violation of the right to a defence: a special 'security pass' is required of Soviet defence lawyers; many lawyers are themselves afraid to undertake the defence in such trials; and 'without reference to any law, defence lawyers from abroad are being refused access to the case.'

The Ginzburg Case

On 28 November 1977 **Valery Smolkin** (a former political prisoner sentenced in the case of the Leningrad group 'The Bell') was summoned to Kaluga from Vilnius. Smolkin did not go to the interrogation. He sent a letter firmly refusing to participate in the investigation of such a case.

At the end of 1977 **Sergei Korekhov** was taken from Nizhny Tagil to Kaluga for new interrogations (see also *Chronicle* 46; he was arrested in May 1977 for circulating leaflets and sentenced in September — *Chronicle* 47). He refused to give evidence and declared a hunger strike.

At previous interrogations in the spring of 1977 Korekhov testified that he first heard about Ginzburg as manager of the Relief Fund for Political Prisoners in 1975 in Perm labour camp 36, where remittances for 30 roubles used to arrive for political prisoners. After his release he had received money from the Fund while in the Urals; then in Moscow he had become acquainted with Ginzburg, had seen M. Landa at his flat, and had told them he intended to struggle against the Soviet regime.

Dmitry Verkholyak, who served a sentence with Ginzburg in Mordovia, was brought from Perm camp 35 to Kaluga. On 3 November he returned to the camp.

On 7 December 1977 **S. Kovalyov** sent to the Moscow City Procuracy, the KGB, the Kaluga Regional Procuracy and the Kaluga KGB statements asking that he be interrogated as a witness 'in the case or cases of A. Ginzburg and Yu. Orlov'. Kovalyov referred to the fact that many prisoners in camps 35 and 36 had already been questioned in Perm and Kaluga in connection with the Ginzburg case; in particular, M. Sado (*Chronicle* 47) and A. Zeitunyan (in *Chronicle* 33 it was indicated that he was a 'war criminal') had been repeatedly interrogated. Informing them of his close acquaintance with Ginzburg and Orlov, Kovalyov expressed his wish to give testimony as a witness: (1) on the personalities of the accused; (2) on conditions in Soviet political camps, since the accused were doubtless being charged with

distorting information about them; and (3) on other specific episodes about which Kovalyov would prove knowledgeable. Kovalyov asked this his statement be included in the files on the accused. The only reply he had was from Kaluga. On 12 January 1978 investigator Saushkin wrote to Kovalyov that there was no need for him to be interrogated in the Ginzburg case. Later a representative of the K G B in camp 36, Chepkasov, in reply to Kovalyov's question, told him that his statement had not been attached to Ginzburg's file.

In December 1977, when he had already been pardoned, interrogations of **M. Sado** (*Chronicle* 47) continued in Kaluga. Sado said to someone that for his testimony during the pre-trial investigation 'they have given me Kaluga' and for his testimony in court 'they will give me Leningrad'.

* * *

On 22 December 1977 the Lenin District court in Kaluga (chairman — S. T. Levteyev) examined the case in which **V. N. Uzlov** (*Chronicles* 33, 46) was charged with refusing to testify in connection with the Ginzburg case (*Chronicle* 47). At the trial Uzlov pleaded not guilty. The sentence was 6 months of correctional tasks at his place of work with a deduction of 20 per cent of his wages.

When the court retired to confer, Uzlov went out on to the street and took several photographs of the court building. After the verdict had been read out an unknown person called Uzlov into the court chairman's room and confiscated his film.

Similar trials for refusal to testify in the Ginzburg case (*Chronicle* 47) took place in January 1978 in Kaluga for **S. Pavlenkova** and **L. Borodin.** Pavlenkova got the same sentence as Uzlov. Borodin was sentenced to a fine of 40 roubles.

* * *

On 3 February 1978, the anniversary of Ginzburg's arrest, an appeal was sent to the Belgrade Conference signed by 164 persons from various cities in the Soviet Union. The appeal says, in part:

> As long as Alexander Ginzburg is in prison the forces of human good are suffering another defeat.
>
> Will your principles be embodied in life, or will this defeat prove to have been inevitable? The outcome depends, if not entirely, then to a very great extent on you, Messrs. Delegates!

On 2 February a press conference took place in Ginzburg's Moscow flat at which this appeal was handed to correspondents. Several people spoke at the press conference. **Yuly Daniel** said:

> I do not presume to assess Ginzburg's public activity or to pass judgement on his arrest from a legal or political standpoint. I want to speak of something else...
>
> I had the bitter joy of being imprisoned together with Alexander Ginzburg...Both he and Yury Galanskov enjoyed in our midst not only love but also great respect for the clarity of their moral positions, for the spiritual principles to which they always remained true.
>
> I do not think anyone will succeed in compromising Ginzburg, whatever his fate may be. All must know that any accusations of personal self-interest made against Ginzburg are false, and one should not believe, either here or abroad, those people who, whether out of weakness, self-interest or baseness, are spreading such information.

Maria Petrenko stated that the charges against Ginzburg in newspaper articles, and what was transpiring from the interrogations of witnesses, 'stagger one by their utter groundlessness'. She said that on behalf of herself and her late husband G. Podyapolsky she wished to testify as to 'what kind of a person this man is'.

> In the '60s, before we ever knew Ginzburg, we felt for ourselves the charm and moral force of his personality. His *White Book*[1] showed us to what extent we were not alone in our aspirations to breathe freely...

Then, recounts M. Petrenko, when they made his acquaintance,

> Alik turned out to be a very kind, very cheerful and very ill man... We were struck by his unparalleled kindness and his capacity to hear out, understand, encourage and help in word and deed every person who turned to him.

In a statement made in the name of the 'True and Free Adventists' **Rostislav Galetsky** appraised Ginzburg's activities as profoundly Christian and called for the protection of Ginzburg and his family 'against the tyranny of the brutal butchers of state atheism'.

Pyotr Vins spoke of the gratitude of prisoners of conscience — Baptists and Ukrainian dissidents — to Ginzburg.

Information about the activity of the Relief Fund for Political Prisoners was given in statements by **I. Zholkovskaya-Ginzburg** and **S. Khodorovich,** the Fund's managers. They said that in addition to its basic source, Solzhenitsyn's royalties, the Fund was being swelled 'also by donations from many people inside the country'. They announced that their Fund had now amalgamated with the Children's Fund (aid for the children of political prisoners), founded by A. Sakharov in 1974 with his 'Cino del Duca' prize money, and that Elena Bonner, who had earlier managed the Children's Fund, was now regularly assisting them.

Valery Smolkin and **Alexander Podrabinek** addressed their state-

ments to Ginzburg's lawyer Edward B. Williams. Smolkin expressed his readiness to make available to Williams detailed evidence on Ginzburg's personality and his own friendly meetings with him. A. Podrabinek, who has carried out some commissions for the Fund (for instance, in 1976 he journeyed to visit exiles in Siberia — *Chronicle* 44), also asked Williams to make use of his statement in his defence of Ginzburg.

A. D. Sakharov stated that the defence of Ginzburg

> must be most forceful and have a world-wide character...The defence of Ginzburg is also the defence of all his comrades and a fight against political repression in general.

Most of the materials of the press conference went into a samizdat brochure *In Defence of Ginzburg*. Also included in the pamphlet are document number 27 of the Moscow Helsinki group (see above) and a cycle of poems by **Vitaly Pomazov** dedicated to Ginzburg.

* * *

On 6 February 1978 **Irina Zholkovskaya** took her regular parcel to her husband. At the prison Kaluga Procurator Kagarov (*Chronicle* 36) was waiting for her. Kagarov told Zholkovskaya that he had been authorized officially to inform her of the extension of the investigation of Ginzburg's case until 3 May 1978. To her question as to who had extended the term of the investigation, Kagarov replied, 'The U S S R Procurator-General'.

After this conversation Zholkovskaya was called to investigator Saushkin 'on a matter of great importance to her'. At the K G B they handed her a note from Ginzburg dated 3 February 1978 asking her to find him a defence lawyer. They allowed Zholkovskaya to reply to her husband there and then, but they did not permit her to take away either his note or a copy of her reply.

On 16 February Zholkovskaya was invited to Kaluga and Saushkin returned to her some of the things that had been confiscated during searches at the homes of Ginzburg and his mother (160 listed items). Returned to her, among other things, were tapes from which (as it turned out when she got home) recordings of Galich, Kim and Vysotsky had been erased (Zholkovskaya wrote a protest calling this 'vandalism'), some books in Russian and foreign languages and an all-purpose power of attorney given to Ginzburg by Solzhenitsyn's mother-in-law, E. F. Svetlova.

Then Saushkin asked Zholkovskaya about the lawyer. Zholkovskaya said that her husband had two lawyers — the American E. B. Williams and the Moscow lawyer E. A. Reznikova. Saushkin asked her to tell Reznikova that in a few days she would have to start studying the case materials. Two days later he himself telephoned Reznikova and summoned her. On 23 February Reznikova had her first meeting with her client and began to study the 'Case'.

The Orlov Case

On 6 February 1978 investigator Trofimov (*Chronicle* 29) informed Yu. F. Orlov's wife, **Irina Valitova,** that on 29 December 1977 the charge against her husband had been altered from article 190-1 to article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code and that the investigation of her husband's case had been extended until 10 May. He also said that she should seek a lawyer.

In mid-February investigator Kapayev summoned Valitova (he came for her in a car) and told her she should find a lawyer urgently, within two days. Valitova refused to do this without a note from her husband. They then handed her a note from him with a request for a lawyer. Moreover, they unexpectedly told her she could even engage a lawyer without a 'security pass'.

In connection with the anniversary of his arrest of 10 February, 109 people signed a statement calling on world public opinion to defend Orlov:

> ...The arrest and impending trial of Orlov constitute persecution of free thought, of free expression, of the free exchange of information...

The Moscow Helsinki group issued a statement:

> ...With all responsibility we declare that Professor Orlov has not broken any Soviet laws and that his arrest on 10 February 1977 and ensuing prosecution are accounted for by purely political reasons, namely his founding and leadership of the activities of the Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the U S S R...
>
> The law and civilized norms have been violated not by Yury Orlov but by the K G B's investigating organs, who have kept Yury Orlov in strict imprisonment for a year without any meetings or correspondence with his relatives and without legal assistance...
>
> The self-damning callousness and indifference to human fates displayed by the investigating authorities are characteristic: only after 40 days did they inform Yury Orlov's wife of the radical change in the nature of the charge.
>
> The principles according to which the KGB plays its sinister game of patience are unknown to us, subjecting some defenders of human rights to arrest and forcing others to emigrate. We merely note that its manifest aim, namely to crush the movement for the rule of law, has not been achieved...

The Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R also published an appeal on the anniversary of Orlov's arrest. The Committee feels that the authorities' attitude towards members of the Helsinki groups

> gives reason to suppose that the signing of an agreement providing for the observance of human rights was merely a propagandist step.

They regard detention in complete isolation as

> a method of exerting psychological pressure on Yu. Orlov in an attempt to force him to admit non-existent guilt. Alteration of the article of indictment to a severer one shows that they have not succeeded in breaking Orlov.

The Shcharansky Case

On 20 January 1978 Anatoly Shcharansky, who is in the K G B's Lefortovo investigation prison, had his 30th birthday.

In November and December more interrogations took place in connection with the Shcharansky case (see also *Chronicles* 44-47).

On 29 November investigator Skalov interrogated **Elena Sirotenko** a second time. She refused to take part in the investigation. In a statement of the same day addressed to Andropov she wrote:

> ...Everything said and known to me patently shows that the investigation has been falsified in advance. They even hint to one witness that he too could easily become a defendant...

(*Chronicle* 47 contained two inaccuracies regarding E. Sirotenko's first interrogation: the interrogation took place on 14, not 15 November; Elena's father was not present at the interrogation — he refused to appear owing to illness.)

Between the first and second interrogations the Sirotenko family was subjected to aggressive tailing.

In the first days of December the exiled **Mark Nashpits** was brought to Chita for interrogations. The interrogations lasted for three days. They confronted him with the testimonies of Tsypin (*Chronicle* 47) and Lipavsky (*Chronicle* 44), pointing to Nashpits's friendship with Shcharansky and to the active participation of them both in demonstrations by 'refuseniks'. They hinted to Nashpits that if he behaved well at the investigation his release from exile and his departure for Israel would be speeded up.

On 13 December the exiled **Boris Tsitlyonok** was summoned to the Krasnoyarsk K G B for interrogation. In a complaint to the Procurator made on 18 December Tsitlyonok drew attention to the fact that during the interrogation there were violations of the Code of Criminal

Procedure: his testimony had been entered in the record with glaring distortions and the investigator Mikhailov had threatened him with incarceration in a camp.

(Nashpits and Tsitlyonok were exiled for their part in a Jewish demonstration on 24 February 1975 — see *Chronicle* 36).

On 2 December **A. Zinoviev** (*Chronicles* 43-46) was summoned for interrogation. Next day, in an interview given to Swedish journalists, Zinoviev stated:

> ...I have only met Shcharansky once. He was acting as interpreter during my conversation with an American correspondent, Robert Toth....The point is that my talk with Toth was about the state of Soviet philosophy and sociology. There was absolutely nothing criminal about either Toth's questions or my replies to them. Even if I view Soviet philosophy and sociology with utter contempt there is still nothing felonious about that. Still less is there anything felonious about A. Shcharansky's participation in the episode. This is perfectly obvious. If, in spite of that, they have decided all the same to bring me into the case as a witness, it leads me to the supposition that the charge of betrayal of the Motherland brought against A. Shcharansky has no serious juridical basis.

On 5 December Zinoviev once more received a summons to interrogation, but refused to appear. At the end of December Zinoviev was 'brought in' to Lefortovo Prison under guard; however, he declined to take part in the interrogation.

On 4 December **Professor N. Meiman,** a member of the Moscow Helsinki group, made a statement for the press explaining why he had twice refused to appear for interrogation in connection with the Shcharansky case: first, the interrogations go on for eight to ten hours and Meiman fears that in view of the state of his health he would be threatened with the same fate as the Czech professor Jan Patočka, who died of a stroke resulting from an eleven-hour interrogation; secondly, he does not feel it possible for him to take even a passive part in the investigation of a case 'the aim of which is not to elucidate the truth but to endeavour spiritually and physically to break the accused'. He feels that 'the pre-trial imprisonment of Shcharansky is nothing other than the practical application of the principle of presumption of the accused's guilt, since...were Shcharansky at liberty, he would not evade trial'.

On 6 January K G B Colonel Volodin summoned **I. P. Milgrom** to Lefortovo and informed her that the investigation in Shcharansky's case was completed; that Shcharansky was still charged under article 64 of the R S F S R Criminal Code; and that his family must find a

lawyer for him by 13 January. In a statement sent on 8 January to the head of the K G B Investigation Department I. P. Milgrom writes:

> It has become quite clear to me that the opportunities for a Soviet defence counsel, a professional lawyer, in the defence of my son are restricted. Furthermore, the investigation supervisor, Volodin, has told me that only a member of the Soviet Bar with a special K G B security pass may be appointed counsel for the defence. This restriction, which contravenes the law, has made my task impossible.
>
> I have therefore appointed a professional barrister from Paris, Maitre Roland Rappoport, who is independent of the K G B. He has kindly consented to participate in the case as defence counsel for my son.
>
> The supervisor of the investigation, Volodin, without reference to any law, has rejected the appointment of M. Rappoport. He has told me: 'That is impossible.' I have addressed a statement to U S S R Procurator-General Rudenko requesting that he point out to Volodin the need to observe the law, but I have received no proper reply...

(R. Rappoport is a member of the French communist party — *Chronicle*.)

In January the English barrister **I. Fisch** visited Moscow as a tourist. Having learned of Fisch's forthcoming trip, Shcharansky's wife, N. Shtiglits, asked him to meet Anatoly's mother in Moscow and undertake his defence. Fisch agreed. On 12 January Milgrom and Fisch went to the K G B's Investigation Department. Shcharansky's mother requested that Fisch be allowed to defend her son. She had addressed the same request to the Procurator for Supervision of Investigations by the Security Organs, Ilyukhin. An official in the Investigation Department refused to talk on the subject of Fisch. However, he said that the relatives must appoint a lawyer by 25 and not 13 January, as had been said earlier.

On 17 January refuseniks **D. Beilina, V. Slepak, B. Chernobylsky, L. Ulanovsky** and **G. Khasin,** who have repeatedly demanded in their statements to the Procuracy and the Supreme Soviet an end to violations of legality with regard to Shcharansky, were received by an assistant to the U S S R Procurator-General, N. V. Tsybulnik. They put several questions to him:

1. On what grounds had Shcharansky's detention in custody been extended?...The Supreme Soviet has no powers under the Constitution to punish someone. It may pardon, decorate, amnesty and so forth, but not punish.

In reply to this question Tsybulnik said that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, as a legislative organ, has the right to issue decrees valid for a particular case only, in exceptional instances authorizing

detention in custody even after nine months. Being in prison is not a punishment. These six extra months will be taken into account later. To their remark that Shcharansky might even be acquitted, Tsybulnik said that in that case those guilty of prolonging his detention would be punished.

2. Ought not Shcharansky's mother to know her son's position with regard to the appointment of a lawyer, or the name of the lawyer he wanted, or, perhaps, his wish that it be any lawyer of his mother's choice?

Tsybulnik replied that Shcharansky's rights were wider. He could choose a lawyer himself, making his application through the investigators. It was nothing to do with his mother. When they informed his mother of the need to find a lawyer by 25 January the investigation had been passing on her son's instruction. To the question whether Shcharansky had really asked for a lawyer with a K G B security pass Tsybulnik replied: 'If they said with a security pass, they meant with a security pass.'

Tsybulnik avoided discussing the question of what a lawyer's security pass is. He admitted, however, that it is issued by the K G B.

The visitors insisted on the need for the mother to see her son in order to ascertain his position on the matter of a lawyer, remarking that this could not possibly be a secret of the investigation.

In conclusion they declared that they were not satisfied with the replies they had received and they felt that Tsybulnik was not an objective third party in their dispute with the investigating organs.

On 10 February **Leonid Shcharansky** was summoned to the K G B. Colonel Volodin and Procurator Ilyukhin talked with him. Once again the subject was the defence lawyer. Leonid said the family had a nominee — the French barrister R. Rappoport. Volodin replied that that was impossible. He showed Shcharansky a page of typewritten text on which it was written that Anatoly Shcharansky entrusted the search for a lawyer to his mother and brother. However, Leonid demanded a personal note from Anatoly or a meeting with him. He was refused both.

On 17 February Volodin again summoned L. Shcharansky. He suggested that Leonid write a statement to the Investigation Department that his family was unable to find a lawyer. Leonid refused to write such a statement, saying that a lawyer had been found — Maître R. Rappoport.

On the same day I. P. Milgrom wrote a complaint to U S S R Procurator-General Rudenko requesting his intervention in her son's case.

On 23 February a representative of the K G B Investigation Department, Gubinsky, informed Shcharansky's mother by telephone that a lawyer had been apointed by the investigation. He did not give the

name, saying merely that the lawyer was a member of the Moscow Bar.

The defence counsel apointed is the lawyer Silva Abramovna Dubrovskaya (legal advice office 21).

On 15 February *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published an anonymous note by a T A S S correspondent entitled 'An Adventurer on Tour'. It concerns Anatoly Shcharansky's wife Natalya Shtiglits.

Anatoly's relatives wrote an open letter about this to the editor-in-chief of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, A. Chakovsky. They write that in the note the year of N. Shtiglits's emigration is misrepresented — instead of 5 July 1974 the article has 5 July 1973. This is no accidental misprint. In this manner the documents relating to Shcharansky and Shtiglits's religious wedding ceremony, dated 4 July 1974, are called into question. The letter's authors go on to inform Chakovsky and the Director-General of T A S S, Zamyatin, that in accordance with Jewish rites a marriage ceremony may be performed ('under the chupa [canopy]', as the Jews say) not only in a synagogue but also at home in the presence of ten men of age and an ecclesiastic. All this was fulfilled on 4 July 1974 at the flat where the newly-weds were living, and Natalya Shtiglits is in possession of an official document to this effect, on the basis of which the Supreme Rabbinate of Israel has declared the marriage legal. As well as this, the Shcharansky family refutes a letter from the parents of N. Shtiglits cited by the paper, in which it is said that she has never been Shcharansky's wife. The Shcharanskys write that Natalya's mother not only was acquainted with Anatoly as her daughter's husband — she was even a guest in their home, and in his parents' home, both before and after Natalya's departure. (The T A S S correspondent's note in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* also contradicts the article 'Anti-Sovietists at Work' issued by T A S S for foreign countries; the full text of the article is published in *Chronicle* 47.)

On 8 March 1978 a statement in defence of A. Shcharansky was issued by **A. D. Sakharov:**

> Whether they are going to try him on an absurd charge of espionage or whether the authorities, reluctant to enter into direct conflict with the U S President's statement, will confine themselves to an ordinary accusation of anti-Soviet propaganda, either case will be an act of injustice and a challenge to world public opinion...
>
> Today the total number of Helsinki group members arrested has reached 18. At the Belgrade Conference the Soviet authorities have demonstrated before the whole world their unwillingness to fulfil the pledges made at Helsinki and even simply to discuss the issue of human rights. Under these circumstances the defence of Shcharansky, the defence of every person who is a victim of injustice, acquires especial significance as a matter of principle.

The Ukrainian Group

Pressure On Rudenko

Mykola Rudenko was sent to a camp only in November, two months after the appeal hearing. All that time the authorities continued to exert pressure on him (see *Chronicle* 47).

On 14 October 1977 an official of the Donetsk K G B, Lieutenant-Colonel Zuyev, visited Rudenko in prison. On behalf of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet he proposed that Rudenko write a letter requesting emigration. Rudenko agreed. Without renouncing his beliefs, he wrote that owing to his state of health he would be unable to endure seven years of incarceration in strict-regime camps. He asked that this punishment be replaced by another: that he be deported outside the bounds of the U S S R. Having received this letter on 17 October, Zuyev promised that it would be examined the following day by the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

At the end of October they transferred Rudenko to Kiev, where again they asked him to recant. To questions about what he would do if he went abroad, Rudenko replied that he did not intend to engage in politics — he would write poems and science fiction. On 14 November he was informed that the Ukrainian authorities and the K G B objected to his being exiled abroad. Two days later he was sent to a camp.

At the same time pressure on **Raisa Rudenko** was being increased: although she is a shock-worker of communist labour, they sacked her from her job 'in connection with staff reductions'; at times she was openly shadowed.

On 27 December, after a meeting with her husband in camp, Raisa Rudenko wrote a letter to the First Secretary of the Ukrainian communist party Central Committee, V. V. Shcherbitsky. Describing the pressure to which her husband was being subjected (see above) she writes:

> My husband has a serious injury and suffers from no less serious heart trouble and somatic illnesses: he has a double *inoperable* inguinal hernia which is continually strangulating. For example, during the investigation in Donetsk prison he had two strangulations. The interrogation was then interrupted and first aid was urgently administered. In Donetsk prison this was possible. But in a Mordovian camp there is no such possibility. The nearest hospital is 20 kilometres away from the camp. Even for the healthy the journey there by bus is an ordeal difficult to bear. I am terrified at the thought of what will become of my husband when he has his first strangulation.

Recalling her husband's wartime services and literary activity, R. Rudenko concludes:

My husband has committed no crimes — what is criminal is the monstrous sentence condemning an innocent man to inevitable death.

I beg you, Vladimir Vasilevich, to show humanity and save the life of Mykola Rudenko by allowing him to emigrate from the U S S R.

The Arrest of Lukyanenko

On 12 December 1977 Levko Lukyanenko, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki group, was arrested in Chernigov.

Lev Grigorevich Lukyanenko was born in 1927 in the village of Khripovka in Chernigov region. From 1944 to 1953 he served in the army; here he joined the party. In 1958 he graduated from the Law Faculty at Moscow University and began working in the western Ukraine, first on the staff of a district party committee and after that as a defence lawyer. In 1960 he composed a draft programme of the 'Ukrainian Worker-Peasant Union'. The draft, written on a Marxist basis, proposed a referendum on self-determination for the Ukraine, and these socio-economic reforms: genuinely voluntary peasant co-operative societies, and the legalization of private enterprise in the sphere of services and small-scale industry. On 20 and 21 January 1961 a group of seven persons (party officials and lawyers, among them I. Kandyba), who had scarcely begun to discuss the draft, were arrested. A closed trial under the article 'Betrayal of the Motherland' sentenced Lukyanenko to be shot, Kandyba to 15 years and the rest to 10 and 11 years. Lukyanenko spent two months and six days in the death cell. An appeal court commuted execution to 15 years.

Lukyanenko's imprisonment and his two years subsequently spent under surveillance were reported in *Chronicles* 33, 36, 39, 43-47.

Lukyanenko has been arrested under case number 39, initiated as far back as February 1977 when Mykola Rudenko was arrested (*Chronicle* 44). On the day of his arrest a search was conducted at Lukyanenko's flat in Chernigov lasting from seven o'clock in the morning to eleven at night. All papers (including personal correspondence, right down to greeting cards) were confiscated — even things not taken in previous searches. A body search was conducted of Lukyanenko himself and his wife Nadezhda Nikonovna. The search was carried out on the instruction of an investigator of the Chernigov K G B, Captain Polunin.

* * *

In connection with Lukyanenko's arrest, the Ukrainian Helsinki group appealed on 18 December to the Belgrade Conference. Telling of Lukyanenko's tragic fate and recalling the severe sentences handed down on Rudenko and Tikhy, the group members say that 'only immediate actions in his defence, actions taken long before the trial, in the first instance by governments and public opinion in the countries which signed the Helsinki Agreements', can save Lukyanenko from the ten years of special-regime camps and five years' exile which now threaten him. The letter was signed by **O. Berdnik, I. Kandyba, V. Kalinichenko, O. Meshko, V. Streltsov** and **N. Strokatova.**

A special appeal concerning Lukyanenko's arrest was sent to delegates at the Belgrade meeting by **O. Ya. Meshko.** She speaks of his human qualities, which endeared him to all those around him and especially to political prisoners :

> After his release, letters streamed into Chernigov for the lawyer-under-surveillance, through the obstacles of censorship and secret photographing...
>
> L. Lukyanenko unfailingly responded to the letters with legal advice and involved himself in the defence of victims of discrimination, because active concern for others is the essence of his nature.

Meshko writes in particular of Lukyanenko's activities in defence of B. Chuiko (*Chronicle* 47) and P. Ruban (*Chronicle* 45).

On 2 February 1978 the Moscow Helsinki group spoke out in Lukyanenko's defence. In his statement (document number 31) Lukyanenko's arrest is examined in the context of the wave of persecution with which the Soviet authorities are hitting members of the Helsinki groups and which has been particularly severe in the Ukraine.

Protests against Lukyanenko's arrest have also been voiced by exiles (M. Landa, V. Stus) and political prisoners. In Perm camp 36 in late February and early March political prisoners **Abankin, Zdorovy, V. Zalmanson, Žukauskas, Kalynets, Kovalyov, Safronov, Sergienko, Mättik** and **Slobodyan** sent statements to the Supreme Soviets and Procuracies of the U S S R and the Ukraine. (See the section 'In the Prisons and Camps' for Igor Kalynets's statement.)

* * *

On the day of Lukyanenko's arrest, searches in connection with his case were carried out at the homes of his brother **Alexander Lukyanenko** (Chernigov), his parents (Khripovka village near Chernigov) and his sister (Gorodnyanka village, Chernigov region), group members, **P. Vins** (Kiev), **I. Kandyba** (Pustomyty village near Lvov), **O. Berdnik** (in R. Rudenko's flat, where he and his family are now living) and **V. Kalinichenko** (Vasilkov, Dnepropetrovsk region).

Employees of the Lvov K G B searched I. Kandyba's lodgings from 9 o'clock to 12.30: they took away four letters (two of them from Lukyanenko) and also a handwritten text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (this is the third time they have taken the Declaration away from Kandyba).

The search at Berdnik's home went on from 8 o'clock in the morning until 8 pm: they even confiscated Soviet editions of Berdnik's books

with dedicatory inscriptions by Mykola Rudenko. K G B officials carried out a body search of R. Rudenko and Berdnik's wife Valentina. After the search, they took Berdnik away for interrogation but he said he was tired and the interrogation was postponed until the next morning.

The search at the Vins's home was carried out by 20 people (including witnesses) under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Chunikhin of the Chernigov K G B, Major Izorgin and Captain Musiiko. Confiscated during the search were: from P. Vins (he was doing 10 days' detention at the time — see below): photographs of Solzhenitsyn and Orlov, a synopsis of a work on social psychology; from his mother, Nadezhda Ivanovna Vins: tape recordings of a religious character and Bibles; from P. Vins's grandmother, Lidia Mikhailovna Vins: 20 copies of the Bible published in the West, and documents of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives.

(L. M. Vins is 70. Three years ago she was set free after serving a 3-year term of imprisonment under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, which corresponds to article 190-1 of the Russian Code. In the spring of 1977 they summoned her to the Procuracy for a 'warning': she didn't go. Now they are threatening her with new criminal prosecutions for her activities on the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives.)

At the search of the Vins's home **Viktor Lavrinenko,** a friend of P. Vins who had dropped in for a visit, was detained. They took him off for interrogation at the K G B, where investigator Senior Lieutenant Ostapenko asked him to give an appraisal of the works of Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. Lavrinenko replied that he had not read them. The interrogation lasted three hours.

On 13 December an acquaintance of the Lukyanenko family, **Oksana Svitailo,** was questioned in Chernigov in connection with Lukyanenko's case.

In December or January Pyotr Ruban's wife **Lidia Ruban** was questioned in Priluki (Chernigov region).

In January **Evgeny Obertas,** writer **B. D. Antonenko-Davidovich** and **Nadezhda Svetlichnaya** were interrogated in Kiev (all three were also questioned after the arrest of Rudenko and Tikhy — *Chronicles* 45, 46).

On 23 January a search was conducted at **Stefania Gulyk's**[2] home in Lvov. On 1 February they interrogated her.

On 27 January **I. Kandyba** was interrogated (the investigator was Captain Sanko).

On 30 January investigator Grazhdan (*Chronicles* 37, 38) questioned **A. V. Golumbievskaya** in Odessa in connection with Lukyanenko's case. She said she was not acquainted with Lukyanenko and had nothing to tell the investigator.

Former political prisoners are being questioned in the Lukyanenko case.

In January a search was carried out at the home of **I. I. Kravtsov** in Kharkov. After the search he was interrogated. (In June 1977 Igor Ivanovich Kravtsov left Mordovian camp number 19, having served 5 years under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. He was in the same case as A. Zdorovy.)

On 13 January **Ma Khun** (*Chronicle* 42), who was once in Vladimir Prison with Lukyanenko (*Chronicle* 36), was interrogated in Khabarovsk Territory. They also questioned Ma Khun's wife **Ekaterina Borovaya.**

In February **P. F. Kampov** (*Chronicles* 33, 42, 45, 47) was questioned in Uzhgorod.

On 3 February they interrogated **V. V. Ovsienko** (*Chronicles* 44, 45, 47). Investigator Protasov (of the Zhitomir K G B) questioned him about a correspondence with Lukyanenko. Ovsienko refused to examine the letters that were presented to him (apparently taken during the search of Lukyanenko's home), saying that he regarded the K G B's interference with private correspondence as amoral. Threats followed.

(The same Protasov interrogated Ovsienko in the autumn of 1977 in the case of G. Snegiryov in connection with a greetings card which Ovsienko had sent Snegiryov.)

On 1 February the Rovno K G B interrogated **Kuzma Matviyuk** (*Chronicles* 33, 42, 44-47). They showed him typed copies of letters from himself to Lukyanenko. On 24 February they questioned him again. The investigator alleged that a notebook belonging to Lukyanenko contained an entry to the effect that Matviyuk had sent off a certain document, and he asked what this document was. (On K. Matviyuk see the section 'After Release'.)

On 2 February **Stefania Shabatura** was interrogated in exile (see the section 'In Exile').

On 10 February a search was made at the home of **Vasily Stus,** who is serving a term of exile in the Kolyma region (*Chronicles* 45-47). The search lasted ten hours. They took away a copy of the indictment and extracts from his 1972 case, poems by him, letters from A. Bolonkin, M. Kotsyubinskaya, L. Popadyuk (mother of political prisoner Zoryan Popadyuk), M. Marinovich and I. Kandyba. They also confiscated typewritten extracts from the Final Act of the European [Security] Conference, an address book and drafts of letters to P. G. Grigorenko and Rasul Gamzatov (as a fellow poet and member of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet) which had never been sent. After the search they interrogated Stus for three days in Ust-Omchug, the district centre. Stus refused to answer questions. He demanded that the items confiscated in the search, as well as materials from the Lukyanenko case of 1961 and the 1965 and 1972 trials in the Ukraine be sent

to the Belgrade Conference and the U N Commission on Human Rights.

On 9 February a search was conducted at the home of **O. Ya. Meshko** in connection with the Lukyanenko case. The search lasted 20 hours (from 7.45 on 9 February to 3.40 on the 10th). The search brigade consisted of nine people (two women were witnesses). Without knocking they opened the house door with a key taken that same morning from Meshko's lodger (he was at work and they had brought him together with his key to the search). As well as the living quarters, they searched outbuildings on the same land and dug up the snow in the garden. Part of what was confiscated was in fact found under the snow. K G B officials seized a letter of I. Kandyba's (on the surveillance of him and their 1961 case), a letter from Nadezhda Lukyanenko (written after her husband L. Lukyanenko's arrest), a letter from Kuzma Matviyuk, many notes by O. Ya. Meshko herself, 64 sheets of unused carbon paper, and the almanach *Twentieth Century*.[3] The investigators were preparing to confiscate papers belonging to Meshko's son A. Sergienko (academic testimonials about his study at an institute, and other items) but the owner of the house resisted them. Meshko also tried to avoid giving up to the K G B officials Kandyba's letter, by compressing it in her hand. They forced her to unclench her fist. During the search a tape recording was made which they played back at the end of the proceedings. The recording turned out to include, amongst other things, the arguments and the skirmish between Meshko and the investigators.

During the search A. Berdnik dropped in to visit Meshko. He was given a body search and then they took him off to Rudenko's flat, where they also carried out a search (on a warrant in the name of Raisa Rudenko).

On 14 February Meshko was taken from a police-station to investigator Sanko at the K G B for interrogation (she had refused to appear on a summons). The interrogation lasted four hours and concerned materials of the Helsinki group as well as those that had been confiscated during the search of Lukyanenko's home on 12 December. After questioning, Meshko was taken off to another room where Lieutenant-Colonel Ganchuk gave her a warning 'according to the Decree' on the basis of a selection of various documents shown to her which had been taken from her at searches, starting with the search in her son's case in 1972. Meshko refused to sign the interrogation record and the warning, stating that these actions of the investigator were contrary to article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Final Act of the European [Security] Conference. She would, however, consent to sign the warning if they handed over to her copies of the documents on the basis of which they were cautioning her about criminal

responsibility under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. The entire 'warning' proceedings were also tape-recorded.

The Arrest of Pyotr Vins

On 8 December 1977 Pyotr Vins was detained at Kiev station as he was boarding a train to Moscow. Vins refused to submit to a search without production of the appropriate documents. Right there in the station he was beaten up, after which they searched him and sent him to a police-station. They confiscated from Vins the Bible and the Gospels (three or four copies of each), two documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki group and other papers.

Vins was placed under administrative arrest for 15 days for 'insubordination to the police'. Police officers themselves stated to Vins's mother that they had beaten him because he refused to submit voluntarily to a search. From the moment of his arrest Vins declared a hunger strike in protest at the illegal search and detention and therefore did not go out to work. Towards the end of the 15 days they charged him with refusal to work and through a court extended the term of arrest by another 15 days. The judge said she knew nothing about Vins's hunger strike. In spite of his extremely grave state of health, they did not force-feed him for a little over 20 days. He did not get out of bed; his pulse was 120, and for the whole duration of his detention Vins did not improve. Vins's relatives feared for his life. In a conversation with Vins's mother, the supervising Procurator said that criminal proceedings would be instituted against her son under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. Then the Procurator said: 'Every day we call an ambulance and draw up a document on refusal to take food. If he dies it'll be his own fault.'

On 15 December **Olga Geiko** (Matusevich), **Lyubov Murzhenko, Galina Snegiryova, Efim Pargamanik, Semyon Ginzburg, Vyacheslav Dubinets, Mark Belorusets, Oksana Meshko, Dmitry Mikheyev, Iosif Markov, Vladimir Malinkovich, Valery Vovsi, Valery Nadyuk, Viktor Lavrinenko, Igor Pomerantsev** and **Grigory Tokayuk** sent a letter to the Belgrade Conference calling on it to support their demand for Vins's release.

On 21 December officials of the Kiev K G B interviewed **Semyon Ginzburg** and his father. They were taken away from home, although the elder Ginzburg was ill. One of the K G B officials who introduced himself as 'head of counter-intelligence' tried to elucidate by means of threats the whereabouts of a letter in defence of P. Vins. The same official said that a trial was being prepared for P. Vins, G. Snegiryov, M. Matusevich, M. Marinovich and others, and also that S. Ginzburg 'had been planned as a witness' at this trial but they would make him the defendant.

On 31 December the Moscow Helsinki group made public a statement in Vins's defence (document number 28):

> We know Pyotr Vins as an extremely tactful, calm and self-possessed man. We are certain that he is the victim of a provocation prepared in advance.
>
> Apparently Vins's arrest on 8 December was not by chance, since on 10 December there was a demonstration in Moscow to mark International Human Rights Day. In Moscow on 10 December many dissidents found themselves under house arrest...
>
> We demand the immediate release of Pyotr Vins — it is a matter of saving the health and possibly even the life of a man who is still very young, a noble and courageous man.

On 3 January **A. D. Sakharov** sent a telegram to the Ukrainian M V D requesting them to allow the ill Vins's relatives to meet with him and to assist in securing his release.

On 6 January 1978, one day before the expiry of his second 15-day term, P. Vins was released on the basis of a protest by the Procurator concerning only the second term.

On 15 February 1978 they again arrested P. Vins, taking him from the street. On this occasion a criminal charge was brought against him under article 214 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('leading a parasitic way of life').

On 18 February **A. Sakharov** and **N. Meiman** spoke out in defence of Pyotr Vins. They noted that Vins was the eighteenth Helsinki group member to be arrested and the sixth arrested during the Belgrade Conference. The authors write:

> It has become known that Pyotr Vins has had a criminal charge brought against him under article 214 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code...This article of the Code...in itself makes legal nonsense, being in effect a law on forced labour which gives the authorities an opportunity for legal reprisals against any person. Its application in the case of P. Vins, who a year ago was sacked from his job as a lighting technician on the instructions of the authorities, is an example of such a reprisal; it is a reaction to his public activity within the Helsinki group, to his support for his father who was condemned to 6 years of camps and exile, to his collaboration with Moscow dissenters and to his declared intention to leave the country.

(G. P. Vins's sentence is 5 years in camps and 5 years' exile — *Chronicle*.)

In connection with the most recent arrest of P. Vins, 10 people have appealed to the Canadian Premier P. E. Trudeau for help in securing Vins's release and departure for Canada. They point out these circumstances: P. Vins and two of his sisters have received invitations from relatives in Canada; after his previous arrest P. Vins had managed to assemble all the documents necessary to make an application to emigrate; the invitations had been registered at the M V D; at the moment of his arrest the documents were at Vins's home and were taken from him by K G B officials.

* * *

We report two new members of the Ukrainian Helsinki group, who joined in October 1977.

Vitaly Kalinichenko served ten years (1966-76) for an attempt to go abroad, which was defined as 'betrayal of the Motherland'. Since his release he has been living under surveillance in the town of Vasilkov, Dnepropetrovsk region, and working as an engineer. In October 1977 he declared he was renouncing Soviet citizenship.

Vasily Streltsov was convicted in Stalin's time at the age of 15 and got ten years; he was later exculpated. V. Streltsov is a philologist and graduated from Chernovtsy University. Recently he was teaching English in a school. A year ago they fired him after he applied to leave for England. Streltsov lives in the town of Dolina, Ivano-Frankovsk region.

The Lithuanian Group

The Case of Petkus

On 23 August 1977, the day of Viktoras Petkus's arrest, in addition to the searches reported in *Chronicle* 47 a search was carried out at the home of **Birute Pašiliene,** who lives near Klaipeda (*Chronicle* 47). The warrant for this search (as for the other searches on the same day) was issued in connection with case number 38 (the case of B. Gajauskas) and bore the official stamp of the Procurator of Lithuania, Kairelis, and Lithuanian K G B Chairman Petkevičius. The search lasted from 7 pm until 2 am. A resolution was found on the setting up of a Chief Committee of the National Movements of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania dated 20 August 1977 (the same document that was found at Petkus's home — *Chronicle* 47). Several copies were found, addressed to various people: Kurt Waldheim, leaders of Western countries, Brezhnev. Also confiscated was a typewriter (Lithuanian) and *The First Circle* (typewritten in Russian). They wanted to take Pašiliene away for interrogation there and then but she resisted because of the late hour of night. They questioned her the next day. She stated that she did not know whom the typewriter and documents belonged to, and also that the typewriter had nothing to do with Gajauskas's case. The book by Solzhenitsyn had been given to her, she said, by K. Jokubinas (in May 1977 he emigrated to Canada — *Chronicle* 45).

On 21 and 22 December B. Pašiliene was interrogated by the Vilnius K G B. Investigator Lazarevičius (*Chronicles* 32, 47) showed her a report by a commission of experts according to which the documents of the Chief Committee had been typed out on the typewriter found at her home. Pašiliene reiterated that she did not know how the documents of the Chief Committee had come to be in her home or who had typed them on the typewriter.

In reply to the investigator's questioning she said that she was not acquainted with V. Petkus. Lazarevičius said that in connection with the Petkus case her application to emigrate from the U S S R would be shelved and another matter would be decided — whether or not to arrest her.

* * *

On 18, 19 and 20 January 1978 **Mart Niklus** (*Chronicles* 42, 43, 47), who had been summoned from Tartu, was interrogated in Vilnius. After each question Niklus refused to reply and handed the investigator the reason for his refusal, written in Estonian (there was an interpreter at the interrogation) with a copy (he afterwards took the copies away with him). When they confronted Niklus with Kalninš's testimony he declared that it had no legal force in view of the latter's chronic alcoholism.

Two more Estonians, **Enn Tarto** (*Chronicles* 2, 47) and **Erik Udam** (*Chronicles* 46, 47) were questioned on 20 February and also refused to reply.

* * *

At the end of February **Antanas Terleckas** (*Chronicle* 47) was again summoned for interrogation. He refused to answer all questions. They asked him about the Chief Committee of the National Movements, the Lithuanian Helsinki group, his personal relations with Petkus and their trip together to Latvia in the summer of 1976: Kalninš had testified that Terleckas and Petkus had come to Riga to take part in a seminar on the ethnography of the Baltic States, held in the flat of Inc Calitis (*Chronicle* 47).

The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church [*C L C C*], issue 31, reports on the circumstances surrounding the interrogation of **Fr. Karolis Garuckas** which took place on 10 October 1977 (*Chronicle* 47).

On 7 October 1977 a man knocked at the door of the priest Garuckas's home (village of Ceikiniai). When they let him in he asked if the house owner recognized him. The uninvited guest behaved provocatively: he rummaged through papers, read letters addressed to Garuckas, and, noticing a typewriter, inquired: 'What, are you writing a *Chronicle*?' Seeing a letter and photograph of a soldier, he asked: 'Investigating the army, are you? Who's that letter from? Who's that photograph of?' Discovering a portrait of Pope Paul VI on the wall, he said maliciously: 'All of you hate the Soviet Union!' Garuckas asked the guest if he intended to carry out a search and received a summons to appear on 10 October for interrogation at the Vilnius K G B.

In Vilnius investigator Lazarevičius questioned Garuckas quite courteously, explaining that testimony had already been taken from Lukauskaite-Poškiene and Finkelshtein, and only the respected Karolis Garuckas had still not been interrogated. What interested the investigator was how and when Garuckas had become a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki group, where and when he had become acquainted with Tomas Venclova and Petkus, how the group communicated with Moscow dissidents, how often there were group meetings, and so forth.

It was only several days later that Garuckas remembered the man who had visited him on 7 October. He was Paškevičius, the Chief of the Ignalina district K G B.

* * *

On 28 February **Sergei Soldatov,** who is in Mordovian camp 19, was interrogated. An investigator of the Mordovian K G B, who conducted the interrogation on the instructions of the Lithuanian K G B, announced to him that he was being questioned 'in connection with the case of the Chief Committee of the National Movements of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania'.

Soldatov was asked about the following people: Gajauskas, Pašiliene, Krilis (?), Ziemelis (*Chronicle* 47), Petkus, Calitis, Kalninš, Niklus and Udam. He refused to answer questions.

The Georgian Group

The Case of Gamsakhurdia, Kostava and Rtskhiladze

On 25 January 1978 Victor Rtskhiladze was re-arrested. He was arrested in April 1977 together with Z. Gamsakhurdia and M. Kostava, but they released him four days later after he had signed an undertaking not to leave Tbilisi (*Chronicle* 45).

The K G B is questioning people who have borrowed books to read from Zviad Gamsakhurdia. The investigators are making use of Gamsakhurdia's notebook.

In February and March 1978 leaflets appeared in Tbilisi University and in the Polytechnic Institute calling for people to speak out in defence of the arrested members of the Georgian Helsinki group.

Below are excerpts from the text of a leaflet that was scattered near the University on 22 February 1978:

Just as in other 'union republics', along with the struggle for human rights we have other national problems. For it is clear to everyone that our national rights are being mocked, the riches belonging to our nation — its historical monuments — are being destroyed, the Georgian language is in effect persecuted, the Georgian church, our nation's spiritual buttress, is in a state of decline, and Georgian culture is trampled underfoot.

It was precisely these problems that were broached by members of the 'Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Georgia' and the Helsinki group, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Merab Kostava and Viktor Rtskhiladze.

These people felt the nation's pain as their own and courageously raised their voices against the flouting of human and national rights...

Subsequently they (the authorities — *Chronicle*) tried to declare quite healthy people mentally ill and even to hide them away in a psychiatric clinic. For ten months now, in defiance of all legal norms, Z. Gamsakhurdia and M. Kostava have languished in K G B dungeons. These crimes reached a climax with the arrest of yet another member of the Helsinki group, Viktor Rtskhiladze, on 25 January of this year. This fact is all the more scandalous inasmuch as V. Rtskhiladze has heart trouble and was only recently discharged from hospital. He life is in jeopardy. By this latest arrest the authorities have shown their own helplessness and fear in the face of free thought!

V. Rtskhiladze spoke out bravely in defence of our historical monuments, in defence of the Meskhetian Georgians deported from Georgia in 1944...Georgians, we have been silent long enough! Let us take courage and have our say! Believe that the words of each one of us is of tremendous importance!

