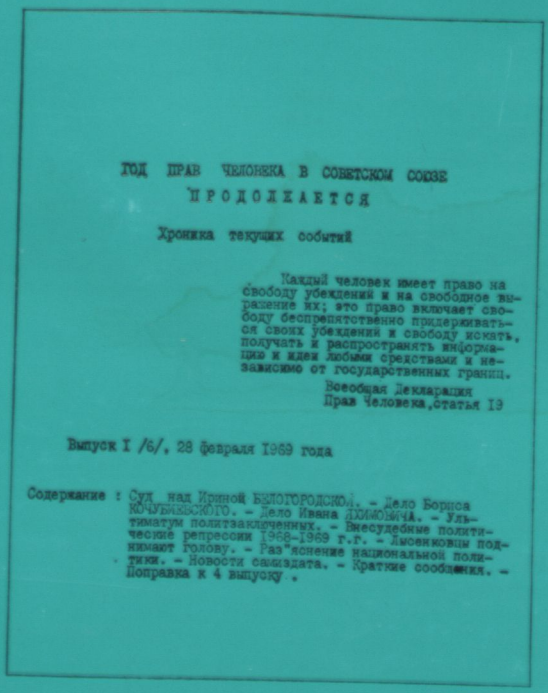
A Chronicle of Current Events

Journal of the Human Rights Movement in the USSR

Numbers 37, 38, 39



ГОД ПРАВ ЧЕЛОВЕКА В СОВЕТСКОМ СОЮЗЕ
П Р О Д О Л Ж А Е Т С Я

Хроника текущих событий

Каждый человек имеет право на свободу убеждений и на свободное выражение их; это право включает свободу беспрепятственно придерживаться своих убеждений и свободу искать, получать и распространять информацию и идеи любыми средствами и независимо от государственных границ.

Всеобщая Декларация
Прав Человека, статья 19

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Cover: Title page of one of the original *samizdat* versions of *Chronicle 6*

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AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL opposes the use of torture and the death penalty in all cases and without reservation. It is now conducting an international Campaign for the Abolition of Torture.
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL advocates fair and early trials for all political prisoners and works on behalf of persons detained without charge or without trial and those detained after expiry of their sentences.
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL seeks observance throughout the world of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO and the Council of Europe, has cooperative relations with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States and has observer status with the Organization of African Unity (Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees).
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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, comprising *Chronicles* 37 to 39, is, like previous ones, a translation of copies of the original typewritten texts. 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 text already refers readers 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, April 1978

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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.
KGB	Committee of State Security.
Komsomol	Communist Youth League.
MVD	Ministry of Internal Affairs.
OVIR	Department (of the MVD) for Visas and Registration.
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic, of which there are 15 in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).
UVD	Administration for Internal Affairs.

Activities in Defence of Human Rights in the Soviet Union Continue

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 37 **30 September 1975**

Contents

Mustafa Dzhemilev has not been freed. The trial of Osipov. Trials. Pre-trial investigations. In the camps and prisons. In the psychiatric hospitals. About the Crimean Tatars. Events in Lithuania. Persecution of religious believers. Extra-judicial persecution. State security and artificial intelligence. The right to marry. About P. G. Grigorenko's pension. News in brief. Letters and statements. Official documents. Samizdat news. Tamizdat news. Trials of recent years.

EIGHTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Mustafa Dzhemilev Has Not Been Freed

On 19 June 1975, three days before the end of his one-year sentence 'for ignoring a summons for military service' (see *Chronicles* 32, 33), a fresh charge was brought against Mustafa Dzhemilev under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

Mustafa Dzhemilev declared a hunger strike.

On the same day investigator Guselnikov of the Omsk procurator's office carried out a search in his barrack and at his place of work, confiscating correspondence (which had passed through the camp censorship), scientific notes, etc. It was noted in the record of the search that Dzhemilev had protested 'against the confiscation of all his papers as being a violation of his rights'.

For a long time now the K G B have been preparing to impose a new sentence on M. Dzhemilev. The following statement from him has become avaliable:

To Major Trubnikov, Commandant of Colony UKh 16/3 of the Omsk Regional Soviet Executive Committee, from prisoner Mustafa Dzhemilev, article 199-1 of the Uzbek S S R Criminal Code, sentence of 1 year.
Copy: to Yu. Andropov, Chairman of the K G B attached to the U S S R Council of Ministers.

On 15 May of this year warders and camp security officials carried out a search of my belongings and confiscated a number of my personal letters, papers, and exercise books containing notes in English and German, together with a few manuscripts in Russian, all of which contained no information forbidden by camp regulations. Some Soviet publications of English books were also confiscated, as were some issues of the *Morning Star*, the organ of the Communist Party in Great Britain, which cannot, as I see it, be considered forbidden literature in a communist country.

Later, I was informed that the search and the confiscation of my papers were carried out on the orders of an official of the K G B attached to the U S S R Council of Ministers, who had come here from Tashkent, and of First Lieutenant Serov, an official of the Omsk regional department of the K G B attached to the U S S R Council of Ministers. When I demanded that a record be made of the papers and literature confiscated from me, Lieutenant-Colonel Yambatarov, head of the camp's special section, who had been entrusted with all the confiscated papers, lied to me, saying that the papers had been confiscated on the orders of the camp commandant, i.e., on your orders, and would be returned in a few hours. Ten days have passed since then, but the papers and books have still not been returned.

I understand, of course, the reasons for the frequent visits paid to the camp by K G B officials and also the purpose of their unlawfully conducted interrogations of prisoners and camp workers whom I happen to have associated with, concerning my political views. This is an additional proof of the statement I made earlier — that the charge under article 199-1 of the Uzbek Criminal Code, according to which I have been deprived of freedom, is deliberately false and has been fabricated with the help of K G B officials as a routine way of settling accounts with me both for my participation in the national campaign of my people to return to their homeland and for my political opinions.

However, I do not quite understand why the camp administration, which, it would seem, bears the full responsibility for looking after and re-educating law-breakers, should so lightly and eagerly rush to carry out the unlawful instructions and orders of even quite minor K G B officials who try to assume the inquisitorial functions of controllers and supervisors of people's thoughts and opinions. Are their orders and demands really more important for the camp officials than the provisions of the law?

Surely, according to the law, if any objects are confiscated from a prisoner, and all the more so if they are to be transferred to other departments, it is compulsory procedure to make out a record of the confiscated objects in which they are described in detail; the reasons for their confiscation should also be stated. If this is not done it is arbitrary lawlessness.

In this statement I shall not dwell in detail on other illegal actions carried out by K G B officials, who, as I have discovered, have been engaging in excessively blustering and provocative activities with regard to myself, with the help of camp security officials, particularly with the active participation of Yambatarov, head of the security section, and of Sub-Lieutenant Yakubovich. Statements and materials concerning this subject will be sent to other departments, for I do not believe that your respect for the laws will go as far as risking a confrontation with officials of such a powerful organization as the K G B.

I ask you, nevertheless, to take measures to ensure that all the papers and literature illegally confiscated from me are returned, and if their confiscation is necessary, I insist that it be done in accordance with the provisions of the law.

M. Dzhemilev, 25 May 1975
City of Omsk, institution UKh 16/3.

A document entitled 'Testimony', which is a record of a conversation that took place on 11 February 1975 between K G B officials, two camp officials, and the prisoner **V. Dvoryansky,** has also become available.[1] The record, as the latter notes at the end, was made by him on the very same day.

A K G B man, who did not give his name, told Dvoryansky that he had come in connection with the latter's complaint to the procurator, but soon he brought the conversation round to the subject of Dzhemilev.

'You know he has connections with people abroad . . . that he has received letters and telegrams from Sakharov?'

'I don't know, he hasn't told me.'

'Has he been trying to set up any kind of anti-Soviet group in this camp? Considering that the majority of prisoners are usually opposed to our social system, he has probably been trying to drum up some group support?'

'I don't know anything about any groups.'

Security officer Yakubovich said: 'Volodya, if you help us, we'll help you.' . . . 'How and in what way can I help you?' I asked.

A K G B official: 'You must get to know Dzhemilev more closely and try to find out everything about him: his links with people outside, which prisoners he associates with, and what he talks to them about. Perhaps you could find out about his connections abroad, and his plans for the future . . .'

The threat of a new trumped-up charge against Dzhemilev gave rise to protests and appeals for him to be helped.

On 27 June **A. D. Sakharov** appealed to U N Secretary-General, Amnesty International and leaders of Moslem nations, calling on them to save Dzhemilev: '. . . He is being threatened with a new prison sentence, possibly with death, for he is seriously ill and has declared a hunger-strike.' He recalled that in 1973 international support had saved Andrei Amalrik.

Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko and **Zinaida Mikhailovna Grigorenko** issued a protest against the unlawful persecution of Dzhemilev.

Mustafa's mother, **Makhfure Mustafayeva-Dzhemileva** has appealed to the U N Committee for International Women's Year. She writes:

. . . A fourth sentence is hanging over my son's head. His guilt consists entirely of his love for our long-suffering nation. Mustafa was a year old when soldiers broke into our house early on the morning of 18 May (1944) and ordered me: 'Get your children together and be ready to leave the house in 20 minutes.' My five children were asleep and the sixth lay under my heart. They pushed us into railway goods wagons and took us away . . .

People were dying in the wagons . . . God saved my children . . . We were thrown out into a wilderness. In two years, we were driven from one place to another, six times. All my brother-in-law's family died . . .

My Mustafa grew up in the midst of all this suffering. Having grown up, he campaigned for our return to the Crimea, the homeland of our people. For this, he is being held in prisons and camps.

Help me, a mother, in my fight for the release of my son.

On 9 July 18 Muscovites issued a declaration, 'Mustafa Dzhemilev is threatened with a new prison term'. The declaration told the story of how Dzhemilev had been persecuted on various charges, though 'in essence because of his constant, unremitting demands that the Crimean Tatar nation should be given back its expropriated homeland.' The declaration states: 'A number of cases are already known where the Soviet investigation and court authorities begin a "case" against someone and repeatedly sentence him, not for crimes committed by him, but as a kind of preventive measure . . . In this way, for example, "cases" were fabricated in the camps against Anatoly Marchenko, Andrei Amalrik, Vladimir Dremlyuga, Lev Ubozhko . . .'

* * *

On 31 July, in Samarkand, **A. Seitmuratova** [see *Chronicles* 20, 23, 31, 34] was interrogated on the orders of the Omsk procurator's office. In addition to a list of questions, the order included a request 'that she should hand over letters from M. Dzhemilev in which he makes libellous statements about the Soviet social and political system'.

Other Crimean Tatars who had corresponded with M. Dzhemilev were subjected to similar interrogations.

* * *

The Moscow lawyer Shveisky has taken on Dzhemilev's defence. On 19 September they both signed the official form which marks the end of the investigation. On that day Dzhemilev was still on hunger strike.

The Trial of Osipov

From 24 to 26 September the Vladimir Regional Court dealt with the case of Osipov (*Chronicle* 34), charged under article 70, section 2, of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

Vladimir Nikolayevich Osipov was born in 1938. From 1961 to 1968 he spent seven years in the Mordovian camps under articles 70, paragraph 1, and 72 of the code. In 1971 Osipov began to publish openly the journal *Veche* in samizdat: the journal's cover always had 'Editor: V. Osipov' typed on it. Until 1974, when Osipov left the editorial board of *Veche*, nine issues of the journal had managed to appear. After leaving the board Osipov began to publish just as openly the journal *Zemlya* in samizdat. Prior to his arrest on 27 November 1974 he had managed to publish one issue.

The pre-trial investigation provided 45 volumes of 'case materials' for the trial.

The indictment accused Osipov of having published, edited, or disseminated nine issues of *Veche*, his own articles in *Veche*, articles from the Western press and accounts of press conferences with Western correspondents.

Neither the pre-trial investigation nor the court was concerned with examining the essence of Osipov's articles or the entire journal *Veche*, and defined them, without any proof, as 'libellous' and 'anti-Soviet'. The efforts of the investigators and the court were merely directed to proving that Osipov had, in fact, published, edited and distributed *Veche*.

The court called 18 witnesses, Osipov's associates while he was editor of *Veche* (16 of whom were former political prisoners). Asserting that *Veche*

was a legal journal and that, therefore, there was no need to hide anything, the overwhelming majority of witnesses — editorial colleagues, authors and readers of the journal — gave detailed testimonies to the court.

The witnesses Pirogov and Polenov from Yaroslavl stated that they had been subscribers to *Veche* and had received all nine issues of the journal, either from Osipov in person or by post from Goryachev, who had now emigrated. They also stated that they had paid between 5 and 10 roubles for each issue. Polenov had handed over all his copies of *Veche* to the K G B.

A. Ivanov (Skuratov)[14] testified that *Veche* had been edited by Osipov personally.

V. Zaitsev stated that he had been told by Osipov to give a folder containing issues of *Veche* to Goryachev, but that he had not known at that time what they were about.

The evidence given by Goryachev after he had already received permission to emigrate, which was used at the trial, stated that at Osipov's request he had typed five copies of the journal *Veche*, distributed the journal through the post and personally given it to subscribers; he had been paid for doing this.

I. Ovchinnikov, who edited issued number 10 of *Veche*, described in detail the quarrel on the editorial board of the journal and spoke of Osipov's character in a very negative manner.

The prosecutor, Drozdov, maintained in his speech that Osipov's statements as editor of *Veche* concerning the publication's loyalty to the Soviet system were merely the 'camouflage' of an accomplice of foreign anti-Soviet organizations. He demanded that the defendant be sentenced to eight years in strict-regime camps, justifying the 'mildness' of his demand by the defendant's state of health and his difficult family situation.

Osipov was defended at his trial by the Vladimir lawyer R. F. Volkova. (Apraksin, chairman of the presidium of the Moscow City Bar, had refused to allow Osipov's wife, Valentina Mashkova, or his mother, N. P. Sukhanova, to engaged the Moscow lawyer they had chosen). In her speech, she concentrated on the fact that her client had not had the intention of undermining Soviet authority. In addition, none of those interrogated had described Osipov's views as anti-Soviet, and the state security organs had not given him a single warning during the whole time that the journal was being published, but had suddenly called him to account under article 70, after he had already announced that *Veche*'s publication was being discontinued.

The defence lawyer drew the court's attention to the fact that Osipov's 'Slavophilism' was dominated mainly by a concern for religion and national regeneration, not by aggressive criticism. She admitted, however, that some of his articles contained 'libel' and therefore asked for the charge to be changed from article 70 to article 190-1.

Osipov did not testify at the pre-trial investigation. He followed the same line at the trial. He pleaded not guilty. In his closing statement, he maintained that he was loyal to Soviet authority and that his entire activity had been

dedicated, not towards the subversion of the Soviet system, but towards national and religious regeneration. He said that he still considered *Veche* to have been a timely and necessary publication.

The sentence of the court repeated almost word for word the indictment and the prosecutor's speech. The court sentenced Osipov to eight years in strict-regime labour camps.

* * *

To the organization Amnesty International
To world public opinion

Statement

Yesterday a court in Vladimir passed a sentence of eight years of strict-regime imprisonment on Vladimir Osipov, publisher of a legal samizdat journal. He was charged on account of the allegedly libellous nature of certain articles in the journal *Veche* (those on drunkenness, on the destruction of ancient Moscow, on the persecution of religion — in fact, those which were the most effective in my opinion), and also because he came out in defence of political prisoners, in defence of Bukovsky, because of his congratulatory telegram to Solzhenitsyn, and his article on the first Osipov case in 1961. At that time Osipov, together with Eduard Kuznetsov and others, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment under the same article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.[2]

The new sentence passed on Osipov is a cruel revenge for his dissent — for his attempts to communicate his views to other people. I do not share most of Osipov's beliefs or the standpoint of the journal produced by him (which Osipov himself describes as nationalistic and Christian). But I am convinced that this kind of persecution for one's beliefs is absolutely intolerable. In particular, it is opposed to the principles proclaimed in the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, and is incompatible with the spirit of détente. I call on all who value the principles of freedom of thought to come to the defence of Vladimir Osipov.

27 September 1975 *Andrei Sakharov, Academician*

* * *

We are shocked and angered by the barbarous sentence passed on Vladimir Osipov, editor of the journals *Veche* and *Zemlya*.

The hand-written (or typed) journals *Veche* and, later, *Zemlya* have been produced legally since 1971.

Why was it necessary to condemn a well-known journalist to *eight years'* deprivation of freedom in a strict-regime labour camp, two months after the discussion of humanitarian problems at Helsinki? Was it not in order to demonstrate to anyone who might still have doubted, that in the field of ideological repression the Soviet authorities do not intend to retreat even one step?

The coming months have also been designated for the trials of the well-

known social and humanitarian activists — Andrei Tverdokhlebov and Sergei Kovalyov.[3]

International public opinion still has the power to save these men from cruel sentences — if it desires to do so.

There is still time also to have changed the sentence on Vladimir Osipov.

26-28 September 1975

Yu. Orlov, T. Khodorovich, G. Podyapolsky, T. Velikanova, M. Landa, S. Khodorovich, N. Ivanov, A. Lavut, V. Rodionov, L. Borodin.