We must not condemn to death people who have sacrificed themselves for our sake. We must not allow the authorities to flout the sacred rights of man...

The Case of Grigory Goldshtein

On 17 January 1978 Grigory Goldshtein, a member of the Georgian Helsinki group, was arrested. A charge of 'parasitism' (article 234 of the Georgian Criminal Code) has been brought against him.

Grigory Abramovich Goldshtein was born in 1931. He is a physicist, a Master of Technical Sciences. Until December 1971 he held the post of laboratory head in the Tbilisi branch of the Mendeleyev All-Union Research Institute of Metrology.

In December 1971 G. Goldshtein handed in his documents for emigration to Israel, was dismissed from his job and since then has not worked anywhere, which is what is being held against him. All G. Goldshtein's attempts to get a job in his profession were unsuccessful, and in the job placement commission they only offered him work in secret establishments. In February 1972 K G B Colonel Zardalishvili told him that in five years' time they would allow him to emigrate. In September 1972 G. Goldshtein renounced Soviet citizenship and in October of the same year became a citizen of Israel.

Grigory's brother **Isai Goldshtein** is also a refusenik. The Goldshtein brothers (*Chronicle* 37) are members of the Georgian Helsinki group (*Chronicles* 44, 46). Criminal proceedings have also been instituted against Isai Goldshtein for 'parasitism'; the charges have not yet been presented to him.

On the day of his detention G. Goldshtein was led from his house in handcuffs and taken like this to the district polyclinic. It was suggested to him that he undergo a medical examination. Goldshtein refused; to this effect two documents were drawn up — one while he was still at his flat, the second at the clinic. The second document later disappeared from the case materials, but a certificate on his state of health turned up ('practically healthy').

While under arrest Goldshtein refused to talk at interrogations. On 25 January the measure of restraint was changed: they released Goldshtein after he had given a written undertaking not to leave town.

In February G. Goldshtein wrote several statements to the Georgian Procuracy and the U S S R Procurator-General. Referring in his statements to current legislation, including the International Covenants, he writes of the illegality of the criminal proceedings brought against him. He also puts forward an argument refuting the charge that he 'lived on unearned income': until his dismissal he had received a high salary (400 roubles a month) and had been able to accumulate savings.

In March G. Goldshtein wrote a testimony (12 pages) in connection with his case, in which he says in part:

> Both the case materials and the attitude of officialdom display tendentiousness concealed behind deliberate legal illiteracy...
>
> K G B officials have told me and other 'refuseniks' that their actions are always dictated solely by the interests of the Soviet state, and that violations of legality are justified if they are committed in the interests of the state...
>
> The decision on how to deal with me has already been taken by the K G B and will be carried out.

On 8 March **A. D. Sakharov** spoke out in defence of G. Goldshtein. In an open letter to the International Labour Organization, the Federation of American Scientists and world public opinion A. D. Sakharov draws attention to the whole practice of convicting people for parasitism, which is widely used by the authorities against persons they dislike. He insists that this article in itself stands in flagrant contradiction to international conventions on the prohibition of forced labour.

The Armenian Group

The morning of 22 December 1977 saw the start of a big action against the Armenian Helsinki group with the arrests of group members deacon **Robert Nazaryan** and **Shagen Arutyunyan,** a worker, and a series of simultaneous searches. The search warrants, issued on 20 and 21 December, had been visa-ed by Chairman of the Armenian K G B Mikhaelyan and the republican Procurator.

The Arrest of Nazaryan

The search at R. Nazaryan's flat was conducted by senior investigator First Lieutenant Edilyan with the assistance of K G B officials Agasyan, Shamamyan and Vardevanyan. Neither Nazaryan himself nor his wife was present at the search; the only person there was Nazaryan's mother. The search lasted from 8 am until midnight. 62 items were confiscated, ihcluding: a book by V. A. Shelkov (the Adventists' leader), *The Law-based Struggle with the Dictatorship of State Atheism,* numbers 42 and 46 of the *Chronicle of Current Events,* samizdat letters and articles about the draft Constitution (including *Bulletin* number 3 — *Chronicle* 47), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the covenants and conventions on human rights, the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, documents of the Moscow and Armenian Helsinki groups, documents of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights, Paruir Airikyan's final speech at his trial (*Chronicle* 34), the programme and statutes of the National United Party of Armenia, excerpts from secret directives on the correspondence of convicted persons, a feuilleton on R. Nazaryan in the paper *Sovetakan Aiastan* (*Chronicle* 47), personal documents (degree certificate, military card, Komsomol card, 13½ kilograms of writing paper and two kilograms of carbon paper, computer punch cards and sheets of print-outs of the results, Nietzsche's book *Thus Spake Zarathustra* and a church calendar for 1882 published in New York.

On the same day Robert Nazaryan was arrested. He was charged under article 65 of the Armenian Criminal Code (article 70 of the Russian Code).

Robert Khachikovich Nazaryan was born in 1948. In 1966 he graduated from a school with a mathematical specialization and entered the Physics Faculty at Erevan University. In 1969 he received a Komsomol reprimand and was expelled from university for 'demagogic speeches'; a year later he was reinstated. In 1971 Nazaryan graduated with a recommendation for post-graduate study, but entered the theological college. From there he graduated with distinction in 1973 and was ordained as a deacon, but he did not serve for long (according to some reports he came into conflict with church hierarchs). For about three years he worked as a physicist at the Byurakan Astrophysical Observatory, then there were difficulties with getting a job: in 1977 he got one in Erevan as an engineer in a special construction office, then another in a planning institute. After a short period they sacked him each time 'because of staff reductions'. The last post he held before his arrest was that of senior engineer in the computer department of the Armenian Agricultural Technology Centre.

On 22 December a series of searches was conducted in connection with the Nazaryan case.

The group leader **Eduard Arutyunyan** (*Chronicles* 46, 47) was first subjected to a body search and then they searched his flat. Amongst items confiscated were: notes of addresses and telephone numbers (including the Moscow telephone number of the Reuter agency), a typewriter and a lengthy statement about the persecution of himself. The search was conducted by Captain Arutyunyan, Captain Adzharyan and Senior Lieutenant Markosyan. After it, E. Arutyunyan was taken away for questioning. Protesting over being forcibly taken into custody, he refused to answer questions.

The following day, 23 December, Arutyunyan presented himself for interrogation and replied in detail to questions. The first question concerned his personal files. Arutyunyan described his persecution, which had started 10 or 12 years ago: his sackings, his being declared insane on the basis of a diagnosis made in his absence (three years after he had been in the neurological ward of a psychoneurological hospital), his fight for the restoration of his rights (Arutyunyan is an invalid of the second group). Arutyunyan went on to describe his acquaintance with Sakharov, Bonner and T. Khodorovich, whom he had asked for help in obtaining justice, handing over to them files of material on his litigation, and how he kept in touch with other Muscovites (while visiting Moscow for oncological treatment).

The organization of the Helsinki group, said Arutyunyan, had been his idea, supported by R. Nazaryan. Earlier they had worked together to help political prisoners and their famiiles. Arutyunyan described the nature of his acquaintance with other people too, but when asked, for example, 'Did Edmond Avetyan conduct anti-Soviet conversations with you?', he gave an indignant denial. He said that E. Avetyan was a humanist whose highly cultured character and educational activities were enhancing Armenia's authority. Arutyunyan did not answer concrete questions relating to the organization of material aid for political prisoners, saying that Robert Nazaryan had (until a K G B warning) attended to that. Some questions concerned Stepan Zatikyan and other people accused of trying to cause an explosion at [Moscow's] Kursk station (see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations'). Arutyunyan said he was not acquainted with any of them and did not believe there had been an attempted explosion.

E. Arutyunyan did not sign the interrogation record, stating orally that in any case he would not retract his testimony. Later he was summoned for further interrogations but did not go.

* * *

On 22 December at 6.30 am searches were begun at the homes of **E. G. Avetyan,** his mother **T. A. Tarekanova** and **R. A. Papayan.** Avetyan and Papayan were immediately taken away for interrogation by the K G B, so the searches went ahead in their absencè. One of the witnesses at the search at Papayan's home let slip that he works for the K G B. The searches ended in the evening.

Amongst items confiscated from Papayan were: *The Gulag Archipelago,* Orwell's *Animal Farm,* Marchenko's *My Testimony,* microfilms of V. Nabokov's novels *Luzhin's Defence* and *The Gift,* an appeal by the Moscow Helsinki group to the Belgrade Conference, personal correspondence, cassettes with recordings of music, and a typewriter.

From Avetyan they took, amongst other things, a collection of documents on human rights, a Bible and articles on linguistics.

Papayan was interrogated three times after the search. The first investigator, K G B Colonel Sayadyan, began the interrogation by stating that a charge of 'espionage' was in store for Papayan. They questioned Avetyan four times, each time for many hours. Also questioned were Avetyan's wife **Sarkisova** and his mother.

The interrogations of Avetyan and Papayan, who are formally witnesses in the case of R. Nazaryan, bore an accusatory character with regard to them themselves.

Rafael Ashotovich Papayan is a Master of Philological Science, senior lecturer at Erevan University and the author of 25 scholarly works on ethics and prosody. In the university he teaches a course in early 20th century Russian literature and a number of theoretical special courses.

Edmond Gegalovich Avetyan is a Master of Philological Science, a senior lecturer at Erevan University and the author of a number of articles on linguistics as well as of a book *The Nature of Linguistic Signs* (Erevan, 1967). In the university he lectures on linguistics and Latin.

* * *

On 22 December a search was also carried out at the home of a worker, **Ambartsum Khlgatyan,** a member of the group (*Chronicle* 47). After the search they took him away for questioning at the K G B and detained him there. Khlgatyan was released the following day.

In connection with Nazaryan's case his sister **Nazik Nazaryan** was interrogated (after a search). They asked her about her brother's life, his acquaintances and his reasons for joining the Helsinki group. She

replied that her brother did not involve her in his own affairs, but she thought he had joined the group in order to defend human rights in Armenia.

* * *

On 22 February in Tallinn Major Zhukov, on the instruction of the Armenian K G B, questioned **Lyudmila Gryunberg** (they summoned her to the K G B 'on a matter connected with her husband Sergei Soldatov'). The investigator was interested in how her address came to be in a notebook of R. Nazaryan's and also in her circle of acquaintances in Armenia. L. I. Gryunberg testified that she was not acquainted with Nazaryan, she had travelled to Erevan on her own private business, and she refused to talk about her acquaintances or give their addresses.

The Trial of Shagen Arutyunyan

On the morning of 22 December, when Shagen Arutyunyan had set off for work, he was stopped not far from his house by five or six people who, without showing any documents, demanded that he go with them. Arutyunyan refused. Then the people beat him up, dragged him along the street to a car and drove off with him. Arutyunyan managed to shout to neighbours to tell his family that K G B officials had taken him. At the very same time a second group burst into Shagen's house and a third into the house of his brother Marzpet Arutyunyan in the same street. A search began, also in connection with R. Nazaryan's case. At Sh. Arutyunyan's house it was conducted by senior investigator First Lieutenant Sukiasov, assisted by Major Pogosyan and other K G B officials. Confiscated were personal documents, Armenian calendars published in the West, cuttings from Soviet newspapers, correspondence (in particular with the West German Embassy in Moscow, on emigration), statements, copy-books, a notebook (with the Moscow telephone number of the B B C), visiting cards of Western correspondents in Moscow, and one document of the Armenian Helsinki group.

At the search of **M. Arutyunyan's** house they seized some Soviet publications — *A Political Dictionary* and the book *The Armenian Question and International Relations* — but afterwards everything was returned.

On 18 January 1978 a trial was held at which Sh. Arutyunyan was charged under article 222 part 2 of the Armenian Criminal Code (which corresponds to article 206 of the Russian Code) with malicious hooliganism in the form of resistance to representatives of authority. No one was let into the courtroom, and relatives were not notified about the trial personally (a procedure provided for in cases of petty hooli-
the trial personally(a procedure provided for in cases of petty hooli-

ganism, an offence which carries an administrative, not a criminal penalty). Four K G B officials made statements to the court (i.e. the Judge) that Sh. Arutyunyan had resisted arrest and 'sworn at representatives of the K G B' (the original version, 'beat up', did not in the end figure at the trial). Arutyunyan had not signed the indictment and at his trial refused to answer questions. The defence lawyer appointed for Arutyunyan had not seen the case materials and did not see the defendant until the trial. Judge Tatevosyan pronounced a sentence of 3 years in camps with a fine of 57 roubles to go to the legal advice office for the lawyer's services.

Sh. Arutyunyan complained to the Armenian Supreme Court and lodged an appeal. He described how the trial was held and, on the substance of the charge, wrote that he could not have known that the persons who attacked him were from the K G B and he was not obliged to submit to their demands, not having seen their documents. Sh. Arutyunyan demanded that the verdict be repealed, that a new court hearing be fixed, that he be released from custody until the new trial, and that the K G B officials who used unlawful violence upon him and gave false testimony in court be punished.

Two statements are attached to Sh. Arutyunyan's appeal complaint: one from his friends and one from 14 residents of Chernyshevsky Street. His neighbours (their statement is witnessed by a street committee) write that they cannot believe that Sh. A. Arutyunyan, whom they have known since the day he was born, could have committed a hooligan act.

Sh. Arutyunyan's mother **Asya Bubuyan** also addressed a complaint to the Supreme Court:

> People's Judge Tatevosyan has seriously, and apparently under pressure, violated the law...

In another statement, addressed to the K G B, she writes:

> You know perfectly well that if you had summoned Shagen, as has happened repeatedly, he would certainly have reported to you himself...I am coming to the conclusion that your aim was to provoke him to resistance.

The real reason for his persecution, writes A. Bubuyan, is her son's wish to emigrate, which she considers entirely justified after he has 'been repeatedly subjected to unfair victimization and violence'.

On 3 February the Armenian Supreme Court examined the appeal and upheld the verdict.

Shagen Arutyunyan (*Chronicles* 41, 47) is about 50 years old, has four children (aged between three and 13) and was employed as a worker at a footwear factory. From 1968 to 1971 Shagen Arutyunyan served three years under articles 65 and 67 of the Armenian Criminal

Code (articles 70 and 72 of the Russian Code). In the autumn of 1977, together with Ambartsum Khlgatyan, he announced that he had joined the Armenian Helsinki group.

* * *

On 27 January Marzpet Arutyunyan was summoned to the K G B. Investigator Kazaryan demanded that Marzpet 'should not interfere in his brother's case' and should not help him. Kazaryan also accused him of passing information to the West and to Moscow dissidents. 'If necessary, we will play you tape-recordings of your own telephone conversations'. M. Arutyunyan replied that the K G B does not have the right to eavesdrop, while he, by constrast, has the right to protect his brother from tyranny. Then they showed Arutyunyan a prepared warning about his passing of slanderous information to foreign correspondents. Having signed this paper, Arutyunyan declared that his brother was engaged not in anti-Soviet activity but in the defence of human rights, and he made a promise that he would continue to keep the international community informed about him. Kazaryan said they would have to deal with him in the same way as with his brother.

(Marzpet Arutyunyan has participated in the national movement and was brought to court in the case of Paruir Airikyan in 1974; he was then put in a psychiatric hospital.)

The Case of the Podrabineks

On 1 December 1977 the brothers Alexander and Kirill Podrabinek (*Chronicle* 47) and their father Pinkhos Abramovich Podrabinek were summoned to the chief of one of the departments of the Moscow City and Regional K G B, Yu. S. Belov, for a 'chat'. Alexander refused to appear for the chat.

Belov said to Kirill and P. A. Podrabinek: 'On behalf of the Committee for State Security I suggest that you and your families leave the Soviet Union and go abroad through Israel within 20 days. There is enough material against you, Kirill Pinkhosovich, to bring criminal proceedings. You, Pinkhos Abramovich, are also known to us for your anti-social activity. An act of humanity is being offered to you both — I advise you to make use of it.'

The same evening Alexander Podrabinek was arrested on the street and taken to the K G B. Belov presented him too with an ultimatum: all three must leave the country, otherwise criminal proceedings would be instituted against both brothers. Belov let it be understood that the absence of an invitation and difficulties with money would not be obstacles. Belov stressed that they could only leave all together.

Many painful disputes sprung up around the moral problem arising from the K G B's ultimatum and blackmail. Not having the opportunity to expound these arguments, the *Chronicle* has decided at least to convey accurately the position of the participants in the events by reproducing in sufficient detail all their statements.

On 6 December a press conference was held in A. D. Sakharov's flat. P. A. Podrabinek read a 'Statement for Belgrade and the Press':

> A peculiarity of this case is the K G B organs' use of the hostage system. Not one of us can determine his own fate independently, and the resolution of the fate of three people has been placed by the K G B on Alexander Podrabinek alone, in whose departure the authorities are most of all interested.
>
> Thus we categorically refuse to accept such conditions and insist on our right to make our choices independently...

Then Alexander Podrabinek read his 'Reply' to the K G B's proposal:

> I would like to draw the attention of the world public to my brother's painful position and to the dirty tactics of the K G B — tactics of intimidation and terror. In spite of the fact that the whole world condemns the practice of aeroplane hi-jackings and the taking of passengers as hostages, the K G B is using the very same method with regard to my brother — a method commonly used by terrorists. In the situation that has arisen the most painful thing for me is my brother's fate.
>
> At the K G B they have insistently advised me to take advantage of this 'humane act of the Soviet government', as they expressed it. I regard this proposal as unconcealed blackmail by the K G B.
>
> They have given me four days to reflect. On 5 December I have to give my reply. A reply that means a great deal to me.
>
> So I am replying.
>
> I do not wish to go to prison. I value even the semblance of freedom which I possess now. I know that in the West I would be able to live freely and receive at last a real education. I know that there I would not have four agents following on my heels, threatening to beat me up or push me under a train. I know that there they will not put me in a concentration camp or a psychiatric hospital for attempting to defend people deprived of their rights and oppressed. I know that there one breathes easily, while here ones does so with difficulty and they stop your mouth and stifle you if you speak too loudly. I know that our country is unhappy and doomed to suffering.
>
> And that is why I am staying.
>
> I do not want to sit behind bars, but neither do I fear a camp. I value my own freedom as I value my brother's, but I am not bargaining for it. I will not give in to any blackmail. A clean conscience is dearer to me than material wellbeing. I was born in Russia. This is my country and I must remain in it, however hard it may be here and however easy in the West. As far as I am able, I will go on defending those whose rights are being so brazenly trampled on in our country.
>
> That is my reply. I am staying.

After this Alexander Podrabinek added that he would agree to leave only if Kirill were to ask him to do so.

On 7 December Kirill Podrabinek made a statement, 'K G B Blackmail':

> 1. The K G B is using the hostage method, moreover they are basically blackmailing my brother Alexander, while I am the hostage.
> 2. The very formulation of the question: 'leave or we will put you in prison', is contrary to the law. If a man has committed a crime he must be tried. However, in this case the K G B does not want to stage a new political trial but prefers to dispatch us abroad. The K G B has employed a well-calculated device — to exploit the insolubility of a situation with a hostage. All this blackmail is a patent consequence of the public stand taken by our family...
>
> If any one of the three of us is arrested and any charge whatsoever brought against him, it will only be possible to regard it as revenge by the K G B and not as a requirement of justice.

On 12 December Kirill Podrabinek informed Belov that he had decided to leave. Belov replied that Kirill could hand in his emigration documents, and on the same day Kirill did so. On 14 December Kirill Podrabinek made an addition to his previous statement:

> On 12 December I telephoned investigator Belov at the K G B. Permission to go abroad has been granted; no mention was made of it being possible to leave only with my brother. Does this mean that the K G B has given up the hostage system and really will allow me to leave? In the very near future this will become clear...Considering all the circumstances and fearing for my life (see *Chronicle* 47 — *Chronicle*), I have taken the decision to leave.

On 27 December police organs in the town of Elektrostal (Moscow region) charged Kirill Podrabinek under article 218 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('Illegal...keeping...of arms, ammunition...'). Kirill refused to sign the record. Investigator Radygin obtained from him a written undertaking not to leave town, but said that Kirill would not be necessary to him before the middle of January and he could, if he needed to, travel to Moscow.

When Kirill came out of the Elektrostal police station he was met at the door by Belov, who had arrived from Moscow.

Belov said that the condition of Kirill's departure remained the same and gave him three days in which to persuade his brother to agree to leave.

From that day K G B employees began trailing Kirill Podrabinek. Alexander Podrabinek had been under the same 'escort' since 10 October (see below). On the same day 22 Muscovites made a statement:

> Wishing to force Alexander Podrabinek to leave the country, the K G B is openly blackmailing him with his brother's fate. The method of hostage-taking used thus far only by irresponsible criminal-terrorists is in the present case being adopted as a weapon by the official representatives of a powerful state. This blackmail clearly demonstrates the worth of the charge brought against Kirill Podrabinek.
>
> We call upon fellow countrymen and world public opinion to protest against the use of hostage-taking, unprecedented in the practice of civilized states. We call upon fellow countrymen and world public opinion to follow attentively the fate of the Podrabinek family.

On 28 December Kirill Podrabinek made a statement:

> *State Terrorism*
>
> ...So the K G B has resorted to hostage-taking. My brother Alexander has made a statement for the press saying that he does not wish to leave, but he will leave if I so demand. In no circumstances will I make this demand of Alexander. In the first place, that would mean becoming a blind instrument of blackmail in the hands of the K G B, exploiting a situation created by them for my own sake. In the second place, it is impossible for me to even ask, let alone demand such a thing.
>
> However, I have resolved to pursue my line of action and try to obtain permission to leave.

On the evening of 29 December Kirill Podrabinek was arrested. On the day of his arrest he declared a hunger strike. After a few days he was transferred from Elektrostal to Moscow, to the M V D's investigation prison on Matrosskaya Tishina Street.

The first response to Kirill's arrest was a short article by **V. Nekipelov** 'The K G B's "Moral Feat" for Christmas':

> ...The arrest of Kirill Podrabinek is deliberate, demonstrative revenge, for the authorities are conscious that they are thereby dealing the severest blow to both Alexander Podrabinek (there you are, you didn't accept our offer!) and his father (and you didn't steer your sons to a compromise!).

On 1 January **Evgeny Nikolayev** (on him see the section 'In the Psychiatric Hospitals') sent a letter protesting at the arrest of K. Podrabinek to the Procuracy of the R S F S R.

On 4 January Alexander and P. A. Podrabinek asked Belov for a meeting with Kirill. Belov refused them the meeting but promised to pass on a note from them to Kirill — 'if there are no objections on the part of the investigator'. In the note Alexander and his father asked Kirill: 'Do you agree to leave if there is no need to ask Alexander to do the same?'

On the same day, at half past eleven at night, Belov arrived in Elektrostal to see P. A. Podrabinek. He informed him that the investigator 'had not allowed' the note to be passed to Kirill, but if Alexander handed in his application to emigrate within three days then all three could leave the U S S R; otherwise Alexander too would be arrested. He suggested that P. A. Podrabinek go at once to Moscow and persuade Alexander. Belov even gave P. A. Podrabinek a lift to Moscow in his car.

On 5 January Alexander Podrabinek appealed to the organization Amnesty International in an open letter, calling on it to speak out in Kirill's defence.

On 9 January Alexander Podrabinek telephoned Belov. To Belov's question whether he intended to leave, Alexander replied that he could only decide this matter jointly with his brother.

On 15 January the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R called upon 'world public opinion' to speak out in defence of Kirill Podrabinek and condemn the policy of hostages.

At the beginning of February the Podrabineks were summoned to Elektrostal for interrogation in connection with Kirill's case. Pinkhos Abramovich replied to questions about Kirill but refused to sign a record of the interrogation. Alexander declined to answer questions, stating that the case was inspired by the K G B and was being conducted with violations of norms laid down in the Code of Criminal Procedure.

* * *

From 10 October Alexander Podrabinek was under constant K G B 'escort'. Round the clock he was pursued by two cars with seven or eight employees of the security organs. Whenever he was inside any building the cars stood in front of the doorway. Whenever he walked along the street or travelled in public transport there were always several agents to be found at his side. These people threatened Alexander's acquaintances and took photographs of them. Sometimes they interfered more actively with the life of their ward. Thus on Sunday 18 December the escort prohibited Alexander from going skiing with friends in the district of Orekhovo-Borisovo. On this subject A. Podrabinek wrote to Andropov:

...Since 10 October of this year I have been under the continuous and unconcealed observation of our glorious Chekists [an earlier name for the secret police]. I understand that, in its defence of the interests of state security, it is absolutely essential for the K G B to arrange searches of my home, to call me as a witness in the case of Yury Orlov, to suggest that I clear off beyond the bounds of the U S S R, to make an attempt upon my brother's life, and to do much else lest I might somehow accidentally undermine the foundations of the Soviet political and social system. All this I understand. I am not even particularly annoyed when one of the eight of your officials who perpetually watch over me swears he will break my legs or push me under a train. I understand the full extent of the difficulty of this very complicated, responsible and dangerous work and I do not get angry with these heroic young people who, performing their civic duty, freeze on cold December nights outside the entrance to my house or squeeze their way after me onto a city bus in the rush-hour. I am delighted by their daring, their doggedness and their resistance to frost...

Citizen Andropov! On behalf of myself and six of my friends I beg you — provide your employees with skis and toboggans and teach them, please, how to use them, if they do not know. Then I shall be able to relax on Sundays and the K G B will be able to work normally and not violate the Soviet Constitution. Moreover, this will enhance the reputation of our valiant organs and promote their physical development.

Starting in January, the constant 'convoying' was replaced from time to time by 'ordinary' shadowing.

The security organs are trying any means to prevent Alexander Podrabinek from continuing his activity on the Working Commission. In particular, they are hampering him from meeting, in the flats of his Moscow friends, people who have been subjected to 'psychiatric persecution' and their relatives. A fine was imposed on A. Podrabinek and his friend **D. Leontev,** in whose flat he was living, for violating the residence regulations. A. Podrabinek was forbidden to continue residing in this flat.

A. Podrabinek was warned about his accountability for 'parasitism'.

In February he managed to get a job as a nurse, having given his shadow the slip (he has a medical assistant's diploma).

* * *

The pre-trial investigation of Kirill Podrabinek's case was completed in February.

Arrests, Searches, Interrogations

Magadan. At the beginning of November 1977 **Gennady Bogolyubov** *Chronicles* 40, 43, 46) was arrested.

* * *

Moscow. On 22 November 1977 **Vasily Nikitenkov** (*Chronicles* 19, 24, 35) was detained in the street by K G B employees and taken to the Moscow K G B headquarters. There they questioned him about his acquaintance with P. Starchik (Nikitenkov and Starchik were at one time together in the Kazan Special Psychiatric Hospital) and A. Podrabinek, why he visits them, and when and where he made the acquaintance of A. Podrabinek. After one-and-a-half hours of unrecorded interrogation they drove Nikitenkov by car to Klin, where he lives, and there let him go.

* * *

Moscow. On 20 February **1978 Vyacheslav Parkhunov,** a church chorister, and **Sergei Ermolayev,** an 18-year-old metal worker and member of Ogorodnikov's seminar (*Chronicles* 41, 43), were detained at the Belorusskaya metro station. In a police room, without any search warrant, they were ordered to show the contents of their briefcases. After they refused, the briefcases were searched by force. The police seized five issues of the *Herald of the Russian Christian Movement* and A. Solzhenitsyn's *The Calf Butted the Oak.* Parkhunov and Ermolayev refused to sign the confiscation record. Two hours later they were freed.

* * *

Ternopol region. At the end of 1977 **Ivan Diky** was arrested on a theft charge. In December and January searches were carried out in connection with this case: in Kiev, at the home of Vasily Lisovoi's wife **Vera Lisovaya;** in Lvov, at the homes of Vyacheslav Chornovil's former wife **Elena Antoniv,** artist **Bogdan Soroka,** son of the well-known member of O U N [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] who died in a camp,[4] and **Lyubomira Oksana Popadyuk,** the mother of Zoryan Popadyuk; and also in Sambor (Lvov region) at the home of Zoryan Popadyuk's grandmother **Sofia Mikhailovna Kopystinskaya.** It is known that Vera Lisovaya is not acquainted with Diky and perhaps the others aren't either.

In *Information Bulletin* number I of the Ukrainian Helsinki group it is said that the true purpose of these searches was to look for money intended to assist political prisoners and their families.

In 1965 Ivan Diky and his wife Miroslava Tershivskaya were con-

victed under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (*Chronicle* 7). After his exile, Diky came to the settlement where his wife was living, but the police refused to register him for residence there. For several years Diky has had neither a permanent residence permit nor a permanent job.

* * *

Leningrad. In the first days of November 1977 leaflets of an economic content were circulated in the Institute of Finance and Economics and in the Pedagogical Institute. They had been duplicated on thin photographic paper known as paper for document-copying. The text of the original was written by hand in block capitals.

Certain Leningraders were later visited at their homes by people who asked them on behalf of their friends, for example on behalf of V. Borisov, if they could obtain paper for copying documents.

In mid-November Alexander Rytin, Alexander Tishkov and Alexander Sigatsky, students in the Philosophy Faculty at Leningrad State University, and Efim Rozentsveig, who studies at a Professional Technical College, were arrested for these leaflets. All are 23 or 24 years old. They were soon released. No repressive measures followed.

* * *

Moscow. On 9 March 1978 at Domodedovo Airport **L. I. Bogoraz** and her five-year-old child who had accompanied her on a flight were searched under the guise of a customs examination. Sketches for a work by Bogoraz on A. I. Ginzburg and other notes were confiscated, as well as a notification to Bogoraz that a session of the Academic Council would be held at the Institute of the Russian Language with a view to stripping her of her master's degree (see 'Miscellaneous Reports').

* * *

Kiev. On 11 March, as he was registering a ticket to Moscow at Kiev's Borispol airport, **Iosif Zisels** (*Chronicle* 44; his surname is misspelled there) had his baggage examined. A police lieutenant took him aside to a separate room. There they searched his luggage twice over and took down his passport particulars. After this, under threat of a body search, Zisels handed over to a person in uniform (at Zisels' demand this person produced an identity card in the name of M V D Colonel Mikhail Stepanovich Shevchenko) his notebook, from which the latter copied out the Moscow and Kiev telephone numbers. They put Zisels on the plane five minutes before departure time.

* * *

Erevan. On 28 November 1977 the Armenian Helsinki group reported that **Akop Stepanyan**, **Zaven Bagdasaryan** and **Stepan Zatikyan** had been arrested at the beginning of November on suspicion of having attempted to cause an explosion at the Kursk Station in Moscow (Zatikyan participated in the national movement a few years ago; see also *Chronicles* 15, 27). The arrested men are held by the Erevan K G B. K G B officials from Moscow have arrived in Erevan. Searches and interrogations are taking place. At interrogations in December in connection with the case of R. Nazaryan (see 'Repressions Against the Helsinki groups') questions were asked about, in particular, Zatikyan.

The Trial of Anatoly Ivanov

From 29 November to 29 December 1977 the case of Anatoly Ivanovich Ivanov was heard in the Leningrad City Court. Judge Malinina presided, the prosecution was conducted by Procurator Shmelyova and the accused was defended by defence counsel Zaryan. There were 20 sessions in all (two of them closed).

Ivanov was charged under articles 153, part 1 ('Private entrepreneurial activity...'), 221 ('Illegal practice of medicine'), 228 ('Manufacturing or selling pornographic articles') and 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

Anatoly Ivanov (born in 1951) completed eight classes of schooling, then graduated from a technical school and worked as a laboratory assistant at a factory. The factory sent Ivanov to courses in applied mathematics at the Faculty of Mathematics and Mechanics of Leningrad State University. In November 1973, on account of illness, Ivanov retired from the third-year course and was granted academic leave. When he came out of hospital the courses had been disbanded.

From the age of 15 Anatoly had been an enthusiastic student of Indian culture and had achieved considerable success in the mastery of yoga.

Having graduated from a People's University of Physical Culture, Ivanov gained the right to conduct classes in gymnastics as a form of therapy.

In 1973 Ivanov was given a teaching group by the House of Medical Employees and after a year presented an official report on his work with it. He proved to be a talented teacher; many people came wanting to study with him. Several more groups were organized. Ivanov was even asked to take charge of a group of people studying ways of conducting gymnastics in factories.

Until his arrest in 1977 Ivanov systematically took classes for health groups, where he taught the elements of yoga.

In 1975 Ivanov sent a letter to Brezhnev with a proposal that yoga be developed in the country as a method of fortifying people's health.

On 9 March 1977 a schoolgirl, Sklyarova, wrote a statement to the K G B about Ivanov's remarks on political themes. On 27 April another denunciation turned up: the mother of one of Ivanov's girl pupils, Poplavskaya, declared that Ivanov kept a den and was himself a drug addict and an underground millionaire. On 28 April a search was carried out at Ivanov's home and he was arrested. The 'den' and 'narcotics' accusations dropped away immediately, but Ivanov was not released. At his trial Ivanov was charged with having, from November 1973 to April 1977, while working with, on average, five health groups which had been organized by group members with his knowledge and active participation, received criminal unearned income of 8,520 roubles (article 153, part 1). It was also charged that at the same time, Ivanov, possessing neither a medical education nor a training in physical education, had taught exercises in the forbidden system of Hatha-Yoga and in his home had given treatment by acupuncture, hypnosis and the laying on of hands (article 221); that Ivanov had given his friends the *Kama Sutra*, Musset's *Countess Gamiani* and Mirbeau's *Garden of Tortures* (article 228); and that Ivanov had repeatedly conducted conversations among his students and intentionally circulated fabrifactions discrediting... (article 190-1).

Under articles 153, 221 and 228 Ivanov pleaded not guilty; under article 190-1 he admitted partial guilt. He told about everything in detail and with frankness, replying to all the questions.

At the trial it became clear that it had been the group's senior students who had collected money from the students (2 roubles 50 kopeks from each person per month); they handed over 60 roubles per month to Ivanov (other instructors of 'Health' groups in Leningrad received the same amount), the rest went on rent for the premises and remuneration of technical staff. All organizational matters and financial transactions were in the charge of the senior students. The initiative for founding groups belonged entirely to the senior students.

Witnesses thanked Ivanov 'for recovered youth, spirit, good humour and health'. 'They said here that he didn't pay his taxes, but have you counted up how much has been saved just by our not needing medical care?' A methodologist in medical gymnastics: 'Why do you ask if his methods are correct if, when I came into the group, I could hardly move my legs, while now — do you want me to do a dance for you right now?' There were doctors too among the witnesses. They noted Ivanov's knowledge of his subject and emphasized that the study classes were of a general therapeutic character and that no 'illegal practice of medicine' took place during them.

Expert philologists did not find the *Kama Sutra* and Mirbeau's *Garden of Tortures* pornographic. With regard to Musset's *Countess Gamiani* Professor V. E. Balakhonov concluded:

> *Countess Gamiani* has no artistic value, it is meant for a narrow circle of litératteurs close to Musset..., but it does not follow from this that it cannot be deemed pornographic.

The court and the Procurator scarcely dwelt on the charges under article 190-1. (It is known, though, that back in 1973 a 'prophylactic chat' was conducted with Ivanov at the K G B.)

The Procurator asked that Ivanov be found guilty on all counts and given five years in camps on this basis.

The defence counsel noted with astonishment that the Procurator had from the very first day 'for reasons unknown had a prejudiced approach' in prosecuting Ivanov.

The defence counsel challenged the prosecution on each of the articles of the criminal code with which Ivanov was charged. Regarding the decree of the Committee on Affairs of Physical Culture and Sport prohibiting yoga (and also women's football and bridge) of which the Procurator had spoken, he said that Ivanov might well not have known about this decree, which was published only in the newspaper *Soviet Sport*, especially as, even after it, yoga had been repeatedly popularized in our press. He ended his speech thus:

> All Ivanov's activity went on before the eyes of hundreds of honest, decent, highly educated people, and all of them are convinced that Ivanov was doing good, useful work. Their conscience would scarcely have failed to prompt them, and they would scarcely have resigned themselves to the fact, if they felt that Ivanov, by deceiving them, was making a profit out of them. There can scarcely be another courtroom anywhere in which, in the total absence of any victims, a verdict of not guilty is so keenly awaited.

The courtroom greeted these words with an ovation. In his final speech Ivanov said:

> I have lived to some extent not quite correctly, been too keen on self-education and helping people...But at the same time I did not exploit the labour of others, and a state organization gave me approval for classes with groups. Nobody told me studying yoga was banned. It was not I myself who organized the groups but the students...
>
> For eleven years I have regularly collected information on ancient Chinese, Indian, Japanese and Old Russian medicine. Medical men have said my knowledge is quite thorough and complete...
>
> On two occasions I held sessions of acupuncture, and in both cases I had no mercenary aims...
>
> Now my life, my future — and the life of another person, my mother — depend solely on the decision of the court...

The Procurator's request is nothing other than a reprisal. It seems to me that they want to jail me but not for things I have done and that the charges have been invented to have me put away in prison.

With regard to article 190-1 Ivanov said that he had not set himself to circulate invented fabrications. 'People put questions to me — and I answered. I am not to blame if people understand me wrongly because of their inadequate education.'

Ivanov asked the court not to deprive him of his freedom. He said that if they gave him the chance, he would 'study, labour and apply all his powers in the name of the future of all people'.

The court found him guilty under articles 153, 221 and 190-1 and sentenced him to 4 years in ordinary-regime camps with confiscation of property and confiscation of 8,250 roubles in favour of the state.

In the Prisons and Camps

A Meeting Before Execution

Captain of the third class **V. M. Sablin,** under whose command the Baltic Fleet vessel 'Headlong' [Stremitelny] tried to defect to Sweden (*Chronicle* 43), was sentenced to be shot. On the eve of his execution he was granted a 20-minute meeting with his father, a retired colonel. The meeting took place in the presence of a large group of K G B officials. It was permissible to talk only on 'personal themes'.

Valery Mikhailovich Sablin (born 1939) comes from Gorky and is a descendant of the Decembrist N. A. Bestuzhev. He participated in several round-the-world sailings and was awarded two Orders of Lenin.

One of his brothers, who worked in the General Staff, has been transferred to the Far East. Another, a teacher in an institution of higher education, has been moved to Ivanovo.

M V D Directives on Conditions of Detention
(begun in *Chronicle* 46)

Number 125 (dated 1 October 1975) concerns M V D medical institutions and medical service in corrective labour institutions (sanitary treatment of prisoners has already been included in *Chronicle* 46). The directive lays down that prisoners who, while in M V D medical institutions, break the regulations may be subjected to all the corrective measures provided for in the R S F S R Corrective Labour Code (article

53) right down to the cooler, the punishment cells and the punishment barracks.

Number 0179 (1968) relates to U V D information centres. In an investigation prison a special information card is kept in two copies for each convict. One copy is sent to the information centre at the place of trial, the other goes into the personal file (which always accompanies the prisoner).

Number 0779 (dated 30 September 1977) deals with persons given a suspended sentence or conditionally released with compulsory recruitment for labour.

In February new regulations were read out in the camps. Amongst them are:

— when calculating the date of a routine visit, days spent in the punishment cell or cooler are excluded;
— remittances of money, printed matter and parcels are accepted only from relatives;
— purchase of tea from the camp shop is restricted to 50 grammes a month;
— in parcels, tinned meat is permitted.

(See also below the letter of Airikyan and others, dated 14 March 1978.)

Vladimir Prison

In January 1978 **Gilel Butman** of the 'aeroplane case' was transferred here from Perm camp 35 until the end of his sentence (i.e. 15 June 1980). Butman is in Vladimir for the second time (*Chronicles* 34, 39).

On 9 September 1977 **D. Airapetov** (*Chronicle* 44) returned here. He has been moved to prison for a year for refusing to work. In the prison he was put on strict regime for two months.

In January 1978 **Anatoly Zdorovy** (*Chronicles* 33, 35, 44) was sent back to a camp (in *Chronicle* 35 there is an inaccuracy). His sentence ends in 1979.

* * *

On 29 December 1976 **Konstantinovsky** got seven days in the punishment cells for refusing to report the number of prisoners in his cell to the block warder. At the end of March 1977 Konstantinovsky got eight days for the same reason. At the beginning of April he got 10 days for failing to stand up when a prison official entered (*Chronicle* 46). On 22 April he got 15 days for calling Captain Fedotov a sadist. The cell in which he was incarcerated had broken window-panes. Konstantinovsky knocked on the door, summoning a warder, and demanded that the panes be replaced. For knocking on the door he got an

extra 10 days. At the end of July Konstantinovsky again got 15 days for insulting the prison administration.

* * *

On 2 May 1977 **N. Bondar** (now already released — *Chronicle*) got 10 days in the punishment cells for 'communication between cells'.

On 29 September 1977, during exercise, N. Bondar found a note from one of the prisoners. When escorts ran up to him, Bondar began to chew the note before the eyes of the guards. For this, that very day he was sent to the punishment cells for 15 days. At the time, prisoner **Nikolai Dudin** was in the next-door cell. Dudin was in the throes of a severe attack of asthma and was coughing up blood. He was banging on the door, begging for assistance. The warders, for their part, threw a rag into the cell from time to time for him to wipe the blood off the floor. Bondar also started knocking on his door and calling for a doctor. Finally a doctor did examine Dudin. She said she did not have the right to release him from the cell although his state of health required it urgently. When Dudin's spell in the cell was nearing its end, he was told that for shouting and banging on the door he was being punished with another 15 days.

* * *

On 24 July 1977, while he was on hunger strike, **V. Fedorenko** (*Chronicle* 39) got 15 days in the punishment cells for attempting to send a letter bypassing the prison censorship, then they extended his period by another 15 days for calling Captains Doinikov, Obrubov and Fedotov cannibals in a statement addressed to the prison administration.

Fedorenko was only issued with a trestle-bed for 'round-the-clock use' after he had been 22 days in the punishment cells. (According to regulations, when a person on hunger strike is put into these cells this must be done immediately.)

For almost all the time Fedorenko was in the cells he was forcibly fed once every five days. Only at the end of his spell was he fed every other day.

After he had been 30 days in the punishment cells Fedorenko, whose condition was very grave, called off his hunger strike.

* * *

It has become known that the artificial feed forcibly administered to persons on hunger strike does not conform to prescribed norm: often the regulation sugar, meat and eggs are not added to the watery pap, while butter is replaced by other fats.

* * *

In the spring of 1977 the prison administration started persistently demanding that prisoners should keep their hands behind their backs when led out for exercise. **Superfin** and **Popadyuk** refused to carry out this order. Their cell-mates **Turik, Antonyuk** and **Zdorovy** supported them. At the same time **Balakhonov,** in another cell, also refused to put his hands behind his back. As *Chronicle* 46 has already reported, Superfin was punished for this with 15 days in the punishment cells; Turik, Popadyuk and Zdorovy got 10 days.

Then they were stopped from going out to exercise altogether, 'for violating the exercise regime', and on 26 August, 'for not going out for exercise', Superfin, Antonyuk and Balakhonov (*Chronicle* 47) were deprived of a routine visit (Turik and Popadyuk had been taken to the Ukraine at that time — *Chronicle* 46). In September Superfin and Balakhonov were threatened with being put on strict regime for the same reason.

In mid-September 1977 an order from the prison governor Lieutenant-Colonel Ugodin was read over the prison radio, stating that from 15 September 1977 all prisoners not having an exemption from the doctor would be *obliged* to go out for exercise. Refusal to take a walk without valid reason would be regarded as violation of the regime and be strictly punished.

In the official commentary on the R S F S R Corrective Labour Code (Moscow, Legal Literature publishing house, 1973, page 179) it is stated that 'A daily walk is the right of a person kept in prison.' However, in the Regulations on Internal Procedures, which are confirmed by M V D Directive number 20, it is written that a walk is both the right and the obligation of a prisoner.

* * *

Prisoner **Zdorovy** has for a long time been trying unsuccessfully to have the foodstuffs which are among his personal belongings in the store, issued to him: lump sugar he received when he was still in an investigation prison, granulated sugar which was issued to him for rations in a camp, and dried and condensed milk which he received as extra rations for harmful working conditions. In addition, during a search in December 1976 they confiscated sunflower oil from him.

In August 1977 Captain Fedotov, deputy prison governor for security, announced over the prison radio an instruction to the effect that henceforward convicts arriving at the prison would be allowed to take only five packets of tobacco with them into their cells. It was forbidden to take any remaining tobacco and any food products into cells. With regard to provisions in the prisoners' possession, the prison administration would dispatch enquiries to the camp or investigation prison in order to ascertain if these victuals really did belong to the person in question (among convicts in the Perm and Mordovian camps

there exists a tradition of sharing provisions with people about to be transported — *Chronicle*). If the reply to the enquiry was negative, the food products and tobacco would be inventoried and destroyed. In the event of a positive answer, they would remain in the store with the prisoner's personal belongings and would be issued to him only on his departure from the prison. This innovation by the administration has been approved by the regional Procuracy.

* * *

The situation regarding correspondence in Vladimir prison remains the same.

Letters from **Zdorovy** took two to three months to reach his family. The censor explained this by referring to the need for translation from Ukrainian into Russian.

In the summer of 1977 **Antonyuk** and **Bondar** gave up writing letters in protest at illegal confiscation of their correspondence.

The prison administration does not inform inmates about the confiscation of letters arriving for them.

* * *

From 19 April to 19 May 1977 **Antonyuk** was in hospital (apparently he had a severe attack of angina and not a heart attack, as reported in *Chronicle* 45). In the middle of September Antonyuk had a new attack. This time they did not put him in hospital. In addition, Antonyuk has serious diseases of the liver and kidneys.

* * *

The prison administration is using the following methods to fight hunger strikes by common criminal inmates. In 1977 a special cell for three persons was allotted to hunger-strikers. Two criminals were kept permanently in it, ostensibly on hunger strike. By means of threats and beatings they would try to force the third person, who really was on hunger-strike, to call it off. If they succeeded, the former hunger striker was kept in the cell for another three or four days, but the food ration he started to receive was taken from him by his cellmates.

* * *

As *Chronicle* 46 has already reported, common criminals are being beaten up.

In April 1977, for complaining, prisoner **V. P. Rukin** was repeatedly put in cell 3-57 with specially-picked neighbours, where he was beaten up (the prisoners call such cells 'punch-huts'). When Rukin was dragged off for a routine spell in cell 3-57, he started resisting. The warders (a special squad nicknamed 'the boots commando' in the prison) then then gave him a beating in the punishment cell. The 'boots commando'

was led by Captain Fedotov. After this, Rukin sent a complaint to the M V D by an illegal channel. On 8 June he was summoned to an interview with a lieutenant-colonel who refused to introduce himself but said he was from the M V D and had come to look into the complaint. He was not interested in the substance of the complaint but tried to discover how Rukin had managed to send this document and evade the prison's special section.

The Mordovian Camps

Camp 1 (Special Regime)

There are 32 people in the camp, of whom 15 are political prisoners (cp. *Chronicle* 47).

* * *

In September 1977 the camp administration allowed **Edward Kuznetsov** a scheduled short visit. This permission was confirmed at the beginning of December. On 16 December Elena Bonner arrived to visit Kuznetsov. The acting commandant Major Sergushin refused E. Bonner the visit. He referred to M V D instructions, according to which the question as to who, apart from relatives, are to be allowed short visits is decided by the administration.

E. Bonner and A. D. Sakharov, who had accompanied her, decided to wait in Sosnovka for a final decision on the matter. They sent telegrams to the head of camp ZhKh-385 and G U I T U [Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions] complaining about Sergushin's refusal. The next day they were told that Yavas and Moscow had confirmed the local administration's decision. On 20 December the Sakharovs went to Yavas and talked to deputy head of the camp complex Colonel Suchkov. They set out their arguments in a written statement: article 26 of the Russian Corrective Labour Code allows a visit from 'relatives or other persons', without qualifying this by further conditions; Bonner is named in Kuznetsov's case amongst those close to him, she acts on behalf of his mother and has visited him several times; Kuznetsov has not infringed the regulations. The next day Lieut-Colonel Krivov confirmed the refusal. Bonner again asked for the decision on the visit to be reconsidered, and also for a parcel for Kuznetsov to be accepted as his first food parcel (the first half of Kuznetsov's term expired on 15 December).* On 22 December a representative of the administration replied that Bonner would not be allowed a visit and that Kuznetsov was refusing to receive parcels of provisions because the visit had been refused.

[*No prisoner in such a camp may receive a food parcel until he has served half his sentence.]

A few days later Bella Koval arrived in Sosnovka and tried to obtain a visit to Kuznetsov. Koval is also named in Kuznetsov's case and has visited him constantly since the time of his first imprisonment. It was at first demanded that Koval should provide a detailed written explanation of how she was related to E. Kuznetsov. She wrote such an explanation, but was refused a visit.

Edward Kuznetsov himself, protesting against the ban on a visit from E. Bonner, began a hunger-strike from 17 December. He demanded that he should now be allowed a visit from his wife. (Kuznetsov's wife Silva Zalmanson, convicted in the same case as he, was unexpectedly pardoned in August 1974 (*Chronicle* 33) and emigrated to Israel.) During his hunger-strike Kuznetsov also put forward a general demand for an amnesty for all political prisoners in the U S S R.

Kuznetsov's cell-mates M. Osadchy, B. Rebrik, V. Romanyuk and D. Shumuk addressed a letter 'To the people of Israel, to all honourable Ukrainians and Jews of the world and to academician Sakharov.' They write that Kuznetsov's hunger-strike is mortally dangerous and appeal for intervention in order to save his life. On 26 December M. Osadchy sent an appeal on the same subject to the Procurator of the Mordovian A S S R.

The Sakharovs returned to Moscow on 26 December. On 30 December they sent off a telegram whose contents were as follows:

To the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U S S R, Leonid Brezhnev
Moscow Kremlin
To the world public

In a special-regime camp (Mordovian A S S R, Sosnovka, institution ZhKh 385/I-6) Edward Kuznetsov is on hunger-strike for the fourteenth day. This hunger-strike is the only form of protest available to a convict against the tyranny of the camp administration, which has deprived Edward of the possibility of a visit from us. We appeal to you to use your influence so that he receives the visit which is due to him, and by this to save not only his health but also his life.

At the same time we remind you of all those convicted in this case in Leningrad in December 1970 — Altman, Dymshits, Zalmanson V., Zalmanson I., Kuznetsov, Mendelevich, Murzhenko, Penson, Fyodorov, Khnokh and, in May 1971, Butman. At that time the Russian Criminal Code did not contain article 213-2 about stealing an aircraft — this was introduced in 1973 (*Gazetteer of the R S F S R Supreme Soviet* No. 16, 1973) — and they were unjustly condemned under article 64 (Betrayal of the Motherland) and article 93-1 (Theft of state or public property in especially large quantities).

Seven years ago, on 31 December 1970, the R S F S R Supreme Court considered it possible to spare the lives of Dymshits and Kuznetsov. Now half the term has expired even for those who received the maximum punishment — 15 years. A review of the case in accordance with current legislation would be a just act, alleviating the fates not only of those convicted, who have already spent seven and a half years in camps and prisons in the most arduous conditions, but also of their mothers, wives, children and all those close to them.

Elena Bonner-Sakharova, Andrei Sakharov, Academician.

Having returned to Moscow E. Bonner continued to hold discussions about Kuznetsov's visit with the U S S R M V D and with the official of the administrative affairs department of the central committee of the communist party responsible for the M V D, Albert Ivanov. On 13 January 1978 Ivanov announced that no one would be allowed a visit to Kuznetsov.

On 16 January Elena Bonner and Andrei Sakharov again appealed to the world public. Expressing the fear that without visits from his friends or those close to him Kuznetsov would not end his hunger-strike, they write:

...The name of Kuznetsov is known to many. A few years ago his book *Prison Diaries* was published in the West. This courageous and talented man was able, in prison, in the death-cell, in camp, in conditions of the harshest persecution, to keep his diary — an intelligent, tragic and honourable document...

We appeal to the world public to defend Edward Kuznetsov and his comrades.

Kuznetsov maintained his hunger-strike until 26 January.

* * *

In December 1977 **Aleksei Murzhenko** was deprived of the right to a parcel and a scheduled visit which would fall due in February. In the middle of December he declared a hunger-strike. He was taken to Saransk. After a few days his wife Lyubov Murzhenko received a telegram from Saransk informing her that in view of the serious deterioration of his state of health, her husband had been allowed a visit. The telegram was certified by a doctor. In Saransk, just after 20 December he was given a special 3-day visit and allowed a large provisions parcel with the right to take it with him to camp.

On L. Murzhenko's complaint, the Procurator acknowledged the ruling depriving A. Murzhenko of a visit to be illegal, since a number of inaccuracies had been made in completing the record of the deprivation.

For not going out to work on 25 February 1978 Murzhenko was again deprived of a scheduled visit which should have taken place on

28 February. In the camp L. Murzhenko was told: 'Last time we made mistakes in completing the formalities for the deprivation, but we won't make any more.'

* * *

In the camp there have been several cases of political prisoners being beaten up: **Yu. P. Fyodorov** was beaten up by Senior Lieutenant Petrov and Corporals Stolyarov and Shukin; **B. V. Rebrik** was beaten up by Senior Lieutenant Polivanov and Corporal Glinov.

After the beating up of Rebrik, 14 political prisoners of the zone held a one-week hunger-strike in protest.

* * *

In the summer of 1977 **Bogdan Rebrik** was taken to Ivano-Frankovsk. On 7 July 1977 in the 'Brigitki' transit prison in Lvov Rebrik refused to take off his little crucifix, which he wore next to his skin. For this he was beaten up by the duty officer and warders who assisted him. Throwing Rebrik into a basement cell, the senior lieutenant poured several buckets of cold water onto the floor, repeating: 'We'll see if your God will dry up this cement, and if he does — we'll pour on some more.'

On 26 October 1977 during the train journey from Ivano-Frankovsk to Kiev the transit escort began to take Rebrik's crucifix from him by force. Rebrik swallowed it. The enraged escorts beat Rebrik up.

* * *

In December 1977 **Ivan Gel** held a prolonged hunger-strike, trying to get himself sent off to hospital. He complains of constant pain in the heart.

* * *

In December-January **Vasily Romanyuk** was in Ivano-Frankovsk in the K G B prison. At the same time **Mikhail Osadchy** was also taken from the camp.

* * *

At the beginning of November 1977 nine prisoners of camp 1 received letters from a Dnepropetrovsk prison from S. Shinkevich (*Chronicle* 45), who had been taken there from camp 1. These letters contain insults against the political prisoners and call on the common criminals to group together and beat up the political prisoners. (In accordance with the Corrective Labour Code correspondence between prisoners who are not relatives is forbidden.)

Shinkevich was transferred to prison for a review of his case, and as a result he was declared not guilty of an especially dangerous crime against the state.

Camps 3 and 19

On 2 December 1977 **Mykola Rudenko** (*Chronicles* 44-47) was brought to camp 19. When he was searched on entering the camp his verses were taken away from him. M. Rudenko maintained a hunger-strike for three days in protest against this.

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Razmik Markosyan, who was taken in summer 1977 to Armenia (*Chronicle* 47), had still not returned to camp by mid-February.

* * *

On 12 January 1978 **Vyacheslav Chornovil's** camp term ended. After a month-and-a-half in transit he arrived at his place of exile: the Yakut A S S R, Lenin District, Chappanda settlement.

His sentence was 6 years of camp and 3 years of exile (in *Chronicle* 29 and in the appendix to *Chronicle* 46 his sentence is given incorrectly).

* * *

In mid-January at the end of a 6-year-term **Irina Stasiv-Kalynets** (*Chronicles* 24, 28) was sent into exile. Before this Lieut-Colonel Badin read to her from some piece of paper that 'by decision of a court' she had been deprived of the right to work in her profession and had to be sent to heavy physical labour. I. Stasiv answered: no court had issued any such decision, and if force was applied to her she would find a means to defend herself, even at the cost of returning to the camp.

Transit to her place of exile took 40 days. Vyacheslav Chornovil was taken by the same convoy. From a letter of Irina's:

> During the whole journey they tried not to let me meet Vyacheslav... In Krasnoyarsk there was frightful filth. I and two fellow-travellers demanded that I be transferred from a damp, sickeningly filthy cell to a cleaner one. We were transferred, but even in the other cell we were devoured by bed-bugs.
>
> In Irkutsk we were kept with all the other women in a damp basement cell, where wood-lice crawled over the beds. Here I felt I was nearly dead and asked for a doctor, but none was called.
>
> In Chita I was kept for a whole night in a little isolation-cell, then taken to a punishment cell and not permitted to lie down on the plank-bed. I became upset and Captain Semenishchev ran up, shouted like a cockerel and threatened that I would be transferred to the punishment regime (i.e. that the bed would be taken away). I declared a hunger-strike. That was on Sunday. But the next day I was transferred to an ordinary cell, given books from the library, and the authorities were extremely polite. This politeness from the authori-

ties, the exaggerated affability and readiness to satisfy lawful demands were astonishing. Evidently there was some instruction relating to both Slava [Chornovil] and myself.

I cannot complain especially about the transport-convoy — at present everyone is given a mattress and a bed. But the ration is terribly meagre, disgracefully meagre — just one rotten little fish and some dry bread for an entire day. It depends on the escort whether or not to give us unboiled water more than twice a day...

Before we set off Slava and I were given the chance to spend ten roubles in the prison shop.

I. Stasiv-Kalynets's place of exile is: Chitinskaya oblast, Baleisky raion, Undinovo posele.

The 6-year term of her husband **Igor Kalynets** (*Chronicle* 28), who is in Perm camp 36, ends in summer 1978. After this he also faces 3 years' exile. He appealed to be allowed to serve his period of exile together with his wife. The reply was that this question would be decided before his release.

* * *

In the women's political zone of camp 3 (ZhKh 385/3-4) 14 people remained in January 1978. Only **Galina Selivonchik** (*Chronicles* 16, 33) is working.

Women political prisoners have noted a more humane treatment of them after the arrival of the new head of camp 3, I. E. Zhatkin. The living conditions have slightly improved — repairs have been carried out and a radiator heating system installed. However the zone, which was already cramped, has been further reduced by four square metres.

* * *

The 100-day campaign for the status of political prisoner (*Chronicles* 45-47) provoked extreme harshness by the authorities. Participants were repeatedly promised: 'We'll let you rot. We'll cripple you.' Not one statement to the Procuracy or elsewhere was accepted for dispatch.

During the campaign political prisoners who had transferred to the status were almost constantly in the punishment barracks or the punishment cell. They lasted only two or three days in the zone. **Kheifets** managed to spend only a few hours in the zone and **Osipov** spent a couple of days in the punishment barracks in the intervals between being in the punishment cells.

The following statement by Osipov is known:

> We always felt what a thin line separates all of us here from physical destruction. But now, as a result of the 100-day campaign for the status we have seen for ourselves (and would like the world to see) that for human dignity in its most elementary manifestation the penalty here is death.

* * *

Airikyan, Chornovil and **Osipov** were held for a long time in a damp and cold part of the camp prison, where on the orders of the administration they were deprived of warm linen and slept on cold boards. As a result over the course of several months they ran temperatures in the morning of 37.2°, which in the evening rose to 38-40°. It is known that Chornovil has chronic tonsilitis and mouth ulcers and that Osipov has tuberculosis (*Chronicle* 47).

In the autumn all three were in hospital, but from there they were again returned to the punishment barracks. They were not informed of the results of medical investigations and no treatment was prescribed — the conclusion was given out as 'healthy'. After leaving the punishment barracks they were, as formerly, running temperatures, but were given no help by the camp medical staff. It was in this condition that Chornovil was taken for transport into exile.

In February Airikyan felt significantly worse and was transferred from the punishment barracks to the camp sick-bay with a diagnosis of 'angina'.

Airikyan and Osipov are trying to obtain transfer to an M V D special hospital (in Rostov or Leningrad).

In December 1977 Airikyan, Chornovil and Osipov sent a letter to the International Red Cross. They ask for attempts to be made to get the authorities to give them the chance of recovering their health.

* * *

In January 1978 **V. Osipov** was summoned to a medical commission in connection with his wife's complaints. The commission, without making any examination, issued a diagnosis of 'healthy'.

After this Osipov was transferred to work in a 'dangerous' workshop.

* * *

In the autumn and winter participants of the campaign for political status **Airikyan, Budulak-Sharygin, Osipov, Ravinš, Soldatov, Ushakov, Kheifets, Chornovil** and **Shakirov** marked several dates by hunger-strikes:

4-8 October 1977 — the opening of the Belgrade Conference;
30 October — Political Prisoners' Day;
4 November — the anniversary of Yury Galanskov's death;
10 December — Human Rights Day;
12 January 1978 — the anniversary of the 1972 arrests in the Ukraine.
(Chornovil, who was at that time in exile, did not take part in the

hunger-strike. Mykola Rudenko observed a hunger-strike for this cause from 12-14 January.)

Paruir Airikyan also observed a hunger-strike on 12 February 1978 — the anniversary of the day when he first openly named himself secretary of the United People's Party of Armenia.

The same prisoners held a hunger-strike on 7 November 1977, demanding the return of the sick Chornovil from the punishment barracks to the hospital.

* * *

Participants of the campaign for political status expressed thanks to **A. D. Sakharov** for his support.

* * *

The *Chronicle* has received letters from participants in the campaign in which they express dissatisfaction with the publicity given this campaign, and in particular with the fact that it was called a '100-day hunger-strike' (see for example *Chronicles* 45 and 46). In these letters they call their action a '100-day political strike' and point out that the basic element was the unilateral 'transfer to the status' during this whole period.

* * *

S. Soldatov is systematically deprived of use of the camp shop for non-attendance at political classes. On 23 February he was deprived of a parcel.

* * *

P. Airikyan has again received six months in the punishment barracks for supposedly having deliberately broken a sewing machine at work.

* * *

On 7 January several prisoners in camp 19 held a tea party to celebrate Christmas. During the general silent prayer a drunken duty-officer and an overseer burst into the barracks. They drove away those who had gathered there with curses and blasphemous shouts.

* * *

The camp censors have confiscated all congratulatory postcards and telegrams sent to **V. Osipov.** His friends were congratulating him on an unusual sort of jubilee. On 25 October 1957, when he was a third-year student in the history faculty, he read a seminar paper on the activities of the committees of poor peasants: these activities had been an expression of the 'anti-peasant policy of the party'. At the trial, then in progress, of the Krasnopevtsev group Krasnopevtsev's defence lawyer stated that an atmosphere of intolerance had been created at the Moscow State University: 'even for a seminar paper they have decided to expel the student Osipov from the university and bring him to trial'.

* * *

Vladas Lapienis (on his trial see *Chronicle* 47) was in hospital from 9 December 1977 until 27 January 1978. He was given 3rd-group invalid status. On 17 February the camp head informed Lapienis that a commission had pronounced him fit for work and appointed him a stoker. Lapienis refused to do this work as being beyond his strength, and received seven days in the punishment cell (from 24 February until 3 March) and was deprived of use of the camp shop for one month. After this he was sent to the sewing workshop. He again refused, due in particular to his very poor sight, and was again sent to the punishment cell for a week.

Lapienis is 72 years old and suffers from radiculitis, frequent headaches and low blood-pressure. His health deteriorated severely in the Vilnius K G B prison, particularly after being in solitary confinement, where he suffered a heart attack which almost cost him his life.

* * *

V. V. Kalinin in 1976 appealed against his sentence in a statement to the Procurator-General of the U S S R. The appeal was sent on to Tatar A S S R where in August 1958 Kalinin had been sentenced under article 58-10 of the Russian Criminal Code to 25 years' imprisonment.

Vasily Vladimirovich Kalinin is 60 years old. In the 1940s, when he was a soldier, he was sentenced under article 58-1a of the code to 25 years' imprisonment for 'an attempt at betrayal of the motherland'. The crime consisted in his having listened to a friend's view that the Germans were better than the communists. In camp V. Kalinin became a believer and joined the True Orthodox Church. In 1957 he was released and in that same year arrested again for some sermons condemning the authorities.

* * *

In December 1977 **Pyotr Sartakov** was in the punishment cells. On 13 January 1978 he was again given 14 days in a punishment cell and also deprived of parcels and use of the camp shop — for non-fulfilment of norms and for not having stood up to greet K G B official Zorenkov. It was just at this time that Sartakov's chronic illnesses were getting worse. On 10 February he was given six months in the punishment barracks for refusal to work.

Camp II (common criminals)

Felix Serebrov (*Chronicle* 47) is working as an adjuster of the elec-

trical equipment of machines. His wage is 67 roubles 50 kopeks a month. After deductions for the cost of camp security, clothes and food he is left with 3 roubles 75 kopeks, which he has the right to spend at the prison shop (according to the Corrective Labour Code a prisoner in a strict-regime camp is permitted to spend five roubles a month at the shop).

In Serebrov's personal file in the camp there is a 'red band', which means 'tendency to escape'.

The Perm Camps

Camp 35

In September 1977 there were 92 people serving sentences in the camp.

* * *

In the summer of 1977 **Pedan** (*Chronicle* 46) was transported from the camp to some other place.

* * *

On 16 April there was a 'Saturday of voluntary work' in the camp. About 20 political prisoners held a hunger-strike on that day.

* * *

On 23 December 1977 **Knavinš**, a prisoner for 16 years, died during a humiliating search. Knavinš was condemned to 25 years' imprisonment under article 58 of the old Criminal Code.

* * *

In December 1977 **Evgeny Sverstyuk** was deprived of parcels.

In February 1978 the sister of **Igor Ogurtsov** was refused a visit after being told that he was being punished until 15 March.

* * *

Miroslav Vasilevich Simchich is serving his sentence in camp 35. His story, described in *Chronicle* 42, can now be given some extra detail.

In 1949 Simchich received 25 years for his activity in the O U N [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists]. In 1953 he was given another 10 years while in camp. In 1956 the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet reduced his term to 10 years. In 1963 Simchich was released. On 30 January 1968 he was rearrested — 'due to newly uncovered circumstances'. In December 1969 the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet revoked the ruling of 1956. On 20 January 1970 the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S S R sent Simchich to serve his term

under the sentence given in 1953. Simchich's term ends on 30 January 1982.

M. Simchich is 55 years old. He is married and has two children.

Camp 36

On 18 February 1978 **Stepan Sapelyak** (*Chronicles* 33, 42, 47) was transported into exile. After 5 years in camp he is faced with 3 years' exile.

* * *

On 11 December 1977 **Boris Mukhametshin** (*Chronicles* 34, 37) was given a two-day personal visit from his mother and his sister Rosa. Boris told them that he had managed to bring with him a letter for his wife (who is living in the U S A). Rosa put it in the pocket of her jacket. Officials of the administration, having lured Rosa out of the room in which the visit was taking place, began to demand the letter from her. They twisted her arms, kept her in a cold room, urged her to take an emetic, forced her to empty her stomach and undressed her. K G B official Chepkasov threatened her with a fine and with informing about her at work, advised her to 'think of her child' and about her brother's situation (see below, in 'The Diary of Camp 36'). In the end they got the letter. Chepkasov asked Rosa to write that she had given up the letter voluntarily; she refused to do so.

* * *

At the end of January 1978 camp head Zhuravkov and censor Belova showed **S. Kovalyov** a *Bulletin of Amnesty International* that had been sent to him. They told Kovalyov that he could not be allowed to have the *Bulletin*, but allowed him to look through it.

The issue publicized the activity of Amnesty International in Chile in 1977, which Amnesty had declared the 'year of combating torture'. Kovalyov was asked what should be done with the *Bulletin*, and he suggested returning it to London. It turned out that this could not be done, but he was promised that the *Bulletin* would be sent to his wife. A short time later he was presented with an official document about the confiscation of the *Bulletin*: 'it may not be circulated within the Soviet Union'.

During the first conversation about the *Bulletin* Kovalyov asked whether an invitation had arrived from Amnesty International for him to go to the ceremony awarding it the Nobel Prize in Oslo. Belova said that there had been no such letter, and Zhuravkov added: 'If an invitation does come, then we'll decide; perhaps we'll let you go to Oslo'. Kovalyov observed that in any case 10 December had already passed. (It is known that Amnesty International did send Kovalyov an invitation.)

Kovalyov also asked whether he would receive the book on biology (papers of a symposium) which had been sent to him from West Germany in May of the previous year (when it had been shown him, but not given to him). Zhuravkov replied that this was not generally done and anyway it was a mystery what the book contained. Kovalyov explained what sort of book it was. A few days later Belova told Kovalyov that the book had been sent for translation in order to decide whether it could be given to him.

Diary of Camp 36

1 November. General search in the barracks living area.
3 November. The informers Kucherevsky and Kochur (both former police [under the Nazi occupation]) are transported to trial in Chusovoi. The camp administration puts them forward for conditional early releases; the administration's petition is satisfied by the court. It is interesting that as early as October K G B Major Chernyak informed Kucherevsky of the court's forthcoming decision as of something that had already taken place, congratulated Kucherevsky and shook his hand. Kucherevsky had even earlier had contacts with Chernyak and in autumn 1976 fulfilled a special assignment: he spied on **Ivan Svetlichny** in a prison cell to which he had then been brought from camp 35 for a meeting with his wife and sister.
6 November. **Evgeny Sorokin** came into the zone, brought here from camp 37.
16 November. **Sergienko** and **Kavoliunas** returned from camp 35.
17 November. A new prisoner **Leshkun**, condemned 'for the war', came into the zone.
21 November. **Kovalyov** and **Kazachkov** are punished (they delayed for a few minutes after reveillé sounded.
25 November. **Sapelyak** (non-fulfilment of norms) and **Žukauskas** (several complaints, among them that of Chernyak that he did not greet him) are put into the punishment cells. Sapelyak declared a dry hunger-strike in the punishment cell as a protest.
30 November. **Grinkiv** is transported to an unknown destination.
1 December. New output norms are introduced, higher than before, violating a provision of the labour code (there had been no improvements, new technology and so forth).
2 December. Release of **Kucherevsky** and **Kochur** (they had been in the camp up to this time despite the decision of the court; in their documents their release was dated November).
6 December. General search in the barracks living areas (with soldiers!).
7 December. **Kovalyov** sent statements to the Procuracy and the K G B asking to be interrogated as a witness in the cases of A. Ginzburg and Yu. Orlov (for further details see 'Repressions against the Helsinki groups' in the present issue — *Chronicle*).

10 December. On Human Rights Day we wrote letters and statements to various foreign organizations and private individuals, thanking them for their concern and for remembering us. (In the main we wrote via Soviet channels with a request to forward the letters to the addressees!). **Kazachkov** wrote to the U S Embassy via the U S S R M V D, and **Sarkisyan** sent a personal letter to Sakharov.
11 December The Chusovoi procurator V. A. Goldyrev was in the zone. He refused to receive political prisoners, saying that soon, before the end of the year, he would come specially for this (he did not do so). **Gluzman** sent a personal letter to President of the U S A Carter via the censor (see below — *Chronicle*).
18 December. Announced to **Sarkisyan** and **Kazachkov** that their letters of 10 December have been confiscated.
24 December. **Lisovoi** deprived of use of the prison shop for refusal to work.
28 December. Temperature in barracks living areas and workshops is 8°C (there is a note to this effect by Doctor Petrov in the notebooks of sanitary conditions). Several prisoners sent a statement about this to the camp head.
30 December. New prisoner **Dergachev** ('for the war') arrived in the zone. The following were put in the punishment cells:

Sergienko — refused to show Senior Lieutenant Belov the letter to his wife which he was then writing, saying that only the censor had the right to read letters;

Sorokin — for his statements; put in the punishment cell at the suggestion of the R S F S R Procuracy, which considered his statements to be anti-Soviet (by this the Procuracy sanctioned a violation of the law: one can be tried for this, but not punished as if for a violation of camp regime);

Mukhametshin — for attempting to hand over information during a visit from his sister.

5 January. **Gluzman** is informed that his letter of 15.12.77 to Carter has been confiscated.
9 January. Captain Rak permits himself an anti-semitic outburst in the presence of **Gluzman, Kalynets** and Corporal Shavinov.
10 January. Major Fyodorov punished prisoner **Vetru** (term 25 years, Lavian) for 'arguing'. (In actual fact, to a remark directed at him by Fyodorov, Vetru replied with just one phrase in broken Russian: 'I need an interpreter' — he does indeed speak very bad Russian). Several prisoners sent a statement about this to the camp head, describing Fyodorov's behaviour as provocative and chauvinistic. At the same time a group of prisoners was punished by Fyodorov for 'celebrating Christmas'. 'Religious rituals are forbidden!' — these are Fyodorov's words.
11 January. 10 prisoners held a hunger-strike for the following reason:

they had sent a statement to the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers; contrary to the demands of the law this statement was not sent there but to the Procuracy.

12 January. An incident took place with Major Fyodorov due to his loutish behaviour; a large group of prisoners refused to have anything more to do with him.

17 January. For celebrating Christmas **Kovalyov** was put in the punishment cells, and other prisoners were punished for the same reason. An incident took place between **Svetlichny** and Fyodorov. Svetlichny explained exactly why he refused to have anything to do with him.

19 January. 16 prisoners refused to go to work in protest against infringement of the right to perform religious rites. They all sent protest statements to the head of the administrative organs department of the Central Committee of the party, citizen Savinkin (for one of them — Gluzman's — see below — *Chronicle*). In the afternoon the head of [camp complex] VS-389, Colonel Mikov, arrived in the zone and threatened the strikers with reprisals not only in the camp but also after their release from it!

19 January. All went to work as a result of **Kovalyov's** release from the punishment cell. (In the morning he had been taken out to the work zone, although formally the term of solitary confinement ended in the afternoon.)

20 January. **Pavel Bogun** (serving time 'for the war') was transported from the camp.

21 January. **Anatoly Zdorovy** came into the zone (returned from Vladimir prison). **Kazachkov** was deprived of a visit (didn't greet Major Fyodorov and so forth).

22 January. Prisoner **Usul Tamoyan** is brought from camp 35.

22 and 24 January. Junior counsellor of justice Yazev, aide to the regional Procurator, was in the zone. He confirmed the 'legality' of almost all the administration's illegalities.

22 January. **Svetlichny** fell ill (jaundice, probably mechanical). On 23 January Doctor Yuzhakov 'helped' him with a tablet of piramidon. On the 24th and 25th he refused to let him off work, and only on the evening of the 25th examined him for the first time after an appeal by Kovalyov and Kalynets to the duty office. He was not hospitalised!

24 January. The confiscation of the statements addressed to **Savinkin** was announced. The motive for the confiscation was standard: 'anti-Soviet expressions, distortions of internal and international reality'.

25 January. A number of the participants in the strike are punished for having celebrated Christmas.

26 January. **Kazachkov** is put in the punishment cell for the same reason. The long-time informer **Dovganich** is brought from camp 35.

27 January. **S. Kovalyov** began a hunger-strike in solidarity with those being punished for the strike. **Abankin** is put in the punishment cell for taking part in the strike. As a result of several reports on him **Sergienko** is deprived of use of the camp shop. **Gluzman** on his own initiative had a talk with the camp head Zhuravkov; subject — the condition of **Svetlichny,** who is clearly suffering from jaundice. In the evening (befor Gluzman's conversation) Svetlichny was, finally, put in the medical isolation ward. Officially the diagnosis is not established.

30 January. Svetlichny carefully examined by specialists brought from Chusovoi, blood taken for analysis. Diagnosis — Botkin's disease, serum jaundice due to poor sterilisation of an instrument in the central hospital of camp complex VS-389, where Basarab, suffering from jaundice, was at the same time as Svetlichny (as long ago as last year). The same story with **Ismagilov** also: his jaundice started slightly earlier than Svetlichny's.

31 January. Svetlichny and Ismagilov are taken to the central hospital. Kovalyov ends his hunger-strike.

1 February. Announcement of quarantine for 'flu and severe respiratory illnesses, supposedly on the orders of the Chusovoi epidemic centre.

6 February. **Zdorovy** and **Slobodyan** are punished for non-fulfilment of norms. Slobodyan deprived of use of the camp shop (see below a statement by Demidov to Zhuravkov — *Chronicle*).

8 February. **Lisovoi** is put in the punishment cells for refusal to work.

9 February. **Žukauskas** put in the punishment cells for having taken part in the strike.

10 February. **Gluzman** declares a hunger-strike, demanding explanation of reason for confiscation of his letter to Carter.

13 February. Zhuravkov summoned **Gluzman** and explained the confiscation of his letter by the fact that it gives a distorted view of facts of internal and international life. (See below — *Chronicle*).

14 February. For non-fulfilment of norms **Zdorovy** deprived of a visit. **Slobodyan** not excused work despite having a temperature of 37.1°.

17 February. Zhuravkov announced to **Žukauskas** that the money deducted from his pay for supposedly deliberate spoilage had been returned to him. Zhuravkov admitted that his original decision on this had been unfounded.

18 February. **Lisovoi** is again put into the punishment cell for 10 days for refusal to work. **Sapelyak** is transported off to exile.

21 February. For non-fulfilment of work norms **Slobodyan** is deprived of a visit. **Zdorovy** punished for the same reason. Carried out by Fyodorov.

23 February. **Demidov, Žukauskas, Mättik** and **Abankin** sent completely identical statements to the head of the medical division of the Perm UVD, Colonel Kostin, about the continuing persecution of the sick **Slobodyan.** It is pointed out in these statements that Slobodyan is not receiving essential treatment, he has been denied the right to a food

parcel, punished by deprivation of use of the camp shop for non-fulfilment of a norm set for healthy people, and receives a so-called special diet only occasionally. The basic reason for his persecution is the fact that Slobodyan, a former M V D official, does not wish 'to take the path of reform'.

25 February. **Andrei Artemovich Zeitunyan** and **Mikhail Zakharovich Tsios** are transported from the camp; both had been informed in advance of the transport.

At the end of February K G B Captain Chepkasov informed political prisoner Sorokin that **Yu. Dzyuba** [*Chronicle* 39], incarcerated in the punishment barracks of zone 36, had written a request for mercy. Then head of security Rozhkov showed Sorokin the document itself. Dzyuba's basic theme was the serious illness of the grandmother who had brought him up and repentance for the unlawful deeds committed by him through his ignorance of legal matters at that time. According to Sorokin the request was dated 3 February.

In Other Prisons and Camps

In the main Tallin prison, cells 58 and 108 are called 'gorbachevkas' (after the prison deputy head of security Gorbachev). In these cells, where specially selected criminals are held, people are put who have 'refused to speak during an investigation'; their cell-mates then 'bring them round'; they are beaten up, raped and tortured. (Cp. 'Torture in the Investigation Prisons of Georgia' in *Chronicle* 36).

* * *

When he was in Tallin prison in June-August 1977 (*Chronicle* 47), **S. Soldatov** found out that after his **son Alexander** was arrested (*Chronicle* 45) he had been put in a 'gorbachevka' (see above), where he was constantly beaten up, his arm was broken and he was twice robbed. In the end he had signed all the official records. The trial was broadcast by radio and television.

S. Soldatov states that his son is now keeping silent out of fear, since he has been promised that otherwise he will be killed in his camp.

* * *

At the end of November 1977 **Vasily Barladyanu** was sent to the Lvov region M V D hospital (*Chronicle* 47). He was kept for three days in the psychiatric department and then transferred to the therapeutic department where he was investigated and underwent a course of treatment. On 11 December he was sent back to the camp. The medical statement from the hospital said that work on stone-breaking was unsuitable for Barladyanu. The camp administration tried to hide this statement from Barladyanu and send him back to work in the quarry.

When this failed, Barladyanu was transferred to the packing materials workshop. At present he is putting together boxes. As formerly, he is receiving no treatment.

There are lice in the camp. In the quarry where the prisoners work there is almost no pumping-out of water. And yet they are issued with only one pair of tarpaulin boots a year.

* * *

Sergei Grigoryants, arrested on 4 March 1975 and condemned in October 1975 by the Moscow city court under articles 190-1 and 154 of the Russian Criminal Code to 5 years in camps of hard regime (*Chronicle* 38), has been serving his term since April 1976 in Yaroslavl (establishment YuN-83/8).

At the end of July and beginning of August 1977 he went on hunger-strike in protest against unjustified punishments. The hunger-strike continued for a month-and-a-half.

Shortly after the end of his hunger-strike he was put into the punishment barracks for 2½ months and then sent to prison until the end of his term.

Since December 1977 he has been in a prison in the town of Chistopol (Tatar A S S R).

* * *

In camp p/ya 34/5A (Chuvash A S S R, Kozlovka settlement) where **Ona Pranskunaite** (*Chronicle* 47) is held, there are 2,000 prisoners. There are 65 to 75 women in each barrack. There are no tables. After eight hours' work in the sewing workshop the prisoners are often made to work another four hours in a different workshop. Besides working in the sewing workshop Pranskunaite has also done asphalting. This work is done here by hand.

In the camp Pranskunaite is unwell — she has ulcers on her skin which will not go, despite her having undergone a course of treatment. In one of her letters she told how her health had sharply deteriorated after she had spent two weeks in a solitary cell in the Vilnius K G B prison. (V. Lapienis had been in this same cell — see above.)

* * *

In the settlement of B. Markha near Yakutsk, in camp YaD 40/5A, the Chinese officer **U Yao-Fen** is serving his term. He is 28 years old. In 1976 he crossed the border and presented himself to the local authorities. Surrendering his weapon, U Yao-Fen stated that he was anti-Maoist and a member of a genuine-Marxist grouping. He was arrested. The investigation was conducted by head of the Blagoveshchensk K G B, Colonel Vovk.

U Yao-Fen was sentenced under article 83 of the Russian Criminal

Code ('...illegal entry into the U S S R') to 3 years in an ordinary-regime camp. The indictment stated that he had been tracked down and detained, and had not voluntarily given himself up to the authorities. At the trial witnesses appeared who testified that they had taken part in his detention. After the trial the indictment was taken away from him, except only for the first and last (10th) pages.

In the camp U Yao-Fen works as a cleaner. He tells how, when crossing the border, he thought he was 'going to friends'.

* * *

Oleg Volkov (*Chronicles* 42, 43, 45) was serving his term in the Knyazh-Pogost District of the Komi A S S R in strict-regime camp AN-243/9-1. In November 1977 he had an ordinary visit from Natalya Lesnichenko (*Chronicles* 43, 45). Two hours were allowed for the visit. They spoke to each other by telephone through glass. Volkov and Lesnichenko submitted an application for registration of their marriage, and the registration was set for 18 January 1978.

After Lesnichenko had gone several searches in succession were carried out on Volkov and he was transferred to heavier work. In an unofficial conversation Volkov was told that his fiancée's arrival had done him a lot of harm. At the beginning of January Volkov was transferred to another camp. Lesnichenko was told nothing about his transfer.

* * *

Yuliya Nikolayevna Okulova-Voznesenskaya (*Chronicles* 42-47) is serving a term in Bazoi Settlement, Irkutsk Region, camp 272/11-1. She worked as a foreman, and in January was transferred to a job organizing school work. The girls about whose beating-up she had written (*Chronicle* 47) turned out to be in the same camp with her. They have now been amnestied.

* * *

Pyotr Ruban (*Chronicle* 45) is serving a term in Voroshilovgrad Region. In January officials of the Voroshilovgrad K G B came to see him in the camp. They showed him the work *Facets of Crystal* by Ivan Dzyuba (*Chronicle* 30) and a few other articles against nationalism. The K G B officials tried to persuade Ruban to dissociate himself with 'nationalists'. Ruban replied that 'conversations on such matters are possible only with the restoration of justice — even if only under the first two articles' (in his sentence there were two criminal articles and the article equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code).

A Camp Uprising

In the camp US-20/7 for common criminals situated in Leningrad (Nevsky District, 'Dolgorukov's dacha' or Yablonevka) an uprising took place on 23 September 1977. According to the accounts of former prisoners in this camp the cause was the systematic beating-up of prisoners by warders and their helpers from among the prisoners.

Overtime work was a constant practice in the camp — after shifts or on Sundays, especially in the second half of the month when 'the production plan's getting urgent'. The helpers had to drive people to do this work. Those who refused were beaten up at night.

The uprising started with the beating-up of 'activists', then the prison within the camp (the punishment cells and punishment barracks) was wrecked and the whole territory of the camp seized. 800 out of a total of 1,700 prisoners took part in the uprising. Fire-hoses were used in putting it down, and the army was also called in with an armoured carrier and a tank. One prisoner (other reports say two) was killed. About 100 people were sent to 'Kresty' [a big prison] and brought to trial. Two — **Vladimir Aitman** and **Nikolai Agafonov** (both about 20 years old) — were condemned to be shot.

Since June 1977 the camp head has been Major Nevzorov.

Letters and Statements by Political Prisoners

G. Davydov: 'Statement to Chairman of the Constitution Commission L. I. Brezhnev' (Vladimir prison, 15 June 1977).

Davydov writes that in the draft Constitution the question of freedom of thought and convictions has again been side-stepped.

M. Osadchy: 'To the American people, the Senate and President of the U S A J. Carter'.

The author tells about himself. He has published a number of works of fiction and literary research, defended a Candidate's dissertation on philology and worked as a senior lecturer at Lvov University. He has twice been sentenced for political reasons — in 1965 and in 1972, the second time being for the short novel *Cataract* which was published in the West. He is at present serving a 7-year term in Mordovian camp 1, after which he is faced with 3 years' exile.

Osadchy writes of how the authorities are dealing with him and his relatives, using criminals for the purpose (see his letter to Brezhnev in *Chronicle* 47). In 1975 he was beaten up by criminals in the transit prison at Potma. Now he has been promised that he will be killed when he is in exile.

In conclusion Osadchy asks to be given American citizenship since he considers the U S A to be a bulwark of peace, justice and freedom, and a close friend of Ukrainians and the Ukraine.

Evgrafov, Karavansky, Kuznetsov, Murzhenko, Osadchy, Romanyuk, Tikhy, Fyodorov, Shumuk: 'Memorandum to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet'.

The authors consider that a crime bordering on genocide is being committed in relation to them. They tell how at the end of 1976 the camp administration instigated an outburst of hostile actions by the common criminals against the political prisoners. Criminals were permitted to insult political prisoners, beat them up and prepare mass reprisals. Offensive weapons were prepared in large quantities in the zone. The authors tell of S. Shinkevich's letters (see above). The document ends with the following statement:

1. The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide[5] has been ratified by the government of the U S S R and should be observed. For this reason we protest categorically against the genocide being practised on us and demand an end to it, and also the punishment of those guilty of instigating and carrying out the genocide.

2. We declare: although Soviet prison legislation is the most severe of any now existing, Soviet prison practice is altogether inhuman, and therefore we demand, as a minimum, that prison practice should be brought into line with the declarations of the U S S R Constitution and with the articles of the Corrective Labour Code.

If we do not receive an assurance from the organs of the K G B that they will cease their complicity in crimes of genocide, we shall have to appeal with a similar memorandum to the following instances:

a to the International Court;
b to the U N Commission on Human Rights;
c to the governments of countries signatory to the 'Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide'.
d to the governments of countries participating in the European conference.

Evgrafov, Karavansky, Kuznetsov, Rebrik, Romanyuk, Tikhy, Murzhenko, Fyodorov, Shumuk (Kuznetsov signed for Murzhenko and Fyodorov, Romanyuk for Shumuk): 'An appeal from political prisoners of camp 1-6 to all democratic organisations of the world, to the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the U S S R, to the Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements (December 1977).

The document tells of incidents of the beating up of political prisoners, especially frequent during transit, when political prisoners are separated from their fellow-prisoners. Further it says:

...Assurances by the present Soviet rulers that they have condemned the lawlessness of the time of Stalin and Beria are false, if only in that even those who personally tortured and killed are not only not brought to trial but are even now endowed with especial honour as faithful henchmen.

The intolerably severe conditions of this concentration camp, the thuggery of the gaolers, and equally the combination of other objective circumstances force us to conclude that in connection with the adoption of the 'humane' Constitution the offensive by the worthies of the repressive apparatus against political prisoners has significantly intensified. As a result of the above, and counteracting the mortal threat hanging over us, we, the political prisoners of the Sosnovka special-regime concentration camp, have decided that in future we will resist the transporting of any of us outside the boundaries of Mordovia. In protest against the new wave of beating up of political prisoners we, the under-signed, declare ourselves to be on hunger-strike from 1 February until 1 March 1978...

Besides this, we, the under-signed, have decided on the necessity of designating a special day dedicated to the memory of the millions of people martyred in Soviet concentration camps, a day of grief and of summons to just vengeance on the executioners. The world does not have the right to forget either the martyrs of the Soviet dungeons or their executioners. Let this day be called the 'Day of grief and anger'. We will mark it every year by a hunger-strike on 1 March, and appeal to all people of good will to join us.

* * *

An Appeal concerning the formation of an association of former political prisoners

To the Chairman of the Committee for Human Rights in the U S S R, Academician Sakharov;
To the Ukrainian Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements.

Bearing in mind:

that the exceedingly slow and contradictory process of liberalisation of the existing regime gives no grounds to suppose that judicial persecution for political reasons will cease in the foreseeable future in the U S S R;

that the presence of political prisoners in the U S S R is not officially acknowledged by the authorities and one of the harshest systems of criminal penal legislation in the world is applied to them just as it is to criminals;

that the system of the complete isolation of Soviet political prisoners deprives us of legal assistance, including any defence against the libel and misinformation spread by a press which is monopolized by the party;

that the families of political prisoners, their friends and sympathizers are subjected to various forms of persecution and harassment — right up to depriving them of the means of existence;

that political prisoners who have completed their terms are subjected for many years, or even for life, to discrimination in finding work, in the choice of where to live, in the possibility of receiving education and in other areas;

that all attempts to date to support political prisoners and their relatives bore and bear, with all their usefulness, a haphazard and selective character;

that the situation and needs of political prisoners and their families are especially understandable, immediate and compelling for those who have themselves been in prison, political camps and exile;

we, in agreement with other prisoners of the Mordovian political camps, propose to found in the U S S R an *Association of Former Political Prisoners,* with the aim of providing material assistance and moral support to political prisoners and their families, and also mutual aid.

We envisage such an association as a legal one, not pursuing political aims, covering all of the Soviet Union but having maximum decentralization, uniting all those interested who have been tried for political reasons, irrespective of nationality, party affiliation, ideological position or attitude to the existing regime, i.e. an association which in no way limits any civic activity (pro-government or oppositional) on the part of its members outside the humanitarian tasks of the association, and which bears no responsibility for such activity.

In the event that our proposal is approved in principle we can offer a draft of the statutes of the proposed association for discussion.

Political prisoners of the Mordovian camps *Airikyan P. A., Osadchy M. G., Rebrik B. V., Romanyuk V. E., Osipov V. N., Soldatov S. I., Chornovil V. M., Shumuk D. L.* 10 December 1977.

* * *

V. Chornovil: 'Statement to the Chairman of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet' (24 December 1977).

Chornovil recalls the fact that on 1 March 1975 he announced to the Supreme Soviet his renunciation of citizenship (*Chronicle* 37). He states that he now considers himself to be not a Soviet citizen, only a citizen of the Ukraine, but that he is withdrawing his demand to emigrate from the U S S R since he does not have 'the moral right to escape and is obliged to share with his people all its misfortunes.'

V. Chornovil: 'Statement to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S S R' (12 January 1978).

The letter is written on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the arrests among the Ukrainian intelligentsia. He writes:

> ...I protest against the continuation of the practice of 'deciding' national problems with the help of barbed wire and moral murders.

> From our people is taken a heavy tribute not only in natural resources and sweated labour, but also we pay the greatest toll in Ukrainian patriots, people of thought and action.
>
> Thousands of them have passed in latter years through the dungeons of the Gulag Archipelago, and today we bow our heads low before the memory of the sons and daughters of our people with those bones are paved, and with whose blood are spattered, the mines and constructions built by 'shock workers'...

Further Chornovil enumerates the names known to him of political prisoners, Ukrainians by nationality, who are at present in the camps of Mordovia and Perm, in Vladimir prison, in special psychiatric hospitals, in K G B investigation prisons and in exile. He demands their immediate release. Here is the list: Z. Antonyuk, D. Basarab, N. Budulak-Sharygin, V. Vasilik, B. Veduta, N. Gamula, V. Glyva, M. Gutsul, K. Dasiv, V. Dolishny, N. Evgrafov, A. Zdorovy, Igor and Irina Kalynets, D. Kvetsko, N. Konchakovsky, N. Kots, A. Kravets, N. Kurchik, V. Lysenko, V. Lisovoi, M. Marinovich, M. Matusevich, Ya. Mikitko, M. Osadchy, V. Pidgorodetsky, M. Plakhotnyuk, Z. Popadyuk, O. Popovich, E. Prishlyak, E. Pronyuk, B. Rebrik, V. Romanyuk, M. Rudenko, P. Saranchuk, E. Sverstyuk, I. Svetlichny, R. Semenyuk, I. Senik, O. Sergienko, P. Serednyuk, K. Skripchuk, M. Slobodyan, V. Solodky, S. Sapelyak, V. Stus, O. Tikhy, S. Shabatura, D. Shumuk, Yu. Shukhevich and A. Yuskevich.

The author notes that the list is far from being complete, and points out the falsehood of the assertion that there are only a few Ukrainian political prisoners and that they are people condemned for links with foreign intelligence. Chornovil states that in future he will mark 12 January by a one-day hunger-strike 'for as long as there remains even one Ukrainian political prisoner behind barbed wire or in a psychiatric hospital'.

* * *

S. Soldatov: 'To the government of the U S S R' (23 March 1977).

In connection with the anniversary of the coming into force of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights S. Soldatov demands the release of all convicted persons whose sentence is longer than 15 years, an end to persecution for beliefs, the release of Ginzburg, Orlov, Rudenko and Tikhy, the introduction of the status of political prisoner and an amnesty for all political prisoners.

The signature reads: 'S. Soldatov, believer and citizen'.