Trials

The Trial of Roitburd

On 25 August 1975 in Odessa a people's court sentenced Lev Davidovich Roitburd to two years in a labour camp of ordinary regime, under article 188-1 part 2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S S R ('Resisting a police officer or a member of the people's volunteer police').

L. D. Roitburd, born in 1936, married with a son of twelve, is a mechanical engineer by education and worked until 1972 as head of a section in a design office.

In October 1972 Roitburd and his family submitted documents for emigration to Israel. During the official registration of the documents he was forced to leave the design office. Recently he has worked as a metal worker. In July 1973 Roitburd's application was refused 'for security reasons'. On 1 June 1974 he took part in a Jewish demonstration in front of the 'National' hotel in Moscow. In July 1974 he took part in a six-day protest hunger strike. Roitburd's signature appears on many letters and protests against the violation of the right of emigration. On 16 November 1974 a search was carried out in Roitburd's flat. Literature in Hebrew, Israeli publications, prayer-books, note-books and correspondence were confiscated. Simultaneously, a criminal case on a charge of speculation was started against the Roitburds, though it was soon dropped for lack of evidence. In March 1975 Roitburd was given a warning by the K G B under the decree of 25 December 1972 (see *Chronicles* 30, 32).

After taking a holiday, Roitburd decided to go to Moscow with his son on 2 July. The day before, his boss told Roitburd that the K G B representative 'did not advise' him to absent himself from Odessa.

On the morning of 2 July, having handed in his luggage and booked his tickets, Roitburd and his son were waiting to board the aeroplane. At that moment a policeman came up to the people standing next to Roitburd and began to check their hand-luggage. Then he approached Roitburd, carefully searched his brief-case and documents and asked him 'to come with me'. Asked for the reason, the policeman muttered indistinctly that he was searching for arms. There and then, Roitburd turned out his pockets and unfastened his

trousers. The policeman went away. Then about ten policemen and K G B officials came up to him and ordered L. D. Roitburd to come with them. When the latter refused, the new arrivals fell on him, twisted his arms behind him and dragged him off to the police station. A K G B officer, Krasnov, who was walking beside Roitburd, called the Roitburds 'stinking Zionists' for all to hear. He also told them: 'Instead of going to Israel, you'll end up in the north. You're as likely to see Israel as you are to see your own ears. A stone may fall on your head by accident, hooligans may attack you . . .' L. D. Roitburd was held in the police station until evening. In the evening he was driven to some remand cells.

On 22 August 1975 a lecture on 'The ideology and practice of Zionism' was given in the 'red corner' at Odessa airport. After the lecture it was announced that the trial of a Zionist hooligan would now take place and those present were asked not to disperse, in order that friends of the accused, who were preparing a political provocation, might not find their way into the premises. Some listeners who wanted to leave were not let out. 'Unneeded' chairs were carried out of the hall.

Roitburd was accused of beating up the policeman Yatsyshin (31 years old and weighing over 90 kg) when he was detained, so that the former had even fallen down. In her speech the defence lawyer pointed out the contradictions of the witnesses (who even differed as to where, in what place, 'Roitburd beat up Yatsyshin'). Then, on the demand of the procurator, after the summing-up speeches, the court decided to renew the investigation and to summon additional witnesses.

On 25 August a second sitting of the court took place. The additional witnesses who had been summoned did not appear. The testimony of an inspector, Filippova, was read out (she herself was ill, as she had been on the first day), according to which Roitburd had sworn obscenely 'so that the passengers shied away', and had resisted the policeman. The 'sufferer' Yatsyshin was heard again. He spoke uncertainly — he was prompted all the time from the hall. None the less, Yatsyshin's evidence (Roitburd had struck him in the chest in the room to which he had been taken) once again contradicted Filippova's evidence (Roitburd struck Yatsyshin on the head at the exit to the embarcation area).

The procurator demanded three years in a labour camp for the accused.

The defence lawyer Nimirinskaya pointed out that from the contradictions in the witnesses' evidence, the reasons for Roitburd's detention were not clear, and if the detention was illegal, then it was not important what had happened afterwards. The defence asked the court to refer the case back for further investigation, and meanwhile to release the accused in return for a written undertaking not to leave the area.

In his final speech Roitburd said that the trial was a reprisal for his activity in the struggle for emigration to Israel.

The trial took place in an atmosphere of 'tape-recorder phobia'. On 22 August

officials searched for a tape-recorder among the people who had gathered near the 'red corner'. On 25 August, at the beginning of the session, judge Boichenko asked everyone to hand over any tape-recorders they had. During a speech by the defence, the judge, having received a note, suddenly interrupted her speech and asked the wife of the accused, Liliya Abramovna Tenenboim, to hand him her handbag, since there was a tape-recorder in it. The judge was not ashamed of rummaging through the bag in full view of the public: only groceries and women's articles turned out to be in it.

16 Soviet Jews sent a letter to a group of American senators who were in the USSR from 29 June to 5 July, in which they suggested that Roitburd's arrest was connected with their meeting with participants in the Soviet Jewish emigration movement, and voiced the hope that they would intervene on Roitburd's behalf.

Trials for Refusal to do Military Service

On 26 August 1975 the people's court of the Bauman district of Moscow examined a case in which Anatoly Vladimirovich Malkin (b. 1954) was accused of 'evading his call-up for active military service'. Judge Tsygankova presided at the trial. Procurator Podgorny acted for the prosecution, and S. V. Kallistratova for the defence.

On 23 June 1974 Anatoly Malkin, a third-year student at the Moscow steel and alloys institute, addressed a request for a character reference for emigration to Israel to the rector of the institute. On 24 June the committee of the Young Communist League expelled Malkin from the League, and his student group organized a petition for his expulsion from the institute. On 6 July Malkin was expelled from the institute. At the end of the summer of 1974 Malkin learned that he had received Israeli citizenship. On 7 August he sent a declaration relinquishing his Soviet citizenship to the USSR Supreme Soviet, but received no reply. On 26 August Malkin's documents for emigration reached OVIR [the Visa and Registration Department]. In September 1974 Anatoly Malkin received through his father a summons to the military recruitment office for 14 October (as Malkin's parents had objected sharply to his emigration, he had left home). On 14 October Malkin presented himself at the recruitment office and submitted a statement in which he said that on account of his intention to emigrate to Israel and his petition to relinquish Soviet citizenship he could not take military oath and serve in the Soviet Army. On 12 November 1974, in a statement addressed to the USSR Minister of Defence, Malkin repeated his reasons for refusing to serve in the Soviet Army. On 25 December 1974 a criminal case was brought against Anatoly Malkin under article 80, part 1, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Evasion of call-up to active military service'). On 27 December OVIR refused Malkin permission to emigrate because a criminal case had been brought against him. On 28 May 1975 he was arrested (*Chronicle* 36).

Malkin pleaded not guilty at his trial: '. . . Knowing that I was already a citizen of the state of Israel, I considered that I was not only not obliged, but did not even have the right to serve in the Soviet Army, and, therefore, I refused to appear for the military call-up. I do not, therefore, consider myself guilty.' In reply to a question from the procurator, Malkin said : 'I think that my expulsion from university, call-up to the army and the instituting of criminal proceedings against me are reprisals for my desire to emigrate to Israel.'

The procurator demanded that Malkin should be given the maximum penalty of three years.

In her speech the defence lawyer said:

> The case is very simple as far as its development and its evidential materials are concerned, but very complex in its legal, purely juridical posing of the question of the presence or absence of a corpus delicti in Malkin's actions. I awaited with interest the speech of my professional adversary, the state prosecutor, foreseeing a legal argument between the prosecution and the defence. Unfortunately, in his vivid and emotional speech the procurator apportioned an unjustifiably large amount of space and time to an analysis of evidence to the effect that Malkin evaded call-up to the army, and did not touch at all upon the subjective side of the crime. However, neither the accused nor the defence denies that Malkin refused to serve in the army, and this circumstance is incontestably established. The question is whether there is in Malkin's actions a corpus delicti as envisaged in part 1 of article 80 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, and the argument between the prosecution and the defence is only on this level.
>
> Before turning to a legal analysis, I must pause on the circumstances which characterize Malkin's personality, and on the question of the extent of the penalty which the procurator is demanding. The state prosecutor is demanding deprivation of freedom for a term of three years, that is, the maximum punishment. He refers to circumstances aggravating Malkin's alleged guilt. But not one of the circumstances indicated by the procurator is envisaged by law as an aggravating circumstance. Moreover, in his speech the procurator referred to certain circumstances which the court did not study and could not have studied. Thus the state prosecutor affirms that Malkin has disloyal convictions, that the views of Soviet people are alien to Malkin, that he does not like the Soviet system, that he wanted to 'escape' to another state. The procurator even declared that 'Malkin hates our country'. The court did not study and could not have studied the question of Malkin's convictions and opinions, since convictions and opinions are not a subject for court examination. There has not even been a mention during this court hearing of Malkin's attitude to the Soviet system, of his love or hate for the country which he wished to abandon. Malkin did not want to 'escape', but to make use of his right to emigrate, and declared this in the form established by law to an official Soviet institution. A desire to leave the USSR by no

means necessarily testifies to 'disagreement with the system', or, even more, to 'hatred'. There may be, and no doubt are, other reasons prompting people to emigrate, in particular, religious convictions, family or other ties, and finally, simply a desire to live in another country.