S. Soldatov: 'Declaration. To the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet' (30 October 1977).

> 1. I declare that, having the sanction of free-thinking society and exercising my elementary right, from 1.11.77. I officially take upon

myself the duties of *secretary and ideologist* of the Democratic Movement of Estonia (D D E), which is a regional component of the D D S S (Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union). My conditions of imprisonment make me treat the heavy burden, which I in effect bore earlier, with an even greater sense of duty. I shall represent the D D E before the existing authorities and the world public.

2. The duties of the president of the D D E, an Estonian by nationality, will be announced later. *Temporarily*, until this announcement, I take upon myself also the duties of *president of the D D E.*

3. As secretary and ideologist of the D D E I testify to my unshakeable loyalty to the ideals and principles accepted in democratic circles. The D D E does not have as its aim the overthrow of the existing rulers and does not employ immoral means in the name of its political aims. The immediate aim of the D D E is to give practical assistance to the democratization of society and to strengthen the foundations of justice and legality.

4. As secretary and ideologist of the D D E I publicly petition for the legalization of the D D E as an independent political organization by means of an open constitutional procedure.

As a minimal and primary measure Soldatov proposes the extension of an amnesty for political prisoners, and meanwhile he demands the speedy transfer of all political prisoners to the status of political prisoner.

Soldatov's declaration is supported by P. Airikyan, V. Osipov, M. Kheifets, G. Ushakov, N. Budulak-Sharygin, B. Shakirov, M. Ravinš and A. Yuskevich.

* * *

S. Soldatov: 'To the Procurator-General of the U S S R' (7 November 1977).

...Already for six decades human dignity has been trampled in this country and basic human rights have been crushed...I declare that such a policy, directed against man, led and will lead to a deterioration in the economic situation and to an increase in internal political tensions, to a fall in moral and political prestige and to international isolation...

I prophesy that the eighties will be fateful years for the regime and will bring with them social and natural vengeance. Fate offers the regime, with this last round-numbered anniversary, a chance to partially redeem its guilt before the peoples...

On the 60th anniversary of this regime I declare a hunger-strike, my 28th this year.

S. Soldatov, secretary and ideologist of the D D E

S. Soldatov: 'To the Procurator of Latvia' (18 November 1977).

As an imprisoned member of the D D E, on the day of the 59th anniversary of Latvian independence I express my solidarity and support for the age-old hopes and aspirations of the Latvian people .. I demand the release of my Latvian fellow-captives...including the young Latvian patriot M. Ravinš...

S. Soldatov: 'To the Procurator-General of the U S S R' (30 December 1977).

...*In autumn 1975*, in my capacity as an activist of the D D E-D D S S, I was condemned and thrown into a political concentration camp. *In autumn 1976*, as a result of a provocation planned by the authorities and with the aim of putting pressure on me, my son A. Soldatov was thrown into a camp for criminals. *In autumn 1977*, as a routine terrorist act ordered by the authorities, my flat was sealed and boarded up... And you need all this so that when my son is set free he will wander the earth as a hunted vagabond without house or home.

Soldatov demands that those guilty should be punished. At the end he writes: '...On 30 December 1977 I am declaring a hunger-strike, my 30th in 1977'.

S. Soldatov: 'A Declaration. To the Presidium of the Estonian S S R Supreme Soviet' (3 January 1978).

This declaration, written in Estonian, coincides in content with the declaration of 30 December 1977 (see above).

S. Soldatov: 'To the Presidium of the Estonian S S R Supreme Soviet' (24 February 1978).

60 years ago Estonia declared itself the democratic and sovereign Estonian Republic...I demand from the Soviet government respect for the right to national self-determination....I demand the release of all political prisoners...

Soldatov's statement was supported by Airikyan, Osipov, Kheifets, Ushakov, Saranchuk, Ravinš and Budulak-Sharygin.

* * *

On 26 February a group of political prisoners in Mordovian camp 19 heard a paper on the history of the national and democratic movement in Estonia since the beginning of this century.

* * *

V. Osipov: 'To the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U S S R, Gromyko' (17 January 1978).

Osipov writes that the West cannot assess the policy of the U S S R as being other than militaristic, as the extremely harsh veto on dissidents in the U S S R testifies to the world that the country is on a war footing.

Airikyan, Budulak-Sharygin, Osipov, Ravinš, Rudenko, Saranchuk, Soldatov, Ushakov, Kheifets: 'To the Committee on Human Rights' (14 March 1978).

The Belgrade Conference has not justified...the hopes of those who support peace and cooperation in Europe. The fault of this lies with the harsh and unaccommodating position of the Moscow administration...acceptance of the concluding document of the Belgrade conference, which Soviet citizens consider as a point in a propaganda game with the West, was marked by a reduction in the cubic capacity of our punishment cells and by the right [given to our administration] continuously to incarcerate us in the internal camp prison (see the new rules to be introduced from 15 March 1978).

* * *

S. Sapelyak: 'Statement to L. I. Brezhnev' (May 1977).

Sapelyak tells how he was arrested in 1973 when he was barely 22. He was sentenced to 5 years' deprivation of freedom and 3 years in exile. After sentence had been passed he was taken to the institution VS 389/36. During the time he spent in Corrective Labour Colony 36 he received, in all, three personal visits from relatives, each of them lasting one day. He was deprived of six short visits, spent 184 days in the punishment cells, for 12 months did not have the right to buy food products in the camp shop, and during this whole period only one food parcel was not forbidden him. Besides this he was given about 20 reprimands, warnings and orders to do so-called 'extra tidying-up of the territory of the zone'.

The reasons for which Sapelyak was punished are these: 'non-fulfilment of output norms'; 'covering himself with a pea-jacket' (in winter, while he was sleeping, with a temperature of 8-9°C in the barracks); infringing the clothing regulations (in summer on the sports-ground he was undressed to the waist, at work in a work cell his top button was undone, he took off his head-gear and carried it in his hand); 'absence from work place'; 'organising a religious assembly in the work zone' (during the official work break, to mark his name-day, he drank tea with friends); 'failure to greet an officer'; 'arguing'; 'tactless and provocative behaviour'. Sapelyak was put in the punishment cells for 'not going to work', because he declared a protest work strike and a protest hunger-strike and because at Christmas on 7 January 1977 he did not go to work because of his religious convictions. Sapelyak's term in a punishment cell was increased because of 'the unsanitary condition of the walls of the cell' (in the summer he had swatted mosquitoes in the cell) and 'for violating the regime in the punishment cell' (he sat on the floor).

In conclusion Sapelyak writes: 'Soon I shall be taken away and transported into exile. What awaits me there?'

In *Chronicle* 47, section 'In the Prisons and Camps' ('Diary of Camp 36) it is erroneously stated that the above statement is in the same issue, number 47.

* * *

S. Gluzman: To the President of the U S A, Carter (15 December 1977).

Gluzman answers Carter's speech of 19 January 1977. The end of the letter reads:

The U S A, like any other country, really cannot by itself resolve all the pressing problems of Earth. Each of us bears responsibility for the events taking place today, for better or worse, in the world. And the position of your administration, Mr President, is all the more moral and secure in that its policy is founded on the aspiration to an ideal of truth and freedom for each person. Politics is not by its nature in the least antithetical to morality; like any sphere of activity, it depends on the aims and means which it consists of.

And the fact that even today the view of the poet and humanist Francesco Petrarch — 'There is nothing better than freedom of opinion, and, as I demand it for myself, so I do not deny it to others' — has not become commonplace and habitual for all of humanity in all parts of the planet, is our loss, but one that can be put right.

All together we can achieve much, if we are guided by criteria of Divine Goodness. For, as Isaiah taught, God is truth and justice.

Semyon Gluzman, doctor-psychiatrist,
especially dangerous state criminal

* * *

S. Kovalyov: 'To the head of camp VS-389/36, Zhuravkov' (12 February 1978).

Gluzman is completing his third day of hunger-strike. He is trying to obtain a mere trifle — an explanation as to what exactly the censor objects to in his letter to Carter. How exactly he has distorted internal and international life. Along with Procurators Myakishev, Orekhov and Yazev he considers that this should be directly and precisely stated, and it is difficult to deny his logic: how else will he be able to satisfy the censor in future?

You have, as you told me on 10 February, another point of view — you feel that you are not obliged to explain anything to Gluzman about distortions of the internal and international situation. The appeal was confiscated, and that's that.

I am not going to take issue with your view, in all its obvious inconsistency. All right, suppose even that you are not obliged to do so, but why not spend 20 minutes on this over and above your obligation? A man is on hunger-strike and it's not a bottle of cognac

that's being asked for, but an explanation. I do not even entertain the thought that you want this hunger-strike, that it gives you pleasure. So why not then explain? What would be bad in that? How would it diminish your authority or the prestige of the regime? All the more so since the Law entrusts you to some extent also with educative functions. It is impossible to imagine education without a thorough, calm, frank and respectful talk. Why then do you avoid giving Gluzman a direct explanation of his mistake?

I believe, citizen Major, that if we leave aside rhetoric and a somewhat feigned amazement (forgive me for it), the reason will be crystal clear and you and I would easily agree on it, if you had the opportunity of speaking with hand on heart.

And here is this obvious reason: although Gluzman not only does not distort, but simply does not touch on any event of internal and international life whatsoever, even so, this same Gluzman is not wanted, absolutely not wanted by our authorities, he's spoiling such an ordered, such a radiant and joyous picture of the new historical community. And really there's no point at all in reminding Carter about this Gluzman. And what is he, after all, one of the Wilmington Ten or something? If he's got to come up like a birth-mark blotching our achievements let him be a criminal, and better — a self-avowed one. So come on then, make out that the puny intellectual is a criminal. You won't get him wounded in cross-fire with a police patrol, like some other poets and historians, and it wouldn't even enter the head of a single procurator to pin arson of a baker's shop on him. Nothing for it of course, even ones like that have to be painted as criminals, but still it's better not to disgrace ourselves, better do it somehow on the quiet.

This is what happens: all the Soviet psychiatrists are performing so splendidly, so smartly, in tune and in step, in ordered ranks, all enthuse about 'Leonid Ilyich [Brezhnev] personally', but this one, you see, talks about Petrarch and Isaiah. And what sort of Isaiahs can there be in your and my fatherland? Here's this bitch of a turncoat spoiling the whole shop — so don't you hesitate, citizen Major, tell him all of it like it is. This one won't give up anyway, that's the way they are.

And you don't have to answer my statement, I'm not going to go on hunger-strike. You'd do better to reply to Gluzman.

* * *

On 13 February Zhuravkov explained to Gluzman that the 'distorted portrayal of internal and external policy' consisted in two passages: 1. in the words 'the U S A like any other...for each person'; 2. in the signature. Zhuravkov admitted that in regard to the long period during which the letter was checked, the law had been broken.

S. Gluzman: 'To the head of the department of administrative organs of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, citizen Savinkin' (18 January 1978).

Gluzman points out that contrary to article 18 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, in camp VS 389/36 it is forbidden 'to celebrate sacred dates'.

...Thus, precisely for celebrating the day of Christ's birth political prisoner Kovalyov S.A. was incarcerated in the punishment cell, precisely for this, disciplinary punishments were imposed on other political prisoners.

In protest against the ignoring in this case of a principle which is fundamental to the legal system of any civilized state, and understanding the futility of merely appealing to the supervisory bodies, I deliberately refuse to go to work during the time S. A. Kovalyov is in the punishment cells, and I make this known to you, as the one real power in the Soviet Union.

V. Abankin: Three statements to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, for L. I. Brezhnev (4 February 1978).

First statement:

Six months are left to the end of the 12-year sentence given me by a military tribunal under article 64 of the R S F S R Criminal Code in 1966. By this statement I wish to inform the Soviet government that on ending my sentence I do not intend to commit any action falling under the sanction of the Criminal Code of any union republic, either under the section on state crimes or any other, but intend to leave the U S S R by legal means.

Second statement:

When I was on military service in East Germany in 1966 I attempted to escape to West Berlin, having long since decided to leave the U S S R, as I did not wish to live in a country where people do not say what they think and do not do what they say. I made my final decision to leave the U S S R after the well-known events in Novocherkassk in 1962. Since there was no free emigration from the U S S R I was forced to escape secretly. I was caught and condemned for attempting to betray the Motherland. At the trial I said that I had betrayed not the Motherland, but the authorities. I said that the regime is not the Motherland, since the regime changes, while the Motherland remains. But the court did not pay attention to my words, and now I state this again. In the course of 11½ years I have, as they say, experienced on my own skin what Soviet humanism is. On 25 March 1974, as a protest against violations of human rights in the U S S R and against the humiliation of political prisoners, I renounced Soviet citizenship and demanded to emigrate from the U S S R. Then they replied that the question of citizenship

would be decided at the end of my sentence. Now there are six months left, so I am sending you this statement and hope that you will have enough time to decide the question of my emigration from the U S S R. I am doing this in advance, for I do not wish to remain a day or an hour in a country in which, regardless of anything, they continue to trample on human rights and humiliate prisoners. I ask you also to convey my thanks to the administration of all corrective labour establishments that I have been in over these years for having, through their inhuman methods of reeducation, made me into a conscious and stalwart anti-Soviet...

In the third statement Abankin rejects in advance any possibility of an early release: 'I do not want to receive my own freedom as a handout.'

* * *

The first statement was sent off, but after a long delay. The second was confiscated for the expressions 'I have found out...Soviet humanism is' and 'through their inhuman...anti-Soviet'. The third statement was confiscated for its general content; Abankin was told: 'They'll release you if they want to, and until they do there's no point in writing.'

* * *

D. Demidov: 'To the head of camp VS-389/36, Zhuravkov (7 February 1978).

Demidov writes about the illegal punishment of Zdorovy and Slobodyan for non-fulfilment of output norms.

You know that...neither in the Corrective Labour Code nor in the same regulations is there the demand that output norms should be fulfilled, i.e. the camp administraton is not entitled to consider non-fulfilled, i.e. the camp administration is not entitled to consider non-gime and to apply disciplinary punishments in such a case. Legislaation is unambiguous on this point, demanding from the convict a conscientious attitude to work.

Demidov makes it clear that Zdorovy's non-fulfilment of the norm was connected with the fact that he is not as yet sufficiently accustomed to the work, while the norm is excessively high.

In Slobdyan's case, though, it is not only unjust to demand fulfilment of the norm, but also inhuman — Slobdyan is seriously ill, and is not receiving essential treatment. I wish to emphasize that he became ill during imprisonment, and that he suffered neither from ulcers nor from diseases of the throat and ears before his arrest. But in spring 1977 Slobodyan was sent by you to perform heavy labour (rolling logs, dragging planks), although he was trying to obtain medical treatment due to a sharp deterioration in his health. Your deputy Major Fyodorov then intervened in a provocatively blatant fashion in the work of the medical sector and forced Slobodyan, who was suffering from a bleeding stomach ulcer, to continue work on the log-sawing process. The result is known to you: Slobodyan's condition reached crisis point, and he was quickly hospitalized in the central hospital of VS-389. Slobodyan's ulcer was not cured, and as before he has been ill and has been asking fruitlessly for qualified medical assistance, while they have been demanding that he fulfil a norm designed for a physically fit man.

Demidov tells that on 4 February, when Slobodyan felt so unwell that he could not go to work,

he was not examined by a doctor, and not released from work. This fact speaks...of the irresponsibility of the doctors when it was their duty to examine Slobodyan urgently...

He says in conclusion:

I appeal to you, since I am not yet convinced whether the initiative for prosecuting a seriously ill man, in violation of the law, lies with you.

I. Kalynets: 'To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian S S R Supreme Soviet' (23 February 1978).

(Quoted in translation [from Ukrainian])

I entertain no hope whatever that my statement will lighten the fate of Levko Lukyanenko, who has been put in prison for the second time...Conscience does not permit me to remain silent when there is no end to yet further arrests...I do not doubt that this time, also, he was striving to attain one thing only: that Soviet organs should observe their own laws.

I, like my wife and many others, am a victim of unfounded, illegal persecutions, of the tyranny of judicial trials and of the harshness of the punishment...

It seems to me that it is high time to see sense and cease the harassment of dissident Ukrainian patriots. In declaring a protest against the arrest of L. Lukyanenko I wish to hope that the Chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian S S R Supreme Soviet will recognize his responsibility to our nation and will concern himself to ensure that Soviet Ukraine is not numbered amongst those regimes which are condemned by the whole of democratic society.

The statement was confiscated for 'distortion of the internal life of the country'.

Releases

In February 1978 **Roman Semenyuk** was taken under convoy from Mordovian camp 19 to Lvov. At the end of his term he was released and sent to the town of Sokol (Lvov Region). Here he was lodged in a hostel and put under surveillance.

Roman Zakharovich Semenyuk is 50 years old. In 1949 he was arrested and sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment for cooperating with the U P A [Ukrainian Insurrectionary Army]. In the mid-60's he escaped from a camp and was soon recaptured. For this escape 3 years in prison were added to his sentence, and he served them in Vladimir.

* * *

Dmitry Kernichny, a '25-yearer', has been released from Mordovian camp 19. He is about 70 years old. He received his term for belonging to the U P A.

* * *

On 19 November 1977 **Povilas Petronis** (*Chronicle* 34) was released at the end of a 4-year term, having served it in Mordovian camp 3. A month before his release he was transferred to Vilnius. There he was 'worked over' by officials of the Lithuanian K G B.

After his release Petronis settled in a small village in his brother's home.

Of the four co-defendants in Petronis's case only Petras Plumpa is now in camp. His term is 8 years, and he is serving it in the Perm camps.

* * *

The Lithuanian '25-yearers' **Petras Akramavičius** (*Chronicle* 33), **Vitas Bastis, Jonas Kadžionis** (*Chronicle* 33) and the Ukrainian '25-yearers' **Grigory Gerchak** (*Chronicle* 33), **Dmitry Paliichuk** (*Chronicle* 46) and **Evgeny Prishlyak** (*Chronicle* 33) have been released from the Perm camps at the end of their terms.

* * *

At the end of a 7-year term **Mikhail Korenblit,** convicted in the Leningrad 'aeroplane-related' trial (*Chronicle* 20) has been released.

* * *

In December 1977, at the end of his term, **Mustafa Dzhemilev** (see 'Persecution of the Crimean Tatars') was released.

* * *

In December 1977 **Vladimir Arkhangelsky** (*Chronicles* 38, 39) was released at the end of his term.

* * *

On 23 December 1977 **Pavel Bashkirov** (*Chronicle* 43) was released from a camp near Yakutsk at the end of his term (1 year 6 months).

Before the release itself he was put in the punishment cell for seven days for 'wilful crossing of a local camp zone'. Bashkirov declared a hunger-strike and maintained it until the day of his release.

The information in *Chronicle* 45 that Bashkirov was put in the punishment cell for refusal to prepare the zone for 1 May is incorrect. It is also untrue that while in camp Bashkirov was in the hospital, although he was indeed ill with inflammation of the lungs.

* * *

At the end of a 2-year term **Zigmas Širvinskis** (*Chronicles* 41, 44) was released from a camp in the town of Alytus in the Lithuanian S S R.

In Exile

At the beginning of December 1977 M V D Colonel Krivonogov arrived in the settlement of Vershino-Shakhtama in the Shelopugino District of Chita Region where **Malva Landa** (*Chronicle* 46) was in exile. Not finding Landa, he left. The following morning the district policeman told her that Colonel Krivonogov wanted to talk to her about an amnesty. On this same visit Colonel Krivonogov had ordered the policeman not to give Landa the pass which for exiles replaces a passport, and had torn up the pass that had been prepared.

On 15 February 1978 the head of the district police, Major A. A. Levin, summoned Landa to Shelopugino and showed her a memorandum of 14 February from head of the Shelopugino communications network N. A. Butin:

> I am sending you two copies of telegrams sent via the Vershino-Shakhtama communications department by Malva Landa, the texts of which were received in violation of the regulations on use of the communications services, point seven.
>
> In connection with the fact that according to a statement by an employee of the village council Malva Landa is living in the settlement of Vershino-Shakhtama and is under open police surveillance, I ask you to take measures to distort (sic! — *Chronicle*) the despatch by Malva Landa of similar telegrams in the future.
>
> Employees of the postal service who accept telegrams with distortion (sic! — *Chronicle*) of point seven will be punished.

Levin stated that it was not acceptable for Soviet citizens to send telegrams of this sort; however he refused to show her copies of the telegrams in question.

'In these telegrams you undermine the most sacred thing that we have — Soviet power!' He nonetheless read a few words from one

telegram: '...indignant...Levko...decent, good people,...are subjected to persecution...' 'Good people are not imprisoned. If they were put in prison it means they are criminals'.

(Landa had sent the 'criminal' telegrams one-and-a-half months previously.)

Several times Levin mentioned the amnesty: 'Don't forget the amnesty! All this doesn't do you any good. We'll take it into account when there's a commission.'

On 24 February the district policeman told Landa that she would probably be amnestied and that she could sell the house she had bought. It turned out that in the settlement they had known about this the evening before.

On 1 March it was announced to Landa that she had been amnestied.

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On 10 December 1977 the term of exile of **Vyacheslav Petrov** (*Chronicles* 29, 44) came to an end.

On 15 February 1978 the term of exile of **Iosif Begun** (*Chronicle* 46) came to an end.

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In August or September 1977 **Bogdan Chuiko** was finally permitted, as an invalid unfit for work, to move from Tomsk region to the town of Michurinsk to join his family (*Chronicle* 47).

* * *

Kolyma. On 10 February a search was carried out on **Vasily Stus** (*Chronicles* 44-47) in connection with the case of L. Lukyanenko (see 'Repressions against the Helsinki Groups'). Stus was threatened with 15 days' arrest for calling the searchers 'policemen'.

Stus is not being permitted to go and see his sick parents even for a few days (his father is 87, his mother 77 years old).

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In January **Stefania Shabatura,** who is serving a term of exile in the Kurgan region (*Chronicle* 44), went on holiday to Lvov, to her mother. She was not permitted to stay in Kiev en route.

After Shabatura's return from holiday a court secretary was moved into her room with her. This had been arranged by the procurator.

On 2 February Shabatura was summoned to the district O V D as a witness. When she arrived she found that an investigator who had come from the Kurgan K G B was about to interrogate her in connection with the case of Lukyanenko, in whose possession her address had been found. Shabatura said she refused to be a witness in the case of a man with whom she was not acquainted. A record was nonetheless made out and Shabatura, in signing it, wrote that she protested against the unceasing persecution of people who stand up against the violation of human rights in the U S S R. The investigator said that now he would have to rewrite 'the spoiled record', but Shabatura said that she would sign nothing else and left. The same day she was again summoned, and in the presence of two witnesses the investigator demanded a signature to the rewritten record. Shabatura again refused.

Before her holiday the head of the district police, Lobanov, had told Shabatura that her regime might be made easier — she would be permitted to report less often, not every Saturday. Soon after the interrogation S. Shabatura asked Lobanov about the promised review of the surveillance regulations. Lobanov answered that there would be no review and that he had received a rebuke for re-educating her badly. 'Why did you have to talk to them like that? What did you gain?', Lobanov asked her.

Shabatura has a bad heart. During her holiday in Lvov a diagnosis was made: vegetative-vascular distonia of the cardial type with manifestations of angina spasms in the heart.

In the Psychiatric Hospitals

This section is compiled, in the main, from materials in the *Information Bulletins* of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, No. 5 (15 December 1977), No. 6 (1 February 1978) and No. 7 (24 February 1978).

On the cover of *Bulletin* No. 5, as on the previous one, is written: 'Members of the Commission: Vyacheslav Bakhmin, Irina Kaplun, Alexander Podrabinek, Felix Serebrov'. *Bulletin* No. 7 states that I. Kaplun has left the Working Commission. *Bulletin* No. 6 is a special issue devoted to the case of Vladimir Rozhdestvov (see *Chronicle* 47); it was compiled by V. Bakhmin, A. Podrabinek and a member of the Moscow Helsinki group, Tatyana Osipova.

In the Special Psychiatric Hospitals

Tashkent S P H

Between 20 and 30 January 1978 **Vladimir Rozhdestvov** (*Chronicle* 47) was brought here from Kaluga.

On 9 December 1977 members of the Working Commission V. Bakhmin, I. Kaplun and A. Podrabinek appealed to the American Psychoanalytic Association to speak out in defence of V. Rozhdestvov and to condemn the use of Soviet psychiatry for political ends.

On 27 December the R S F S R Supreme Court considered the appeal of defence lawyer N. Ya. Nimirinskaya against the decision of the

Kaluga regional court of 23 November in the case of V. Rozhdestvov. Nimirinskaya told the court that the actions performed by Rozhdestvov could not be classified under article 190 of the Russian Criminal Code, since expressing opinions on the incorrectness of policies pursued in the U S S R, listening to foreign radio-stations and praising life in capitalist countries did not constitute a crime under this article. She gave a similar assessment of other points in the indictment: the 'ideologically harmful' poem, the manuscript on two pages of an exercise book, and the conversations with Voronin. Nimirinskaya also stated that she considered the conclusion of the out-patient forensic-psychiatric diagnosis to be insufficiently grounded and not objective:

> 12 days after Rozhdestvov's internment in the Kaluga regional psychiatric hospital and three weeks before the criminal case against him was instituted, doctor-psychiatrist Tronina (who is a forensic-psychiatric expert) had already expressed in a special letter her opinion on the impossibility of keeping Rozhdestvov in a general hospital and had recommended his transfer to a special psychiatric hospital, although she could as yet have known nothing about Rozhdestvov having performed any sort of socially dangerous actions.
>
> It is no accident that, when requesting a forensic-psychiatric diagnosis, the investigators entrusted it to precisely those doctors who had been keeping Rozhdestvov in a psychiatric hospital and who had already expressed their opinion on the necessity of his compulsory treatment in a special hospital.

Nimirinskaya pointed out the gross violations of judicial procedure committed by the Kaluga court: of eight witnesses named in the court's decision, only one had been questioned during the trial while six witnesses had not even been summoned; her application for their summoning by the court had been rejected; nonetheless their evidence at the pre-trial investigation had been taken into account at the trial and had featured in the court's decision; and the court had rejected her application for the appointment of a fresh diagnostic team and not allowed her to submit written questions to the psychiatric expert. Nimirinskaya asked for the decision of the Kaluga regional court to be set aside and for the case to be reconsidered. The Supreme Court did not accept her appeal.

Bulletin of the Working Commission No. 6 (35 pages)[6] also contains a 'Legal Analysis by the consultant lawyer of the Working Commission', S. V. Kalistratova, and the 'Opinion of a consultant psychiatrist of the Working Commission on the diagnosis of V. P. Rozhdestvov'. The second document ends with the words:

> The conclusion of 'not responsible', i.e. of absence of a critical

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1 Ex-Major-General Pyotr Grigorenko *l*, expelled in 1978 from his homeland (p 1), with dissenting Moscow writer Lev Kopelev (p 152). **2** Maria Petrenko, widow of Grigory Podyapolsky and helper of political prisoners (p 7). **3** The Vins family, Kiev Baptists persecuted for three generations (pp 17–8, 21–3). *Seated r:* Lidia; *standing l:* her daughter-in-law Nadezhda (wife of imprisoned Rev. Georgy Vins, whose portrait hangs on the wall); *standing r:* their son Pyotr, member of Ukrainian Helsinki group.

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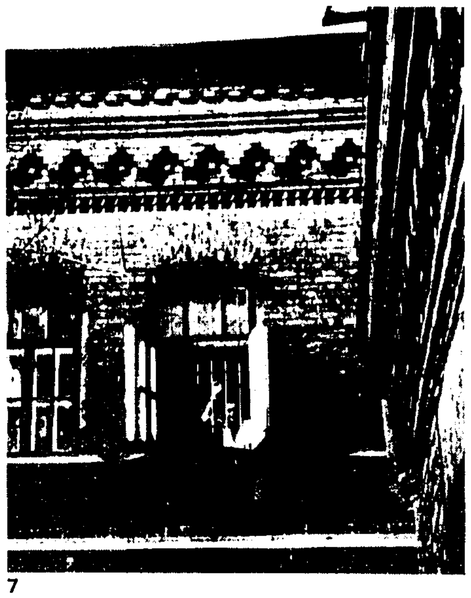
4 Kirill Podrabinek *r* (b 1952), samizdat writer imprisoned on trumped-up charge because his brother Alexander *l* (b 1953) refused to submit to KGB blackmail and emigrate (pp 33–9). **5** Pinkhos Podrabinek (the brothers' father), a doctor and a dissenter, with his wife, 1978. **6** Yury Belov (b 1941), writer released in December 1977 after 13 years in labour camps and mental hospitals, with Tatyana Velikanova (p 91).



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7 Evgeny Nikolayev (b 1939, pp 88–90), geographer and linguist, waving from Moscow's Kashchenko mental hospital in 1974. In 1978 he was interned for the fifth time for his refusal to conform. **8** Ambartsum Khlgatyan, worker and member of Armenian Helsinki Group, subject to KGB harassment (p 30). **9** Edward Kuznetsov (b 1939, pp 49–51), dissenter, writer and would-be emigrant to Israel serving a 15-year sentence. **10** Aleksei Murzhenko (b 1942, p 51), dissenter and would-be emigrant, in 1978 ill and severely harassed by the authorities in the Mordovian special-regime camp.

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11 Malva Landa (b 1918, p 81), long-standing Moscow human rights activist, photographed here in Siberian exile. **12** Stefania Shabatura (b 1938, p 82), Ukrainian dissenter now, after 5 years' imprisonment, in exile 1,500 miles from her home. **13** Nadezhda Svetlichnaya, Ukrainian activist, with her son. Since serving 4 years' imprisonment she has been subject to constant KGB persecution (p 93). **14** Grigory Tokayuk (b 1947, p 129), Ukrainian linguist, dissenter and would-be emigrant.

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15 Mikhail Makarenko (b 1931, pp 95–7), art specialist and ex-political prisoner who began in January 1978 to evade police efforts to find him, pictured here in a secret hideout. **16** Aleksei Semyonov (b 1957, p 147) with his mother Elena Bonner and step-father Andrei Sakharov. A Moscow student, Semyonov was expelled from college and, in 1978, forced into emigration. **17** Andrei Tverdokhlebov (b 1940), physicist and the first secretary of the Soviet group of Amnesty International, with his sister Yulia Zaks. Both have recently been subject to persecution (pp 92–3).

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18 Vadim Nechayev (b 1937) Leningrad litterateur and organizer of unofficial literary and artistic activity, with his physicist wife Marina Nedrobova. Recently he was expelled from the Writers' Union and nearly interned in a mental hospital (pp 150–2). **19** Nikolai Bondar (b 1939) ex-political prisoner put under surveillance on his release (p 93). **20** Sergei Ponomaryov (b 1945) ex-journalist and ex-political prisoner, recently subject to renewed persecution in Gorky (p 168). **21** Vasily Stus (b 1938) Ukrainian poet and critic undergoing harassment in Siberian exile (p 82).

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22 Mustafa Dzhemilev *r*, Crimean Tatar leader, photographed with his brother Asan in December 1977, soon after his release. Official persecution of him has continued (pp 98–101). **23** Reshat Dzhemilev *l*, another Crimean Tatar leader subjected to harassment (pp 101–3), with Mustafa Dzhemilev, whose badge reads 'Return Crimean Tatars to Crimea'. **24** Alexander Petrov-Agatov, ex-prisoner and writer who in 1977 turned state's evidence against leading dissenters (pp 166–7).

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25 The Khailo family, Baptists in the Ukraine subjected to many forms of persecution and denied permission to emigrate (pp 124–7). This photo, taken c 1975, shows 13 of the 15 children, and does not include the imprisoned Anatoly, Mikhail (b 1960) and Alexander (b 1961), who were taken away by force by the authorities, are standing 3rd and 4th from the right. **26** Yakov Dolgotyor (b 1958) an Adventist from Odessa region, who was arrested in possession of religious literature (p 118). **27** Members of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights (p 170), photographed in Moscow in early 1978. *R to l:* Father Gleb Yakunin, Viktor Kapitanchuk, Hierodeacon Varsonofy Khaibulin.

attitude to one's actions and incapacity to control them, is not supported by any evidence.

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The Pentecostalist **Anna Vasilevna Chertkova** (see 'Persecution of Believers') is in Tashkent S P H.

Kazan S P H

In May 1977 on account of the objections of a representative of the Serbsky Institute, the regular commission did not put forward **Boris Evdokimov** (*Chronicle* 47) for discharge from the S P H, although the hospital doctors consider his discharge possible.

In summer 1977 Evdokimov was prescribed a course of tizertsin (10 injections plus tablets for a week). In the morning he takes teofedrin — without it he is unable to get up.

The first psychiatric diagnosis after Evdokimov's arrest in 1971 (under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code for publishing in *Posev* — *Chronicle* 26) ruled him responsible. Then he began to simulate mental illness, and the second diagnostic team, diagnosing schizophrenia, ruled him not responsible. Later Evdokimov regretted his simulation of illness and admitted it. He also stated that he had renounced political activity and was 'politically neutral'.

In face-to-face conversations with Evdokimov the doctors acknowledge the fact of his simulation of illness and the absence of symptoms, but they say that it is 'inconvenient' to change the diagnosis.

On 10 December A. Podrabinek sent a statement to the chairman of the Leningrad city court:

> The Working Commission has in its possession information justifying the view that B. D. Evdokimov's state of health does not necessitate compulsory treatment.
>
> In accordance with article 412 part 3 of the Russian Code of Criminal Procedure the Commission petitions for the cessation of compulsory measures of a medical nature in relation to B. D. Evdokimov.

* * *

The Kiev regional court has refused to allow **Nikolai Plakhotnyuk** (*Chronicles* 28, 43) a discharge from the S P H. At the end of December 1977 the medical commission for the second time (*Chronicle* 47) put him forward for discharge and again sent his case to the Kiev regional court. On 12 January 1978 the Working Commission sent an application to the court and to Procurator of the Kiev Region for an end to the compulsory treatment of N. Plakhotnyuk.

* * *

Kim Davletov (*Chronicles* 39, 46) has been transferred to an ordinary mental hospital.

Alma-Ata S P H (town of Talgar)

Sergei Purtov (*Chronicle* 26) is here, in the seventh division. His brother Ivan was released from a psychiatric hospital in 1977.

Chernyakhovsk S P H

The reason for **Arvidas Čehanavičius's** transfer from the Kaunas ordinary psychiatric hospital to the Chernyakhovsk S P H (*Chronicle* 46) was his two escape attempts (in 1974 and 1975).

Sychyovka S P H (Smolensk Region)

Vladimir Sergeyevich Maksimov (b. 1920) has been here since 1973. In 1937, soon after he had finished secondary school, Maksimov was given 10 years in camps. In 1947, a few months after his release, Maksimov was arrested on a charge of forming a 'League of Veterans of Soviet Concentration Camps'. A forensic-psychiatric team of the Serbsky Institute ruled him not responsible (the diagnosis was schizophrenia). Maksimov was in the Kazan S P H. In 1972 he was released. On attempting to give his stories about the S P H to foreign correspondents Maksimov was rearrested and charged under article 70, part 2 of the Russian Criminal Code. He was again ruled not responsible.

* * *

In August 1977 **Vasily Ivanovich Shipilov** (b. 1922) was transferred from the Sychyovka S P H to an ordinary hospital (Krasnoyarsk Territory, Poimo-Tiny settlement, territorial psychiatric hospital No. 1).

In 1939, when Shipilov was studying in a seminary, he was arrested and given 10 years in a camp. In 1949, soon after his release, Shipilov was arrested on a charge of anti-Soviet agitation. In 1950 he was ruled not responsible and interned in the Kazan S P H. Since 1960 Shipilov has been in the Sychyovka S P H. Head of ninth division, Elena Leontevna Maksimova, has repeatedly told him that he will not be released until he renounces his religious belief.

Dnepropetrovsk S P H

Since the beginning of September 1977 **Iosif Terelya** (*Chronicle* 47) has been here. He has been prescribed stellazin and tsiklodol, as a result of which his ulcer has worsened. Doctor Nelya Mikhailovna Budkevich told Olena Timofeyevna Terelya, Terelya's wife, that a symptom of his illness was his desire to leave the Soviet Union.

On 10 June 1977 the Beregovo district court considered the case of Iosif Terelya's attempted escape from a psychiatric hospital (*Chronicle* 46), and ordered his transfer to an S P H. Neither Terelya, nor his wife, nor a defence lawyer was at the trial. In mid-June, Procurator of

Beregovo district A. M. Meshko informed Terelya's wife that the decision of the court on 10 June had been abrogated, since Terelya's right to a defence had been violated, but that soon there would be a fresh trial and Terelya would all the same be sent to an S P H.

At the beginning of July chairman of the district court Iosepchuk stated to Olena Terelya that the law did not oblige them to inform her of the date of her husband's trial or of the decision of the court. On 4 July Olena Terelya sent a statement to the Transcarpathian regional court demanding that the administration of the Beregovo psychiatric hospital, the Beregov district court, the regional Procuracy and the regional K G B all be brought to trial. In the statement she said: 'All the actions against my husband are aimed at damaging his health, and perhaps at his deliberate murder.'

Only at the end of July did Olena Terelya find out that a repeat trial of her husband had taken place already, some time between 20 and 30 June.

Olena Terelya sent a statement to the World Psychiatric Association's Committee for the Investigation of Complaints against the Use of Psychiatry for Political Ends:

> I am a doctor, and I affirm that my husband is not in need of compulsory treatment in a psychiatric hospital.
>
> I appeal to you to help my husband. I ask you to help him in any way you, doctor-psychiatrists, can help him. You possess documents — the letters of Iosif Terelya — in which his 'crime' and his 'illness' are contained. My husband and I rely on you to conduct an investigation of his case including, if this proves possible, carrying out a diagnosis....I ask the Committee to do everything possible to obtain the release of my husband.

(A resolution to form this Committee was passed at the Congress of the World Psychiatric Association in Honolulu in August 1977. However the Committee has not been set up — *Chronicle*.)

* * *

On 17 December 1977 V. Bakhmin, I. Kaplun and A. Podrabinek sent a letter to the chief doctors of the Leningrad, Oryol, Smolensk, Sychyovka (Smolensk Region), Kazan, Chernyakhovsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Tashkent and Alma-Ata (town of Talgar) S P Hs:

> The Working Commision is taking under its observation those inmates of your establishment regarding whom — from episodes in the materials of their pre-trial investigation or in the court decisions to apply compulsory treatment of a medical nature to them — it is reasonable to conclude that they have been interned for political or religious reasons....We call on you not to forget your duty as a

doctor and not to undertake actions which compromise you as a doctor and a man.

Forcible Hospitalizations

On 15 February 1978 **Evgeny Borisovich Nikolayev** was forcibly hospitalized in Moscow's Kashchenko psychiatric hospital No 1.

E. Nikolayev (b. 1939) graduated from the geography faculty of Moscow State University in 1969.

He was forcibly hospitalized in a psychiatric hospital for the first time in September 1970 until January 1971 (for refusal to accept socialist obligations in honour of the 21st party congress); the second time was in February 1971 until July 1971; the third, from August 1971 until July 1972; the fourth, from February until May 1974.

On 14 September 1977 E. Nikolayev sent a letter to the U S S R Minister of Health:

> Mr Minister!
> ...I call on you to do all in your power to ensure that Soviet psychiatrists consistently observe the British, Australian and New Zealand resolution and the 10-point Declaration of Hawaii, both passed at the International Congress...I consider it essential that the Committee for the Investigation of Cases of the Misuse of Psychiatry for Political Ends should have permanent representation in Moscow.

On 29 October 1977 E. Nikolayev sent the Working Commission a letter about the situation of people on the psychiatric register. He proposes that the Working Commission

> also take measures in defence of those who are illegally put on the psychiatric register...the release of a dissident from a psychiatric hospital cannot be seen as a victory as long as he continues to be on the psychiatric register, and as long as the Damocles sword of further hospitalizations hangs over him.

On 25 November 1977 E. Nikolayev renounced Soviet citizenship and asked to be permitted to emigrate with his family 'to any non-communist country'. The same day, a group of workers held a press-conference for foreign correspondents in his flat (see 'A Free Trade-Union' in the section 'Miscellaneous Reports').

On 12 December 1977 district policeman A. D. Pulyayev called on Nikolayev at his home and said that he was obliged to give him urgent medical assistance. Nikolayev did not open the door to him.

On 13 December in a letter to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet Nikolayev demands to be allowed to leave the U S S R and 'that Mr Pulyayev, employee of police station 137, who has got out of hand, be kept in check'.

On 14 December A. Podrabinek sent the chief doctor of the psychoneurological dispensary of the Soviet District of Moscow, V. K. Svishchev, and Chief Psychiatrist of Moscow V. P. Kotov letters of identical content:

> The Commission informs you that it knows the circumstances of Evgeny Borisovich Nikolayev's case.
> The conclusion of the Commission's psychiatric expert is that 'Nikolayev shows no symptoms of mental illness. Mildly expressed personality changes of an organic type are apparent. He does not require treatment in a psychiatric hospital.'
> The application to Nikolayev of compulsory measures of a medical nature will be regarded by the Commission as a misuse of psychiatry for political purposes.

On the evening of 15 February 1978, when Nikolayev was returning home, he was detained in the entrance to his home by police and people in civilian dress. Nikolayev was not even allowed to tell his wife of his detention. He was taken away to the Kashchenko psychiatric hospital. In the waiting-room Nikolayev was asked (without there being the slightest basis for it): 'Why did you try to get into the American Embassy?' Later Nikolayev's wife was told in the hospital that her husband had been interned 'for holding a press-conference'.

Nikolayev was put in section six, and intensive treatment with neuroleptics (aminazin and triftazin) was started.

On 19 February in a statement to the R S F S R Procuracy Nikolayev demanded his immediate release from the psychiatric hospital and that policeman Pulyayev and the doctors of psychiatric dispensary No. 13 of the Soviet District, who had written the order for his hospitalization, should be brought to trial.

On 20 February the Working Commission appealed to the President of the World Psychiatric Association, Pierre Pichot, in a letter. Citing several cases of forcible hospitalization of members of the Free Trade-Union (see 'Miscellaneous Reports') and also that of E. Nikolayev, the Commission writes:

> ...The Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes has appealed in letters to the chief psychoneurologist of the U S S R Ministry of Health, Alexander Churkin, and to the chief phychiatrist of Moscow, Vyacheslav Kotov, but these have had no results. The Working Commission has received no replies, while hospitalizations in psychiatric hospitals have continued.
> Mr President! We call on you to use all your authority and the authority of the World Psychiatric Association to end the practice of using psychiatry in the U S S R for punitive political purposes...

The letter is signed by V. Bakhmin and A. Podrabinek.

At the end of February A. Podrabinek had a conversation in the hospital with department head M. I. Belikov. Podrabinek referred to the opinion of the Working Commission's psychiatric consultant (see above). Belikov replied that they considered Nikolayev to be ill.

On 3 March Nikolayev was visited by his acquaintance Anatoly Pozdnyakov (one of the members of the Free Trade-Union). They spoke through a window. At the end of the conversation Nikolayev threw a note to Pozdnyakov. When Pozdnyakov was leaving, a man in a white coat caught up with him; he beat up Pozdnyakov, went through his pockets and took from him the note and other papers. 'If you complain you'll end up here with us,' he said. Poznyakov's appeal to the police and his request to be sent for forensic-psychiatric diagnosis remained unanswered.

On 12 March, when Nikolayev's wife wanted to come and visit him, she was detained in the entrance hall of the hospital and, on the pretext of a need to check her papers, taken off to the police station.

* * *

18 people have signed an appeal 'In defence of Evgeny Nikolayev!':

> ...Evgeny Nikolayev repeatedly spoke out in defence of prisoners of conscience in the U S S R. His signature stands under many documents and appeals in defence of people's rights. He has been a translator at press-conferences and has held them in his own home. And now, to punish him and warn others, he has for the fifth time been put in a psychiatric hospital...
>
> Psychiatric terror continues. Its latest victim — Evgeny Nikolayev — needs the support and defence of the world public.

* * *

From 13 October 1977 until 11 November 1977 **Pyotr Mitrofanovich Sebelev** (b. 1916) was held in Moscow psychiatric hospital No. 3.

From 1939 until 1958 Sebelev served in the Soviet army. In 1958 he retired into the reserve with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Sebelev took part in the Great Fatherland War, holds 12 government decorations and graduated from two technical higher education institutions.

In 1962 Sebelev wrote a letter to Khrushchev. He sent copies of this letter to members of the Presidium of the Central Committee and to the Marshals. In the letter he subjected Khrushchev's activity to sharp criticism. The letter ended with a call to members of the Presidium to relieve Khrushchev of his post and establish a genuinely collective leadership of the country.

On 13 April 1962 Sebelev was arrested. During a search notes of his conversations with generals and marshals, a manuscript of an epic written by him about the Second World War, *The Battle of the Peoples*, and correspondence with publishing houses and reviewers were taken away. After two interrogations at the K G B Sebelev was sent to the Serbsky Institute. 18 days later, with a diagnosis of 'paranoid personality development', he was sent to the Leningrad S P H where he stayed until October 1963.

For working out plans for developing regions of the Far North, Sebelev in 1964 received the gold medal of the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. In 1969, after improving his qualifications at a military academy, Sebelev was given the rank of colonel in the reserve.

On 3 November 1975 Sebelev was detained in the street and sent to Moscow psychiatric hospital No. 14 for three weeks. The same day K G B officials seized Sebelev's manuscript *Battle for the Planet* (a new version of the confiscated *Battle of the Peoples*).

In January 1976 Sebelev sent two letters to the 25th party congress. In these letters he in particular criticised the K G B's activity and the misuse of psychiatry. On the eve of the opening of the congress Sebelev was again put into psychiatric hospital No. 14 for three weeks.

* * *

On the morning of 23 November Jewish refusenik **Efim Pargamanik** (*Chronicle* 47) was visited at his home by a district policeman who invited him to the police-station — supposedly for a caution about parasitism. From there Pargamanik was taken off to the Pirogov psychiatric hospital, where he was held for 24 hours.

* * *

Vladimir Veretennikov, compulsorily hospitalized in Leningrad prior to the celebrations for the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution (*Chronicle* 47), has been let out of psychiatric hospital.

The Release of Yury Belov

On 10 November the Vladimir regional court passed a decision on ending the compulsory treatment of Yury Belov (*Chronicles* 46, 47). On 5 December Belov was let out of the Krasnoyarsk city psychiatric hospital. On the way to Krasnoyarsk airport he was detained by K G B officials and returned to the hospital. His discharge documents were cancelled and the cost of his air ticket refunded.

On 13 December Belov was let out of the hospital a second time and successfully arrived in Moscow. On 14 December he issued a statement expressing thanks to those people and organisations that had fought for his release:

Together with my gratitude I wish to express the hope that you will not cease your efforts in defence of human dignity. I call on you today to concentrate your attention on those political prisoners who remain in mental asylums, remembering that every day and every hour a similar fate threatens thousands of people who stand up for their views and convictions.

* * *

Yu. Belov informed the Working Commission of the persecution of psychiatrists who are in sympathy with political patients and refuse to carry out the instructions of the K G B (*Bulletin* No. 5).

* * *

In another letter to the Working Commission Yu. Belov told how the head of section four of the Sychyovka S P H, Albert Iovich Zeleneyev (*Chronicle* 41), confiscated from him three exercise books of diaries and about 20 photographs, which had been passed by the censor, while the head of section four of the Smolensk S P H, Vyacheslav Vasilevich Bobrov, confiscated an exercise book with poems and abstracts. 'In my opinion,' Belov concludes, 'a doctor who performs the function of prison overseer and functionary is altogether not worthy of the title of doctor.'

* * *

At present Yu. Belov has been registered in the town of Roslavl (Smolensk Region) and is living there. His relatives in Roslavl have been summoned to the K G B and questioned.

After Release

On 23 January **Andrei Tverdokhlebov** (*Chronicles* 40, 41) returned to Moscow from exile. On 31 January the police cautioned Tverdokhlebov on violation of the residence regulations and demanded that he leave Moscow Region within three days. On 4 February Tverdokhlebov was given a second caution.

Meanwhile Tverdokhlebov began to try to obtain registration in Moscow, in his mother's flat. Having received a refusal and a certificate of this refusal from police station 13, on 6 February he appealed to the Moscow city U V D's Central Passport Department. The following day Tverdokhlebov needed to go there again with some further documents. However, on the evening of 6 February, no sooner had he arrived at his sister Yulia Zaks's flat when the district policeman

came in after him, together with some other people. The policeman examined Tverdokhlebov's passport and, although the second '72 hours'* had not expired, asked him and Yu. Zaks to come to the police station.

In police station 26 a record of Tverdokhlebov's 'non-compliance' was unexpectedly made out and a fine imposed on Yu. Zaks for the 'residence' with her of an unregistered person. Tverdokhlebov was kept at the police station. The next day a Judge sentenced him to 10 days' arrest, attributing to him refusal to show his passport and proceed to the police station.

On 8 February, although Tverdokhlebov was asked to sign for the return of the articles taken from him on his arrest, he discovered that the list did not include the certificate from police station 13 (without this certificate he could not appeal to the Central Passport Department). In the police station they began to deny that they had removed this certificate (in actual fact the district policeman had handed it to one of the 'civilians' accompanying him). Then Tverdokhlebov demanded the return of the stolen document and declared a hunger-strike which he maintained until his release on 16 February.

After 16 February Tverdokhlebov received, although not immediately, a duplicate of the certificate and was able to renew his efforts to obtain registration.

Several of the officials to whom he spoke gave him the oral reply that those convicted under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code cannot be given registration in Moscow (see the section 'Official Documents' in *Chronicle* 34).

* * *

On 30 December 1977 **Nadezhda Svetlichnaya** (*Chronicle* 47) was given a caution according to the decree of 25 December 1972 [*Chronicle* 30].

In the record of the caution were mentioned compilation and circulation of letters and statements about renunciation of citizenship (*Chronicle* 44), participation in the preparation and circulation of memoranda Nos. 2 and 3 (*Chronicle* 45) and No. 11 of the Ukrainian Helsinki group, letters in defence of M. Rudenko and other political prisoners, bringing up her son incorrectly, and having an ideologically harmful influence on those around her.

* * *

The release of **Nikolai Bondar** (*Chronicle* 47), took place on 5 Novem- 1977 in the town of Tulchin, Vinnitsa Region. He at once went to join his parents in the town of Vatutino, Cherkassy Region. Two hours after his arrival the police came for him. He was taken back to Tulchin,

[*The period he can spend in Moscow on a visit, when he is not registered there.]

installed in a single room at a hotel and ordered not to leave the building until 9 November. On 9 November he was rapidly — in two hours — issued with a passport, after which he again returned to Vatutino. There he was put under surveillance. He has bad eyes, but is not permitted to go to Moscow to the clinic with which he registered when he was in Vladimir prison.

* * *

In August 1977, after the end of his period of surveillance (*Chronicle* 47), **Kuzma Matviyuk** moved from the Kirovograd Region to the village of Shubkiv in Rovno region. He was accepted at Rovno experimental agriculture station to perform the duties of senior research officer. Matviyuk was promised a flat within two months. However, after a short time the director of the station informed Matviyuk that his receiving a flat depended on his behaviour, and suggested that he 'give a talk somewhere'. Matviyuk refused, and the attitude towards him changed. A groundless penalty was imposed on him (time off was classified as absenteeism), his probationary period was extended by three months and his research plan was not confirmed. Matviyuk tried to get a job at a similar experimental station in Khmelnitsky region. There they agreed to accept both him and his wife as senior research officers and promised to give them a flat in three weeks. Matviyuk's wife started work at the Khmelnitsky experimental station while Matviyuk remained (until his wife received a flat) at work in Rovno. A few days later Matviyuk's wife was told that there would be no flat and that they could not give Matviyuk a job.

On 7 December 1977 an unknown young man conveyed to Matviyuk that official bodies who 'had enough work dealing with their own nationalists' wanted him to leave Rovno Region.

On 1 February 1978 Matviyuk was summoned to the Rovno K G B for questioning in connection with the case of L. Lukyanenko (see 'Repressions against the Helsinki Groups'). At the interrogation K G B officials assured Matviyuk that they were indifferent to the fate of his family and tried to persuade him to 'draw his own conclusions'.

On 13 February the scientific-technical council of the Rovno station did not confirm Matviyuk in his post, despite a good reference and the absence of criticisms of his work. On 27 February he was dismissed.

* * *

In November 1977 a writ for the recovery of 2,510 roubles 38 kopeks in costs in connection with a sentence of espionage (which was rescinded in August 1976) arrived at the timber concern where **Ma Khun** (*Chronicle* 42) works. Ma Khun's wages began to be docked by 40 per cent. He appealed against the writ. On 5 February 1978 a document was sent from the tribunal revoking the writ and ordering restitution of the sum deducted.

Mikhail Makarenko

On 2 July 1977 the 8-year term of imprisonment of Mikhail Makarenko (*Chronicle* 46) came to an end. A few weeks before the end of the term he was transferred to Leningrad. Here, in an internal K G B prison, it was announced to him that K G B chiefs had decided, in view of his bad character reference, to forbid his residence in Leningrad (where his family lives and where he himself had lived prior to his arrest), and to send him to the town of Luga. Makarenko's protest against 'extra-judicial' exile and his request to allow him at least to choose for himself his place of residence outside Leningrad, Moscow and the other 'listed' towns were of no avail.

Before his release almost all his possessions were confiscated from him while he was in Vladimir prison: his own court verdict; 42 judicial rulings of various courts in the Perm, Vladimir and Moscow regions and the Mordovian A S S R on suits brought by Makarenko against organs of the K G B and M V D (brought for 'under-issue of food', beating up a prisoner, embezzlement of funds from prisoners' personal accounts and appropriation of things belonging to them); cuttings from newspapers and magazines which Makarenko had subscribed to during his imprisonment; 1,500 postal receipts; envelopes and forms for notifications; photographs; letters (received by Makarenko through the censor); postcards with pictures of writers, artists and composers; records of searches and confiscations; receipts for registered letters; note-pads with addresses of relatives, acquaintances and Soviet organizations; exercise books with published verses of Soviet poets; prayers; extracts from books by Soviet authors, from law codes and decisions of the U S S R Supreme Court; books published in the Soviet Union — *The Nuremberg Trials* and *The U S A — Political Thought and History*; a letter from Marc Chagal; Makarenko's visiting card in his former capacity as director of the Picture Gallery of the Siberian scientific centre of the U S S R Academy of Sciences; an envelope with dried flowers and leaves, received by Makarenko in letters 'from outside'; and also 200 grams of black biscuits and 100 grams of dried sprats.

Makarenko was taken from Vladimir prison via Lefortovo K G B investigation prison (Moscow) to the Leningrad K G B prison without being given any dry rations; neither was he fed in Lefortovo.

On leaving prison, Makarenko moved in with his wife. He and his relatives were continuously shadowed. After a few days police officials literally dragged Makarenko from the flat (breaking a window for this purpose) and took him to the police station. There a record was made out on his violation of residence regulations and he was asked to leave for Luga within three days.

Makarenko went to Moscow. Here he was detained on 20 October

and taken under escort by aeroplane to Leningrad and from there, in a police van and handcuffed, to Luga.

In the Luga police station it was announced to Makarenko that he would be found a job and put under surveillance. A passport was made out for him there and then, but they did not manage to issue it to him. After a short absence the deputy head of the district O V D, returning, said that everything was being cancelled and that Makarenko would have to stay in prison until the October celebrations were over. After a while Makarenko was shown the sanction of the Luga procurator for his arrest for a period of 30 days 'for establishment of identity'. Two days later — again in a police van and again in handcuffs — Makarenko was taken to one of the Leningrad prisons, where he was held until 18 November.

On 18 November Makarenko was again taken under escort to Luga. There he was issued with a passport with registration in a hostel of the special commandant's office and it was announced to him that he was to be put under administrative surveillance. At the same time he was given a second caution in violation of residence regulations. The head of the Luga U V D, Colonel Maksimov, told Makarenko that a job had been selected for him and that if he refused it a criminal case would be instituted against him under article 209 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. Makarenko was shown a man in civilian clothes who explained that his duty included 'continuous and direct' observation of Makarenko and said that he was 'responsible' for him. Finally Makarenko was handed a summons for interrogation as a witness by the Luga district K G B department. Without going to the K G B, Makarenko the same day disappeared from Luga.

On 13 January 1978 Makarenko was again caught in Moscow and again taken to Luga. There a judge ruled on Makarenko's violation of residence regulations and fined him. About a week later Makarenko again disappeared from Luga.

From December to February the Moscow police, searching for Makarenko, came to several flats, for example those of L. Tanengolts and Yu. Zaks.

At the time of the completion of this issue of the *Chronicle* Makarenko has not yet been caught.

Before the release of Makarenko officials of the Leningrad K G B asked his wife and his brother-in-law **E. Murashov** (*Chronicle* 46) to persuade Makarenko to leave the U S S R. However, when Murashov went to the Leningrad O V I R they refused to accept documents from him, saying that neither he nor Makarenko were Jews. (In actual fact Makarenko is by origin a Rumanian Jew).

On 23 December 1977 Makarenko sent a letter (26 manuscript pages) to deputy of the U S S R Supreme Soviet and U S S R people's artist I. A. Kolpakova. In the letter he explains his choice of addressee:

on the territory of her electoral district there are both the K G B prison from which Makarenko was released, and the prison where they 'established his identity', and also the 'Big House' (the Leningrad K G B). A considerable part of the letter consists of a description of illegalities committed in precisely these establishments. Makarenko tells of his pillar-to-post existence since his release (see above). Besides this he writes:

> Having been 'released', I discovered that: the Leningrad (town of Pushkin) K G B had, over and above the official sentence, at their own discretion confiscated things not belonging to them worth 645 roubles; the Moscow K G B had carted off belongings worth 7,000 roubles; the U S S R (Lefortovo) K G B had appropriated nine parcels of things which I valued at 30 roubles each — total 270 roubles; camp ZhKh-385/17 had stolen provisions worth 50 roubles and caused my family to incur expenses of 147 roubles — total 197 roubles; camp VS-389/36 had stolen 272 roubles; Vladimir prison had stolen 140 roubles in cash.

The letter includes several calculations. For example in Perm camp 36 when counting the cost of prisoners' food onions costing 45 kopeks per kilogram were reckoned [by the authorities] at 65 kopeks, substandard meat products (40 kopeks per kg.) were treated as meat (two roubles per kg.) and cod at 39 kopeks was reckoned at 65 kopeks.

Mentioning his present situation Makarenko says at the end of his letter:

> I ask you for one thing — that my exile should be revoked and that I be given the right to choose my own place of residence and work on an equal basis with other political prisoners.

Having received no reply, on 22 January Makarenko sent I. A. Kolpakova a second letter. In it he adds to his previous letter:

> But even in the hostel of the special commandant's office I am subjected to restrictions which are not applied to others: when the children, my grandson and relatives, came to see me it was announced to them in the coarsest manner by the head of the special commandant's office that by this trip they were 'making things worse for you yourselves and for him' (i.e. me!). They were asked to leave the building of the special commandant's office and not to come again to see me. On returning to Leningrad they were interrogated about the circumstances of the trip by the police; they were threatened and asked to break off relations with me...

* * *

On **Mustafa Dzhemilev** see section 'Persecution of the Crimean Tatars'

Persecution of the Crimean Tatars

Mustafa Dzhemilev at Liberty

From a camp in the Primorsky Territory Mustafa Dzhemilev (*Chronicle* 47) was taken on 30 November 1977 by special transport (by air, in handcuffs) to Tashkent, where some of his relatives live. On 22 December, at the end of his term, he was released with a certificate in which, in the column 'is proceeding to place of residence', was entered the address of his brother Asan Dzhemilev (Tashkent, ul. Biruni 3, kv. 85). Mustafa declared, as he had in the camp, that he intended to join his parents in the Crimea. He refused to accept a passport in Tashkent and sent statements to the Procuracy and the M V D of the Uzbek S S R in which he asked permission to exercise his right to choose his place of residence, since his sentence had indicated neither exile nor banishment.

From the first day agents began to follow him in real earnest — the 'escort' sometimes reached 15 men. After a few days Mustafa went to Bekabad (120 km from Tashkent) to see his daughter. No sooner had he arrived at her home when he was arrested, kept overnight in the local prison and next morning taken to Tashkent and there released. On 30 December 1977 an order for administrative surveillance was announced to Dzhemilev, the regulations of which included registration on the 1st, 15th and 22nd of every month. At the same time the head of the department of preventive inspection of the city police, Major Kurbanov, told him that on 1 January 1978 (i.e. the day after next) he need not report. However on 4 January Dzhemilev was summoned to the police and a record of his violation of the surveillance regulations was made out. The same day a judge fined him 20 roubles for this. When Dzhemilev referred to his conversation with Kurbanov the judge said 'You can't drag those words into this'.

From 9 January until the end of the month M. Dzhemilev was in hospital (a 10-month hunger-strike before his last trial and a hunger-strike in camp had severely undermined his health — he has a duodenal ulcer, chronic bronchitis and bronchiectasis).

On 19 January a secret search was carried out at Asan's flat (the door was opened with a skeleton-key). That day Asan and his wife were detained at work, kept under observation and not permitted to leave even on business matters.

Since his release Mustafa Dzhemilev has been continuing his struggle for the right of Crimean Tatars to live in the Crimea.

While still in camp, having seen the contents of a letter from chairman of the control commission of the Belogorsk district soviet executive committee, Crimean Region, Lieut.-Colonel Tsapenko, to the camp head (*Chronicle* 47), Dzhemilev on 16 November 1977 wrote to him:

In connection with the arguments on which you base the refusal to let me register as a resident, I ask you to clarify:

1. In what exactly is expressed the 'flagrant violation of residence regulations' by my parents, living in Belogorsk District, which prevents their registration?
2. Is the fact of failure to observe, or even violation of, some passport instruction by my parents sufficient grounds for deliberate refusal to give me myself registration for residence in the Crimea?
3. On the basis of what currently operative political or legal instruments are my parents and myself put in the category of so-called 'special deportees'?
4. How far do the restrictions on 'special deportees' regarding registration in the Crimea, mentioned in your letter, extend, i.e. what data is it necessary to possess in order, as a 'special deportee', nonetheless to register in the Crimea, since in your letter you speak of restrictions and not of a ban?
5. In accordance with which currently operative legal instruments that have been published and are, consequently, binding on citizens, is registration in the Crimea by the 'special deportees' you mention restricted?

You are requested to send a reply to this letter within the period prescribed by law.

In the case of refusal to give an exhaustive reply to all the questions enumerated above, I shall be forced to regard the arguments put forward in your letter No. 22 of 28.10.77 as irresponsible, unconstitutional and, I presume, falling under article 74 of the R S F S R Criminal Code (and the equivalent article of the Uzbek Code) on answerability for violation of the national equality before the law of citizens of the U S S R.

Dzhemilev did not receive a reply to this letter. On 29 January 1978 Dzhemilev sent a statement to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet. He writes of his last conviction:

> The essence of the charge brought against me under article 190-1 consisted in my having, supposedly with the aim of slandering the Soviet political system, talked and written about restrictions existing in the U S S R on the rights of the Crimean Tatars as a national group.

Setting out, further, the contents of Tsapenko's letter and of the inquiries he himself put to him, Dzhemilev writes:

> In connection with the above I ask you to inform me whether up to the present time Crimean Tatars really are regarded in the U S S R as special deportees and whether there indeed exist political and legal norms restricting their registration for residence in the Crimea.

If such restrictions do officially exist, I demand their abolition, since they contradict articles 34 and 36 of the U S S R Constitution and constitute a violation of basic human rights. But even if at the present time official norms on restrictions of the rights of Crimean Tatars do not exist, such restrictions are undoubtedly widely practised, to which, in particular, Lieut-Colonel Tsapenko's letter of 28 October 1977 bears witness. It is known to me that at the present time there are hundreds of families of Crimean Tatars in the Crimea who have been refused the right of registering for residence and of getting a job, as a result of which they have found themselves in an extremely difficult economic situation. Besides this many cases are known of forcible expulsion of families of Crimean Tatars beyond the boundaries of the Crimea, and of other illegal repressive measures.

In accordance with articles 49 and 58 of the U S S R Constitution I request that a government commission with the participation of representatives of the Crimean Tatars be organized to investigate the situation in the Crimea.

On 1 February 1978 Dzhemilev also wrote to the U S S R Procurator-General:

> ...a representative of the administrative authorities of the Crimean Region has officially confirmed the existence of legal restrictions on Crimean Tatars as a national group, i.e. a fact which was called a slander on the Soviet system when it was I or other participants of our National Movement who spoke of it. He confirmed that, alongside the U S S R Constitution, which speaks of the legal equality of all peoples, and the Decree of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet of 5 September 1967 on the rehabilitation of the Crimean Tatars and the removal of legal restrictions from them, there exist also secret instructions on maintaining these unconstitutional restrictions.
>
> In general, of course, it is a fairly rare occurrence for the existence of restrictions on Crimean Tatars to be officially confirmed, and in writing. In the majority of cases actual legal restrictions are dressed up in other forms which, although absurd and contradictory, are not connected with the national question. Obviously Lieut-Colonel Tsapenko simply did not know that I too would come to know the contents of his letter.

In his statement Dzhemilev also speaks of the conditions he has been put in since his release: the deliberately provoked violation of the surveillance regulations, the search involving a break-in, and the very illegality of compulsory settlement in Tashkent:

> At the October district police station in Tahkent, which was supposed to be putting me under surveillance, it was admitted that I had been treated in an 'unusual' way, but they asserted that they themselves could not permit me to leave Tashkent, since my case was in effect being conducted by the K G B and they were unable not to carry out its orders. But whether the K G B orders are legal or illegal does not, it turned out, interest the police. They do not permit me to go to the Crimea, even for a few days, in order to see my sick 80-year-old father, whom I have not seen for about four years.

Mustafa Dzhemilev has still not received a reply to either of these statements.

Threats to Reshat Dzhemilev

In the Tashkent firm 'Uzorgtekhstroi' ['Uzbek Organization for Technical Construction'], where Reshat Dzhemilev (*Chronicles* 8, 9, 31, 32, 34, 38) works as deputy head of one of the departments, a meeting of management personnel was held on 10 February 1978 and a paper given on the theme 'The education of cadres in the spirit of socialist patriotism'. (Those called to attend the meeting had to sign an attendance register.)

The speaker after making general observations said that there were dissidents in the U S S R — Sakharov, Grigorenko and others — who carried on hostile activities, and that among their friends was R. Dzhemilev, who had long been engaged in circulating slanderous fabrications. The speaker also named such of Dzhemilev's activities as speaking at Kosterin's funeral (1968), his statement in defence of Yakhimovich (1969) and other items from Dzhemilev's criminal cases of 1969 (dropped — *Chronicle*) and 1972. He went on to inform the meeting that on 28 November 1977 Dzhemilev had spoken at a press-conference in Moscow where he said that the Crimean Tatar people was being subjected to genocide. Extracts were also read out from a Radio Liberty broadcast about R. Dzhemilev's letter to the king of Saudi Arabia.

When Dzhemilev was allowed to speak he included in his statement information on the history of the Crimean Tatars and told of the persecutions in the Crimea and the fate of Mustafa Dzhemilev, in whose defence he had appealed to the Saudi Arabian king.

Several other people spoke at the meeting. One of them said:

> Dzhemilev speaks of genocide. How are we to understand him in relation to Soviet authority? It turns out that Dzhemilev is equating Soviet authority with fascism.

Crimean Tatar Memetov stated that he had not noticed any harassment, that his father, for instance, held a high post, and that the family had no intention of going to the Crimea. Someone else put up the proposal of appealing to the government to deprive Grigorenko of his general's rank and to the Academy of Sciences to expel Sakharov, but the enterprise director replied that the first had been done long ago while it was not for them to instruct the Academy of Sciences.

A resolution was put to the meeting saying that R. Dzhemilev did not represent the Crimean Tatar people, that he made slanderous statements, that he had been punished for this but that he had 'understood nothing' and was continuing the same activity. The workforce of the enterprise, the resolution said, asks the enterprise management to consider the matter of Dzhemilev's further tenure of a management post and asks O V I R not to give him permission to leave the country since once abroad he might damage the Soviet state. (About a year ago R. Dzhemilev submitted documents for emigration on an invitation from relatives living in the U S A; he was refused and applied a second time — there has as yet been no answer.)

One of those present at the meeting wanted to speak after this, but was not allowed to by the chairman, who said that discussion had ended. Nonetheless he managed to say that he considered the resolution to be legally illiterate, since the meeting had no right to put forward such accusations.

Hastily taking a vote, the chairman declared the resolution unanimously passed (several people had raised their hands neither for nor against it).

The meeting also approved the texts of three letters: to A. D. Sakharov and to Radio Liberty saying that they were using the services of a renegade who represented no-one, and to O V I R with a request not to give Dzhemilev permission to emigrate.

It is not known whether these letters were sent off (A. D. Sakharov did not receive a letter from the enterprise); however, a similar letter reached the Moscow flat of **P. G. Grigorenko:**

After discussion of the conduct of our colleague Reshat Dzhemilev at a meeting in the 'Uzorgtekhstroi' enterprise of the Uzbek S S R Ministry of Construction our collective declares to you its indignation at your attempts to disorient world public opinion on the position of the Crimean Tatars in the U S S R.

The case in point is your support for Reshat Dzhemilev's statement before Western press correspondents on 28 November last year, which was broadcast the same day by the radio-station 'German wave'.

In the process of discussion we became convinced that Dzhemilev is slandering Soviet reality and his Crimean Tatar people, with whom he has long had nothing in common.

Not knowing the true position of the Crimean Tatars you are speculating in the slanderous fabrications of renegades of Dzhemilev's type, trying to popularize them in the West for mercenary objectives.

Several Crimean Tatars are employed in our workforce, all of them have higher education and enjoy all the rights of Soviet citizens.

We would like to ask you, when did Reshat Dzhemilev become a fighter for civil rights? Perhaps it was when he decided to emigrate permanently to the U S A and made the statement referred to above in order to curry sympathy in dubious circles in the West, earning himself thirty pieces of silver?

On behalf of the collective of the 'Uzorgtekhstroi' enterprise. Presidium of the meeting: *Gavrilov E. I., Sulkovsky I. A., Manasyan L. S., Aliev A. N., Khudaiberdiev A. Kh.*

Uzbek S S R, Tashkent, ul. Mukimy, dom 172, 'Uzorgtekhstroi' enterprise. 22 February 1978.

At meetings of party activitists in Tashkent in February accounts were given of the meeting described above and it was said that 'the enterprise collective really flattened Dzhemilev'.

In the Crimea

On 15 October a tractor set to work on the plot of ground attached to the home of Fatherland War invalid of the first category, **Asan Mamut** (*Chronicle* 47). Mamut's sister and her husband, who tried to save the vegetable patch, were beaten up. On 1 December the Belogorsk district court decided at the neighbours' suit to hand over the plot to them for 'legal use'; in doing so the court referred to its own decision on the 'illegality' of the purchase of the house, pronounced in June 1977. In January 1978 the bailiff started coming to enforce the handover.

On 17 October Asan Mamut was travelling like many other Crimean Tatars to Simferopol, in order to try to see an official in the regional soviet executive committee. The police set up a road-block and the highway police took away his invalid car passport and driving licence.

The Belogorsk District Procurator stated to Mamut and his family: 'If you cause any more scandal about the vegetable garden and one of you gets killed, we shan't try anyone for it.' He advised them to stop writing complaints, because anyway they would be returned to the district. 'We're the ones who'll decide,' the Procurator said.

* * *

On 8 December 1977 chairman of the soviet executive committee of the town Stary Krym, V. D. Rybalko, summoned the authors of a

letter addressed to Brezhnev and containing complaints about the actions of Rybalko himself, to see him. The letter, sent on 9 November 1977, had, after doing the rounds of official establishments, ended up with Rybalko. Rybalko said to the people he had summoned: 'We are not going to register you for residence or sanction your house purchases. Give your houses back to the people who owned them before, and go back to where you came from.' He also said that there were no registrations being given for residence in the town, 'in accordance with an official order'. Rybalko threatened that 1944 [the year of their wholesale deportation] would repeat itself for the Crimean Tatars.

* * *

On 20 December 1977 the family of **Ebazer Mametov,** who had bought a house in the village of Ivanovka, Saki district, was expelled. Ebazer was beaten up by policemen for resisting, and lay for 15 minutes unconscious on the ground. His wife Shevkhie had a tooth knocked out, was bound, and, after being taken to the airport, sent to Uzbekistan. Chairman of the 'Dawn' collective farm A. B. Chudik, secretary of the party organization Akhlanin, chief economist Popov, head of the fire brigade Treshchev, brigade-leader Lukyanov, chairman of the workers' committee Smirnov, chief power specialist Averyanov, chairman of the village soviet I. Ashurkov and worker N. Tereshenko participated in the expulsion. The previous evening they had got drunk together. Special funds are provided for expelling Crimean Tatar families.

* * *

On 20 January 1978 in the village of Vostochnoye, Sovietsky District, a large detachment of police tried to expel the family of **Gulsum Emirsalieva** (five people), who were living in a house they had bought in January. Neighbours intervened, but on 27 January a second attempt at expulsion was made. Windows and doors were torn off, glass was broken, the stove was smashed and electric wiring torn out.

* * *

In January the **Abdulin** family, which had settled in Krasnogvardeisky District, was expelled by a detachment of police and marines. One of the soldiers pointed a machine-gun at Abdulaver Abdulin and ordered him not to move, while his wife was beaten up. The Abdulins and their belongings were taken away to a container station and kept there in the open, with their child (that day there were 12 degrees of frost), until late in the evening — until they agreed to have the container with their belongings sent back to Central Asia. The operation was conducted by head of the district police Lisogorsky.

* * *

Dzhenner Maksudov and his family of four have been living in the village of Sennoye, Belogorsk District, since 1976. He is continually being summoned to the police station where they threaten to have him tried and exiled. In 1976 the former owner of their house. Klimenko, received a flat in the town of Zuya but, in the words of the district policeman, he has already been driven out of this flat for having sold his house to a Crimean Tatar.

* * *

In January 1978 **G. Pankratova** bought a house in Simferopol on Khokhlov Street. The house purchase was completed through a notary and registered. But when she tried to register her husband, Crimean Tatar **Nazym Mametov,** as a resident in the house, she was quickly expelled and on 10 March a suit that the sale and purchase of the house be ruled invalid was submitted to the court. Mametov (born 1937) worked for 20 years on the development of the Hungry Steppe, fell ill with tuberculosis of the throat, is on the medical register and moved to the Crimea on the recommendation of a doctor.

* * *

On 12 December 1977 the Razdolnoye district court ruled invalid the sale and purchase agreement on the **Osmanovs'** house and obliged them to return the house to its former owner and to pay 66 roubles state duty. Razdolnoye District Procurator N. N. Petrov's statement of claim says: 'A purchaser must be registered in this locality, whereas citizen Osmanov was registered in the Uzbek S S R.' On 31 January 1978 there was a new trial, this time with Rain Osmanov being charged with violation of the residence regulations (article 196 of the Ukrainian S S R Criminal Code). The court, chaired by A. M. Lebedev and with the participation of Procurator Ugryumova and social prosecutor Zhivalov, sentenced Osmanov to 1 year 9 months' imprisonment. The defendant was not given a copy of the verdict.

* * *

The trial of **Seidamet Memetov** (*Chronicles* 31, 32, 47), which was suddenly cancelled in November 1977, took place on 11 January 1978. The Saki district court sentenced Memetov to 2 years' banishment from the Crimea under article 196 of the Ukrainian S S R Criminal Code.

* * *

Under the same article **Uzret Suleimanov** has been condemned in the town of Stary Krym (to 3 years of banishment), and in Simferopol **Dilyaver Minimurzayev** (the trial was on 24 January, the sentence is not known); cases have been instituted against several other people.

Extracts follow from a protest by Crimean Tatars who have come to the Crimea, addressed to the government and the general public (February 1978):

> Over a short period each of the families which has come to Saki District has been fined two or three times (each time a sum of ten roubles) by the police and the administrative organs — on false, provocative charges, supposedly for violation of the residence regulations. Up to the present time more than ten families have been penalized by the Saki people's court on the suit of procurator Stepanov, who always claims the acquisition of a house to be a private and illegal deal. He abrogates it and simultaneously levies state duty at 6 per cent of the total sum established by the two parties on the basis of mutual agreement during the process of sale and purchase. Civil suits designed to rob the population by means of the courts are also being used with increasing frequency against the remaining families. The extent of the robbery of each family on the false charge of violating the residence regulations is 20-30 roubles; through civil suits it is from 600 to 1,200 roubles, i.e. from all the families who arrived in 1977-78 in the Saki district and have not been registered the total sum robbed is between 30,000 and 50,000 roubles.
>
> All over the Crimea depriving Crimean Tatar families of their household plots is being practised, both in villages and in towns. In the town of Stary Krym household plots have been taken away on the instructions of chairman of the soviet executive committee Rybalko and already new house-builders, from among the drunkards and idlers, have appeared on the plots of many Crimean Tatar families.

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Crimean Tatars are continuing to gather on reception days at the regional soviet executive committee in Simferopol, demanding to be received by the chairman (*Chronicles* 42, 44).

On 7 February about 200 people gathered. A detachment of police drove them away and many were beaten up. 15 people were detained and taken to the central police station: **Dilyara Asanova** (23 years old), **Persude Appazova** (19 years old), **Nurie Manseitova** (mother of three children), **Rafide Alieva** (19 years old), **Aishe Ismailova, Shosie Abduramonova, Karaeva** (mother of five children), **Anife Karalieva** (17 years old), **Izet Kara** (19 years old), **Khairi Emirasanov, Veli Amurov, Emirusein Osmanov, Alim Osmanov** (24 years old), **Tair Refatov, Dilyaver Umerov** (the two latter were demobilized from the army in December 1977). Records were compiled that same day on many of those detained and cautions made out in the following form:

> The administrative commission of the central district soviet executive committee, having considered the materials on citizen Izet Useinovich Kara, who is living without a fixed place of residence and not working, on his violation of the U S S R Council of Ministers' order of 28 August 1974 consisting in his residing in the Crimean Region without registration for residence or definite occupation, has ordered that he should be cautioned. Chairman of the administrative (signature), secretary (no signature).

A police official signed for the chairman of the administrative commission. The orders were dated 7 and 13 February. Five of those detained were released at 10 pm the same day, seven of them at 1 pm on 8 February. All were fined for 'petty hooliganism'. E. Osmanov, D. Umerov and A. Osmanov were given 15 days' imprisonment.

On 14 February a round-up of Crimean Tatars travelling to Simferopol was organized. Many were detained on the outskirts of the town as they got out of buses. Those who had reached the soviet executive committee building, mainly women and children (about 100 people), were surrounded by soldiers and policemen. The crowd of Russians and Ukrainians, evidently specially selected, that gathered nearby shouted: 'Traitors, renegades! They should have finished you off in 1944. You're not going to see the Crimea in a million years!' The Crimean Tatars did not reply to the insults and continued to approach the committee building. Then at the command of a police colonel the soldiers and policemen hurled themselves on them, twisted their arms and threw them into police vans. During this mêlée one girl, pushed by the police, hit her head on the tarmac and lost consciousness. Crimean Tatars were also picked up on the streets and in shops. 39 people were taken to the police station. Four who were still minors were quickly released, eight Crimean Tatars were each given 12 days, while a case was instituted against Riza Muslyadinov from the town of Zuya, Belogorsk district, under article 206 ('hooliganism'). Muslyadinov had shielded with his own body a woman who was being beaten by the police, but had not resisted his own arrest. His trial is expected in March.

Every Tuesday the Crimean regional soviet executive committee building is ringed by a detachment of police and K G B agents.

* * *

At the beginning of March two or three lorries transported a group of Crimean Tatars under guard from the Crimea to Taman. They were turned out of the lorry and left in the open air.

Events in Lithuania

The Trial of Jaškunas

On 26-28 November 1977 the Latvian S S R Supreme Court heard in assizes session the case against **Genrikas Jaškunas,** arrested in December 1976. (*Chronicle* 44; there it says how at his arrest several copies of a document entitled 'Manifesto of the Union of Organizations of Independent Peoples' were taken away.)

Jaškunas was born in 1927. In 1946 he served in the police (possibly even in an extermination detachment directed against the [nationalist] partisans). In the same year he appealed to the authorities in statements saying that extermination troops pretending to be partisans were terrorising the population for purposes of provocation [to discredit the partisans]. He was condemned to 10 years. In 1957 he received a second term.

Slightly over a month before the trial a letter from Jaškunas (which several people believe to be a fake), in which he asked to be sent neither packages nor letters, was handed to his wife. Jaškunas himself was told that his family had renounced him.

The courtroom was filled, in the main, by employees of a big local chemical combine amongst whom, naturally, there were many Russians. Neither the defendant's wife, nor his daughter or other relatives appeared in the courtroom.

Jaškunas pronounced his final statement in Russian so that he could be understood by all those present at the trial. He said in particular: 'Do what you like with me, I shall still call you occupiers.'

The sentence — 10 years in camp and 5 years' exile — allows one to assume that Jaškunas was charged under article 68, part 2 of the Lithuanian S S R Criminal Code (equivalent to article 70 of the R S F S R code).

There is information that **Dauetas** was also charged in Jaškunas's case and that he was condemned to 5 years.

Searches and Interrogations

On 20 January 1978 the investigation of the case of **Balys Gajauskas,** arrested on 20 April 1977 (*Chronicle* 45), came to an end. The investigation was conducted by Major Pilelis.

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On 13 May 1977 Gajauskas's fiancée **Irena Dumbrite** was interrogated in connection with his case at the Kaunas K G B. On 6 July 1977 a search was made at the home of her sister's husband **Šulskis.** The following day Šulskis and his wife were summoned to Vilnius for interrogation. The basic themes were: samizdat literature, whether they had received money from Gajauskas, what their conversations with him had been about and which people from camp had been mentioned. Later Šulskis was confronted with Gajauskas.

* * *

Also interrogated in connection with Gajauskas's case were **Grigoliuniene** (three times) and former political prisoners **Petrusevičius** (*Chronicles* 34, 35) and **Laurinskas** (*Chronicles* 36-38). They were asked about the aid fund for political prisoners: whether they had found out about its existence from Gajauskas, where the funds came from, whom Gajauskas had helped. The witnesses gave no evidence that 'compromised' Gajauskas.

It is known that the investigators are also interested in Gajauskas's participation in founding the Lithuanian partisans' archive.

On 7 December 1977 **Irena Dumbrite** and Gajauskas's mother **Adele Kiličiauskiene** were summoned for interrogation at the Kaunas K G B. Irena went, but without Gajauskas's mother, who had refused to come in view of her age (76 years old) and poor health. Pilelis questioned Dumbrite about people from the camps who used to visit Gajauskas, and whether Gajauskas used to give them literature. At the end of the interrogation Pilelis said he wished her another husband. In order to question A. Kiličiauskiene Lieut-Colonel Kežys (in *Chronicle* 47 spelled Kažis) went to her home, taking with him a doctor from the district polyclinic. The interrogation lasted two hours. 'Neither Sakharov, nor Solzhenitsyn nor Carter will help you,' said Kežys. He reproached Kiličiauskiene for having signed a protest against the arrest of Petkus and Gajauskas (*Chronicle* 47).

On 22 December in the town of Šiauliai investigator Pilelis interrogated **Jadviga Petkevičiene** (*Chronicles* 44, 47). Among others he was asked such questions as these: 'To whom used Gajauskas to give money from the Solzhenitsyn fund?' and 'Who among present or former political prisoners was known to the witness?'

Immediately after the New Year Pilelis and Kežys again came to Kaunas in order to interrogate Dumbrite and Kiličiauskiene. During one of the interrogations Kežys observed that in all probability Gajauskas would be given 10 years.

The investigators promised Irena Dumbrite to let her know when the trial began.

* * *

At the beginning of March several searches were carried out in Kaunas.

On 1 March second year seminary student **Petras Ražukas** was detained on the street. He was taken to the K G B where investigator

Urbonas (who conducted Lapienis's case, see *Chronicle* 46), showed him an order for a personal search. During the search several typewritten copies of the journal *Rupintoelis* (*The Mourner*) No. 3 were taken from his briefcase. Investigator Marcinkevičius (who conducted the investigation into case No. 345 — *Chronicles* 32, 34-36) announced to Ražukas that for circulating an illegal publication he would be charged under article 68 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 70 of the Russian Code). Ražukas was put in prison overnight, where he shared a cell with criminals, and on 2 and 3 March Urbonas continued the interrogation. Ražukas is being threatened with expulsion from the seminary.

On 2 March K G B employees took Ražukas's friend **Vytautas Pukas** from the seminary for interrogation. He was asked where he had got his typewriter.

On 1 March a search was also made at the flat of a woman named Monika.

On the morning of 2 March **Marte Vitkunaite** was detained on the street and taken home to be searched. The search was conducted by Urbonas and six other K G B employees. A typewriter, *Aušra* No. 9 (one complete copy and nine copies with only the first 20 pages), tape cassettes and the school essay 'Man and Nature' were taken away. After the search Vitkunaite was interrogated at the Kaunas K G B. Vitkunaite explained that she had taken *Aušra* from an unknown woman after church and decided to re-type it. Investigator Raudis advised her to give frank evidence, otherwise she risked being charged under article 68 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code. Another K G B official asked her to cooperate with the K G B. She was put in prison with criminals for the night.

In the morning Vitkunaite was interrogated by Urbonas and Marcinkevičius. She was asked about Monika, the seminarist Ražukas, and Angela from Skemonis. Vitkunaite said that she was not acquainted with any of them. In view of her persistence she was taken to Vilnius, moreover Urbonas warned her that now the chairman of the Lithuanian K G B would talk to her. They announced to Vitkunaite that she faced a charge under article 68 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code. A man who chatted to Vitkunaite in Vilnius said that in the meantime she would be set free and could continue her studies (Vitkunaite is a second-year medical student); if she didn't hinder the investigation, she would be at liberty until the trial.

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See also 'The Petkus Case' in the section 'Repressions against the Helsinki Groups'.

'The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church' on the Position of Believers

From the materials in issues 30 (1 November 1977) and 31 (31 January 1978).

* * *

In August 1977 the chairman of the Ignalina district social welfare office, Kaijenas, warned **S. Kazimieriene** that she would be deprived of her pension (21 roubles 50 kopeks) if she did not give up her work as a bell-ringer in church. Kazimieriene was forced to give up these essential extra earnings. **J. Bečelis** (born 1902), who is in a similar situation, receiving a pension of 25 roubles 80 kopeks and earning 15 roubles as a sexton, was also even threatened that the pension received by him 'illegally' over several years would be recovered from him.

* * *

Stasys Maskoliunas, who works as a linotypist in the printing-works of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian communist party publishing house, used to travel on days off to Paluše, where his family lives, and there played the organ during church services. In May 1977 the administration announced to him that because of this he would not receive the flat that had been promised him. Maskoliunas had to give up his job and leave Vilnius.

* * *

On 21 August 1977 the third eucharistic march, in which about 1,000 people took part (in 1975 there were 600 and in 1976 700), took place in Šiluva. A speech was made before the march began: 'We shall pray for Lithuania, beseeching Mary to save us from the flood of alcohol, from dissipation and godlessness...' The march took place under the attentive observation (including filming) of policemen and plain clothes agents. When, having put up a cross in a suburban wood, the faithful were already dispersing, the police tried to detain one of them, but were successfully resisted.

* * *

The community of Žaljoi parish continues the struggle for its church, in which, in summer 1977, the authorities built a mill (*Chronicle* 47). After a series of appeals to commissioner [for religious affairs] Tumenas and the local authorities ponting out that this church, opened in 1948, was closed in 1963 on an arbitrary decision of the Vilkaviškis district soviet executive committee and that all these years the community bore the cost of insurance and taxes on the church building, the believers on 30 September wrote a statement to first secretary of

the Lithuanian party central committee Griškevičius. The statement ends with the following words:

> Open the church and parish in Žaljoi or let it be written in the new Constitution of the Lithuanian S S R that citizens of Lithuania are not permitted to perform religious rites.

It turned out to be difficult to find a miller for the new mill. Party member **Raguckas** refused the post, saying that he felt ashamed before his people to mill grain in a church. The mill is working four hours a week.

* * *

Priest **Julijonas Miškinis,** vicar of the church in Kvedarana (Šilale district), is subjected to constant attacks by the authorities: for funeral processions and for the participation of children in religious services. In reply to Miškinis's attempts to defend his actions by referring to Soviet laws and church regulations deputy chairman of the district soviet executive committee P. Baguška shouted at him: 'We'll knock you into shape.' In one of the intimidatory 'chats' a K G B official took part, who justified Baguška's crudeness by saying that he was still a 'young official'. Miškinis's interlocutors incidentally touched for some reason during this conversation on Pope Paul VI's age. The vicar did not fail to remark that the Soviet leaders were also well on in years.

The district newspaper on 1 October 1977 published an article about Miškinis. In reply he wrote a statement to Tumenas documenting the libellous nature of the article.

* * *

In Kirdeikiai (Utena district) the harassment of priest **P. Kražauskas** (*Chronicle* 47) is continuing. The local authorities hinder him by all available means from preparing children for their first communion. Particularly zealous are chairman of the Utena district soviet executive committee Talmantas, state farm director Mačinskas and deputy chairman of the soviet executive committee Labanauskas. They attempt to persuade the priest to think of his poor health, which prison might completely undermine. On 3 August 1977 Kražauskas was summoned for a talk by diocese administrator Andrikonis, who accused the priest of being unable to get on with the Soviet authorities and threatened to dismiss him. On 5 August Kražauskas was fined 50 roubles. Despite all this, Kražauskas stated that he would continue in future to perform his duty.

* * *

Order of the Lithuanian S S R Minister of Enlightenment A. Rimkus, No. 239 of 2.8.1977 (below are extracts in translation, the full original text is in *Chronicle of the L C C* 30):

> On 19 October 1976 fifth-form pupil of the eight-year school in Šumskas, Vilnius district, son of a teacher in the school, pioneer M. Mikulskis, died...
>
> Teacher A. Mikulskaya, who buried her son according to religious rites, violated the ethics of a Soviet teacher...
>
> Due to the lack of principle on the part of the school management and teachers...quite a number of pupils and even several teachers took part in this ceremony.
>
> The department of education did not make the proper assessment of such behaviour, and did not remove the possibility of a repetition of such occurrences.

The Minister orders that **A. Mikulskaya's** lack of principle and the teachers' irresponsibility be carefully noted, that the school's director be given a severe reprimand, and that — 'for not taking measures to punish the guilty ones' — the head of the district education department be given a reprimand. All schools in the republic are ordered to step up the atheist education of pupils.

* * *

In Leinalingis (Laziniai district) on 20 October 1977 fifth-form pupils were told to fill in a questionnaire with 17 questions on their attitude to religious belief and to sign it.

In Dubičiai (Varena district) after the end of the first half of the school year the following pupils lost conduct marks for attending church: Alfredas Avizinys (second form), Virginija Adamavičiute (seventh form), Marite Skaramakaite (seventh class), Rite Kirkliauskaite (seventh class), Marite Avižinyte (eighth class) and Danute Skaramakaite (eighth class).

The Disturbances in Vilnius

(Additions to *Chronicle* 47's account and more precise details.)

On 12 October 1977 a notice was published in the Vilnius newspaper *Evening News,* which comes out in Lithuanian and Russian, saying that after the 'recent' football match had ended several tipsy fans ran wild in the stadium and surrounding streets. The notice says that a people's court sentenced worker **Kiznis,** employee of a radio components factory **Sofronov,** and third-year student at the Vilnius construction engineering institute **Augustinavičius** to 10 days' arrest. Polytechnic student **Karčinskas** was fined 30 roubles.

It is known from various sources that after the events of 10 October 44 people were detained for more than a day. Among them were quite a number of Russians.

On 10 October windows were broken in the building of the Lithu-

anian communist party central committee, not that of the K G B, as *Chronicle* 47 tentatively stated. Plain clothes agents were photographing the crowd the whole time; besides this there is a suspicion that the demonstrators were filmed with hidden cine-cameras.

On 8 November, as already reported, the Vilnius authorities prepared very much better for the football match between the local team 'Žalgiris' and the Nalchik team 'Spartacus': even trained dogs were provided to help the police.

Persecution of Believers

Catholics in Moldavia

There are 15,000 Catholics in Moldavia. They are Germans, Poles and Ukrainians. Communities of Catholics exist in Beltsy, Bendery, Tiraspol, Rashkovo, Grigorovka, Andriyashevka and other towns and villages. In the only Catholic chapel open in Moldavia the priest, **Vladislav Zavalnyuk,** is forbidden to give sermons in Russian — he must take the service in German or Polish. (The common language of Moldavian Catholics is Russian.) Zavalnyuk is also forbidden to tell his congregation about oppression of religious believers during Sunday sermons.

In 1977 the majority of Catholics in Moldavia were left without confession or a service at Christmas, since bans on priests visiting their parishes (*Chronicle* 47) became significantly harsher. Zavalnyuk was ordered to keep a journal in which he was required to register all his departures from Kishinev not only on pastoral but also on personal affairs. His licence and documents for his own personal car were taken away from him. Complaints to the republican highway police brought no results.

Religious believers who found out from an assistant commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs that a priest has the right to attend to the sick and dying at any time and in any place without any doctor's certificates and without special permission of the local authorities, began to protest when such certificates and permission were demanded from them. Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Moldavian S S R Council of Ministers, Vikonsky, introduced a new rule: on a call to a sick person the priest must first get permission to confess the patient in Kishinev from Vikonsky himself, and then, when he has reached the sick man, from the local authorities. Moreover he is permitted to confess and attend only the sick person to whom he was called. Other believers may not, taking advantage of the priest's arrival in the parish, be confessed.