During this court hearing the chairman rightly interrupted Malkin with the remark that the question of his expulsion from the institute was not being examined by the court. However, the procurator considered that he had the right to state that Malkin's expulsion from the institute was justified. I will touch on this question only as it affects Malkin's personality. One cannot decipher in the order of 6 July 1974 in what way Malkin's behaviour was unworthy of a Soviet student. However, in the character reference given to Malkin by the institute, it is recorded that his amoral behaviour was expressed in double-dealing, deceiving his comrades, and insincerity. These are certainly negative features. But how has the presence of these negative features in Malkin been established? In the tenth class at school he had a positive character reference, and exceptional honesty was noted as a basic feature of his character. The evidence of his comrades in his group at the institute, during the pre-trial investigation (see testimony of Pogosyan and Zolotoi), states that his decision to emigrate to Israel was not unexpected, that he had not concealed this resolve! But not a word is said about either double-dealing or insincerity. Nor was anything said about these negative qualities at the discussion of Malkin's personal case by the committee of the Young Communist League. I shall not enter into a discussion of what is 'social chauvinism'. I do not know, and in general I do not understand such a combination of terms, nor what relation chauvinism can have to Malkin. But apart from 'social chauvinism', religious views and the intention of emigrating to Israel, no other reproaches were addressed to Malkin. So why was Malkin expelled from the institute? And what is the basis for the allusion in his character reference to double-dealing and insincerity? Now, if Malkin, in an effort to obtain higher education, had concealed his intention of emigrating to Israel, and his religious views, from his comrades and from officials, then there would have been insincerity, deception and amorality. Up to 24 June 1974, during the whole of his short life, not a single reproach had been levelled at Malkin. Therefore we cannot consider that his character has been evaluated negatively. We cannot but notice that Malkin could not work from the moment of his expulsion from the institute to the moment of his arrest, only because he had not received a reply from O V I R to his application to emigrate to Israel, and that he did not want to and could not hide the fact that this application was currently being considered.

The procurator asserts that Malkin fell under some kind of influence of certain people, although there is certainly nothing about this in the case materials, and he is inclined to consider this a circumstance aggravating guilt. If Malkin is so easily inclined to fall under other people's influence, then why from the point of view of the state prosecutor is such a long sentence

necessary to reform him? However, Malkin is not referring to anyone's influence as a mitigating circumstance, and the witness Zolotoi has characterized him as a resolute person who thinks over his decisions carefully.

Failure to appear in response to an investigator's summons is not considered by law to be a circumstance aggravating guilt. However, the prosecutor has not presented to the court sufficient proof that evasion of the trial and the investigation took place. What 'illegal flat', what 'illegal situation' is the prosecutor talking about? Malkin has not lived with his parents in the place where he was registered since July 1974, that is, for a long time not only before the instituting of criminal proceedings, but also before his call-up to the army. The accused's father has confirmed this. Why did he leave? That is quite clear. He had a disagreement with his parents. Anatoly loves his father and mother, and he cannot and will not quarrel with them. But he also cannot and will not alter the decision which precipitated the disagreement. Hundreds, possibly thousands of Muscovites live in Moscow for months not in the place where they are registered, but with friends,, acquaintances or relatives. More often than not, this is the result of family disagreements. And when someone lives like this in another house, another street, and not the one where he is registered, it is not considered 'illegal', it does not entail administrative responsibility, it is permitted by the instructions on registration in Moscow. Malkin did not receive the summonses to the procuracy. At the pre-trial investigation Malkin's father testified that he did not speak to his son about the summonses to the procuracy. At the trial here he said first of all that he had informed his son about the summonses, but when this question was made more precise he used a wording which indicated doubt and uncertainty: 'I think I did tell my son about the summonses to the procuracy.' Exactly when and under what circumstances he told him, he does not remember. In this situation, we cannot consider it as an established fact that Malkin tried to evade the investigators.

Malkin is only 20 years old, and this is the first time he has come before a court.

All that has been said would give me a serious basis, if there were no argument about Malkin's guilt, to assert that the procurator is demanding an excessively severe penalty and to ask for some mitigation. But my professional duty obliges me to set before the court the question of acquitting Malkin because of the absence of a corpus delicti in his actions. While admitting the fact of his call-up to the army, Malkin pleads not guilty to having committed a crime, asserting that he had no intention of breaking the law on compulsory military service.

I am far from intending to turn my speech into a lecture on the theory of corpus delicti. But the position of the accused obliges me as a lawyer to give a legal analysis of the corpus delicti concept. There are four indispensable elements in a corpus delicti: the subject of the crime is present — Malkin, a responsible adult bearing responsibility for his actions. Here the

defence has no quarrel with the prosecution. The object of the crime (the second element of a corpus delicti), stipulated in part 1 of article 80 of the R S F S R Criminal Code, is the interests of the state. Here too the defence has no quarrel with the prosecution. The objective side of the crime, that is, the actions stipulated by the law, is also not disputed by the defence. But it is also essential to have a subjective side of the crime in the form of intention or carelessness, and the absence of even one of the elements I have enumerated signifies the absence of a corpus delicti. So it is on this fourth, obligatory element that the whole argument between the defence and the prosecution is concentrated.

The crime stipulated in part 1 of article 80 may be committed with intent. To what end was Malkin's intent directed? With respect to this aspect, the court cannot fail to be interested in the reasons for which Malkin refused to present himself for call-up to the army. He says that he is a citizen of the state of Israel and therefore considers that he is not only not obliged, but does not have the right, to serve in the Soviet Army. Inasmuch as that, up to the moment of the action which led to the charge against him, he had still not received a reply from the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, it must be admitted that he was a citizen of the U S S R. But he had already been accepted as a citizen of Israel, and, consequently, was a person with dual citizenship. With all due respect for my legal adversary, the procurator, I must say that he is mistaken when he says that there are not and cannot be persons with dual citizenship. Legal concepts regarding persons with dual citizenship exist both in our legislation and in our specialized juridical literature. I can name a series of conventions concluded with other countries by the Soviet government in the fifties and sixties on the procedure for the elimination of dual citizenship, which is an admission that this phenomenon, though undesirable, does exist. (The lawyer gives the dates of the conventions, of their ratification, and of the issues of the *Bulletin of the Supreme Soviet* where the conventions were published.) It is typical of all these conventions that the basic instrument for eliminating dual citizenship is the choice of the citizenship of one state or the other by the person who holds dual citizenship. The *Course of International Law* published by Nauka publishing-house in 1967 under the editorship of Professor Chkhikvadze says that one and the same person may be a citizen of two states. (The lawyer quotes the literature referred to.) Professor Lisovsky's monograph, published in 1970, also mentions dual citizenship. (The lawyer quotes it.) The Law on Compulsory Military Service does not mention persons with dual citizenship, and this gap in the law favours the subjective belief of Malkin, who knows this law, that he does not have the right to serve in the Soviet Army. The question of military service by people with dual citizenship is not regulated by law (this is what the defence had in mind in speaking of a gap in the law). Therefore Malkin, considering himself to be a person with dual citizenship, was convinced (subjectively) that the law on universal military service did not extend to him, and consequently he did not have the intention of breaking that law. Even if this is an error, it is an honest error, the result of a gap in the law, not the result of ignorance of the law. Such an honest error excludes intention to break the law, and this means that the subjective side of the crime, and consequently a corpus delicti, is lacking. These are the legal bases in accordance with which I ask for Malkin's acquittal.

Sentence of the court: 'Malkin A. V. is found guilty of breaking the law on universal military service. Since Malkin A. V. has committed a dangerous crime, and also in connection with the fact that the attempt to emigrate to another state is a means of evading military service, the court sentences Malkin A. V. to three years' imprisonment in labour camps of ordinary regime.'

The smallest premises in the court building were chosen for Malkin's trial, although nearby a room three times larger assigned to judge Tsygankova was empty the whole day. Malkin's friends, who arrived an hour before the beginning of the trial, were told that all the places were already taken. There were, in fact, people in the hall, but there were also spare places.