* * *

A few years ago Catholics of Rashkovo settlement (170 km from Kishinev), obtained permission for the priest to visit them. On the day of the priest's arrival believers from neighbouring towns and villages began to travel to Rashkovo. Since the Catholic church in Rashkovo has long been closed, the believers gathered in the home of a middle-aged Catholic, **Valentina Oleinik.** Young people and children began to come to the service. They began to gather for prayers not only on days when the priest came, but simply on Sundays and feast-days. V. Oleinik's old and cramped house could not accommodate the congregation. They began to build a more spacious house of prayer on her plot of land. By day people worked on the collective farm and by night they built the 'church'. For days on end old people and children carried building materials. The Catholics brought sand, stones, boards and cement from their yards. The authorities noticed the construction work, and harassment began. They forbade other believers to come to the parish, since it was suspected that they were coming to help in the construction. To the requests of many Catholics to assign them wood or coal, or to give them a horse to plough up their vegetable patch, or to give them some sort of certificate at the collective farm the answer was: 'Let your priest give it you.' Then they started to ban the priest's visits to Rashkovo. They promised to set up no obstacles to him if the believers would knock down what they had built. Valentina Oleinik was fined several times, and in autumn 1977 given 15 days in prison (*Chronicle* 47). The believers began to be accused of having spoiled 200 square metres of arable land and that the building materials used for the 'church' had been stolen. Several times the Catholics lay on the road in front of official vehicles, asking that their 'church' should not be knocked down.

On 25 December 1977 the prayer house was taken down. The operation was prepared in the following way. On 24 December all believers were ordered to turn in their hunting guns. Chairman of the district soviet executive committee Kozhukhar (in *Chronicle* 47 his name and post are given inaccurately) on 25 December summoned a large group of Catholics to see him, supposedly for registration of the church committee. From 24 December they interrogated priest Zavalnyuk every day for a week in the Department to Fight against the Stealing of Socialist Property in Kishinev, charging him with having stolen some body-work for his car. School-children in Rashkovo were told to come to school on 25 December by 8 am and not 9 am as usually.

On the morning of 25 December Valentina Oleinik and seven other old people who had kept constant watch in the 'church' were bundled forcibly and half-dressed into a van and taken 70 km from Rashkovo, into the Ukraine. They were turned out into a field and kept there all day. About 15 policemen kept watch in the school and did not permit the children to go outside. Three to five policemen kept watch near

believers' houses, sometimes with sheep-dogs. They did not permit the owners to go outside, binding the door and gates with wire. People coming to the village from the fields were not allowed in.

At 9 am machinery thundered into the village: tip-up trucks, large buses, mini-buses, many cars, first-aid cars with medical brigades, four tractors, two bulldozers and two excavators. The police closed the roads to the village. About 500 people in uniform and civilian dress took part in the operation. They were brought in from Kamenka and the neighbouring districts. Troops stood by in the woods. Several inhabitants of the settlement also affirm that they saw a helicopter. Long-time inhabitants say that during none of the wars had they seen so much machinery and so many officials as on that occasion.

The Holy Sacraments, church books, vestments and icons were taken out of the 'church'. They were taken to the village of Katerinovka and locked in a stable. A guard of nine men was set up near the stable. The eucharist was scattered on the ground near the former 'church' and the chalices taken away to the office of a collective farm. By 4 pm the 'church' and V. Oleinik's house, which had served as a basis for it, had been demolished. The materials from the demolished buildings — boards, slates, bricks — were loaded onto a lorry and driven away. This was all sold off in neighbouring villages, without informing the buyers where it came from. V. Oleinik's entire plot was subsequently dug up.

The priest tried to obtain permission to come to the village so as to restore the Eucharist, but he was not allowed to do so.

Catholics from Rashkovo went to Moscow to complain to the chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, Kuroyedov. They were sent several times from one deputy to another, while these directed them back to the local authorities. In the end, on 19 January 1978, they were received personally by Kuroyedov. He confirmed that the 'church' had been demolished with Moscow's knowledge. Kuroyedov called the Catholics hooligans and promised them fines if they should gather and pray on the site of the demolished 'church'. After this the believers went to the reception office of the Central Committee to complain, but there they were sent back to Kuroyedov.

The local authorities in Rashkovo are threatening the believers with expulsion of their families. They are forbidden to gather for prayer, reference being made to the fact that there is no officially registered church committee. On the other hand, the local, republican and union authorities will not register the church committee.

For Christmas, the believers set up a Christmas tree on the site of the demolished 'church'. The Catholics were ordered to take it down and told that it was forbidden to visit fellow-villagers on Christmas night. Despite the ban believers went from house to house in groups. Meanwhile, in V. Oleinik's yard the Christmas-tree was knocked over

and the decorations smashed.

On Christmas Eve chairman of the district soviet executive committee Kozhukhar demanded that V. Oleinik distribute the icons from the demolished prayer house to the believers, otherwise he would burn them.

Recently officials have been saying that V. Oleinik is mad and threatening her with compulsory treatment.

* * *

In the town of Beltsy Catholics have repeatedly appealed to the authorities to register the church committee, the 'twenty'. Latterly the authorities have been demanding to be shown a list of all Catholics (there are more than 1,500 in the town). The Catholics have refused.

* * *

In February 1978 commissioner Vikonsky summoned representatives of the church committee of Catholics in Kamenevo and told them to go to the bishop in Riga with a demand for the replacement of priest **Zavalnyuk.** The Catholics did not agree to this. Vikonsky summoned the priest himself and demanded that he 'get out', threatening prosecution. Vikonsky accused the priest of slander in having given an anti-Soviet sermon at a funeral in 1975.

Catholics from Moldavia have sent a letter appealing to Pope Paul VI. They ask him to 'bring influence to bear on the Soviet authorities', so that 'freedom of conscience, faith and performance of religious rites' should be observed in relation to them. They ask a blessing on themselves and priest Zavalnyuk.

Adventists

(From materials in the booklet *The Struggle of the All-Union Church of Faithful and Free Seventh-Day Adventists for Freedom of Conscience in the U S S R*)

The worldwide church of Seventh-Day Adventists (S D A) was formed in the U S A in 1844. Up to 1924 the S D A church on the territory of our country was united. In 1924-28 at the fifth and sixth All-Union S D A Congresses in Moscow and at regional congresses in other cities a split took place. In particular, a resolution was passed at the sixth All-Union S D A Congress which obliged Adventists to perform 'civil and military service in all its forms on an equal basis with all citizens'. 'Anyone who teaches otherwise' the congress declared to be a 'false teacher', and put 'outside the S D A organization'. (The Fifth Congress still left the decision on these problems to the individual conscience of each believer.)

From this time there began to exist and to function illegally the church of F F S D A — Faithful and Free Seventh-Day Adventists.

The F F S D A church has from the time of its appearance up to the present day been subjected to slander and persecution by the authorities. Many ministers and members of the Church have been imprisoned. The first leaders of the F F S D A perished in Stalin's camps: G. Ostvald in 1937, P. I. Manzhura in 1949. The present head of the Church, 82-year-old preacher V. A. Shelkov, has spent 23 years in prisons, camps and exile. Since 1969 Shelkov has been in an illegal situation.

At the present time, as described in the pamphlet, the Church is subjected to persecutions of the following type:

— official watching of the houses and meetings of believers;

— summonses and interrogations about ministers and members of the Church, 'about the religious and moral life and activity' of the Church (to such questions Adventists are expected to reply with 'holy silence');

— stepped-up searches for printing-works and elder ministers who are in an illegal situation;

— attempts by official organs to infiltrate their employees into Church circles, recruitment of members of the Church and their relatives as informers (for their help they are promised the shortening of their terms of imprisonment, release from military service, cars, flats and money);

— searches with removal of religious material;

— imprisonment.

* * *

In Pyatigorsk on 28 January 1978 19-year-old Adventist **Yakov Dolgotyor** was detained. During his detention the pamphlet *The Story of the Earthly Life of Jesus Christ* and three collections of hymns, *The Turtle-Dove*, published by 'A Faithful Witness', were found on him.

Dolgotyor was in Pyatigorsk with his father. After his son's detention N. Dolgotyor appealed to the local police. There he was told that Yakov had been released and had gone home (to Udobnoye village, Odessa region). The father went home and, not finding his son there, returned to Pyatigorsk. This time they told him that Yakov had been arrested.

The investigation into Dolgotyor's case is being conducted by the K G B. The official organs are interested to know where he received the religious material from.

* * *

A group of Adventists in Kharkov have left the officially registered community. The Kharkov commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs and K G B officials, threatening they would shut down the prayer house, demanded from the community's leaders a list of the believers who had left it. On 13 January 1977 a group of believers sent a protest about this to Brezhnev and Andropov. They state that they will not appear on any summons for any talks, and in the event of being brought in by force they will not reply to any questions whatever.

* * *

On the morning of 23 July 1977 the house of Kharkov Adventist **I. A. Konev** was besieged by an operations-group of eight people. Amongst them were K G B and M V D officials, police and voluntary militia. Captain N. M. Fomin was in command. In the house, besides Konev, were his children and sick mother. The raiders climbed over the fence and demanded to be let in to the house. The owners did not open the door. For three-and-a-half hours the raiders drummed on the windows and doors, swore at the owners and threatened them with reprisals. Then they caused a short-circuit, cutting off the electricity supply to the house. This very nearly caused a fire. The guardians of law and order trampled beds of tomatoes near the house, picked cherries and apples in the garden, and, getting into the hen-house, sucked eggs.

On the morning of 17 December 1977 the operation was repeated. This time about 15 people came. They were brought in two cars and a tourist bus. A K G B major, whose name is not known, was in command. They tried to break down the doors, broke a window and wanted to climb through it into the house, but stopped when they saw that the owners were photographing them. They again caused a short-circuit. After this Konev's house was kept under watch. Security officials are setting the Konev family's neighbours against them and collecting signatures to some sort of document about Konev.

Pentecostalists

In 1973 Pentecostalist **A. V. Chertkova** (b. 1927), was sent to a psychiatric hospital.

During the course of several years Chertkova had been trying to obtain accommodation in Alma-Ata. She did not manage to get either a room or a place in a hostel. The town authorities gave her to understand that the reason for this was that she was a religious believer. In 1969 Chertkova tried to build with her own money a house on the outskirts of the town. The building was twice demolished by bulldozers and the building materials destroyed. Then Chertkova built a hut and spent two winters in it. The deputy city procurator summoned Chertkova several times and told her to leave Alma-Ata, threatening her otherwise with a psychiatric hospital.

Anna Vasilevna Chertkova has already spent five years in psychiatric hospitals. At present she is in the special psychiatric hospital in Tashkent.

* * *

On 16 November 1977 Pentecostalist presbyter **Vasily Bilyk** of the town of Sukhodolsk, Voroshilovgrad Region, was summoned for interrogation by the Krasnodar K G B. Meanwhile, with the sanction of the chief psychiatrist of Krasnodon hospital Volgin, Bilyk's wife Maria Dmitrievna was interned in a psychiatric hospital.

* * *

The Pentecostalist community in Vinnitsa numbers over 1,000 people. They are divided into 12 groups. Religious services are held in private flats. In February there was a stepping-up of 'atheistic work' in the town — watches were set up on the streets of the town with the aim of detecting meetings of believers. On 26 February officials entered the house where a group of Pentecostalists, led by **Nikolai Polyakov,** had gathered. Polyakov asked the believers to disperse. He was asked to make out a list of those who had been at the meeting. He refused. He and the owner of the house were fined 50 roubles. Two days later Polyakov, who worked as a fire-engine driver, was dismissed.

* * *

On 5 March 1978 members of the Pentecostalist community in the town of Maloyaroslavets, Kaluga region, gathered for a religious service in the home of **E. V. Semeryanova.** The meeting was conducted by **I. P. Fedotov,** who was released from imprisonment in August 1977 (*Chronicles* 34, 36, 41). During the service secretary of the district soviet executive committee T. P. Rogachevskaya, three policemen and three voluntary militia in plain clothes entered the house. Rogachevskaya, trying to interrupt the prayer, thumped on the table with her fist, ordered the believers to be silent and seized the Bible from the table. Then Fedotov started to say in his prayer that officials had arrived and were violating not only a religious service, but also their own laws and the Helsinki Agreement. After this the visitors went out into the kitchen and there awaited the end of the meeting. After the service they took down the name and place of work of all those present and asked them to have a talk about registration.

Fedotov was summoned to Kaluga to commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs Ryabov. Fedotov complained to Ryabov about school-children from the 'Young Dzerzhintsy' organization who frequently broke the windows in believers' houses. He told how officials take down the texts of Holy Writ from the walls in believers' homes. Ryabov called this hooliganism and wrote down the addresses of

believers so as to check the facts. Soon after, Fedotov and Semeryanova were each fined 50 roubles.

* * *

In the town of Maloyaroslavets Pentecostalist **V. D. Korneyev** has been condemned to 5 years' strict-regime camp for refusing to serve in the army. This is Korneyev's second term. The first was 3 years' ordinary-regime camp which he received for the same 'crime'. On returning home he was again called up for the army and again refused to serve.

Viktor Dmitrievich Korneyev is serving his term in the village of Tavarkovo, Kaluga region.

* * *

Pentecostalist **Evgeny Strelkov,** who is doing his military service in the town of Chekhov, Moscow region, is being threatened with prosecution for refusal to take the military oath.

* * *

On 29 December a general meeting was held at the Rovno furniture factory. The subject of discussion was a letter from factory employee **Pavlovets** to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet. Pentecostalist Pavlovets complained in this letter about a school administration's attitude to his daughter Lyudmila, a pupil in the second form.

Those who spoke demanded that Pavlovets be deprived of his rights as a parent. City procurator Bulgakov spoke at the meeting.

A decision was passed to ask the procuracy to start a case to deprive Pavlovets of his rights as a parent if he continued to educate his daughter in a religious spirit. On 3 January Pavlovets was summoned by the secretary of the city party committee Ovcharenko who repeated what had been said at the meeting.

* * *

In November 1977 the Swedish Pentecostalists **Sareld** and **Engström** (*Chronicles* 46, 47) were released and went to Sweden. Interrogations on their evidence continue. On 8-10 February 1978, in Kiev, K G B Major Rublyov presented the Swedes' evidence to **Yakov Gavryshev, Adam Ozerchuk** and **Ivan Levchuk.**

In December director of the Slavic Mission **Martinson** stated that the Pentecostalists of Sweden (there are about 90,000), would like to have reciprocal relations with unofficial Pentecostalist churches in the Soviet Union and to regularly send them religious literature. In connection with the case of Sareld and Engström, Martinson said that Swedish Pentecostalists had resorted to clandestine means of sending religious literature, since they saw no other way. Now the Slavic Mission had resolved to appeal about this to the Soviet government.

Mission representatives had already tried to hand over Bibles through the Patriarchate, but were refused. Then they had appealed to the official Baptists' union, but they neither refused nor agreed.

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On the Pentecostalists see also the section 'The Right to Leave'.

Baptists

(Mainly from materials of the *Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives* Nos. 46. 47)

At the end of 1977 repressions against the Baptist communities united by the Council of Churches [C C], increased sharply.

On 17 November and 29 December presbyter of the Baptist community in the town of Timashevsk, Krasnodar Territory, and active supporter of the Baptist C C, **Grigory Vasilevich Kostyuchenko,** was condemned to 1 year's imprisonment on a charge of parasitism. As presbyter he had been supported by members of his community. Kostyuchenko recently ended a previous term of imprisonment. He has a sick wife and nine children to support.

On 19 December member of the Baptist C C presbyter of the Krasnodar community, **Ivan Yakovlevich Antonov** (*Chronicle* 47), was arrested on a charge of parasitism. Antonov has already twice been condemned 'for his faith' in the past.

On 3 January 1978 minister of the Rostov community and evangelist of the Baptist C C, **Pyotr Danilovich Peters** (*Chronicle* 47), was arrested.

Arrests and searches in Kazakhstan

On 6 December 1977 in Kazakhstan Baptists **Andrei Vibe** and **Andrei Petker** were arrested. They were detained when transporting religious literature in their own car.

On 8 December in Dzhambul searches were conducted at the homes of seven Baptist activists. 22,000 roubles contributed by members of the church, personal religious literature and a church library including Bibles, Gospels, Concordances, books from the 'Christian' publishing-house, postcards of a religious nature, tapes with religious recordings and 7,000 copies of a Bible correspondence course were taken away. After the search **Panfidin, Fot, Bergen** and **Omelich** were arrested. Bergen and Omelich were later released against a pledge not to leave the area. A criminal case has been instituted against the presbyter of the Dzhambul church and evangelist of the Baptist C C, **Skornyakov.**

On 9 December in the town of Dzhetysai **Pyotr Verner** was arrested. The religious literature kept in his home was taken away. (It was from the 'Christian' publishing-house.) Verner is the father of 10 children.

On 27 December in Semipalatinsk members of the Novosibirsk Baptist community **Zherebnenkov, Karman, Kreker** and **Yakimov,** who were transporting religious literature, were taken from a train and arrested.

* * *

On 5 November 1977 in the village of Novoaleksandrovka, Moskalevsky District, Omsk Region, Baptists **A. Penner** and **K. Gur** were arrested. They are accused of having beaten up a young girl, a minor, for refusing to attend religious services.

* * *

In the town of Issyk, Alma-Ata region, for conducting religious classes with children **A. Klassen** has been condemned to 2½ years and **Ya. Volf** (*Chronicle* 47) to 2 years' imprisonment.

* * *

On 25 November 1977 in Kingisepp, Leningrad region, printers of the 'Christian' publishing-house **Larisa Zaitseva, Lyudmila Zaitseva, I. I. Leven** and **D. I. Koop,** arrested in March 1977 (*Chronicle* 46), were condemned, respectively, to 3½, 4, 5 and 3½ years in ordinary-regime camps.

* * *

The municipal authorities of Gorlovka remained unpunished after the dispersal of Baptists at the Harvest Festival (*Chronicle* 47), despite numerous complaints from believers. They are continuing their 'atheistic work'. Police under the command of Captain Dobrovolsky, accompanied by secretary of the town soviet executive committee Sosunova, drive round the streets and, stopping by houses where believers live, call out the neighbours and passers-by through loud-speakers. Then they announce that there are American spies living in the house or that a radio-station transmitting slander about the Soviet Union has been found there. On Friday evenings, during the Baptists' religious services, groups of policemen make their way onto believers' plots of land, floodlight their yards and break into their houses.

Many believers have been fined. At enterprises where members of the community work, meetings are held at which other workers are set against the believers.

Captain Dobrovolsky and two other police officials conducted a search at the home of Baptist **Maksimenko** without having presented a procurator's warrant.

* * *

On 15 May 1977 at the home of the dissenting Baptist **M. A. Boyev** (Latnaya station, Semiluki district, Voronezh region), a daughter's wedding was being celebrated. On the day of the wedding the local authorities hung up a sign by the approach to the house: 'Quarantine. Passage prohibited for pedestrians and vehicles'. Then the electricity supply to the house was cut off, and as a result the orchestra that had been invited to the wedding was unable to play. Near the house there gathered officials of the K G B, the district soviet executive committee and the police — altogether several dozen people.

When, to the ritual singing, the bride and groom came out into the garden, chairman of the village soviet Ivanenko began to make out an order about the violation of public order and went about having all those present noted down. The believers and the Boyevs' neighbours tried to explain to him that this was out of place. Police officials asked the people who had gathered in the garden and at the fence round the Boyevs' house to disperse, and began to talk and laugh deliberately loudly. Then a bulldozer drove up to the house and stopped with its engine still going, drowning the sermon. They began to photograph the believers. The latter in their turn began to photograph the bulldozer. It was removed. The officials tried to avoid being photographed.

* * *

The family of Baptist **Vladimir Pavlovich Khailo** (town of Krasny Luch, Voroshilovgrad region) has over the course of many years been subjected to persecution by the local authorities (*Chronicle* 36). In letters sent to various human rights associations, members of the Khailo family have provided the following information.

After 1960 Khailo and several other Baptists of the town of Krasny Luch who did not accept the 'New Statutes of the All-Union Council of Baptists' and did not wish to have anything to do with ministers who had become dependent on official organs, left the registered community and began to conduct religious services in the homes of believers. Articles were published in the local press saying that Khailo's children, unlike the children of other Baptists, were intimidated, did not participate in the social life of the school, and lived a joyless life.

In 1970 official of the local K G B Major Egorov forcibly brought V. Khailo to have a talk with him. Besides Khailo, a man calling himself a counter-espionage official took part in the conversation. By threats and flattery he tried to win Khailo's cooperation. Not succeeding in this, the 'counter-espionage agent' advised Egorov in Khailo's presence to 'besiege' his children at school.

About six months after this conversation another newspaper article appeared. This time Khailo's children were represented as hooligans, terrorising their fellow-pupils. The teachers' attitude to them changed

sharply. The eldest sons' achievement in school deteriorated. The school several times sent them to a psychiatrist. They were said to be backward and for three years transferred from class to class without certificates. The children were frequently beaten in school by their fellow-pupils and fights took place. As a result Mikhail and Alexander Khailo, by decision of an administrative commission for the affairs of minors and against the wishes of the parents, were sent to a special school. Alexander was taken off to the special school on 29 December 1976, having been snatched off the street. Mikhail was taken on 29 April 1977 from school. In the special school the brothers were repeatedly beaten up by the other adolescents. Despite the parents' complaints the school administration took no measures against this.

The eldest son **Anatoly** (b. 1955) was condemned in 1973 for participation in a rape to 8 years in hard-regime camps (*Chronicle* 36). Anatoly and his parents, considering the charge to be fabricated, repeatedly appealed to the authorities to review the case. The reply was that Anatoly's guilt had been proven in court by the evidence of witnesses.

Anatoly is serving his term in a strict-regime labour camp in the town of Ivdel, Sverdlovsk region (p/o Pershino, p/ya N-240-2/2 'O'; Camp head — Colonel Danilin, deputy head for security — Skitnev). It is constantly demanded of Anatoly that he renounce his belief and condemn his parents. In the camp Anatoly was visited by Major Egorov and a man calling himself the deputy Procurator-General. They asked him to sign a previously prepared article about his father for a newspaper. In exchange they promised him his freedom and the opportunity of studying or of going abroad. Anatoly refused.

Anatoly has twice been put in the punishment barracks for 5 months and frequently sent to the punishment cell for 7 to 15 days. While A. Khailo was in the punishment barracks a search was made of his belongings in the barracks living area and a set of Gospels was taken. To a complaint by Anatoly's parents in autumn 1977 the U S S R Procuracy replied:

> ...The directors of the corrective-labour establishment, who displayed formalism and a non-objective assessment of your son Anatoly, are being brought to disciplinary account, and the penalties unjustifiably imposed on him have been protested against by the Procurator to N-240, town of Ivdel.

* * *

At the present time there are 15 children in the Khailo family. The seven children of school age (from seven to 16 years old) refused, after Sasha and Misha [nicknames] were sent to a special school, to go to school, since they are afraid that they too would be taken off straight from lessons to a special children's establishment.

On 20 October 1977 V. P. Khailo and his wife were summoned to the town soviet executive committee to a combined session of the administrative commission for the affairs of minors and the commission for religious affairs. Khailo was asked whether his children were going to go to school. He replied that he was not going to make any decisions for the children. The same day the Khailo couple sent the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet a telegram with a request for permission to emigrate, since they did not accept the new constitution and for this reason could not stay in the U S S R. (The Khailo family first applied to the Soviet government with a request to emigrate in 1974.)

The town soviet executive committee submitted a suit to the court to deprive the Khailos of their rights as parents. The hearing of the case was set for 20 December 1977, but Vladimir and Maria Khailo were unable to appear in court on that day, since they were returning from a visit to their eldest son. The case was postponed for a month.

The trial began on 20 January 1978. About 40 Baptists gathered in the courtroom (several came from other towns), and town party committee and K G B employees also came. Vladimir Khailo stated that he did not have confidence in the court and would not reply to questions, since he could see here people against whom in his time he had been forced to make complaints. The Judge asked Maria Khailo a question about how she was bringing up her children. She also refused to reply. After this the Khailos, and other Baptists after them, left the courtroom. The court heard the witnesses and adjourned the session until 8 February.

On 21 January 1978 the local newspaper *Red Beam* printed an article, 'Whom does he Blame?' by V. Napadovskaya, about the Khailo family. In the article, which took up the space of two special features, it says that Khailo has tormented the children with prayers, is not allowing them to develop normally and does not let them go to school. The article also talks about Anatoly's conviction and about the conviction (in his youth) of V. P. Khailo himself. Khailo is also accused of having through ambition and thirst for gain split part of the Baptists off from the official sect.

On 8 February the Moscow defence lawyer E. A. Reznikova spoke in court as the representative of the Khailo couple. She said that there was no evidence of bad behaviour towards their children on the part of the Khailos. The children would start to go to school again. The parents' intention to emigrate could not be considered criminal. The trial was again adjourned until 27 February.

In the town soviet executive committee the Khailo couple were asked to sign the prepared text of a statement: that they, the Khailos, acknowledge that they have brought up their children incorrectly and will now put right their mistakes. Khailo refused to sign such a statement and proposed his own, which the authorities considered unacceptable.

In court on 27 February the Khailos wrote a statement in which they promised that their children would go to school and that they would see that they were good pupils. The court decided to drop the case.

* * *

The Moscow Helsinki group (see document 29) and Academician Sakharov have spoken up in defence of the Khailo family, and the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R and the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives have several times appealed to the Soviet authorities. Lillian Carter, wife [in fact mother] of the President of the U S A, and congressman Andrew Major have also shown interest in this case.

The Right to Leave One's Country

Since 1 January 1978 people emigrating from the U S S R have not been permitted to take out officially stamped copies of their workbooks. Instead they are issued with certificates listing the posts held (but not places of work!) and the period of work in each post.

The Case of Smogitel

In August 1977 the Kiev musician and composer Vadim Smogitel (b. 1939) sent the Presidium of the Ukrainian S S R Supreme Soviet an application for permission to emigrate from the U S S R. He wrote that he could not conceive of his life without music, but that he had lost any hope of realizing his creative plans and of professional activity in the Soviet Union, and he describes how he came to this conviction.

In 1963 Smogitel was expelled from the conservatory after the fourth year for failing some exams. He was not permitted to retake them after a short interval. In subsequent years Smogitel several times started work with musical ensembles engaged in popularizing folk music. His work, which met with the approval of specialists and artistic organizations, was nonetheless put a stop to at the orders of the authorities. One of the examples given by Smogitel: recordings of the ensemble conducted by him were made for radio and broadcast several times, but then they turned out to be hidden in the chairman of the Ukrainian radio committee's safe. The reasons were not explained to him.

In *Information Bulletin* No. 1 of the Ukrainian Helsinki group it says that the oppression of Smogitel as a popularizer of national music was especially stepped-up after 1972 — Smogitel was close to several of the Ukrainian intellectuals arrested at that time.

Recently Smogitel has been working as a part-time singing teacher in a school.

In his statement Smogitel indicates his purpose in emigrating to be to continue his musical education and to form an ensemble. Smogitel has not received a reply to the statement.

On 12 December 1977 Smogitel said in a telephone conversation to Canada: 'Get me out of here somehow.'

The next day, when Smogitel was walking alone down the street in the evening, a man fell under his feet — and immediately police and voluntary militia appeared at his side. Smogitel was arrested. He declared a hunger-strike and maintained it until his trial.

Ou 14 December a search was conducted at Smogitel's flat — papers and tape-recordings were taken away, including recordings of his musical compositions.

On 3 February 1978 the people's court of the Soviet District of Kiev considered Smogitel's case. He was charged under article 206, part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism') with having, on 13 December 1977, attacked a man in the street and struck him, causing him to fall and receive physical injury. As witnesses at the trial, there appeared policemen, voluntary militia and a passer-by who gave evidence that he had not seen the brawl with which Smogitel was charged but had only seen scratches on the leg of the 'victim' at the police station. Smogitel rejected the defence lawyer appointed by the court, but his rejection was not accepted. At the trial it transpired that the lawyer was almost unacquainted with the case. The Procurator demanded that Smogitel be given 4 years in camp. The sentence was 3 years in an ordinary-regime labour camp.

No-one was admitted to the building where the trial was held. In the courtroom, apart from the 'invited' public, were only Smogitel's mother and uncle. Furthermore the trial, which had been set for 2 pm, began four hours earlier.

Agents guarding the court explained to people who started talking to Smogitel's friends that these people were anti-Sovietists and slanderers. Among others at the court building was the recently released **Nikolai Gorbal** (*Chronicle* 47). His wife was specially summoned to take him away from the court.

* * *

On 10 February **Nadezhda Svetlichnaya** and **Nikolai Gorbal** sent a letter to the Prime Minister of Canada. They ask him to do all he can to obtain Smogitel's release and to help him emigrate to Canada.

On 2 February 1978 the Kievan **Grigory Aleksandrovich Tokayuk** (b. 1947) appealed to the Western public and to President Carter to help him emigrate.

In 1970 Tokayuk graduated from the Kiev State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages having specialized in French philology.

In 1972 Tokayuk, who was then teaching French language in an institute, went to France as a member of a specialist language group. In Paris he visited a friend with whom he had become acquainted in Kiev. When he returned to the hotel four K G B officials, who were among the members of the group, told him that he was 20 minutes late (he returned at 11.20 pm) and that besides this he had visited friends alone, which was against the rules. A few days later Tokayuk was sent back early to the U S S R. There, without any warrant for arrest, he was interned in the investigation prison of the K G B attached to the Ukrainian S S R Council of Ministers. Tokayuk was interrogated for 14 days and accused of intending to appear on French television with an anti-Soviet statement and of appealing to the French government for political asylum (according to the K G B investigators' version the government rejected Tokayuk). After 14 days he was released, but he was forced to leave the institute and began working as an electrician.

In 1977 Tokayuk worked at the Atomic Research Institute of the Ukrainian S S R Academy of Sciences (doing technical translation).

In October 1977 Tokayuk was subjected to a series of interrogations lasting many hours. K G B investigators demanded that he give evidence against his friends and acquaintances, in particular against the writer **Igor Pomerantsev** (the investigators asserted that Pomerantsev had given him *The Gulag Archipelago* to read). Then they began to ask him about his foreign acquaintances, stating that they were all spies.

On 18 November 1977 Tokayuk was asked to sign a 'Record of a Caution' (according to the decree of the U S S R Supreme Soviet Presidium of 25 December 1972), in which it said that he had 'entered into contacts with foreign citizens suspected of cooperation with foreign intelligence and had transmitted information to them; he listened regularly to foreign radio stations and circulated anti-Soviet fabrications'. Tokayuk refused to sign the 'Record', stating that all the charges were fabricated.

In January 1978 Tokayuk was asked to leave his job voluntarily.

* * *

In January 1978 member of the Ukrainian Helsinki group **Ivan Kandyba** (*Chronicle* 47) was summoned to the Lvov O V I R and told that a paper had come from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requiring O V I R to clarify whether Kandyba had relatives abroad and in which

country, whether he had asked them for a formal invitation, and also whether he had received an invitation. Kandyba was asked to reply in writing to the listed questions. He refused, stating that if there were an invitation, then they were obliged to give it to him personally, if not, then let them either allow him to leave the country without any invitation or else say straight out that they would not allow him out under any pretext. At this the conversation came to an end.

* * *

At the beginning of December the Ukrainian Helsinki group composed memorandum No. 18, 'On Discrimination Against Ukrainians in the Sphere of the Right to Emigrate', addressed to the Belgrade Conference.

The memorandum notes that until recently the Soviet government did not allow any emigration, seeing it as a phenomenon that would destroy the myth of the ideal nature of Soviet society, where, in particular, the national question had been resolved in the most just way. Since the seventies the situation had begun to change.

> The present leadership has already ceased to call a man's aspiration to emigrate treachery and does not bring him to trial for the mere expression of this aspiration (the memorandum was written before Smogitel's arrest — *Chronicle*), but it takes many steps to reduce emigration and to suppress the predisposition to emigrate. In this context we are dealing with a differentiated approach by the government to three different categories of citizens who are potential emigrants: Jews, Russian dissidents and non-Russian dissenters...We are indignant that the natural aspiration of Jews towards the land of their fathers is turned by the government into a path fraught with ordeals; we are indignant that it tries to present the emigration of Russian dissidents from the U S S R to Soviet citizens as the expulsion of unworthy people; but most of all we are indignant at the discrimination on grounds of nationality shown in the deprivation of non-Russian dissenters of the possibility of emigrating from the U S S R.
>
> Leaving aside the question of discrimination against us Ukrainians in other spheres of life, we note that in the question of emigration discrimination is shown in the fact that up to now not one Ukrainian dissenter has received permission to emigrate from the U S S R. Even in cases when someone has served a term of imprisonment for an attempt to leave the U S S R and after release has continued to try to emigrate, the government does not allow him the opportunity of doing so.

Three lists are included in the memorandum. The following are vainly trying to obtain permission to emigrate: **V. Kalinichenko, E. Gritsyak** (*Chronicles* 43, 45), **O. Berdnik** (has been trying to obtain permission for about four years); **N. Svetlichnaya, N. Strokatova, V. Zatvirsky, I. Kandyba, L. Lukyanenko, G. Prokopovich, P. Kampov, V. Ovsienko, M. Lutsik, I. Terelya** and **V. Smogitel.**

The following are serving terms of imprisonment for an attempt to cross the border illegally: **A. Bernichuk** (in *Chronicle* 33 spelled Berniichuk — *Chronicle*), **A. Murzhenko** and **V. Fedorenko.**

The following political prisoners have stated their wish to emigrate: **Yu. Shukhevich, A. Turik, D. Verkholyak, A. Sergienko, I. Svetlichny, V. Romanyuk, D. Basarab, I. Shovkovy, G. Gerchak** (he has now been released — *Chronicle*), **V. Vasilik** and **Z. Krasivsky.** The memorandum ends with the words:

> The situation in which the individual is not permitted either to circulate his ideas or to leave the country represents the height of injustice, for it completely deprives a man of his individuality, condemning him to spiritual death. Unfortunately, many Ukrainian dissenters find themselves in this situation. This is what forces us to appeal to the Belgrade Conference, asking it to discuss the question of discrimination against Ukrainians in regard to the right to emigrate, in order to further a just solution of this problem by the Soviet government.

* * *

In 1975 **Vladimir Gornostayev** (b. 1952), an inhabitant of the town of Velikiye Luki (Pskov region), made three telephone calls to the Russian department of Swedish radio in Stockholm. He expressed his opinion of their broadcasts and asked them to send materials for the study of Swedish. In November 1975 Doctor Korolkov came to Gornostayev's home from the psychiatric clinic and said that if Gornostayev did not stop coming into conflict with the authorities he would end up in a psychiatric hospital (Gornostayev and his **wife Galina** are on the psychiatric register). In February 1976 K G B officials demanded from Gornostayev that he should stop telephoning Swedish radio. He promised.

In September 1977 the Gornostayevs submitted to O V I R documents for emigration to Israel. On 20 December the newspaper *Pskovskaya Pravda* published an article by head of the Pskov K G B V. Karasyov in honour of the 60th anniversary of the secret police. This article said, among other things:

> A favourite occupation of the Gornostayevs was listening to anti-Soviet foreign broadcasts on the radio. Having a low level of political education they were unable to distinguish truth from falsehood and decided to emigrate abroad and let the initiators of the broadcasts know of this.

> Soon an official invitation arrived for the Gornostayevs, indicating that their relatives, an uncle and aunt, were inviting them to come and live with them in that country. However it soon became clear that the invitation was a fake, that they had no relatives abroad and that their actions in trying to obtain permission to emigrate in this manner were illegal...

On 22 December it was announced to the Gornostayevs in O V I R that they could not emigrate to Israel until they had received their parents' permission.

On 27 December a summons arrived for the Gornostayevs from the psychiatric clinic; they did not go. On 4 January 1978 a nurse came to their home from the clinic and demanded that they should visit the clinic.

Galina Gornostayeva sent a statement to the Israeli Foreign Ministry with a request to give her Israeli citizenship.

On 12 January **A. Podrabinek** sent chief doctor of the Velikiye Luki psychiatric clinic G. I. Novikov a letter. Citing the conclusion of a psychiatric expert of the commission* ('Gornostayev exhibits no symptoms of mental illness...'), Podrabinek writes:

> Any compulsory measures of a medical nature applied to V. I. Gornostayev will be viewed as the use of psychiatry for political purposes. If such occurs, the Working Commission will give Gornostayev's case wide international publicity.

* * *

On 14 March 1976 **Nikolai Petrovich Shatalov,** his wife **Antonina Sergeyevna** and children **Tatyana, Vasily** and **Alexander** (Stavropolsky Krai, Petrovsky raion, s. Sukhaya Buivola, Zelyonaya ul. 5) sent a statement to the U S S R Supreme Soviet in which they renounced Soviet citizenship and asked permission to emigrate from the U S S R. Later in a letter to Brezhnev they gave reasons for their request as follows:

> We were all born in the years after the present regime was founded the only thing we have received in abundance, the only benefit among and the only thing we have received in abundance, the only benefit among those promised us by the Soviet constitution, has been unpaid compulsory labour. Sated with unfulfilled promises, we express our protest. We do not agree with the socio-political and economic system set up to secure the power of feudal princes and to rob the working mass of the people, and we, as representatives of this people, are not content with our lack of rights and the hypocrisy that surrounds us. We are indignant at the ordering of us about, degrading to human dignity, from the day of our birth right up to the grave, we are not content with economic beggary and moral poverty, we are not content with an unlimited perspective of being in the embraces of the Gulag on any pretext and even without one. We are not content with falsehood and hypocrisy raised to the level of official policy, and finally we cannot reconcile ourselves with the tyranny and violence of your henchmen for whom, due to the decline of morality and decency in society, there is no sacred matter, sacred place or sacred principle.

[*Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes.]

On 6 June 1976 the Shatalovs submitted a statement to the Stavropol O V I R. Head of the Stavropol O V I R N. G. Krol refused on various pretexts to accept their statement, saying that they should all undergo psychiatric investigation. Nonetheless 2,000 roubles in duty was taken from the Shatalovs for their renunciation of Soviet citizenship.

In August 1976 Tatyana Shatalova went to Moscow in order to find out how to complete the documents for emigration. In O V I R they told her that they would not make out the documents and that they would not go anywhere. In the reception office of the U S S R Supreme Soviet Presidium she was told that their request was unfounded. Then Tatyana went to the American embassy for advice. Not far from the embassy she was again detained by the police. Tatyana was sent to Stavropol psychiatric hospital; there she was submitted to treatment for four months.

Then 'for refusal to carry out duties in connection with his post' N. P. Shatalov was dismissed from his job. After this they attempted to prosecute him for 'parasitism', but this intention was dropped when it was found out that he had been in his job for 33 years (plus five years in the Stalin camps under the 'decree on ears of corn' for stealing a few kilograms of maize).

In 19 November 1976 18-year-old Vasily Shatalov was arrested 'for refusal to answer to routine call-up for military service' (article 80 of the Russian Criminal Code). The Shatalovs thought that '29 November' had been written on the order, while the authorities asserted that it was '19 November.' On 1 March 1977 the court sentenced him to 2 years in a camp. Neither a defence lawyer nor any of the Shatalov family were present at the trial. Vasily is in camp p/ya 17/6 in the Stavropol Territory.

On 23 June 1977 the Shatalovs wrote a letter to Brezhnev. The beginning of the letter is summarized above. It ends thus:

> We appeal to you as to the halo that encompasses the whole system and ask you to bring to bear a modicum of good sense and the same amount of authority so as to put an end to our martyrdom — and let us out of the U S S R.

On 10 August 1977 N. P. Shatalov was arrested. He was charged under

article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code for his statements and complaints to Soviet official bodies.

Shatalov was sent for diagnosis to the Serbsky Institute. **V. Bakhmin** and **A. Podrabinek** sent a leter about this on 8 February 1978 to the director of the Serbsky Institute, Professor G. V. Morozov.

On 9 February A. S. Shatalova and Tatyana and Alexander Shatalov appealed to the Moscow Helsinki group for help:

> Our fellow-villagers are set on us and activists in civilian dress nose around near our house. A car stuffed with employees often stands outside our house, directing blinding headlamps through the windows for hours on end. At the club a civil show trial of our family was organized (to egg other people on) and villagers, voluntary militia and K G B men were packed in. And they abused and branded our family.
>
> Since we submitted an application to emigrate life has become a hell for our family.

In mid-February, immediately on their return from Moscow, the 2,000 roubles' duty was returned to the Shatalovs.

* * *

Muscovite **M. P. Belyakov** and his family applied for permission to emigrate. In September 1976 the Belyakovs received a refusal, based on the Russian nationality of M. P. Belyakov and his wife. A complaint to head of Moscow O V I R Fadeyev, in which M. P. Belyakov pointed out that his mother is Jewish (she was even married by a rabbi), remained unanswered.

In June 1977 M. P. Belyakov and his family again submitted an application to emigrate. On 19 December 1977 M. P. Belyakov's eldest son, 29-year-old **P. M. Belyakov,** a schizophrenic and a 2nd group invalid who lives separately from his family, was summoned to O V I R. He was told without any reason being given that they had again been refused permission to emigrate. On 26 December P. M. Belyakov committed suicide.

On 12 January 1978 M. P. Belyakov sent a complaint to Brezhnev. The complaint ends thus:

> Our efforts to obtain permission to emigrate have already taken from me and my family one-and-a-half years of our lives, and now they have taken my son as well. After his death in such a tragic fashion it is quite impossible for me to remain in this country.
>
> I ask you to permit me to emigrate from this country together with that part of my family that remains alive — my wife and two children — without making any further mistakes leading to such tragic results.

On 25 January 1978 **Lidia Alexandrovna Drozdova** (*Chronicle* 47) and **Lidia Artemovna Valendo,** inhabitants of Minsk (ul. Kalinovskogo 74, kv. 70) sent Brezhnev a joint statement (copy to heads of delegations to the Belgrade Conference and the Helsinki group):

> ...We demand that our request to emigrate from the Soviet Union be complied with.
>
> We have renounced Soviet citizenship and declared our disagreement with the existing system.

* * *

See also 'Threats to Reshat Dzhemilev' in the section 'Persecution of the Crimean Tatars'.

* * *

Document No. 32 of 2 February 1978 by the Moscow Helsinki group tells of violations of the right to choose one's country of residence (the right to emigrate) and the right to visit other countries.

A list of graduates of M F T I (Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology) who have been allowed to leave the U S S R is cited (**Anatoly Shcharansky,** who graduated from M F T I in 1972, was in 1973 refused permission to emigrate on the pretext that during his study at M F T I he had come into possession of 'secret information'), and also a list of M F T I 'refusenik' graduates.

The document also tells of **Vera Fyodorovna Livchak,** who is unable to see her daughter who emigrated to Israel in 1971 (*Chronicle* 39). She has not been allowed to visit her daughter, since the U S S R does not have diplomatic relations with Israel, has not been allowed to visit relatives in Austria since they are 'distant relatives', and has not been allowed to invite her daughter to come to her — no reason for this being given.

Germans

Germans **Ivan Teirer, Khelmut Martens** and **Valentin Klink** from the town of Issyk (Alma-Ata Region) were released on 6 January 1978 at the end of their terms of 1 year (*Chronicles* 45, 46).

After six months' imprisonment in the camp they were offered conditional early release if they would take back their passports. They refused. On leaving the camp they were again asked to take their passports, again without result.

From 17 to 19 January all three, and I. Teirer's wife **Nelli Teirer** (*Chronicle* 46), were summoned separately to the town soviet. They were told: if you don't take your passports back we'll put you in prison; if you do take them we promise you can emigrate. They refused.

The attempts at persuasion continued at the town police station. Deputy head of police Sakenov promised that they could emigrate before the end of 1978, and then all four finally agreed. The passports were made out in a day. In the applications for issue of a passport they all wrote why they had previously handed in their passport and why they were now taking them back; they also wrote that if the promise about emigration was broken, they would again hand in their passports and that time for good. At the police station attempts were made to persuade them to rewrite the applications, but unsuccessfully. When the passports had been issued the documents for emigration were quickly accepted from all of them — they were even hurried to submit them.

The campaign of renunciation of citizenship with sending-in of passports and other documents (*Chronicles* 41, 42) has evidently come to an end — all have agreed to accept their documents back. Applications for emigration have been accepted from participants in the campaign, but many have already received a refusal. However the number of those emigrating is nonetheless rising; in Issyk, for example, latterly one or two families have been receiving permission almost every month.

During her participation in the Germans' emigration movement Nelli Teirer was summoned to various official bodies of the authorities 38 times and complied with the summonses 11 times.

* * *

In February 1977 the Estonian German **Pyotr Bergman** left camp at the end of a 3-year term (*Chronicles* 32, 34).

In 1977 Bergman again received a refusal for permission to emigrate from the USSR on the pretext that two of his sons were married to Estonians.

At present two of P. Bergman's younger sons are faced with call-up for the army.

On 16 February 1978 **A. D. Sakharov** appealed to President Scheel of the Federal Republic of Germany and to Chancellor Schmidt to help Bergman's family emigrate from the USSR. Sakharov recalls the fact that P. Bergman's grandfather and father began to try to obtain permission to emigrate to Germany as long ago as 1926, for which, in 1929, they were arrested and exiled.

Jews

A group of Moscow Jewish women refuseniks have, since October 1977, been demanding to be received personally by L. I. Brezhnev (*Chronicle* 47). In January 1978 12 refuseniks sent a new statement to L. I. Brezhnev. They write:

> Among us are mothers, separated from their children: Khana Elinson, Faina Kogan and Batsheva Elistratova; children separated from their parents: Mikaela Kornovskaya-Ass, Natalya Rozenshtein and Natalya Khasina; and women separated from their close relatives: Dina Beilina, Yanella Gudz, Lidia Likhterova, Larisa Vilenskaya, Elena Dubyanskaya and Irina Gildengorn. For this reason refusal of permission to emigrate on the grounds that families would not be reunited is invalid.
>
> The refusal of permission to emigrate to Khana Elinson, Dina Beilina, Yanella Gudz, Faina Kogan, Natalya Khasina, Natalya Rozenshtein, Batsheva Elistratova, Mikaela Kornovskaya-Ass and Irina Gildengorn on security grounds clearly contradicts the statement by MVD minister N. A. Shchelokov when he received Jewish refuseniks on 20 October 1976: 'No-one can be detained for more than five years on security grounds, and if such cases exist, it is a misunderstanding which must be quickly put right'...
>
> We are ready to take the so-called reasons for refusal to an international court. We declare with every determination that we are not prepared to be refused emigration any longer, and in connection with this we demand to be received.

Each of the 12 women supplemented her signature under the letter with details of the dates and officially stated reasons of refusal of permission to emigrate and a reasoned refutation of these reasons.

On 27 January representatives of the refuseniks tried to hand in a petition and were received by head of the administrative organs department of the Central Committee, Ivanov, and deputy head of Moscow OVIR, Zotov. A. Ivanov said, as he had previously (*Chronicle* 40), that the procedure for taking decisions on the issue of visas would not be subject to any juridical changes; that there would be no laws on emigration and each case would be individually considered. The visitors were promised that their applications would be considered at the highest level in the very near future and that each case would be individually considered.

* * *

At the beginning of March **Dina Beilina** was given permission to emigrate, and was ordered to leave the USSR within two weeks. Beilina had prior to this been refused permission for more than six years. During this time the reasons for refusal were changed four times.

* * *

On 8 March the same women tried to stage a demonstration (see 'Miscellaneous Reports').

* * *

Moscow

At the end of November 1977, three weeks after his arrest, refusenik **Valery Sorin** (*Chronicle* 47) was released from detention. The case of his 'parasitism' was dropped. Sorin found a job.

Kharkov

On 9 December 1977 refusenik **Alexander Paritsky** (*Chronicle* 47) was again summoned to the K G B. There he was told that he was transmitting, in letters and by telephone, slanderous information to the West. Paristsky was told that next time he would be called to account. After the conversation Paritsky sent a complaint to the procurator of Kharkov region.

* * *

Some peasants in the village of Ilinka, Pavlovsk district, Voronezh region, who are Jews by confession, want to emigrate to Israel (*Chronicle* 43). Many of them are unable to submit documents for emigration, since chairman of the 'Rossiya' collective farm V. D. Tarasov will not give them the necessary certificates. In May 1977 four **Matveyev** families and the **Piskarev** family (in all 40 people) submitted an application to leave the collective farm, but Tarasov will not call a general meeting.

On 7 October 1977 the Matveyevs and Piskarevs submitted complaints about this to the U S S R M V D O V I R. Their complaints were sent to the regional Procuracy. On 21 October that procuracy sent them to the procuracy of the Pavlovsk District with a request to 'take measures'. On 3 November the procurator of Pavlovsk District sent the chairman of the Talovaya district soviet executive committee a letter 'on eliminating violations of the Collective Farm Statutes'.

Pentecostals

On 12 December 1977 members of the Moscow Helsinki group, members of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights and members of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes appealed to the delegates at the Belgrade meeting. Academician Sakharov also supported this appeal. The authors state that the movement of Pentecostalists for emigration from the U S S R grew significantly in 1977. More than 20,000 believers submitted official applications to emigrate. The authors of the appeal see the cause of this in an intolerant attitude to believers on the part of the state, in the campaigns of slander and intimidation, in the persecution of believers' children in school, and in the impossibility of giving children a religious upbringing and education.

> ...An important role in the decision to leave the country was played by the adoption of the new constitution, in the threatening perspective it presents of the intensification of the scourge of a totalist atheistic ideology which binds the religious conscience of the believers.

The document emphasizes that persecution of Pentecostalists for their religious convictions and for their aspiration to emigrate from the U S S R, and also the refusal to give them permission to emigrate, constitute a gross violation of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference.

* * *

Pentecostalists have appealed to the U N Human Rights Committee and the delegates of the Belgrade Conference with the following proposals:

— To condemn the K G B organs which intimidate religious believers and suppress applications to emigrate, and to make those organs criminally answerable;

— to condemn the actions of Soviet O V I Rs, which permit emigration only on an official invitation from close relatives;

— to ask the Soviet government to allow to leave without red tape all those who cannot get the agreement of relatives to their departure or obtain certain certificates (for example witnessing to the death of parents who died 30-40 years ago, or birth certificates lost during the war);

— to consider in the U N and at the Belgrade meeting the question of the Soviet authorities' detention of Pentecostalists' correspondence from abroad;

— to set up the post of Supreme Commissioner for Human Rights in the U N, with powers to form a commission for investigations on the spot, in any country from which complaints may come.

Since, under the Soviet constitution, the church is separate from the state, Pentecostalists consider themselves entitled to have international contacts independently of the state. They ask Christian associations and government organizations of other countries and also human rights institutions and organizations to enter into religious and legal relations with them. Besides this the Pentecostalist communities invite Mr Waldheim, Queen Elizabeth and President Carter to visit them. On behalf of 10,000 Pentecostalist would-be émigrés the letter was signed by about 100 representatives of communities from all parts of the Soviet Union.

* * *

On 20 February more than 200 believers appealed to the Pentecostalist and Baptist missionary societies of the countries of Western Europe, America and Australia, and also to the International Red Cross and

Red Crescent to give a general guarantee for all Pentecostalists wishing to emigrate from the U S S R that they will be received and supplied with whatever is necessary. In the opinion of believers such a guarantee would deprive the Soviet authorities of the opportunity of detaining them in the country.

* * *

In January 1978 the deputy senior presbyter of the Pentecostalists registered with the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists (A U C E C B), **P. K. Shatrov,** together with several other representatives of the A U C E C B, went to the U S A and met President Carter. According to believers, to questions about the emigration of Pentecostalists Shatrov replied that only believers who are not registered want to leave the country — those who in general acknowledge no authority whatever, and only very few of them at that. (In actual fact among the 20,000 Pentecostalists who have submitted applications to emigrate there are many members of communities registered with the A U C E C B).

* * *

In many letters Pentecostalists recall that in 1955 in China the authorities permitted all Christians who wished to do so to leave the country without any invitation from abroad of any kind.

Nakhodka (Primorsky Territory)

If Pentecostalists who submit documents for emigration from the U S S R have an invitation from a fellow-believer the authorities reject them on the grounds that they have no relatives abroad. If the invitation is received from direct relatives, other grounds for refusal are found. Thus **Valentina Polishchuk,** whose invitation was sent by her mother, father and brothers, was refused with the statement that she worked well and that therefore it was desirable for her to stay in Primorsky territory. **Lyudmila Drokina,** who received an invitation from her mother and father, was refused on the basis that she has a son of an age at which he is liable for call-up. **Alexandra Kabikova,** who has an invitation from her mother and two sisters, could not get her documents accepted due to the absence of a certificate from her drunkard husband, from whom she is divorced.

The authorities intimidate the non-believer parents of Pentecostalists so that they will not give their children who wish to emigrate from the U S S R certificates saying they have no material claims.

* * *

Nakhodka Pentecostalists **Chuprina, Perchatkin** and **Stepanov** were

officially invited to the U S embassy in order to make essential corrections in the invitations for permanent residence in the U S A. In January 1978 all three went to Moscow. They were detained outside the U S embassy. With money taken from them M V D officials bought them air-tickets and forcibly sent them back to Nakhodka.

* * *

About 200 people took part in the Pentecostalist hunger-strike that started on 4 October (*Chronicle* 47). Groups of believers held hunger-strikes in turns, each for 10 days. **Burlachenko, Yurovsky** and **Anishchenko** had their salaries halved for participating in the hunger-strike.

Foreign telephone conversations and the foreign correspondence of believers are being blocked, as previously.

On 20 December **Boris Perchatkin** on behalf of fellow-believers sent President Carter a telegram with the following contents:

> We greet you on the occasion of Christ's Birth: 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill to all men...'
>
> We wish you health and success in your efforts in defence of human rights. We ask you and the whole American people to say a prayer on Christmas Day for those who do not have freedom of belief.
>
> Church of Christian-Pentecostalists of the town of Nakhodka

The telegram was accepted by a post-office employee. The next day Perchatkin was summoned to the post-office, ostensibly for a re-calculation of the telegram's cost. A man who claimed to be a post-office employee but who refused to give his name returned Perchatkin his money and the text of the telegram. He said that the text contradicted our laws and was designed to undermine the security of our state. Perchatkin asked that the first half of the telegram should be sent, but the post-office employee did not allow even this.

* * *

On 11 January 1978 Perchatkin was again summoned for a 'talk' with a K G B official (*Chronicle* 47). He was told that he must be called to account for his telegram to Carter. It was promised that it would be checked whether fellow-believers really had asked Perchatkin to send such a telegram on their behalf. Perchatkin was shown several texts of Radio Liberty broadcasts in which it was said in his name that the K G B is forcing Boris's work-mates to give evidence against him, that his wife was intimidated during his trip to Moscow (she had remained at home), and that believers were being forced to leave their jobs. Perchatkin was told that an investigation was being conducted into his case and that the truth of these statements would be checked; he was reminded that he had been cautioned under the Decree.

After the raids on Chuprina's home, where Pentecostalist prayer meetings were held (*Chronicle* 47), believers submitted a request to the police and K G B to find the guilty persons. K G B officials stated that they would conduct an investigation in parallel with the organs of internal affairs, since in their opinion Chuprina's home had been ransacked by the Pentecostalists themselves in order to accuse the authorities of persecuting believers. For a while they even asserted that the pogrom had been arranged by Chuprina herself.

On 11 January K G B officials acquainted Perchatkin with the materials of the case. The case is being conducted by investigator Vdovkin. It includes the admission of a certain Magda that he attacked Chuprina's house and that he did so from anti-religious motives — because his friend had become a believer.

* * *

Starotitarovskaya Station (Krasnodar Territory)

In May 1977 71 invitations from fellow-believers living abroad were sent to Pentecostalists living in the Caucasus. Of these only six were handed over. In particular, invitations were sent to 12 families in Starotitarovskaya. Only the family of presbyter **N. P. Goretoi** received an invitation. Through the Moscow post-office Pentecostalists applied for a search to be made for the letters with invitations, indicating their numbers. After a while the reply came that the letters 'had not been found anywhere'.

In the summer the Goretois submitted the necessary documents to the town of Temryuk's passport office and paid state duty. On 22 December an official of the passport office announced to them that information was required about the U S A citizen who had sent them the invitation — when and where he was born, what was his occupation and how much he earned. The Goretois were warned that this information must be provided by the end of December, otherwise they would be refused permission to emigrate. At the American embassy it was explained to Goretoi that such information about American citizens who sent invitations was not needed. It was sufficient to have the assurance of a guarantor — the state governor who had certified the invitation.

Applications for emigration are not being accepted from the remaining Pentecostalists in Starotitarovskaya on the grounds that they have no invitations.

Ukraine

In May 1977 the presbyter of the Pentecostalist community in the village of Rokosovo, Khust district, Trans-carpathian region, **Mikhail Yurkiv,** submitted a request to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet for permission to emigrate from the U S S R for religious reasons.

On 23 December 1977 Yurkiv was arrested. At this time he was ill and was on sick-leave. Three of his children, minors, were also ill. A search was conducted in the house. According to Yurkiv's wife Malvina the arrest and search were carried out without a procurator's warrant being shown. All the money in the family was taken away — 870 roubles. During the search Yurkiv's wife and children were driven out of the house. After his arrest Yurkiv was put in a cold cellar of the Uzhgorod K G B. The arrest and search were conducted by senior investigator of the Uzhgorod K G B E. M. Koryukin, local policeman of the Khust district O V D, F. I. Lemak, and A. I. Pogorilyak.

The Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R sent a letter to the U S S R Procurator pointing out the procedural violations in Yurkiv's arrest and search and that he had been shown no charge. The Trans-carpathian Regional Procuracy replied that Yurkiv was arrested and is being brought to trial for embezzlement of money; no violations of legality were admitted regarding the investigation of Yurkiv's case.

* * *

On 27 July a group of Pentecostalists arrived at O V I R in the town of Zaporozhe in order to find out the fate of their applications for emigration. The reply came that in order to emigrate from the U S S R, besides an invitation from abroad it was necessary for children as well as adults to pay 500 roubles each for renunciation of citizenship; adults had to pay a further 300 roubles each in state duty. They were also told that the journey to Canada would cost 400 roubles for each adult and not less than 200 roubles for each child. The head of O V I R reckoned that a family of 11 people would need about 12,000 roubles to emigrate from the U S S R.

Besides this the head of Zaporozhe O V I R said that through the fault of the postal services invitations might be held up, mislaid or lost altogether. The Zaporozhe Pentecostalists do indeed reckon that the invitations sent them should by this time have arrived.

After this visit the believers wrote a letter to the U N with a request that Voice of America should make it clear how much money it was in actual fact necessary to spend in order to emigrate to the U S A, Canada or Australia from the U S S R. In the same letter they ask the Tolstoy and other foundations to give them financial aid.

* * *

More than 350 families of Pentecostalists from Rovno region submitted an application for permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union for religious reasons. The authorities refused, stating that there were no grounds for the emigration of believers and no guarantees that any country would receive them. Ten people appealed in a letter to J. Carter

in the name of all the Pentecostalists in the region who had applied to emigrate. They ask the President of the U S A and the governments of other countries to give them the right of entry and to make representations to the Soviet government about their emigration.

* * *

In the autumn active propaganda work was conducted in the village of Zhaden, Rovno region. First the U S S R Deputy Procurator-General, the commissioner for Rovno region of the Council for Religious Affairs, the secretary of the district party committee and the chairman of the district soviet executive committee arrived. Together with the collective farm administration these officials tried to dissuade all those who had submitted applications to emigrate from leaving. They said that the fellow-believers in Canada who were trying to help them emigrate were former Bandera supporters who had the Canadian authorities in their pockets. The believers were threatened that the certificate of registration of the community would be taken away from their presbyter. After a while Glukhovsky, the deputy republican presbyter of the Pentecostalists registered with the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists (A U C E C B), and the regional presbyter arrived. Achieving no success, they returned after a few weeks with deputy senior presbyter of the A U C E C B Pentecostalists, Shatrov. Their speeches in the community again brought no results.

* * *

Rovno Pentecostalists who have submitted applications to emigrate are being summoned to O V I R, where attempts are made to dissuade them. If a person appears to be hesitating, a record of 'oral withdrawal' is made out. Then such believers are held up as an example to other members of the community.

* * *

A conversation about emigration was held at his work with Pentecostalist **Richard Primakov** from Selets in Dubrovitsa district, Rovno region, on 6 January 1978. The chairman of the trade union committee, the head of the personnel department and a K G B representative asked Primakov to sign a statement previously prepared by them, renouncing his intention to emigrate. Primakov did not do this. Then the K G B official suggested the following alternative: those present would themselves write, as witnesses, that Primakov applied to emigrate in error and no longer wished to leave the country. Primakov declared that he wished now, as formerly, to emigrate from the U S S R and was waiting for an invitation. Despite this the text proposed by the officials was signed by those present.

* * *

On 12 January a band of hooligans attacked **N. V. Dubinets** in the village of Drabovo, Cherkassy region. He was badly beaten up and the bridge of his nose was broken. Immediately after this occurrence Dubinets tried to submit a written complaint to the head of the Drabovo police station, but the latter asked him to complain to his presbyter. Then Dubinets went to hospital. There he was met with the words: 'Ah, the emigrant has arrived.'

Belorussia

15 Pentecostalists from Brest region have appealed to President Carter to give them the right to immigrate to the U S A, since the Soviet authorities are refusing to give them permission to emigrate, asserting that no country will receive them.

Estonia

At the end of September 1977 official of Tallin O V I R V. A. Dmitriev told Pentecostalist presbyter **Gorelkin** that they would make out documents for emigration for all those wishing to emigrate, but asked believers to keep this a secret and behave quietly, so as not to stir up the rest of the Estonian population. In Tallin, Tapa, Narva, Valga and Kohtla-Jarve documents were accepted from Pentecostalists for emigration. On 19 November deputy minister for Estonian internal affairs Matus announced that all who had submitted applications for permission to emigrate for religious reasons had been refused due to lack of invitations from relatives abroad. Following this there started a deliberate shadowing of believers, summonses to interrogation, blackmail and interference in family affairs. On 10 January 1978 an article 'A Web of Lies' by E. Lebedev was published in the newspaper *Soviet Estonia* in which the presbyters of unregistered Pentecostalist communities in Tapa and Narva, Gorelkin and Matveyuk, were represented as criminals and swindlers, and the believers who had submitted applications to emigrate as hoodwinked victims.

* * *

Presbyter **Vasily Ivanovich Gorelkin** (*Chronicle* 47) sent a statement to official of the administrative department of the communist party Central Committee Albert Ivanov. He asks permission to emigrate from the U S S R and tells about himself. Gorelkin was born in 1930 in China (his parents went to China in 1927). There he grew up, was educated and worked from 1950 as a teacher in a Russian school. In 1955, together with his parents, he came to the U S S R. In November of the same year Gorelkin wanted to return to China and submitted an application for this. In April 1956 he was refused permission to leave. Nonetheless Gorelkin for another 19 years remained a Chinese citizen. He writes that in the U S S R he was everywhere treated with mistrust, he often had to change his place of residence because it was

difficult to find work, and since he did not hide his religious convictions people everywhere tried to avoid him. As long as 22 years ago Gorelkin decided to move from the U S S R to his sisters in Australia and received invitations from them. Since then he has regularly submitted documents for emigration and receives refusals from O V I R. While he has been living in the U S S R Gorelkin has twice been condemned on criminal charges; in his opinion this happened because of his religious convictions and attempts to emigrate to Australia. In the two years he has lived in Estonia Gorelkin, who has ten children and a paralysed wife to support, has twice been dismissed from work — the second time in December 1977 from the post of caretaker with a wage of 80 roubles a month.

On 22 November 1977, in the reception office of deputy minister of Estonian internal affairs Matus, Gorelkin was told that the question of his emigration had been decided in the affirmative and that he could prepare to leave. Gorelkin sold and gave away everything that he possessed, leaving only things he would need for the journey. On 6 December in Rakveri local K G B official Smit and Tallin O V I R official Dmitriev informed Gorelkin that issue of permission to emigrate was being postponed for seven months and would take place on condition that he cooperated with the authorities; otherwise it would be refused. Gorelkin, not wishing to hear out this proposal and also the slander against another Estonian presbyter, Matveyuk, tried to leave the investigator's office. Dmitriev detained him by force and told him that in the K G B courtyard there was a place where they could 'do him over' and no-one would see or hear. Dmitriev told Gorelkin that he would be condemned and sent to Solovki and threatened him with a car crash. The conversation went on from 10 am to 5 pm.

On 18 January Gorelkin was summoned to the town police station in Tapa. This time Major-General Timusk of the republican administration talked to him. He accused Gorelkin of slanderous activity and incitement of believers to betrayal of the motherland and asked him to get out of Estonia.

On 29 January it was announced to Gorelkin in O V I R that he had been refused permission to emigrate for the reason that in the questionnaire he had indicated the higher education he received in China. In the opinion of the authorities Gorelkin does not have such an education.

Lithuania

Pentecostalist and father of two sons, **V. K. Vasilev**, appealed to Secretary-General of the U N K. Waldheim and also to the participants in the Belgrade meeting, for help in obtaining permission to emigrate to the U S A. He tells how the authorities of the city of Vilnius are trying through a court to expel him and his family from the house where they live.

Have Left

On 1 March one more member of A. D. Sakharov's family, **Aleksei Semyonov** (son of E. G. Bonner) left the U S S R In the autumn of 1977 he was expelled from Moscow's Lenin Pedagogical Institute for 'lack of progress' (he was in the fifth year of the mathematical faculty). His 'lack of progress' was due to having twice received 'unsatisfactory' on his military training exam. In all four years Semyonov had been among the best students of his year, and had also received good results in his military training. In the head of the military department's report to the rector of the institute, recommending Semyonov's expulsion, it said that Semyonov was unworthy of the name of teacher, since he had said: 'I only want to get my diploma.'

* * *

On 3 March **Yury Grodetsky,** an inhabitant of Leningrad, and his family left the U S S R. In 1972, when the orchestra in which he worked was on tour in Mexico he decided not to go back to the Soviet Union. Eight days later he thought better of it, realizing that his family would not be allowed to join him. After his return to the U S S R he spent 18 more days in freedom (under the unflagging surveillance of the K G B), after which he was arrested and given 4 years under article 64 of the R S F S R Criminal Code (with the application of article 43). In 1976 he left Vladimir prison at the end of his term (*Chronicles* 42, 35), and then lived in Luga (Leningrad Region).

* * *

Ninel and **Yury Andreyev,** inhabitants of Leningrad, have left the U S S R. In 1977, when they were trying to obtain permission to leave, they sent off their passports to the U S S R Supreme Soviet; the passports were returned to them via the police. From February to March 1977 the Andreyevs held a prolonged hunger-strike.

Extrajudicial Persecution

In 1976-77 a legal inspector of labour of the Central Committee of the Trade-union of Oil and Gas Industry Workers, **Vsevolod Dmitrievich Kuvakin** (b. 1942, jurist, no party affiliation), sent the communist party Central Committee and L. I. Brezhnev several letters in which he pointed out the crisis situation in the country, the complete inertia of the people and the growth of alcoholism and crime. Kuvakin criticized the government for the gap between word and deed and the hushing-up of problems, and pointed to the people's lack of trust in the govern-

ment. Criticizing communist party policy, he wrote that the party was not managing to fulfil the role of the leading force in society.

He received his sole reply on 20 October 1977, when an instructor of the Moscow city party committee's department of science and higher educational establishments, N. N. Fedotov, officially informed Kuvakin that not one of his letters would be considered, while he himself would be dismissed from work and would not in future be permitted to work in his profession. The same day, head of the legal inspectorate of labour V. F. Voronin and secretary of the party bureau of the Central Committee of the oil and gas trade-union V. I. Gusev forced Kuvakin to submit his resignation. In doing this they referred to the arrival of a demand from the party organs. (As it transpired, the order of the Presidium of the trade-union central committee about relieving Kuvakin of his post was prepared three hours before the conversation with him.) His identity card, pass for the canteen and key to his office were taken from him there and then.

Subsequently Kuvakin repeatedly complained to the All-Union Central Trade Unions' Council about this order, pointing out that his resignation was offered as a result of pressure from the administration. These complaints brought no concrete results.

On 24 October 1977 Kuvakin sent a letter to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, asking permission to renounce Soviet citizenship, with the right to live on the territory of the U S S R as a stateless person. Giving reasons for his request he wrote that in effect he was deprived of the rights given to Soviet citizens by the U S S R Constitution.

Endeavouring to defend his right to work in his profession Kuvakin appealed to the Supreme Soviet (three times), the Trade Unions' Council, the eighth session of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, Yu. P. Andropov, V. V. Grishin, I. V. Kapitonov and A. I. Shibayev — without receiving any reply. In his letter to Andropov he wrote:

> I am not a dissident, but the officials of the Moscow city party committee have made me a dissident...
>
> I have not performed any illegal action...Where then is that right to 'think differently', of which you spoke in your report?

On 26 November Kuvakin sent off his passport to the Supreme Soviet. In an accompanying letter he pointed out that the period for consideration of his application to renounce his citizenship had expired, and asked for the issue of documents on the right of residence in the U S S R as a stateless person to be expedited.

On 12 December deputy head of Moscow O V I R A. E. Zotov informed Kuvakin that there were no grounds to satisfy his request for renunciation of citizenship since he did not intend to emigrate from the U S S R.

In December Kuvakin tried to get in touch with the chairman of the Soviet group of Amnesty International, G. N. Vladimov. Not finding Vladimov at home, he left Vladimov's wife his own home telephone number. Two days later a man calling himself Vladimov rang Kuvakin and, after having listened to his story about himself, said that Amnesty did not deal with such cases. He advised Kuvakin to appeal to A. D. Sakharov and gave him his telephone number. A few days later Kuvakin found out from Vladimov that the latter had never rung him up, but that he himself had a few days ago had a call from a man calling himself Kuvakin who insulted him and generally behaved in a boorish fashion.

On 7 February 1978 Kuvakin sent the M V D an application for the return of his passport since he was effectively being denied renunciation of citizenship and was deprived of any sort of social status. On 24 February Kuvakin's passport was returned to him.

On 10 February at a press conference for foreign journalists V. D. Kuvakin made a statement. Kuvakin assessed himself to be under 'an unconstitutional ban on the practice of my profession', resulting from the critical comments he had expressed on the communist party Central Committee. He pointed out that he had violated no laws but had only attempted to make use of the right given him as a citizen to be responsible for all that took place in the country and to express his opinion about the social policy conducted.

* * *

A. A. Zinoviev (*Chronicles* 43-45) continues to be persecuted. His scholarly works have been withdrawn from publication in the U S S R and other socialist countries. It is forbidden to mention his name in scholarly literature. His books, which should have been published in Bulgaria and Poland, have not been.

Pressure is being put on Zinoviev's relatives and wife and on their friends. One of Zinoviev's brothers, a colonel, was dismissed from the army. An acquaintance of Zinoviev had his telephone disconnected because his wife had used it to telephone her sister in Hungary. A former research student of Zinoviev's was forbidden to defend her dissertation. A friend of his wife's, living in France, was not permitted to visit the Soviet Union. On 19 January Zinoviev made a statement:

> It is the custom with us to mark all kinds of anniversaries. I too wish to celebrate an original anniversary. One year has passed since I was dismissed from work...
>
> During this year I found out for myself that discussion of the violation of human rights in our country does not correspond to reality, since such rights are altogether nonexistent by the very nature of our society...

Together with this I wish to note one extremely important positive result of this year: the authorities' attempt to entirely isolate me and my family from society has been a failure...

On 25 January, eight months after he submitted his documents, Zinoviev was informed that he had been refused permission to travel to the Federal Republic of Germany.

In mid-February the Moscow Helsinki group spoke out in defence of Zinoviev (Document No. 33):

...Alexander Zinoviev is being persecuted and deprived of work and means to live not for any kind of actions, but for his thought. For independent, unregimented thought that is not subject to anyone's bidding, for his own philosophical view of things and events...

* * *

During the investigation into the case of Konstantin Simis's book (*Chronicle* 43) jurist **Boris Zolotukhin** was expelled from the party for a second time. (Zolotukhin was excluded from the Moscow Bar and expelled from the party after defending Ginzburg at his trial in 1968. He subsequently managed to be reinstated in the communist party.)

B. Zolotukhin was accused of the fact that, knowing about the book 'of anti-Soviet, slanderous content' that his friend Simis was writing, he had not had a talk with him and had not informed party or other official organs. To this Zolotukhin objected that there was no point in hurrying — the investigation had not yet ended, and only the court could call the book anti-Soviet or slanderous. In his view the book was simply of a critical nature. Besides this, he remarked that to inform someone of the affairs of other people, and all the more of the affairs of his friends, was not one of his principles. To the question as to whether he trusted the investigation agencies Zolotukhin replied that in his work both as a procurator and as a defence lawyer he had many times proved to the investigation agencies that they were mistaken.

At a party meeting called to decide the question of Zolotukhin's expulsion there were about 20 people, not one of whom was a worker (Zolotukhin works as a legal expert in a manufacturing enterprise). The majority voted for expulsion, and about four of those present voted against. Zolotukhin did not go to the bureau meeting of the district party committee which confirmed the expulsion.

* * *

In December 1977 an attempt was made to hospitalize the Leningrad writer **Vadim Nechayev.**

On 6 December a nurse came to his home from the district polyclinic with a demand for him to come for investigation with regard to the pneumonia he had suffered from in February 1976. Nechayev refused. On the evening of the same day a nurse came to him from the district psychiatric dispensary; she demanded that Nechayev come to the dispensary for investigation and possible hospitalization. (Nechayev has been on the dispensary's register since 1964, when he went there complaining of headache. Since then he has not once been to the dispensary.) Nechayev again refused.

Vadim Viktorovich Nechayev was born in 1937. He started to publish in 1957. Four of his books have been published in the U S S R and two of these have been translated and published in six countries. In 1967 he was accepted into the Writers' Union. Since then, however, he has not managed to publish anything.

In a letter of 21 December to the secretariat of the Writers' Union board he writes:

My fate is not an exception. The manuscripts of bright, original writers in Leningrad are castrated, they marinate for five to seven years in publishing houses and on leaving them lose their immediacy. Tragic consequences of this are the fates of Rid Grachev and Genrikh Shef. Many unquestionably talented authors, known in literary circles for the last decade, to this day have not had one book published: V. Bakhtin, S. Dovlatov, V. Gubin and the poets D. Bobyshev, O. Okhapkin, V. Krivulin, E. Shvarts and Yu. Alekseyev — I could give more than fifty names.

Over the past years I have openly spoken out in support and defence of the culture of unofficial writers and artists, for which actions I in turn ended up on the 'black list'. I felt its effect on myself for the first time in 1963, after N. S. Khrushchev's attack on the intelligentsia, when a cycle of my stories was withdrawn from the journal *Zvezda.* For the last two years I have been deprived of any earnings and live on the proceeds from my library. But I am not ashamed of my fate — there was a time when Osip Mandelshtam also lived like this.

A year ago the Museum of Contemporary Art grew up on my intiative. I participated in organizing an exhibition in solidarity with the Biennale-77 in Venice, in order to draw attention to the work of contemporary artists. After my return to Leningrad from Moscow, where this exhibition was closed down by police officials, a strange situation arose: I was presented with an ultimatum from the secretary of the Leningrad section of the Writers' Union — to stop any activity which supposedly contradicted the Writers' Union statutes.

Simultaneously came a threat to examine me and intern me in a psychiatric hospital.

At the secretariat on 14 December 1977 I in my turn tried to raise

openly urgent problems. The sole reaction was an accusation against me of being a defender and ideologist of an unofficial, so-called 'alternative culture'. And I was reminded of the slogan of the civil war period: 'Who is not for us is against us.' The ultimatum was repeated: 'Either you stop all activity in defence of this culture, or you will be expelled from the Writers' Union and forced to emigrate.'

In January 1978 Vadim Nechayev was expelled from the Writers' Union 'for activity incompatible with the Statutes of the USSR Writers' Union, preparation and distribution of the underground journal *Archive*, for support of the anti-Soviet Biennale in Venice, and for preparing materials intended for publication abroad which were confiscated from a Swedish tourist'.

The basic accusation at the session of the secretariat of the Leningrad section of the Writers' Union was formulated by Evgeny Voevodin, who had shortly before this visited Vadim Nechayev as a guest and leafed through *Archive* in his home (in *Chronicle* 43 the two first issues of *Archive* were summarized and Nechayev was named as one of its two publishers).

Writer-Parasites

Since the beginning of 1978 the activity of the administrative authorities aimed at classifying a number of writers living in the USSR as 'parasites' or 'persons leading a parasitical way of life' (the best known of the previous cases of this type was the Leningrad trial of Joseph Brodsky in 1964) has been stepped up.

At the beginning of January police officials visited the flats of **Vladimir Kornilov** (*Chronicle* 45), **Vladimir Voinovich** (*Chronicle* 32) and **Lev Kopelev** (*Chronicle* 45), all expelled at different times from the USSR Writers' Union, **Georgy Vladimov,** who left the Writers' Union (*Chronicle* 47), and also the historian, writer and publisher **Roy Medvedev** (*Chronicle* 37). An 'explanation' of the sources of their income was demanded from each of them.

Kornilov and Kopelev were not at home when the police called.

The local policeman asked Kornilov's wife where her husband worked: 'A statement has been made that he has no employment.' 'By whom?' 'I am unable to say.' Kornilov's wife said that her husband is a member of the Pen Club. 'Is it on the telephone?'

Kopelev's wife explained that her husband is a pensioner. 'I told them so,' said the embarrassed policeman.

Vladimov and Kornilov, summoned next day to a police station, gave short written explanations to the effect that they live, as befits writers, on literary earnings. Kornilov was again summoned to the

police station on 25 January and Vladimov on 11 March; each of them referred in addition to the agreements made with them for the publication of their works, moreover Vladimov stated that he did not consider it necessary to enter into further explanations, and attempts to force him to do so would be quickly made known by him to the press and the public.

At the beginning of January Voinovich was away from Moscow. On his return he received from the lift operator a summons addressed to him, but he refused to go to the police station. At the beginning of February he was again sent for by the police. Voinovich declared that he would not go voluntarily to the police station and conveyed the following to the head of the police station:

> Explanation: in answer to the inquiry of the local police official, I hereby explain that my books are published in many countries of the world, in many languages and in large editions, and, like any well-known writer, I earn sufficient to support myself and my family. I consider the given explanation to be exhaustive. V. N. Voinovich, writer, corresponding member of the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts, corresponding member of the International Pen Club (an international writers' organization), honorary member of the American Mark Twain Society.

* * *

In January a man introducing himself as an acquaintance called on Lev Kopelev. He had come to convey the following information:

A certain scholar, an economist, sent the party central committee a letter in which he expressed his anxiety about the dualisation of public awareness that has been created in our country: official propaganda and information are in contradiction with the unofficial information that has now become generally available through foreign radio broadcasts. He wrote that in such a situation it was impossible to travel to the West. The scholar was invited for conversations 'up above'.

A KGB official took part in the conversation. The scholar's interlocutors said they were concerned by the same problem, but they assured him that it would be resolved in the very near future: the flow of unofficial information would come to an end. People who transmitted such information were faced by a free choice: either they left Moscow for some town that was closed to foreigners, or — and this would be best for everyone — they left the country; otherwise it would be necessary to deal with them according to the law. The people concerned were those such as Kopelev, Kornilov, Voinovich and Vladimov. To the scholar's question as to whether this was not a return to Stalinism, the reply was: 'Under Stalin they would have been put straight into prison, but we are giving them a choice.' The scholar's

interlocutors added that the people they had mentioned knew about the choice before them — they had been asked more than once to make up their minds quickly.

* * *

In November 1977 **Yury Gastev** (*Chronicles* 34, 35, 45), mathematician, philosopher and writer was given an official warning about 'parasitism' at a police station.

Gastev has not had a permanent job since the end of 1975, when he was forced to resign his job 'at his own wish'. Since then he has several times tried unsuccessfully to find work within his profession.

At the end of April 1976, soon after the first summons to the police station, Gastev was expelled from the Journalists' Union (author of several dozens of review and popular-scientific articles, he was in the scientific journalism section). At the end of July 1977 Gastev concluded a work contract under which he became literary secretary to G. N. Vladimov, but at the end of November he was summoned to the police station and told that the contract was invalid, since Vladimov himself was considered by the police to be a person without definite occupation.

There and then Gastev was given an official warning that if he did not start work within a month he would be made criminally answerable under article 209 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

Starting from February 1978 the trade-union district committee stopped recording payment of dues on the contract between Gastev and Vladimov.

Gastev was not accepted for work at the Institute for Improvement of Professional Skills, where he had been sent at the Institute's request by the City Labour Bureau.

At the beginning of February he started work as senior research officer at the Central Research Institute for the Technology of Tractors and Agricultural Machinery, but after a week he was told that there was no vacancy for him.

In the Central House of Writers

On 21 December 1977 the critics sector of the Moscow section of the Writers' Union held a literary discussion in the conference hall of the Central House of Writers on the theme 'We and the Classics'. Discussion went on from 4 pm to 11 pm in a tightly packed hall and was, in the opinion of those present, unprecedented in the literary life of recent years for the frankness with which those who spoke expressed their literary and other opinions.

The tone of the discussion was set by the speeches of critics and

literary specialists **Palievsky, Kunyayev, Kozhinov** and **Zolotussky** who belong to a grouping characterized by sharp hostility to 'modernism' and great hopes for the national traditions of Russian culture. (See, for example: P. Palievsky, *The Paths of Realism*, Moscow, 1974; O. Mikhailov *Faithfulness*, Moscow, 1974; the publicistic writings of M. Lifshits over the last 15 years, etc.) Their acknowledged ideologue is the critic P. N. Palievsky (since autumn 1977 he has been deputy director of the Institute of World Literature). His speech, which opened the discussion, contained a series of propositions which provoked fierce polemics. Chief of them was the thesis of the break with the Russian classical tradition which took place in the twenties, and the re-establishment of this tradition in the thirties and forties. He emphasized that the 'complex historical conditions' of the thirties 'did not prevent the great writers Bulgakov and Sholokhov from creating their best works at this period'. Despite the unhappy condition of people in a purely human sense, despite the harsh fate of artists (and leftists also — 'but they themselves raised the sword, and by the sword they died') it was precisely in the thirties and forties that the 'fusion of the classical tradition with popular culture' took place.

Assessing the contemporary situation, Palievsky noted a worrying symptom — the impossibility of resisting avant-garde tendencies through the press, and also the crisis of the classical repertoire in academic theatres.

The poet Stanislav Kunyayev stated that he considered it incorrect to include the poetry of E. Bagritsky in the classical tradition. In Kunyayev's opinion, Bagritsky broke entirely with the humanism and popular orientation of the Russian classics. His long poem 'Ballad of Opanas' was anti-peasant and anti-common people, while the main positive hero of this poem, food-squad commissar Kogan, was a rapist and a robber. (Retort from the hall: 'It was Lenin, not Bagritsky, who thought up the food-squads!'). In Bagritsky's poetry, continued Kunyayev, there was neither a sense of tragedy nor a purging, but only malice. He saw the roots of this in the poet's hostility to the people's way of life, including hostility to his own origins, i.e. to the way of life of the small Jewish towns of his childhood, about which he writes with hatred (the poem 'Origin').

To Bagritsky's antihumanistic creed ('But if it — the age — says "Lie", then lie. And if it says "Kill", then kill') Kunyayev opposes a different moral code, whose bearer was Osip Mandelshtam, who continued the Russian humanistic position ('The wolfhound-age hurls itself on my shoulders. But I am no wolf by blood.').

Poet and critic **V. Kupriyanov** supported Palievsky and those who thought like him in his estimation of the gulf between the Russian classics and the present day. The cause of this, in Kupriyanov's opinion, is the 'loss of a metatext', which for 19th century culture was provided

by the Gospels.

Many of Palievsky and Kunyayev's opponents spoke as frankly as they did, and considered it equally unnecessary to adorn their speeches with the ideological and political clichés usual on such occasions. Among those objecting to the advocates of a 'return to roots' and the opponents of the 'avant-garde' was the film-director **A. Efros,** the poet **Evg. Evtushenko,** the critic **A. Borshchagovsky** and others.

Evtushenko accused Palievsky of 'restrospective complacence' towards the life and work of Bulgakov in the thirties. 'How can one not understand the tragedy of an artist whose best, most loved creation was not published?' He recalled that Russian classical literature, despite all the 'beer-drinking' patriotism and the official, servile patriotism, had with Chaadayev's voice produced a patriotism 'with open eyes'.

Borshchagovsky noted that one must not separate literary renaissance from the tragic fates of writers.

Professor S. Lominadze, in a rejoinder to Palievsky on the fruitfulness of the thirties and forties in the history of Russian culture, recalled that the discussion 'is being conducted on the anniversary of the birth of a man who laid an indelible and tragic stamp on this epoch' (i.e. Stalin — *Chronicle*).

Many of those who spoke, spoke of the works of various writers of the twenties that have not been published to this day. This theme was raised by Borshchagovsky, who mentioned the fact that Vs. Ivanov's novels *The Kremlin* and *U* had to this day not been published. Lominadze criticized the volume *Pre-October Russian Poetry* in the series 'Library of World Literature', from which the verses of N. Gumilyov are absent although he is mentioned in the preface. V. Kupriyanov, who had taken part in compiling this volume, said in his speech that in the initial stages of printing, Gumilyov's verses had been retained, but then it had been ordered that they be removed. According to Kupriyanov, a certain person had arrived and said: 'The Bolsheviks have already shot Gumilyov once.' (It is interesting to compare the latter piece of information with the rumours circulating recently in Moscow about a forthcoming or already accomplished judicial rehabilitation of Gumilyov in connection with the so-called 'Tagantsev plot', and about the publication of a collection of his verses which would supposedly follow this — *Chronicle*).

A. Efros after his speech (he spoke third, after Palievsky and Kunyayev) received and read out a note with the following content: 'What is your attitude to the Russian theatre? Open your own national theatre and mutilate the classics there as much as you like.' Evidently this note gave Evtushenko an opportunity to express himself about antisemitism and to link this theme with the subject of discussion. He said that Russian classical literature had never confined itself to a cult of the soil, and the best of the Slavophiles had never permitted

themselves to exalt their own people at the expense of other peoples. Russian classical literature had through the lips of Korolenko branded antisemitism, and hatred for antisemitism had 'remained forever the heritage of the Russian intellectual'. Literary specialist V. Kozhinov stated that he was disturbed by the hysteria that had arisen after Palievsky and Kunyayev's speeches. Judging from his speech, he had taken Evtushenko's philippic as directed at himself and those who thought like him.

The polemics were conducted in exceptionally sharp tones, and an attempt by the first secretary of the Moscow section of the Soviet Writers' Union, critic F. Kuznetsov, to return the discussion to 'scholarly, theoretical consideration of the subject' had no success. The speakers did, however, restrain themselves from sticking political labels on people. Exceptions were interventions from the hall, such as during Kunyayev's speech, and also the speech of critic Yu. Seleznev. He accused critic V. Solovyov, who had shortly before emigrated from the USSR (*Chronicles* 45, 46), of Zionism. Seleznev endeavoured to prove that Solovyov's articles published in the Soviet press were textually close to the works of Zionist ideologues, and was indignant at 'the loss of vigilance and the ignorance' of editorial workers who had given Solovyov the opportunity to publish on the pages of Soviet publications.

Several people spoke outside the framework of the unfolding polemic. Some of the speeches (for example that of the writer A. Bitov) were extremely thoughtful. However, to summarize them falls outside the scope of the *Chronicle*.

Closing the discussion, **E. Sidorov,** who was in the chair, said that it had been interesting and expressed a desire for a repetition of such undertakings. However, the reaction of the Cultural Department of the Communist Party Central Committee to the discussion was negative. According to information that is not fully substantiated, St. Kunyayev was reprimanded at the Writers' Union, and the official of the union's administration responsible for the discussions at the Central House of Writers was also reprimanded.

Several independently-made records of the discussion have been circulated in samizdat. The materials of some of them have been used here.

* * *

On 10 February a soirée called 'A Meeting with Norilsk' was held at the Central House of Writers. **K. Simonov** was in the chair.

After several people had spoken, talking of the heroism of the first builders of Norilsk, the Kalmyk poet **David Kugultinov,** who was sitting in the presidium, took his turn to speak. Kugultinov said that he too had built Norilsk and had lived in barracks — behind barbed

wire. Kugultinov also spoke of the fate of his people and of other peoples deported at the end of the war.

A young poet recited his poetry at the evening; it was dedicated to the prisoners who had built Norilsk, among whom had been his parents, who were present in the hall. They were warmly greeted by the audience.

All the contributions were received very sympathetically by those present.

Summing up, K. Simonov supported the proposal put forward by several of those who had spoken — to erect a memorial in Norilsk to its first builders.

Miscellaneous Reports

On 14 February 1976 a policeman came to the parents, who live in the town of Ordzhonikidze, Dnepropetrovsk region, of **Vladimir Voinovich** and demanded that his father come with him at once to the police station. While the father was getting ready, the policeman glanced into a neighbouring room where his wife was lying after a new heart attack and asked: 'Who is that lying there? Your son?' At the police station the station head and a man in plain clothes told the father that on 3 February his son had disappeared and was probably no longer alive.

At the same time similar rumours were circulated by police officials amongst Voinovich's relatives in other towns.

Two weeks after the policeman's visit Voinovich's mother died.

In mid-March Vladimir Voinovich sent a statement to N. A. Shchelokov, Minister of Internal Affairs:

> ...However, there are not and could not have been any grounds for anxiety about my life on the part of police officials if only because on 4 and 5 February a district policeman visited me and wanted to know about my means of support...
>
> I would like to know for what purpose this loathsome provocation was set up and who is the subhuman creature who thought of it?...
>
> If I do not receive from you a considered reply within the period prescribed by law, I shall know that you have taken upon yourself the responsibility for this provocation.

* * *

Kishinev

In March 1977 painted slogans started to appear here. On the walls of the polyclinic where Central Committee officials and their families are treated was written: 'Whites only.' On a shop-front with a portrait of Brezhnev: 'Wanted Criminal.' On the house where First Secretary of the Moldavian Central Committee Bodyul lives: 'A Nest of Gentlefolk.' And so on. Pensioned party members and voluntary militia were mobilized to patrol the streets at night, but the slogans continued to appear. Finally the culprits were found — they were three ninth-form pupils. The ring-leader is described by his teacher as an intelligent, inquisitive youth who asked keen, searching questions. The boys had formed their own 'party', K I S (the slogans were always signed K I S), after the first letters of their names. The 'programme' of this 'party' was: 'To study well, go to an institute, reach a high position in society and make a revolution from above.'

Thanks to the procurator for cases involving minors, a woman, who made representations to Bodyul for the boys to be punished wisely, they were not tried but sent to a special school. It is thought that the boys had been helped by their old teacher, who taught them in the fifth and sixth forms: she used to give them money for paint. This teacher, who is the daughter of a late secretary of the Moldavian Central Committee, was expelled from the party.

Novosibirsk

In December 1977 leaflets of a religious content, signed 'Jehovah's Witnesses', were scattered over Novosibirsk from a small AN-2 aircraft. The leaflets had been hectographed on sheets of squared paper.

Novosibirsk

On 6 January 1978 the secretary of the Pervomaisky district party committee said in a report to the party activist group that during the past year four people in the district had been expelled from the party for christening their children.

Leningrad-Moscow

On 8 December 1977 in Leningrad a doctor visited the mother of **Vladimir Borisov** (*Chronicles* 43, 44, 46). He was from the psychoneurological dispensary at which Borisov is registered and wanted to know about his state of health: 'We have been told that on 5 December he was detained in Moscow.'

On 9 December Borisov was detained in Moscow by officials of the Moscow and Leningrad Criminal Investigation Department and forcibly taken to the Leningrad station. An official of the Leningrad C I D demanded that Borisov go to Leningrad and put in an appearance at his place of registration, where C I D officials would 'have a talk' with him. Borisov was also told that he was required to live at the place where he was registered and that if he did not go to Leningrad by 10 December it would 'be the worse for him'. Borisov ignored this threat and continued to live in Moscow — with his wife.

* * *

While **Mikhail Kukobaka** was in the Mogilev psychiatric hospital (*Chronicle* 47) he lost his hostel room on the orders of director of the Bobruisk leather combine P. S. Kuzmich. In the initial period after leaving the hospital Kukobaka was obliged to sleep in the railway station. Then he was once more temporarily (until 1 May 1978) registered at the hostel, after he had signed a pledge that he would not exhibit in his room the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, photographs of activists in the human rights movement, or objects of a religious character.

On 23 December 1977 chief doctor of the Mogilev regional psychiatric hospital M. T. Kuznetsov sent Viktor Nekipelov a reply to his statement of 15 October on the forcible hospitalization of Mikhail Kukobaka (*Chronicle* 47):

> the interests of the mentally sick who have no relatives and guardians are defended, first and foremost, by the doctor in charge, while private individuals sometimes do not act in the interests of the sick person; in the case in question we see a tendency, on the pretext of 'defending' a sick person, to make use of him for the purposes of political insinuation...Your statement on the hospitalization of Kukobaka being 'illegal' is unfounded and has a purely declarative character. Kukobaka was discharged from the hospital on 25 November 1977.

Moscow Region

In mid-December 1977 **Vladimir Rubtsov** (*Chronicles* 43, 44) was 'cautioned' under the decree of 24 December 1972. The record listed literature confiscated in a search on 30 November 1976 (*Chronicle* 43). Rubtsov signed the record but wrote at the end:

> In view of the fact that I have been shown no documents to prove that the literature found in my possession during the search has a slanderous content and is politically harmful for our society and state, I consider the record of caution that has been compiled to be unfounded; in my future actions I intend to rely only on my personal conscience, the law, the Constitution and an objective (from my point of view) conception of what is useful for society and the state.