Before the beginning of the trial, A. Malkin's father, V. Malkin, a doctor of chemical science and a lecturer in the same institute where Anatoly had studied, was granted a meeting with his son. Malkin senior promised his son that he would be released from the court room if he renounced his intention of emigrating to Israel and agreed to serve in the Soviet Army. After the trial Malkin senior served a complaint against the defence lawyer Kallistratova to the Presidium of the Moscow Bar, for 'using the lawyers' platform to preach emigration' and also for not making use of every opportunity for his son's defence — in particular, she had not stated that Anatoly Malkin had 'fallen under a hostile influence'.

* * *

In 1974, in Kharkov, **Alexander Slinin** (b. 1955) was given three years in ordinary regime camps under the corresponding article of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S S R.

In 1972 A. Slinin entered Kharkov University. When he learned of the introduction of the 'tax on education', he left the university. In March 1973, when he was 18, Slinin applied to emigrate to Israel. He was refused on the grounds that 'the country's labour force is below strength'. Slinin was arrested on 29 April 1974. He is now in this camp: uch. YaE — 308/26.

* * *

In summer 1975, in Kiev, **Yakov Vinarov** was given three years in camp for the same reason. He applied to emigrate to Israel and was refused. He was arrested on 5 June 1975.

* * *

102 Soviet Jews from 12 cities signed an appeal addressed to 19 members of the U S Congress on 30 August. The appeal said that the real reason for the trials of Roitburd, Malkin and Vinarov was the authorities' urge 'to reduce to naught the obligations they had taken on themselves in Helsinki to observe fundamental rights and freedom of the individual'.

The Trial of Mukhametshin

From 4 to 7 August 1975 the Moscow City Court heard the case in which [Ganibari-Boris] Mukhametshin (*Chronicle* 34) was charged with actions covered by article 70 and article 88 ('Violation of the currency regulations') of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

Under article 70 Mukhametshin was charged with producing and exhibiting anti-Soviet posters, disseminating *The Gulag Archipelago*, and taking part in anti-Soviet conversations.

He was charged under article 88 with selling 45 dollars.

Mukhametshin fully admitted his guilt. He stated when he had made the posters; to whom he had shown them and when; from whom and when he had obtained two copies of *The Gulag Archipelago*; to whom he had given them to read; and to whom he had sold the dollars.

The witnesses Ladyzhensky, Ivashkina, Luzgina and Fedyakina agreed that Mukhametshin had shown them the posters. The court considered proven that the defendant had shown the posters to Bondareva, Arutyunyan, Dryuchin and Lev Bruni, although these people either denied this (Bondareva) or refused to give evidence (see *Chronicle* 35). It was argued in the indictment that the defendant had no reason to accuse them falsely.

The witnesses Ladyzhensky, Ivashkina, Luzgina, Zlatkovsky and Igor Genkin confirmed that they had received *The Gulag Archipelago* from Mukhametshin (at the request of the investigator Ladyzhensky had handed over his *Gulag Archipelago* to the K G B; Luzgina had burned the book after Mukhametshin's arrest). The court considered proven that the defendant had given *The Gulag Archipelago* to Bondareva and Dryuchin, although Bondareva denied this and Dryuchin refused to give evidence. The reason given in the indictment was the same as before.

The court found the charge concerning anti-Soviet conversations to be unsubstantiated.

The indictment noted that Mukhametshin's anti-Soviet views had been formed under the influence of Western radio broadcasts.

The court sentenced Mukhametshin under article 70 to five years of strict-regime and two years' exile; under article 88 to 3 years' strict-regime and confiscation of property. The total sentence was: five years of strict regime, two years of exile, and confiscation of property.

This is the first instance known to the *Chronicle* where the dissemination of *The Gulag Archipelago* had been judged a criminal act. The *Chronicle* does not know whether or not it was proven at the trial that *The Gulag Archipelago* is anti-Soviet or libellous in character.

The Trial of Gilyutin

From 15 to 18 August 1975 the People's Court of the Moscow district of Leningrad examined the case in which I. B. Gilyutin was charged with attempted smuggling (articles 78 and 15 of the R S F S R Criminal Code).

Isaak Borisovich Gilyutin, born 1939, a Master of Technical Science and a specialist in mathematical modelling, used to work as a senior scientific researcher at the Leningrad Academy of Ice Technology.

Gilyutin, his wife and two-year-old child, had received permission to emigrate to Israel. When, on 17 June, their luggage was being examined, the customs officers accused him of 'having failed to declare in writing or to inform customs officers by word of mouth before the luggage was examined, that it contained antiques, works of art and silver-work objects (from the official 'Decision on Smuggling Case Number 49/75'). The reference was to 16 lithographs, one engraving, and two crystal containers in silver holders. All these objects were lying unconcealed in the suitcases presented for inspection at the customs.

The Leningrad procurator's office for transport offences initiated criminal charges against Gilyutin. In the charge sheet, signed by V. E. Kirillov, senior investigator at the procurator's office, the above-mentioned facts are described as follows: Gilyutin 'attempted to smuggle out contraband on a large scale through the illegal use of customs forms'. It was also stated in the charge sheet that Gilyutin 'hid the said objects from customs officials' and 'tried to take them illegally beyond the borders of the U S S R . . .'

According to some supplementary explanatory note (which is not in the Criminal Code, nor even in the official Commentary to the Criminal Code), 'contraband on a large scale' starts at 1,000 roubles. T. M. Sokolina, an expert invited to take part by the investigator, explained that the lithographs 'subject to expert examination' were 'original works of art' and priced them at 70-80 roubles each. The expert priced the engraving at 20 roubles, stating that it was not 'an original work of art' and that it did not have 'artistic value'. (In the indictment the engraving no longer formed part of the charges against Gilyutin, but its value was included in the total value of the 'contraband'!) At the trial the defendant and his lawyer proved from the official records of the Arts Council, that the official selling price of the original lithographs listed in the charges was much lower than that stated.

As regards the 'illegal use of customs forms', the defence lawyer proved, on the basis of the official *Commentary to the R S F S R Criminal Code* (p. 179), that Gilyutin had not been in possession of any 'document obtained by deception'.

In his speech the prosecutor listed the extenuating circumstances: the obvious ignorance of the defendant about the true price and value of the lithographs

and containers; the fact that he had not tried to conceal anything from inspection; the fact that his infringement of the law had been unpremeditated; and so on. He asked that the defendant be sentenced to 1½ years' imprisonment, on the basis of article 43 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('Imposition of a milder sentence than that prescribed by law').

Defending lawyer Koisman demanded his client's acquittal.

The court sentenced Gilyutin to one year in an ordinary-regime labour camp and confiscation of property. He was taken into custody only on the day of sentence.

The trial was held in a genuinely open court.

Judge Afanasev-Lysenko behaved very rudely, constantly interrupted the defendant and his lawyer, disallowed all questions calling into doubt the charges and the expert's opinions, and shouted at the defence lawyer. When the defence lawyer said he had an official reply to an enquiry which had been made by his legal office, the judge asked him to hand over the reply.

On hearing the lawyer's refusal — 'I shall give it in my own time' — he shouted, 'Are you holding a stone behind your back? Indeed! Just imagine: there he sits, right in front of me, and he's holding a stone behind his back! You've no right!!'

During the defendant's closing statement, some man suddenly appeared from the judicial conference room. During the discussion on the sentence he was also in the conference room, going out a few times for 10 to 15 minutes and then returning. At the request of the public he showed his papers (his surname was Leshin), and stated that he was a people's assessor.

Pre-Trial Investigations

The Case of Kovalyov

On 26 September 1975 the pre-trial investigation in the case of Sergei Kovalyov (*Chronicle* 34), which forms part of Case 345, came to an end.

The interrogations in the Kovalyov case have already been reported in *Chronicles* 35 and 36 (in the section 'Investigation of Case 345').

In connection with this case, in Moscow during June and August the following were also interrogated: his colleague A. A. Mizyakin, V. F. Turchin, I. M. Belogorodskaya, G. S. Podyapolsky, T. M. Velikanova, M. N. Landa, and L. Yu. Boitsova (Kovalyov's wife). Investigator Istomin told Mizyakin that Kovalyov had founded an 'anti-Soviet group' among his work-colleagues, which had included Kovalyov, Mizyakin, V. M. Maresin (*Chronicle* 35), and E. Yankelevich (in spite of this, E. Yankelevich, Academician Sakharov's son-in-law, was not summoned for interrogation).

Istomin said that Mizyakin's refusal to answer questions was proof that such a group had existed. Istomin threatened to start a criminal case against Mizyakin, charging him with revealing a military secret entrusted to Mizyakin nine years ago, when he was a private doing his military service. Istomin said he would not press charges concerning this incident if Mizyakin gave the required evidence. T. M. Velikanova stated at the very beginning of her interrogation that she refused to participate in the investigation and pointed out that her motives for refusing to do so were known to the K G B from previous interrogations and 'conversations' [see *Chronicles* 29, 32]. G. S. Podyapolsky, in explaining his refusal to answer questions, also referred to the statement he made two years ago about his refusal to answer during an interrogation concerning Case 24 [see *Chronicle* 29].

Others interrogated were Alexander Ginzburg, Father Sergei Zheludkov and Sergei Pirogov (in a camp in Arkhangelsk region). In Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Merab Kostava, Valentina Pailodze (in a camp) and V. Rtskhiladze were interrogated.[4]

In June investigator Sorokin of the Moscow K G B administration interrogated N. Ya. Shatunovskaya and Sergei Genkin, who had been present on 23 December 1974 at Y. A. Shikhanovich's flat during a search (*Chronicle* 34) 'concerning Case 345'. The majority of his questions concerned Shikhanovich.

In August Kovalyov's wife — at his request, transmitted to her through the investigators — approached the Moscow barristers S. V. Kallistratova and D. I. Kaminskaya. They agreed to take on Kovalyov's defence. For this agreement to be formalized, permission had to be obtained from the Presidium of the Moscow Bar. Apraksin, President of the Presidium, stated that he would not allow either Kallistratova or Kaminskaya to participate in a case concerning article 70 of the Criminal Code, as they had 'no official permit', and that he would not allow any Moscow lawyer to participate in a trial taking place outside Moscow, 'because our lawyers are overburdened with work'. He also said that no Moscow lawyer would agree to take the case and that such cases were dangerous for lawyers because while they were outside Moscow the Bar could not help them. In addition he said that even if the trial were held in open court, probably only close relatives would be allowed to attend, 'because of higher considerations'.[5]

Apraksin refused to give Kovalyov's wife a written reply to her declaration. Boitsova's complaint to the R S F S R Minister of Justice about Apraksin's behaviour was sent to the Moscow Soviet and remained, in effect, unanswered. Boitsova was forced to find a lawyer from outside Moscow.

The Leningrad lawyer A. I. Rozhansky[6] took on the defence of Kovalyov. At the end of August Kovalyov began to study the case evidence. On 26 September Kovalyov and his lawyer signed the official statement declaring the pre-trial investigation completed. After this, Kovalyov told Rozhansky that he refused to have a defence counsel at his trial, because, in his opinion, the position he intended to adopt at the trial would create difficulties for his lawyer.

The Case of Tverdokhlebov

The pre-trial investigation in the case of Andrei Tverdokhlebov (*Chronicle* 36) is nearing its end.

Many people have been interrogated. In June Valentin Turchin, chairman of the Soviet Amnesty International group, was questioned six times (he was even asked 'Have you participated in helping the children of political prisoners?'), and Vladimir Albrekht, the group's secretary, was questioned five times. In Moscow, Regina Bobrova, Nikolai Beloozerov, Ivan Rudakov, Mikhail Utevsky, and Alexander Shuster and his wife, were also interrogated. In connection with Tverdokhlebov's case, Ernst Orlovsky (from Leningrad), who is a member of the Soviet Amnesty International group, Revolt Pimenov (from Syktyvkar) and Alexander Ginzburg (from Tarusa) were likewise interrogated. The investigators travelled to Kuibyshev region in order to question Tverdokhlebov's former wife.

In July, Anatoly Ilich Reshetnik was summoned for interrogation by the Moscow city procurator's office; he had formerly been sentenced in Sverdlovsk under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code and completed his sentence.[7] Investigator Gusev suggested that Reshetnik should testify that Tverdokhlebov used to give him the *Chronicle of Current Events* to read. After Reshetnik's refusal, he was invited three times to 'have a talk' at the Hotel Rossiya, where attempts were again made to persuade him to give the necessary evidence and become a witness. Reshetnik was led to believe that if he agreed to do so he would be helped to keep his Moscow residence permit, regardless of his approaching divorce.

In the middle of June a search in connection with Tverdokhlebov's case was carried out in Leningrad at the home of V. Gomelsky, who was sentenced to 1½ years in 1967 under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.[8] The confiscated material included: *My Memoirs* by E. Olitskaya, *The End of the Tragedy* by A. Yakobson, *My Return* by A. E. Krasnov-Levitin, and materials of 'Group 73' [see *Chronicle* 30, p. 116]. When interrogated, Gomelsky stated that he had himself asked Tverdokhlebov to give him the 'Group 73' materials.

The lawyer L. A. Yudovich has taken on Tverdokhlebov's defence.[9]

A Case Concerning a Journal

The investigation concerning the samizdat journal *Jews in the U S S R*, which began with a series of searches at the end of May 1975 (*Chronicle* 36), continues. About 30 people have been interrogated in Moscow, Leningrad, Odessa, Kharkov and Vladimir. At the beginning of August senior investigator Tikhonov of the Moscow procurator's office interrogated Alexander Lunts. When the interrogation ended, Tikhonov and Lunts argued for one-and-a-half hours about whether or not Lunts had the right to take away notes that he had made during the interrogation. Lunts won this argument. At the end of August, Mark Azbel, Doctor of Physics and Mathematical Sciences, an eminent Soviet physicist, who has for long been refused an exit visa, was summoned for questioning.

While he was being interrogated Azbel was asked to sign a document promising not to reveal the evidence that he had given.

The journal *Jews in the U S S R* is still being published (see 'Samizdat News'). The first issue of a supplement to the journal called *Tarbut* (*Culture*) has come out and is dedicated to Jewish history and culture.

29 Soviet Jews have signed an appeal to heads of state who took part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, protesting against the persecution of the journal *Jews in the U S S R* and warning that a court-case concerning the journal is in its preliminary stages.

The Case of Igrunov

In the summer of 1975 Vyacheslav Igrunov, arrested on 1 March of that year (*Chronicle* 35), was undergoing an in-patient forensic-psychiatric examination.

Igrunov is charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian S S R Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code). Senior investigator Captain N. A. Shalagin and investigator First Lieutenant Yu. S. Grazhdan are in charge of the case.

Over 30 persons have been brought into the case as witnesses, including all of Igrunov's close relatives. There is some evidence that both the defendant and the majority of the witnesses are refusing to cooperate with the wishes of the investigators. It is possible that this fact led to the in-patient psychiatric examination to which Igrunov has now been subjected.

Various methods of obtaining information have been used during the investigation. For example Aleksei Tikhomolov, one of Igrunov's acquaintances, was stopped on the street, put into a car and taken first to K G B headquarters for questioning and then to a room in the Hotel Krasnaya where he had a meeting with two K G B officials. After being questioned about Igrunov and other acquaintances — particularly Leonid Tymchuk (*Chronicle* 36) — it was suggested to Tikhomolov that he might cooperate in bringing to light the hostile activities of anti-Soviet organizations in Odessa. Tikhomolov stated that he was willing to cooperate only if the matter concerned the activities of Zionist organizations. After lengthy discussion, this offer was accepted.

This was followed by dinner in the same room at the Hotel Krasnaya.

This deal is probably no longer in force, as A. Tikhomolov has broken his 'vow of silence'.

For half a year Igrunov's family has had no official information concerning his whereabouts or state of health. In April an investigator promised Igrunov's wife that he would arrange a meeting for her and her child, in exchange for her agreement to participate in the investigation. Evidently, though, her participation did not fulfil the expectations of the investigator and so the visit did not take place. The investigator said it would be inhumane to the child.

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The first response to the news of Igrunov being placed in a psychiatric hospital was the samizdat leaflet 'Echo of an Event', signed by 'A. Zhakov' and dated 18 August. 'A state with a developed system of democratic institutions,' writes the author, 'needs thinking, educated, talented people, among whom one would undoubtedly include V. Igrunov.'

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In September Igrunov was back in an Odessa prison. At the end of September the investigator suggested that Svetlana Artsimovich, Igrunov's wife, should try to find a lawyer at once. He did not tell her the result of the psychiatric examination.

In the Camps and Prisons

The Mordovian camps

On 16 July 1975 **Vasily Stus**[10] (Camp 3) was beaten up and injured by the common criminal Sidelnikov because he had said aloud that Fridrikh and Malyshevsky (war criminals and friends of Sidelnikov's), who worked in the dining hall and the clinic, were stealing food and medicines.

He wanted to bring charges against Sidelnikov but received no answer to his application.

Sidelnikov was punished by being put in the cooler for 15 days. When he appeared in the camp zone after his stay in the cooler, **Vasily Lisovoi**[11] refused to attend roll-call as a sign of protest. For this he was sent to the punishment barracks [less severe than the cooler] for half a year.

Vasily Stus's state of health has grown much worse. (Stus suffers from an ulcer disease.) He has begun to suffer from fainting fits, vomiting blood and a high temperature. Internal bleeding has started to occur.