Leningrad

In mid-December 1977 **Boris Mityashin** (*Chronicle* 46) was cautioned 'according to the decree'.

Moscow

On 9 February 1978 the specialist council for the defence of dissertations in the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of the Russian

Language 'reconsidered' a decision of the institute's Academic Council of 25 February 1965 and made representations to the Higher Degrees Commission to deprive Master of Philological Science **Larisa Iosifovna Bogoraz** of her academic degree. L. Bogoraz was one of the participants in the demonstration on Red Square on 25 August 1968 against the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops (*Chronicle* 3).

At the session all members of the council, apart from one who spoiled his ballot-paper, voted in favour of 'reconsideration'.

Moscow

In December 1977 a commission inspecting the student hostel of the Mining Institute took measures to have taken from the wall of one room 'naked women' (a reproduction of a picture by Rubens), and from the wall of another — a portrait of J. Carter.

Moscow

The opening of an exhibition of 20 Moscow artists — members of the painting section of the Moscow city committee of graphic artists — was set for 3 March 1978. The exhibition was arranged in the Exhibition Hall at 28 Malaya Gruzinskaya Street. At a preparatory meeting it was demanded that works by **V. D. Linitsky** (12 canvases in the series 'Apocalypse') and four works by **V. Provotorov** be removed. Chairman of the section Ashcheulov and the head of the department of culture accused Linitsky of religious propaganda. Especially unacceptable, in their opinion, were the depictions of a swastika (the Hindu sign of Shiva), of the Star of David (symbol of Judaism) and of John the Baptist prostrate before God.

In protest at this a demonstration of artists taking part in the exhibition was set for 4 pm on 3 March in front of the City Party Committee building. It was planned that artists would show passers-by photographs of their works. As a result of the compromise that was reached (Linitsky removed his sign of Shiva, and Provotorov removed two of his works 'Crucifixion' and 'Old Woman') the exhibition opened on 7 March and the demonstration was cancelled.

It was forbidden to put up the posters which had been specially printed for the exhibition.

* * *

On 22 December 1977 chairman of the Committee for Broadcasting and Television Lapin spoke at a conference of creative and management employees in television. Mentioning a case where in a certain television film the speech of the hero, a Latvian who spoke Russian with an accent, has been dubbed in pure Russian precisely because of the accent, he condemned this action. 'All accents of the brotherly peoples who study and speak Russian should only be welcomed by us, since they are studying Russian in addition to their own native

language. Under no circumstances should this be considered a defect... True, there is one accent that irritates us all...recently we have been hearing it less often, but there should be as little of it as possible.' There were 200 people at the conference, of whom not less than a quarter were Jews.

On 3 or 4 January 1978, during discussion of the New Year 'Little Blue Light' programme, Lapin made himself even clearer: 'The programme was compiled in such a way that one might think we had no Russian national culture. Raikin, Kartsev and Ilchenko, up until 31 December there was Khazanov...And the songs: Fradkin, Feltsman, Frenkel...In all this can be heard an unpleasant accent that irritates us all. In future there should be as little of it as possible.'

Demonstrations

In connection with the cancellation of the celebration of Constitution Day on 5 December the question arose as to what would happen about the traditional demonstration on Pushkin Square in Moscow which has taken place on this day every year since 1965 (see, for example, *Chronicle* 43).

On 30 November 1977 14 people sent a letter to the chairman of the Moscow City Soviet:

> ...we inform you that the silent demonstration is being transferred to Human Rights Day, i.e. to 10 December, at 7 pm. We ask you to instruct the police authorities not to permit hooliganism on the square...

There was also another point of view — to keep to tradition. On 5 December several people were detained at about 6 pm on the approaches to Pushkin Square and taken to a police station. After a while they were released. Several people succeeded in reaching the square. However there was in effect no demonstration.

On 10 December more than 20 people in Moscow found themselves under house arrest from the morning, among them: members of the Helsinki group **N. Meiman** and **V. Slepak**; chairman of the Soviet group of Amnesty International, writer **G. Vladimov**; **I. Zholkovskaya** and **I. Valitova, P. Podrabinek, N. Shatunovskaya** and **O. Iofe, K. Velikanova** and **I. Kristi. V. Bakhmin** was not allowed to leave the house where he was staying as a guest. **A. Podrabinek** and **T. Osipova** were taken to police stations on attempting to leave home.

The demonstration nevertheless took place. Near the Pushkin monument at 7 pm from 20 to 30 people removed their hats for several minutes. Conditions on the square, unlike in the previous year (*Chronicle* 43) were, although tense (there were many 'onlookers'), at least outwardly calm.

On 11 December N. Meiman, T. Osipova, A. Podrabinek, V. Bakhmin, E. Bonner, V. Slepak, V. Nekipelov, V. Kapitanchuk and priest G. Yakunin sent a letter to the Belgrade Conference, Kurt Waldheim and G. Meany.

Saying that about 20 people had been kept in their flats and several seized on the streets, the authors of the letter state:

> This is an arbitrary act not only and not so much against separate individuals as against the very idea of human rights, and for this reason it cannot be allowed to pass. On the anniversary of the adoption of the U N Declaration of Human Rights a total disregard of the basic idea of the Declaration has been demonstrated with the utmost clarity to the whole world.

The letter emphasizes that the practice of blocking people in their flats without any kind of legal basis is becoming systematic. The authors call on official and public organisations to 'express their attitude to these actions'.

* * *

A demonstration for the anniversary of the 'aeroplane' trial of 1970 was set for 24 December 1977 at 10 am. As always it was to take place outside the Lenin Library, opposite the reception office of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet. About 30 people signed a previously prepared statement for the press about the forthcoming demonstration.

On the 24th all those who had signed the statement and a few other people were prevented from leaving their houses or were detained on the street. **Gershuni, Kristi, Poluektova, Pinkhos Podrabinek, Slepak, N. Fyodorova, Grimm, Dulkin, Gvinter, Nudel, Valitova, Zholkovskaya** and others were subjected to house arrest. Several people nonetheless made their way to the appointed place and were seized when they got there. N. Meiman was detained at 2 pm, when he was leaving his house on other business. He was taken to police station 43 where about seven potential demonstrators were already being held. Both house and police arrests came to an end at about 5 to 6 pm.

* * *

On 8 March 1978 Moscow Jewish refuseniks (see 'The Right to Leave') decided to hold a demonstration on the steps of the Lenin Library. Almost all the participants were detained on the way there or not allowed to leave their houses. Only **N. Rozenshtein** and **I. Gildengorn** managed to make their way to the appointed place in time. Before they were seized they managed to unfold their placards with texts in Modern Hebrew. They were both, like all the other detainees, taken to one of the police bases and held there until evening. The policemen

were very polite. Some major had had a talk with them and instructed them to show good manners.

* * *

On the evening of 12 March 1978 near Moscow's 'House of Friendship' (the building of the Societies of Cultural Links with Foreign Countries) a protest demonstration took place against the attack by Palestinian terrorists on peaceful inhabitants near Tel-Aviv. **A. D. Sakharov** and **E. G. Bonner** took part in the demonstration. The majority of the other demonstrators were Jewish refuseniks. The demonstrators raised placards saying 'Shame on the Murderers of Children'. The surrounding public, amongst whom were K G B agents, were extremely hostile to the demonstrators. Placards were snatched away and ripped up. Shouts were heard: 'Clear off to your Israel!' Police politely asked the participants in the demonstration and the crowd that had gathered to 'disperse'.

About 25 to 30 people took part in the demonstration.

A Free Trade-Union

On 25 November 1977 a press conference took place in Moscow at which it was announced that a group of workers and engineering and technical employees from various towns who had been dismissed from work as a result of conflicts with the management (often for criticism) had formed an association which they had called a 'Free Trade-Union'. Leader of the group **Vladimir Klebanov** and other members of the group told journalists about the dissatisfaction of many workers with their situation, the violation of labour laws, the dismissals and other persecutions to which they themselves and other workers had been subjected.

A request for the registration of the Free Trade-Union was sent to the International Labour Organization. A draft of the statutes has been written.

In December representatives of the Free Trade-Union held another press conference. From December to March, members of the Free Trade-Union met more or less regularly at the Central Telegraph building in Moscow.

* * *

Several members of the Free Trade-Union have been subjected to forcible psychiatric hospitalization.

On 19 December V. Klebanov was detained by the police and interned in Moscow psychiatric hospital No. 7. The chief doctor of the hospital M. S. Rubashov refused to give Klebanov's wife any information on his condition. Four days later Klebanov was transferred

to Makeyevka psychiatric hospital, from where he was discharged on 28 December. On 7 February Klebanov was again detained in Moscow and sent to Donetsk psychiatric hospital.

It is known that in January and February Moscow worker **Gavriil Yankov** was held in a hospital for two weeks, and **Varvara Kucherenko** for three days.

Also in February several members of the Free Trade-Union were detained and sent to a special remand centre.

One of the responses to the formation of the Free Trade-Union was a statement from **Mikhail Kukobaka** (*Chronicle* 47) sent by him on 11 February to Brezhnev. M. I. Kukobaka writes that, as he is a worker, the concerns of Klebanov and his comrades are close and comprehensible to him; he gives examples of the gross violation of safety measures and other infringements of workers' rights that he has come across in his career (Kukobaka is now working as a loader in Bobruisk). Kukobaka states that 'a state trade-union covers up the authorities' 'abuses', and he protests against the persecution of the organizers of the Free Trade-Union which is being carried out with the purpose of 'intimidating the workers who are most aware and who speak out in defence of their rights'.

The Moscow Helsinki group has expressed its opinion on the formation of the Free Trade-Union (document No. 36 of 16 February 1978). The group writes:

> We are following this activity with interest and await information on the aims and tasks of the association. We hope that the formation of a free trade-union will have significance in the development of legal consciousness in our country. In this connection the Helsinki group considers it essential to remind the Soviet and world public that its formation is legal and based on the law.

The last assertion is documented by reference to article 225 section 15 of the Code of Labour Laws where it says, in particular, that 'Professional unions act in accordance with the statutes promulgated by them and do not require to be registered with state organs'.

* * *

Vladimir Aleksandrovich Klebanov was born in 1932. He graduated from a mining technical college and worked in the Donbass as a miners' foreman and an engineer-planner. In 1965 he began to speak out in defence of miners' interests. In 1968 he was arrested and charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian S S R Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code). Klebanov was ruled not responsible with a diagnosis of 'paranoia' and underwent compulsory treatment first in Dnepropetrovsk S P H, then in Makeyevka in an ordinary mental hospital. Leaving hospital in 1973 he was unable to get a job

anywhere. Addressing complaints about his case to central official bodies, he became acquainted in Moscow with many people whose fate was similar to his. In 1976 a group of about 40 people composed, with his participation, an Appeal to Soviet and International Bodies about the infringement of their labour and housing rights and about persecution of them for their complaints. In February 1977 Klebanov was forcibly hospitalized in Moscow and then sent to a Donetsk hospital. He spent two months in psychiatric hospitals, but was not subjected to 'treatment'. V. Klebanov lives in Makeyevka.

In the Pages of the Soviet Press

In 1963 the book by V. N. Lyakin, P. M. Petrov, K. G. Rogov and N. P. Chursinov *The Enemy Will Not Achieve His Aim* was published by the 'Leningrad' publishing-house. On pages 175-176 this book says about Petrov-Agatov (*Chronicle* 44):

> In October 1961 a certain Petrov-Agatov addressed himself to a manager of an institution and stated that the editors of the newspaper *Izvestiya* had commissioned him to find out and write an article about the application to industry of the new inventions of a Leningrad professor.
>
> The manager of the institution called a full-scale conference, to which he invited scholarly specialists from various Leningrad organizations and the author of the inventions. During the conference Petrov put questions 'on points of detail' to all of them.
>
> When they found out about this episode the employees of the newspaper's Leningrad department were amazed. For there was not and never had been a correspondent called Petrov among the employees of *Izvestiya*. It turned out that no-one had even checked his documents.
>
> Who then was Petrov, and why was he interested in inventions? Petrov turned out to be a rogue and a trickster. In the past ten years alone he had seven times been condemned for swindling, anti-Soviet agitation and repeated escapes from his place of imprisonment.
>
> In his time he had got to know an inventor. On his arrival in Leningrad Petrov sought him out and offered to 'push through' an invention, but the author of the invention was to pay him 400 roubles for doing so. In order to demonstrate his 'powers' and 'potentialities' to him, Petrov 'organized' the conference of high ranking specialists. In a similar fashion he had deceived a number of managerial officials in Baku, Riga and other towns.

> At the end of December 1961 a feature was broadcast on Leningrad radio about how a certain trickster posing as a consultant of the Ossetian Ministry of Culture had deceived several trusting Leningrad musicians and artists, taking money from them for the acquisition of two pianos. The 'consultant' was the same Petrov.
>
> Petrov has been brought to trial.

In 1978 issue No. 1 of the journal *Fatherland*, published by the Soviet Society for Cultural Links with Compatriots Abroad, printed a cycle of five poems by Petrov-Agatov under the title 'Motherland'. The verses are prefaced by the following text:

> He who has lost courage has lost all, as Goethe, the great thinker and sage, once said. It is impossible to doubt the justice of this utterance...
>
> The writer Alexander Aleksandrovich Petrov (literary pseudonym Agatov) started down the slippery path of ideological zigzags and errors after falling under the influence of elements alien to Soviet reality. Petrov-Agatov paid dear for his eventual enlightenment... However, Alexander Aleksandrovich found in himself the courage to recognize the full depth of his errors and to make a decisive break with the so-called dissidents. When the Western patrons of the dissidentizing loud-mouths suggested that he emigrate from the USSR, Petrov-Agatov categorically refused to become a 'former son of Russia'.
>
> Petrov-Agatov's verses have been published in the journals *Ogonyok*, *Novy Mir*, *Neva*, and *Expanse* (*Prostor*). He is the author of a collection of verses, *In the Time of Storms*, and the long poem 'Gennady Golenes'.
>
> Petrov-Agatov's verses are being published for the first time in the journal *Fatherland*.

In one of the poems one verse was published in a different form from that in which the author recited it in 1968:

> 1968
> In this prodigal world I also
> Had both wife and son.
> They shot us all at daybreak.
> I was resurrected and now live alone.
>
> 1978
> For I also had children.
> Had everything: family and son.
> I left it all, raced off, just like the wind
> And — alone. You hear? Alone!

* * *

On 22 November 1977 an article by M. Nazarov was published in *Gorky Truth* entitled 'But the King is Naked!' It concerned **Vladlen Pavlenkov,** his wife **Svetlana Pavlenkova** and the **Ponomaryov** family (see 'The Ginzburg Case' in *Chronicle* 47).

On 5 January 1978 the same newspaper contained an article by the head of the department of Marxism-Leninism at the Gorky Conservatory, Doctor of philosophical sciences V. Gorlyansky, 'People, Be Vigilant!' — again about the Pavlenkovs and **M. Pankratov.** The author writes in particular: 'And it is vain that they affirm that this work (one of V. Pavlenkov's 'criminal' works is meant — *Chronicle*) has to this day not been found. It has been found, I read it as long ago as the beginning of 1974' (i.e. at the time when Pavlenkov was in a labour camp — *Chronicle*). The author recalls that in 1974 he visited Pavlenkov in camp. The article contains a transparent hint: 'I don't know what keeps Pavlenkov here' (in the U S S R — *Chronicle*). The article ends thus:

> In order that there should be no new Pavlenkovs, Ponomaryovs or Pankratovs one wants to cry out to everyone: 'People, be vigilant!

On 9 January K G B officials came to **Sergei Ponomaryov** (*Chronicle* 47) and took him away for a 'conversation'. At the K G B he was asked whether he had read the articles about himself and his friends. Then they told him that they were not going to 'play cat and mouse' with him any longer: certain publications had appeared abroad, he was not putting an end to his activities, people were being drawn to him, and they had no more time to waste. It was time for him to choose: 'to live normally in future or go to the block'. All the more so since his second daughter had been born, while his living conditions and work left something to be desired. He was also told that he had no prestige either in Moscow or Gorky, neither did he have any relatives abroad. His 'interlocutors' put it to Ponomaryov: either he give a written guarantee that he would become a 'normal person', and then he and his wife would be given work in their profession and supplied in the very near future with a flat and his works would be published; or an article would be published which would compromise him 'from a moral as well as from a dissident angle', so that people whose opinion he valued would turn away from him.

Ponomaryov was given three days to think it over. Three days later, when K G B officials again came to see him at work they did not find him: he was ill. So far they have not bothered him any more.

* * *

The Vladimir regional newspaper *Summons,* in its issue of 12 February 1978 (N. Demyanov, 'Why do "weeds" sprout up?') told of attempts to circulate 'slanders on Soviet reality'.

Gennady Kalyakin, from Vladimir and about 40 years old, 'supposedly in the name of a group of foreign tourists composes such a letter that you couldn't think it up if you tried'. He explained his action by the fact that he was under the influence of his religiously oriented father. The author of the article considers that since it is a long time since Gennady lived with his father 'there is also another reason — his narrow interests: he performs no social work, does not go to the cinema or theatre, and has no close contacts with his neighbours'.

Vyacheslav Gundorov, a lathe operator from Stepantsev settlement, Vyazniki district, Vladimir region, had, it may be understood from the article, distributed leaflets:

> On one of the days Vyacheslav was present at a conversation. The subject was the pitiful renegades who are called dissidents. Many of those present at the conversation indignantly condemned this rabble. Vyacheslav's mind worked in the opposite direction. After all, he hardly read newspapers and journals, and listened mostly to Western radio.
>
> And so, arriving for the night shift, left by himself in the metal workshop, he began to compose a proclamation'...
>
> The cause of V. Gundorov's fall was drunkenness.

Both Kalyakin and Gundorov, 'in face of the incontrovertible proofs, were forced to admit that they had got onto the slippery slope'. Since both of them, moreover, as described in the article, repented, judicial proceedings were not instituted against them, although 'their actions fell under definite articles of the Criminal Code and they could have been made strictly answerable for slandering Soviet reality'.

* * *

Viktor Valentinov is the author of numerous articles about dissidents in *Literary Gazette* (for example in 1977 his articles — more often than not written jointly with Boris Roshchin — were published on 2 February, 31 August, 14 and 21 September, 23 November and 28 December).

Viktor Valentinov is the pseudonym of K G B Colonel Viktor Vasilevich Ponomaryov, born 1938, an official of the second chief administration of the K G B.

The last of the articles cited is 'Blackmail: about a Certain Anti-Soviet Campaign' (about Anatoly Shcharansky).

Letters and Statements

M. Niklus: 'To Professor Juri Saarma' (1 November 1977).
Professor Saarma is a psychiatrist and was a member of the Soviet delegation to the International Congress of Psychiatrists in Honolulu. With regard to his article in the newspaper *Kodumaa* and talks on Estonian radio Mart Niklus writes that Professor Saarma is misinforming the public in asserting that in the U S S R dissenters are not incarcerated in psychiatric hospitals. Niklus refers in particular to his experience in the psychiatric block in Mordovian camp 3.

...Must there really be only one position, and are people whose words, actions and thoughts do not correspond to this position mentally sick, while people who think otherwise than they act, in order to make their careers, are healthy?...

B. Altshuler: On the International Defence of Human Rights (11 November 1977).[7]

...The events of the past months demonstrate a simple truth: the free exchange of information cannot for long be based on the personal initiative of a few enthusiasts who in doing this risk their life and freedom; what is needed are universal and automatically effective mechanisms for publicity, and, more broadly, there is a need for machinery for the international defence of human rights...

I call for the drafting of a definite Moral Code for international professional activity: each international agreement should be accompanied by previously announced measures to ensure respect for humanitarian values and to provide an inspection mechanism.

G. Yakunin, V. Khaibulin, V. Kapitanchuk: 'Statement of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R' (29 December 1977).

On 16 December 1977 founder-members of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R, priest Gleb Yakunin and Viktor Kapitanchuk, were summoned officially to the K G B where it was announced to them that their activity was 'harmful to the interests of state security', and that the Committee's documents were damaging the Soviet social and political system. It was also stated that if the members of the Christian Committee continued their activity criminal proceedings would be instituted against them...

We strongly protest against the classification of the activity of members of the Christian Committee as slanderous and harmful to the state security of the U S S R...

We are aware of the possibility that the threat of forcibly putting an end to the activity of the Christian Committee will be carried out.

For this reason, and also in connection with the announcement by many believers of their desire to join the Christian Committee, the members of the Committee have made the following decision:

1. To accept member of the Russian Orthodox Church **Vadim Shcheglov** as a member of the Christian Committee.
2. To commission member of the Christian Committee V. Shcheglov, in the event of the arrest of the founder-members of the Committee, to announce the acceptance on to the Committee of those Christians who have been conditionally (in the event of the founder-members' arrest) accepted by decision of the Committee.
3. The arrest of any member of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights will not signify that he has left the Committee.

30 December is the anniversary of the formation of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the U S S R. The numerous appeals to the Christian Committee from believers, and the experience accumulated by the Committee in doing its work confirm the necessity of activity in defence of believers' rights in the U S S R.

The authors call for the formation of an International Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights. They appeal in particular to Cardinal Iosif Slipyi, A. Levitin-Krasnov, T. Khodorovich, E. Vagin, E. Bresenden and A. Polishchuk to participate in the formation of such a committee.

A. Sakharov: 'To the Organizing Committee of the Symposium on the Problem of the Death Penalty' (19 September 1977).

...I fully support the basic arguments put forward by opponents of the death penalty.

I consider the death penalty to be a cruel and senseless institution that undermines the moral and legal foundations of society...I deny any effective deterrent effect of the death penalty on potential criminals. I am convinced of the opposite — cruelty breeds only cruelty.

I deny the practical necessity and effectiveness of the death penalty as a means for defending society....I am convinced that the death penalty has no moral and practical justification and represents a survival from barbarous customs of revenge....The abolition of the death penalty is particularly important in such a country as ours, where there is the unlimited rule of state power and an uncontrolled bureaucracy, and a widespread disregard for the law and for moral values...

There are other peculiar features of our contemporary reality... They are the depressingly low cultural and moral level of our present criminal justice, its dependence on the state, and, often, its corruption, bribe-taking and dependence on local 'bosses'.

Further, A. D. Sakharov tells of the case of worker **Rafkat Shaimukhamedov,** who was shot on a charge of murder.

A. Sakharov: '*Kontinent* is Three Years Old' (1 November 1977).

The main conclusion after three years is that *Kontinent* has shown itself to be the most interesting and widely read in the U S S R of all the Russian journals published abroad...

'To the President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito'.

We welcome the amnesty for political prisoners in Yugoslavia, which is, as far as we know, the first in history in a country of the socialist camp. We hope that this humane and wise step of the Yugoslav government will serve as an example to the governments of other countries.

A worldwide political amnesty for prisoners of conscience would be healthy for the political climate of the whole world and would promote the preservation of peace on our planet.

With respect,
Elena Bonner-Sakharova-Alikhanova
Andrei Sakharov
Moscow, 25 November 1977

(E. G. Bonner's father Georgy Alikhanov, shot at the end of the thirties, was well acquainted with J. Tito.)

A. Sakharov: 'Speech for a meeting of the A F L-C I O' (28 November 1977).

A. D. Sakharov, who was invited to a congress of the A F L-C I O (*Chronicle* 47), sent the text of his proposed speech. Having noted that the A F L-C I O influences internal and international affairs to a high degree, he writes:

They say that the character of the American people, their active and practical goodwill and sense of their own worth are embodied in the question which has become a national tradition, 'What can I do to help you?' It seems to me that by inviting me to this meeting, you are also putting this question to me.

A. D. Sakharov distinguishes, first and foremost, the question of communication, which is 'of decisive importance for the whole struggle for human rights in the U S S R'. 'The authorities in the U S S R', says Sakharov, 'take the most brazen measures to cut off channels of communication with the West.' He tells of the seizing of correspondence, the disconnection of telephones, and wire-tapping and gives an up-to-the-moment example:

...I received an envelope with an offensive sketch inside it (instead of the invitation to the congress — *Chronicle*)...This morning, after we had discussed this letter aloud in our flat, which is bugged through and through by the K G B, I finally received your invitation.

Further he says:

What actions do we expect from you? To promote a wide-ranging campaign in the press and in Congress against violations of the exchange of information, to promote the resolution of this question at the level of international negotiations...

I am counting on the A F L-C I O continuing actively to support the struggle for free choice of one's country of residence, as I consider this problem to be important and crucial in the struggle for freedom of the individual from the tyranny of the state...

At present in the U S S R prominent participants in the movement for human rights — Sergei Kovalyov, Semyon Gluzman, Anatoly Marchenko, Andrei Tverdokhlebov, Malva Landa, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksa Tikhy and many others — are in prison or exile. Gamsakhurdia, Gajauskas, Ginzburg, Kostava, Marinovich, Matusevich, Orlov, Pailodze, Petkus and Shcharansky are awaiting trial. The clergymen Vins and Romanyuk and many dozens of believers and the leader of the All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People, Igor Ogurtsov, are in prison. Many who have tried to leave this country — the participants in the so-called Leningrad aeroplane case, Zosimov, Fedorenko and dozens of others — are in prison and psychiatric prisons, unjustly accused of betrayal of the motherland.

It is a matter of American honour to bring about the release of the Ukrainian artist Pyotr Ruban, condemned for preparing a commemorative gift — a wooden book with a portrayal of the Statue of Liberty — to be given to the American people in honour of the 200th anniversary of Independence.

Speaking of the decision by the Association of American Scholars and Engineers Working in the Field of Computer Technology to break off contacts with their colleagues in the U S S R if Shcharansky is condemned, A. D. Sakharov states:

I await similar steps regarding the unjustified refusals to permit Slepak, Meiman, Golfand and many others to emigrate. I consider steps such as the withdrawal of contacts to be justified in the struggle for each individual life and fate...

A. Sakharov: 'A Look at the Past Year' (14 December 1977).

In 1977 one of the main processes of modern times continued — the antagonism between totalitarianism and the ideology of human rights.

A. D. Sakharov enumerates the most important events of this process in 1977: the statement from the President of the U S A proclaiming the defence of human rights throughout the world to be the moral basis of the policy of the U S A; 'Charter-77'; the open unofficial activity in Poland, East Germany and Rumania; the formation of Helsinki groups in the U S S R; the change in the position of a number of the

most important European communist parties on the question of the defence of human rights; the stepping-up of repressions in the U S S R and the countries of Eastern Europe; the Belgrade Conference; the political amnesty in Yugoslavia.

A. Sakharov: 'Interview with the Italian Journal *Grazie* (31 January 1978).

...3. In the West many people, especially communists, ask what freedoms the Russian dissidents want — after all they have no unemployment, there is free medical care, etc. What then is it they want? How can one explain what lack of freedom means in the U S S R?

You have to live in our country, with a Soviet passport, on a Soviet wage, in Soviet flats, with the beggarly Soviet level of health care, education and pensions, with the extremely harsh ideological party dictates from kindergarten to the end of one's life, with the monolithic press, with censorship, without the right to strike, with the law on parasitism, in conditions of K G B shadowing, the lack of rights of the ordinary citizen before the bosses, and so on and so forth — then everything becomes clear.

...5. Under the U S S R Constitution Soviet citizens enjoy freedom of religion, freedom of convictions, and so on. In what way are such freedoms actually annulled?

All economic, political and ideological power is concentrated in the hands of the party, or, more precisely, of its leaders. The life of each person and his well-being — totally, in all its details and in what is most important — depends on his loyalty, even if only expressed in words. Instructions, orders, many laws, and traditions, formed over decades, of submission by ordinary citizens and of official power having no checks on it — all this constitutes the lack of freedom.

...10. Do you believe in socialism as a politico-economic teaching? Is socialism with a human face possible?

I am not a theoretician in the field of politics and economics, and it is not this that is the main, most clearly defined aspect of my books and pronouncements. I am against totalitarianism, against violation of human rights, against lack of freedom. I see — and indeed everyone who cares to look with open eyes sees — that socialism of the Soviet type, the socialism that actually exists has everywhere where it has been able to develop its potential led inevitably to a party-state monopoly, and, equally inevitably, to crimes and lack of freedom. I am for pluralism of authority, for convergence, for a mixed economy, for 'the human face of society', and for me it is not all that important what it is called.

A. Sakharov: 'About the Belgrade Conference' (9 March 1978).

I, like many others concerned by the non-fulfilment by the U S S R and other Eastern European countries of the Helsinki agreement in the part that deals with human rights, was disillusioned by the lack of concrete analysis and even of a clear mention of these problems in the final document of the Belgrade Conference. It is precisely this part of the Helsinki aigreement which is non-trivial in character and therefore specially important. Nonetheless I do not consider the Belgrade Conference a failure. For one thing, in the course of preparations for the conference a large quantity of reliable materials on violations of human rights in the U S S R and countries of Eastern Europe was collected and systematized. Discussion of these materials in Belgrade and in the world press furthered an understanding of the situation with regard to human rights in the U S S R and countries of Eastern Europe, despite the negative, obstructionist position taken by the delegates of these countries (and in part precisely thanks to this). It is very important that a further conference to monitor the Helsinki agreement has been arranged...

I. P. Sidorov: 'To the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev'.

In 1942 a group of workers and employees of several Moscow factories were allotted plots of land near Moscow for collective horticulture.

...under unbelievably difficult conditions...people turned worthless bits of land into blossoming gardens which were repeatedly awarded diplomas.

The gardeners grew more than 100,000 fruit trees and currant bushes.

Three years ago the gardens and garden huts were flattened by the Balashikhin forestry commission. The administration of the gardening cooperative was not warned; the demolition of the gardens began at 3 am. At present tall weeds are growing on the site of the former gardens.

The gardeners, the majority of whom are invalids and veterans of the Fatherland War or members of the families of the fallen, have repeatedly appealed to various official bodies for the preservation of the garden plots, however:

All solutions to this question end with the letters being sent to the Moscow regional soviet and there finding their BURIAL.

Or a mass of bureaucratic formalized replies and improbable answers result, which have no relation to the truth...

Thus, in the Moscow regional party committee a document was read to the gardeners which was compiled by the heads of various organizations and in which it was indicated that there had supposedly never been any gardens at all on our plots of land...

One representative of the commission — Semyonova — expressed herself thus: 'How could there be any question of a warning? THE FLATTENING OF THE GARDENS WAS IN ITSELF THE SIGNAL FOR THEIR LIQUIDATION'...

It is IMPOSSIBLE TO UNDERSTAND where there is any respect, sensitivity or attentiveness to people given birth to by the revolution and tempered in the dug-outs of war and by the explosions of shells; WHERE IS THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THEIR LEGAL RIGHTS?...

It is COMPLETELY IMPOSSIBLE TO UNDERSTAND — Why have just courts lost their function of defending the working class, and why do they do the bidding of the executive committees of town and regional soviets, defending their barbarous actions in destroying our native countryside and totally destroying property and buildings belonging to the working class by force of machinery and burning? WHO WILL REPLY?

Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group

Document No. 26 (21 November 1977). To the Belgrade Conference to review the implementation of the Helsinki agreement. This document was summarized in *Chronicle* 47, but its number was not indicated and the list of authors was incomplete.

Document No. 27 (25 December 1977). On the prolonging of the period of detention of A. Ginzburg, Yu. Orlov and A. Shcharansky (see 'Repressions against the Helsinki Groups').

Document No. 28 (31 December 1977). On P. Vins (see same section).

Document No. 29 (12 January 1978). On V. P. Khailo (see 'Persecution of Believers').

Document No. 30 (2 February 1978). On violations of the freedom of postal and telephonic communication (list of 74 disconnected telephones appended; for example, in December 1977 the telephones of Lev Kopelev (*Chronicle* 45), Maria Petrenko-Podyapolskaya, Vladimir Slepak, the Tverdokhlebovs' flat, Boris Chernobylsky, Vladimir Tufeld and Natalya Khasina, who are all inhabitants of Moscow, and of Ada Taratuta of Leningrad, were disconnected).

Document No. 31 (2 February 1978). On the arrest of L. Lukyanenko (see 'Repressions Against the Helsinki Groups' in the present issue).

Document No. 32 (2 February 1978). On the right to leave one's country (see 'The Right to Leave').

Document No. 33 (February 1978). On Alexander Zinoviev (see 'Extra-Judicial Persecution').

Document No. 34 (February 1978). On the reclassification of the charges against Yu. Orlov (see 'Repressions Against the Helsinki Groups').

Document No. 35 (February 1978). Statement on the conference in Belgrade.

...the wrecking of the conference by the Soviet Union on the pretext of [western] interference in its internal affairs would be, of course, a great misfortune, involving a prolonged but nonetheless temporary delay on the historically inevitable path of détente. But a far greater misfortune, a catastrophe with consequences for the whole future of humanity and one that would be hard to put right, would be a capitulation before the [Soviet] threat to wreck the conference.

Document No. 36 (16 February 1978). On the formation of the 'Free Trade-Union' (see 'Miscellaneous Reports').

Document No. 37 (9 March 1978). About the right to a pension depending on the period worked and about the size of pensions.

Document No. 38 (9 March 1978). On the position of invalids deprived of the possibility of independent movement from place to place. A call for the formation of an association of such invalids.

Samizdat News

L. Kopelev: 'In Memory of Alexander Galich' (February 1978, 12 pages).

R. Lert: 'Full Circle...' (February 1978, 13 pages).
An essay written in April 1977 (it says that the crushing of dissenters is reviving the patterns of demagoguery of the thirties and forties — *Chronicle* 46), supplemented by a postscript in which the author observes: the more the authorities drag out the Orlov-Ginzburg-Shcharansky case, the more the tendentiousness, premeditation and unobjective nature of the charges become apparent. The author suggests that the USSR and USA 'exchange' defence lawyers:

Why is it possible to exchange political prisoners but not defence lawyers? Perhaps this would further the interests of détente and humanism more than the sessions of any commissions or subcommissions.

A. Sakharov: 'Nuclear Energy and Western Freedom' (11 October 1977, five pages).
Against anti-nuclear attitudes widespread in the West: nuclear energy threatens the environment far less than traditional energy; its development is a guarantee of the West's greater independence from sources of chemical fuel that they cannot fully control.

T. Khodorovich and **V. Nekipelov:** 'Oprichnina*-77 in the Prisons and

[*Ivan the Terrible's bodyguard.]

Camps' (October 1977, eight pages).

This, the third in the series of 'Oprichnina-77' articles (see *Chronicles* 45, 46), is on Mordovian camp 1 (special-regime). The article is saturated with facts and contains the authors' deeply emotional reflections on the inhuman conditions of this prison-camp and on the suffocating atmosphere, one of the consequences of which are the conflicts which flare up from time to time between political prisoners (*Chronicle* 47). The authors cite an old article by V. Moroz on the psychology of the prisoner.

V. Nekipelov: 'Oprichnina-77 Continues' (Fourth issue) — 'The K G B's "Moral Feat" for Christmas' (30 December 1977, two pages).
A response to the arrest of Kirill Podrabinek.

V. Nekipelov and **T. Osipova:** 'Oprichnina-78 (Political reprisals using criminal means)' (February 1978, five pages).
A continuation of the same series. The article's material is the reprisals against Serebrov, G. Goldshtein, K. Podrabinek, V. Smogitel and Sh. Arutyunyan, the 15-day arrests, beatings-up and house-arrests.

V. Nekipelov: 'To Find a Man' (four pages).
An article about the fate of a driver from Veshenka station, **Ivan Fyodorovich Radikov** (b. 1939).

In connection with letters to M. A. Sholokhov and to the communist party Central Committee in 1973 he was charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code and arrested. In April 1974 the Serbsky Institute ruled him not responsible. The article ends with an appeal to trace I. F. Radikov.

A letter to Sholokhov with a similar appeal is appended to the article.

S. Cheremukhin: 'Visitors to the Moscow Museums' (January 1978, two pages).
People from near and further-away districts around Moscow make trips there to buy provisions. An increasingly common format for such trips is 'excursions to the revolutionary museums'. As a result everyone is happy — the museums, the local party committees and the 'excursionists'.

G. Belyakov: 'Ivanov's Swamp' (1965, 74 pages).
In 1965 Georgy Belyakov (b 1935), who was then a fifth-year student of the Moscow Literary Institute, presented the story 'Ivanov's Swamp' as a diploma work. The story was approved by the editors of the journals *Novy Mir* and *Youth* but not published in view of the acute nature of the problems raised and their presentation.

In 1966 Belyakov submitted his resignation from the party, after which he was arrested and, under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code, given 5 years in a labour camp. Subsequently the R S F S R Supreme Court reclassified the charge under article 190-1 and reduced the term to 3 years.

The story 'Ivanov's Swamp' describes in an emotional and talented way a contemporary Russian village castrated by the collective farm system.

'The Forcible Resettlement of Tadzhik Mountain-Folk' (February 1976, three pages).
An article by an anonymous author about events of the sixties. In an effort to make up the lack of labour on the cotton fields, the authorities resettled several tens of thousands of mountain-folk, among them a small nation, the Yagnobtsy, on the plains. The police took part in the resettlement. The Settlements of the Yagnobtsy, which bore the features of their ancient, distinctive culture, were destroyed. In the unfamiliar conditions of the plains an enormous mortality rate developed, especially amongst children and old people. 'Many Yagnobtsy continue to regard the mountains as their homeland and dream of returning there...'

37, Nos 7-12
The contents of Nos 1-6 of this Leningrad journal were described in *Chronicle* 43.

In Nos 7-8 are published verses by S. Stratonovsky and V. Aleinikov, a story by B. Ivanov, 'Podonok', articles by O. Sedakova on the work of Rilke and by N. Golubev, 'On a Poem of Mandelshtam', and materials from a religious-philosophical seminar on the theme of 'Christianity and Humanism'.

No 9 contains verses by I. Burikhin, a short novel by N. Malakhovskaya, 'Windowless Dungeon', verses and translations by 20 authors in memory of the translator and poetess T. G. Gnedich who died in November 1976, a paper by B. Grois 'Dostoevsky and Kierkegaard', a literary-critical review by G. Somov, two articles on the work of J. Brodsky, seven letters of N. Gumilyov, and materials from a religious-philosophical seminar on the theme 'Problems of the New Christianity'.

No 10 contains verses by O. Sedakova, critical articles devoted to the work of the writers Yu. Trifonov and V. Rasputin, of film producer G. Panfilov, of Leningrad non-figurative artists, and of philosophical and theological works by T. Goricheva, B. Inozemtsev and E. Pazukhin.

No 11 publishes verses by E. Shvarts and E. Feoktistov, an article by V. Azaryan on the work of film producer Tarkovsky, travel notes of pilgrims to the Pskovo-Pecherskaya monastery, and a review article by E. Giryayev, 'A Religio-Philosophical Seminar in Leningrad'.

In No 12 are published verses by Aronzon, a short story by B. Ulanovsky, 'Albinosy', an article by N. Kornilov about N. Mikhalkov's film 'An Unfinished Piece for Mechanical Piano', and a confession-like account by G. Grigoreva of her experiences on the path to religion.

Laisves Šauklis (*Herald of Freedom*), No 4 (October 1976) and No 5 (December 1976).
The fourth number opens with an article by Gintautas, 'Let's Straighten our Backs', on the problem of national renaissance. Skirmantas's article 'Prisoners of Dangerous Myths' criticizes the book published abroad by emigrant Lithuanian priest Jucevičius in which the author praises the present authorities in Lithuania for the development of Lithuanian culture. The issue also contains a statement by L. Simutis to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet of 20 August 1970 (*Chronicles* 18, 44).

The fifth number contains an article, 'The Felled Oak', by K. Gintaras dedicated to the memory of the talented artist Arunas Tarabilda (1935-1969). Tarabilda did much to preserve ancient monuments. For participation in student protests he was expelled from the Artistic Institute and subjected to shadowing. He lived in great poverty and died of a stroke.

Aušra (*Dawn*) No 8 (48), October 1977, 49 pages.
The article 'What Then Should We Do?' develops the thought that to preserve Lithuanian nationhood it is necessary to have a loving concern for national history and a real consideration for one's native language, one must preserve and strengthen one's faith and strive for moral improvement. The note 'Freedom — Only for the State' examines several articles of the new Constitution. Under the general title 'When the Sweetbriar Blooms' there is a selection of poems, three of which are by Antanas Činge, a political prisoner who worked on gold prospecting in Bodaibo. In the preface it says of the other poems that their authors have not been found, but that these songs are close and memorable to many Lithuanians who heard and sang them 'in the forests, in the camps, in the taiga'. In this number are also published the record of the search at Petkus's flat on 23 August 1977, documents of the Lithuanian Helsinki group and the 'Resolution of the Chief Committee of the National Movements of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania' (for a short summary see *Chronicle* 47).

No. 9 (49), January 1978, 50 pages.

The article 'What sort of pastors does Lithuania need?' signed by 'A Group of Lithuanian Priests and Believers', gives a short history of the persecution of the Catholic Church in Lithuania over the past 38 years. V. Karalius's article 'From the History of the Lithuanian Youth Movement' describes the groups of historians and investigators of local lore who are constantly persecuted by the authorities. In his article

'A Disgraced Science' R. Galvidis demonstrates that it is hard for talented and honest Lithuanian scholars in the humanities to gain acknowledgement. In an open letter from A. Žuvintas to Tomas Venclova, 'Lithuanians and Jews', the author expresses his opinion on the question as to why in Lithuania, where there had never been oppression of the followers of other religions, with the arrival of the Germans bestial beatings-up of Jews took place (more than half the members of the Lithuanian communist party were Jews, and therefore hatred towards the communist oppressors was manifested in this terrible way during the years of the German occupation). In the journal are also described the disurbances in Vilnius and the case of B. Gajauskas (see *Chronicle* 47 and the present issue).

Addenda and Corrigenda

N. N. Lepekhin (*Chronicle* 47, 'The Helsinki Groups Under Investigation; 'The Ginzburg Case') was not a co-defendant of V. Pavlenkov; he has never been on trial. Pavlenkov's co-defendant was V. I. Zhiltsov (ibid.).

* * *

The information bulletin *The Case of Alexander Ginzburg and Yury Orlov*, No 2, is not fully dealt with in *Chronicle* 47 ('Samizdat News').

It also contains documents of the aid fund for political prisoners for June-August 1977, evidence from the friends of Orlov given to the press or sent to his Western defence lawyer, documents on the investigation in connection with Ginzburg and Orlov's cases, and documents about political prisoners (the majority of these documents are summarized in *Chronicles* 45-46). The section 'More About Petrov-Agatov' reproduces a manuscript of his, full of effusive compliments to Ginzburg.

* * *

Chronicle 47 said that **Malva Landa** was summoned to Chita for interrogation in connection with Orlov's case ('The Helsinki Groups Under Investigation', 'The Orlov Case'). In actual fact it is unknown in connection with which case she was summoned: since Landa refused from the start to answer questions, the investigator did not tell her which case she had been summoned on.

* * *

The signatures of **Birute Pašiliene** and **Alfonsas Pašilis** appeared under the letter to Brezhnev and Carter (*Chronicle* 47, 'The Right to

Emigrate') through a misunderstanding.

* * *

See also corrigenda in the sections 'In the Prisons and Camps' ('Releases', 'Letters and Statements of Political Prisoners') and 'Events in Lithuania' ('The Disturbances in Vilnius').

Endnotes

1. Published in English in 1967, edited by L. Labedz and M. Hayward, under the title *On Trial: The Case of Sinyavsky (Tertz) and Daniel (Arzhak)*, London.
2. In transliteration from the Ukrainian form: Hulyk. On her see *Chronicle* 26.
3. This is the name of a samizdat journal edited in Moscow by Roy Medvedev. Two volumes of selections from it have been published in Russian in London, *Dvadtsatyi vek*, T.C.D. Publications, 1976 and 1977.
4. Mykhaylo Soroka. See his obituary in *Chronicle* 20.
5. See text in Ian Brownlie, ed., *Basic Documents on Human Rights*, Oxford, 1971, pp. 116-121.
6. This issue is due to be published in English in full by Amnesty International, London, in summer 1978.
7. Text published in *The Baltimore Sun*, Baltimore, 9 December 1977. An earlier text by Altshuler, summarized in *Chronicle* 47, was not published in *The Baltimore Sun*, as endnote 5 erroneously states.

Corrections to the English Edition of the 'Chronicle'

Chronicle 46

p. 118: Ivan Gel's wife is called Maria Iosifovna (not Tosifovna) Gel.

p. 129: Chornovil's sentence was changed here, as explained in endnote 28, but both the original and the amended figures are in fact wrong. As stated in *Chronicle* 48, his sentence is really 6 years of strict-regime camps plus 3 in exile.

p. 130: Širvinskis (not Širvinski).

Chronicle 47

Endnote 5 is erroneous. See endnote 7 in this issue.

Bibliographical Note

The original Russian text of *Chronicle* 48, of which this book is a translation, appeared as a booklet without annotations, *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*, Khronika Press, New York, 1978.

Earlier issues of the *Chronicle* are available in English from two main sources. Numbers 16-39 and 46-7 have been published by Amnesty International Publications with annotations and names indexes, all issues except number 16 still being in print (see inside back cover).

Numbers 1-11 appeared in full, with annotations and 76 photographs, in Peter Reddaway's *Uncensored Russia: the Human Rights Movement in the Soviet Union*, London and New York, 1972.

Numbers 40 to 45 of *A Chronicle of Current Events* will be published in English by Amnesty International Publications in 1978. Future issues will be published as they become available.

Other books and periodicals in which readers can find more details about many of the people mentioned in the *Chronicle* are listed in the annotated bibliographies in the Amnesty International editions of numbers 22-23 and 27.

Many texts referred to briefly in the *Chronicle* have appeared in full in *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the U S S R*, Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10018, quarterly (separate Russian and English editions), and (documents of Helsinki groups) in the four volumes of *Sbornik dokumentov Obshchestvennoi gruppy sodeistviya* . . . (same publisher). In French the best sources of such texts is *Cahiers du Samizdat*, 105 drève du Duc, 1170 Brussels, Belgium, monthly; in German: *Menschenrechte-Schicksale-Dokumente*, Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte, Kaiserstr. 40, 6000 Frankfurt/M, Germany, bi-monthly; in Italian: *Russia Cristiana*, Via Martinengo 16, 20139 Milan, Italy, bi-monthly; and in Dutch: *Rusland Bulletin*, Fijnje van Salverdastraat 4, Amsterdam-W, Netherlands, bi-monthly.

For many religious texts, see *Religion in Communist Lands*, Keston College, Heathfield Road, Keston, Kent, England, quarterly. For Jewish texts see *Jews in the U S S R*, 31 Percy Street, London, W1, England, weekly.

For Lithuanian texts see translated issues of *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* (published as booklets), 351 Highland Boulevard, Brooklyn, New York 11207, U S A.

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