At the end of July he was placed in the camp hospital.

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On 1 March 1975 **Vyacheslav Chornovil**[12] (Camp 19) announced his renunciation of Soviet citizenship and requested the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet to let him leave the U S S R.

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On 11 August 1975 political prisoners in the Mordovian camps began a hunger strike — in protest against their inhuman detention conditions. On the same day **Yury Orlov, Grigory Podyapolsky** and **Malva Landa** sent this appeal to the Congressmen of the U S A:

> Ever closer contacts are being formed between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. At this time a delegation of Congressmen is visiting our country to get to know it better. We call on the American Congressmen to pay close attention to the situation of Soviet political prisoners. We appeal to you not to remain indifferent to the inhuman conditions in which they are being held, and to the gross infringement of generally accepted human and civil rights and liberties in our country.
>
> On 11 August the Congressmen's delegation is to meet members of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet.
>
> On 11 August the political prisoners in the Mordovian camps are to begin a hunger strike, protesting against their inhuman conditions of detention.
>
> At the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Soviet government took upon itself certain moral obligations regarding the observance of its citizens' human rights, particularly the right to freedom of conscience.
>
> Satisfaction of the demands made by the political prisoners and supported by us . . . would not only improve their situation, but would also serve as an indication of the Soviet government's readiness to fulfil the pledges it has made.

The details of the hunger strike of 11 August are, as yet, unknown to the *Chronicle*.

* * *

Because he adopted the status of political prisoner, **Yury Grodetsky** was put in the cooler and kept there for 70 days. In the spring of 1975 he was transferred to Vladimir.

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The following have been released from the Mordovian camps at the end of their sentences: **Alexander Petrov-Agatov** (*Chronicle* 33; a month before his release, he was transferred to the K G B's Lefortovo investigation prison in Moscow, from which he was freed on 26 July 1975), **Alexander Romanov**[13] (30 August), and **Lassal Kaminsky,** one of the 'hijack case fringe people'[14] (June).

Kaminsky has already left the U S S R.

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Ilya Glezer (*Chronicles* 24, 27) ended his 'camp' term on 7 February and has been sent to Eastern Siberia for three years in exile.

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Povilas Petronis (*Chronicle* 34) and **Nijole Sadunaite** (see below in this issue) have arrived at Camp 3.

The Perm Camps

Camp 37 has been built in Chusovoi district. The 'hijacker' **Izrail Zalmanson**[15] has already been sent there from Camp 3 in the Mordovian camp complex.

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On 10 December 1974, 20 prioners in Camp 35 (Altman, Antonyuk, Balakhonov, Butman, Gluzman, Gorbal, Davidenko, Zakharchenko, Kalynets, Kandyba, Marchenko, Meshener, Navasardyan, Ogurtsov, Prishlyak, Pronyuk, Superfin, Khnokh, Chekalin, and Shakhverdyan[16]) sent a declaration to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, demanding recognition of their status as political prisoners. They backed their demand with a two-day hunger-strike.

The Presidium replied thus: they had been justly sentenced, they were being held in accordance with the Corrective Labour Code, and the Presidium could see no illegalities.

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Because he formally declared himself to be a political prisoner, **Yakov Suslensky**[17] was put in the cooler. In April he was transferred to Vladimir prison and put on strict regime for 6 months.

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On 2 March 1975, after spending half a year in the punishment barracks, **Alexander Chekalin**[18] was released into the camp zone (Camp 35). On 26 March at the morning roll-call Chekalin declared to the officer in charge that he was adopting the status of a political prisoner and tore off the sewn-on flaps showing his surname and brigade number. He was immediately put in the cooler.

On 14 April he was sent by court order to Vladimir prison (to complete his sentence). He arrived at the prison at the beginning of June.

Before his arrest, Chekalin worked as a high-level construction engineer and suffered from occupational ear-ache. In the camp the ear-ache got worse and frequent haemorrhaging from the ears began. In addition, Chekalin suffers from chronic hyper-acidic gastritis.

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Soon after coming out of the punishment barracks **Superfin** (Camp 35) was sent to Vladimir prison until the end of his sentence by a court order dated 5 August. On 1 September he was transferred from the camp.

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At the end of the summer the 'hijacker' **Arie (Leib) Khnokh** (Camp 35) was transferred to Vladimir until the end of his sentence.

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Prisoners of conscience
1 Evgeny Pashnin (b.1937), Orthodox Christian repeatedly punished in Vladimir prison for his religious observance. 2 Sergei Kovalyov (b.1930), Moscow biologist, *Chronicle* editor, member of Amnesty International. 3 Vladimir Osipov (b.1938), editor of Russian rationalist samizdat journal, with his wife Valentina Mashkova and child. 4 Vladimir Arkhangelsky (b.1941), member of Moscow humanitarian group led by A. Tverdokhlebov.

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5 Vasily Romanyuk (b.1925), Ukrainian Orthodox priest sentenced for his association with Valentyn Moroz, officiating at a wedding. 6 Father Romanyuk. 7 Vasily (Vasyl) Stus (b.1938), Ukrainian poet and literary critic sentenced for samizdat writings. 8 Stepan Soroka (b.1932), Ukrainian partisan photographed in 1968, an active defender of prisoners' rights.

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9 Bobur Shakirov (b.1948), left (with his grandfather), arrested in 1970 and sentenced to 12 years for Uzbek nationalism and trying to cross the border. 10 Semyon Gluzman (b.1946), Kiev psychiatrist threatened with a second sentence for documenting the political use of psychiatry. 11 David Chernoglaz (b.1939), Leningrad agronomist sentenced for Jewish samizdat activity, now in Israel. 12 Yury Vudka (b.1947), Ryazan student sentenced for political activity, now in Israel. 13 Anatoly Altman (b.1941), of Leningrad, charged with Jewish samizdat activity and planning to leave the USSR by hijacking a plane, with his wife.

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14 Leonas Laurinskas, imprisoned 1953-68 as a Lithuanian nationalist, sentenced to 1 year in 1975 on an apparently trumped-up charge. **15** The grave of Mindaugas Tamonis (1940-75), Lithuanian engineer and poet, imprisoned in psychiatric hospitals for anti-stalinism and nationalism, and driven to suicide. **16** Nijole Sadunaite (b.1938), Lithuanian Catholic sentenced for samizdat activity. **17** Julijonas Steponavičius (b.1911), Lithuanian Catholic Bishop in exile since 1961, still in 1977 unable to exercise his ministry.

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The 'Estonian Democrats' of Tallinn
18 Matti Kiirend (b.1948), Estonian engineer, member of group sentenced for democratic nationalist activity. **19** Kalju Mättik (b.1933), Estonian lecturer in polytechnic institute in Tallinn and member of same group. **20** Sergei Soldatov (b.1933), Russian engineer, formerly lecturer in same institute. **21** Artem Yuskevich (b.1931), Ukrainian engineer and communist. **22** Arvo Varato (b.1934), Estonian doctor who turned state's evidence in the case.

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23 Leonid Plyushch (b.1939), with his mother, on the Soviet-Hungarian border on 9 January 1976, the day of his release and emigration, still affected by heavy drug doses. **24** Professor Daniil Lunts (1912-77), head of the politicals section in the Serbsky Institute, who in 1975 examined V. Igrunov. **25** Beglar Samkharadze, Georgian who fought in the French Resistance and was tortured on return to USSR. Deprived of pension in 1974 for demanding punishment of his torturers. **26** Ashot Navasardyan (b.1950), imprisoned for role as a leader of the United National Party of Armenia. **27** Anait Karapetyan (b.1951, see *Chronicles* 34, 36), imprisoned for belonging to the same party. **28** Bagrat Shakhverdyan (b.1940), of Erevan, same fate.

29 Natalya Gorbanevskya (b.1936), poet and founder of the *Chronicle*, emigrated to Paris in 1975. **30** Andrei Grigorenko (b.1945), Moscow engineer, son of General Grigorenko and defender of the Crimean Tatars. Emigrated in 1975, lives in New York. 31 Alexander Sokolov (b.1943), Moscow writer, emigrated 1975, lives in USA. **32** Mikhail Bernshtam (b.1940), Moscow historian and samizdat writer, emigrated 1976, lives in Italy.

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33 and 34 Evgeny Gauer (b.1920), Baptist owner of the Latvian farm-house (see below) in which a Baptist printing-press was found by the authorities in 1974. Seven young printers were also arrested (see *Chronicle* 34). Gauer, seen here with his wife, received a 4-year sentence.

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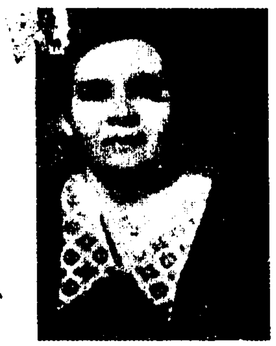

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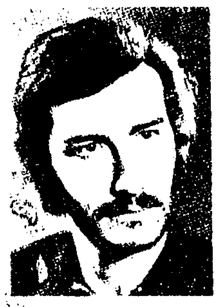
35 Ivan Biblenko (1928-75), Baptist from Krivoi Rog in the Ukraine imprisoned for religious activity in the early 1970s, photographed after, as his fellow Baptists believe, he was murdered. 36 Lydia Korzhanets (b.1932), Baptist from Belorussia imprisoned for 4 years for religious activity. 37 Mikhail Pshenitsya (b.1945), imprisoned Baptist from Moscow region who managed to get back his confiscated Gospels. 38 Vladimir Shelkov (b.1895), leader of an Adventist sect, imprisoned 1957-67. A prolific samizdat writer, he has been evading the police since 1970.

39-43 Jews sentenced for refusing to do their military service on the grounds that they had already applied to emigrate to Israel.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39 Anatoly Malkin (b.1955), Moscow student. **40** Yury Pokh (b.1950) of Odessa, imprisoned 1972-75. **41** Alexander Slinin (b.1955), Kharkov student. **42** Mark Lutsker (b.1949), a mathematics student of Kiev. **43** Alexander Silnitsky (b.1953), student of Krasnodar. **44** Lev Roitburd (b.1936), mechanical engineer, sentenced for (in effect) his leadership of the Jewish emigration movement in Odessa. **45** Isaak Gilyutin (b.1939), Leningrad research scientist, imprisoned for 'a smuggling attempt' when emigrating to Israel.

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46 Isai (left) and Grigory Goldshtein (b.1937 and 1930), Tbilisi scientists who have been applying to emigrate to Israel since 1971. **47** Alexander Lerner, Moscow cybernetician in same position as the Goldshteins, with his wife. **48** Vladimir Kislik (b.1935), Kiev mathematician in the same situation. **49** Crowds outside the Moscow synagogue, with policemen in foreground, 1975.

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50 Gleb Yakunin, Moscow Orthodox priest and founder-member of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights. 51 Lev Regelson, Moscow physicist, Orthodox layman and author of a history of the Orthodox Church since 1917. 52 Ilya Glezer (b.1931), Moscow biologist sentenced for his samizdat writings, photographed in Siberian exile in 1975. 53 Valery Ronkin (b.1936), chemical engineer from Leningrad, imprisoned 1965-72, photographed in Siberian exile (1972-75) with his daughter.

In May **Evgeny Pashnin** was sent to Vladimir. His sentence is 8 years in the camps and 2 years' exile. If this is the same E. Pashnin who is referred to in *Chronicle* 27, then he was sentenced in 1968.

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Ashot Navasardyan (*Chronicle* 34) has been in Camp 35 since November 1974. In March 1975, when Navasardyan was lying in the camp hospital and Bagrat Shakhverdyan (*Chronicle* 33) had come out of the punishment barracks after a 3-month term, officials of the Armenian KGB came to visit them and tried to negotiate with them. Soon after this Navasardyan was taken away somewhere.

In April 1975 **Razmik Zograbyan** (*Chronicles* 34, 36) arrived in the Perm camps from Mordovia. It turns out that among the items in his 'indictment' is the fact that he set fire to a portrait of Lenin in Erevan. He is repaying the cost of the portrait, which has been valued at 2,500 roubles.

At the begining of May **Norik Martirosyan** (*Chronicle* 34) was brought to the Perm camps; a week later he was taken away somewhere, possibly to an ordinary-regime camp.

According to fresh evidence, the brothers **Norik and Samvel Martirosyan** were tried under the article 'Infringement of national and racial equality' for scattering leaflets, Norik being sentenced to 3 years and Samvel to 2½ years in ordinary-regime camps. Their sentences began on 21 November 1973.

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Those who participated in the hunger strike which lasted many days in Camp 35 in the summer and autumn of 1974,[19] are now working in these capacities: **Antonyuk** as a technical supervisor, **Gluzman** in the sewing workshop, and **Svetlichny** as a librarian. They have been allowed to receive the medicines they need.

In January 1975 **Vladimir Balakhonov** was sent to the psychiatric ward of the hospital in Camp 3 of the Mordovian camp complex (the report in *Chronicle* 35 about his transfer to Vladimir was an error). In the spring he was taken back to the Perm camp, this time to Camp 36.

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Juozas Gražys (*Chronicle* 36) has arrived at Camp 36.

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In March on completion of their sentences **Bogdan Chernomaz** and **Grigory Babishchevich** (or [apparently correctly] **Vabishchevich**) were released from the Perm camps;[20] in April **Semyon Korolchuk** (*Chronicle* 33) was released, and in June a 'hijack case fringe man' **Lev Yagman**[21] was released. Yagman has now left for Israel.

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In the middle of May a special medical commission recommended the release of **Mikhail Dyak** on medical grounds (*Chronicle* 35). He has been released.

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Vladimir Prison

Iosif Meshener (*Chronicle* 35), on arriving in Vladimir, repeated his refusal to work. He justified this decision by the fact that in camp he had come to the conclusion that his true motherland was Israel; by working he was supporting the economy of the USSR, a country hostile to Israel.

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As already reported (*Chronicle* 33), in the opinion of his fellow-prisoners, **Mikhail Yatsishin** has a serious mental illness. Yatsishin was sentenced in 1972 to 6 years in the camps for 'Ukrainian nationalism'. During the investigation he underwent diagnosis in the Serbsky Institute.

In the camp his behaviour was described by the administration as 'wilful violation of regulations', for which he was transferred to Vladimir prison in May 1974. After the transfer his illness worsened and in June it reached a crisis-point: hallucinations of persecution, self-accusations, attempts at suicide. Yatsishin's cellmates, Bukovsky and Chernoglaz, kept watch on him all night. It was only in the morning that he was taken to the prison hospital. Yatsishin was there for more than half a year.

It is believed that in the spring of 1975 Yatsishin was, finally, sent to a psychiatric hospital.

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Mikhail Makarenko[22] was kept in the same cell as tubercular patients for 1½ years. He now has a severe form of tuberculosis himself.

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The following is a summary of a news release issued by the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR on 17 July.

On 17 July political prisoners in Vladimir prison held a one-day hunger-strike in protest against prisoners being beaten up, and also against threats of beatings on the part of administration officials.

In particular the following facts are known: in May a warder beat the political prisoner **Vitold Abankin** with his keys, while the latter was in the cooler.

In May or April the warder Arkady Fedotov beat up **Anatoly Efremov** (Efremov is a political prisoner who was formerly a common criminal).

Captain Dmitriev, a senior instructor in political-educaton work and secretary of the Vladimir prison party organization, threatened the political prisoner **Yakov Suslensky** with a beating while the latter was in the cooler (May 1975).

In January, on the orders of Captain Dmitriev and in his presence, and also in the presence of the major on duty in charge of the prison, the political prisoner **David Chernoglaz**[23] was beaten up in the prison administration building by three warders specially summoned for the purpose. The reason for the beating was that Chernoglaz had refused to take off a Star of David pendant that he was wearing under his clothing. Chernoglaz was beaten in especially painful ways, even though he offered no resistance.

The majority of beatings or threatened beatings take place while prisoners are in the cooler.

The names of a few of the political prisoners who took part in the protest hunger-strike against beatings and threatened beatings are known; Yury Vudka, Vladimir Bukovsky, Vladlen Pavlenkov, Kronid Lyubarsky, Yury Grodetsky, Vitold Abankin, Yakov Suslensky, Aleksei Safronov, Iosif Meshener, Gunar Rode, Gilel Butman, Georgy Davydov and Mikhail Makarenko.

Evidently those named are far from being all the participants in the hunger-strike.

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In Vladimir Prison there are about 50 cooler cells; as a rule, they are not left empty.

The following cases of detention in coolers in 1975 are known.

In January **Valentin Moroz** was in the cooler for 15 days; he was exhausted after a five-month hunger-strike, which he had ended six weeks previously.[24]

At the end of February **David Chernoglaz** was put in the cooler for 10 days for using some expressions in letters of complaint to official bodies which the prison administration alleged were libellous. Some time later, after Chernoglaz had served his punishment, a reply came from the procurator's office saying that the punishment had been unjustified.

In May the following prisoners were put in the cooler:

- **Yury Vudka**[25] — from 13 to 28 May — for non-fulfilment of his work norm.
- **Vitold Abankin**[26] and **Aleksei Safronov**[27] — from 15 May for 8 days — after they had protested against the incarceration in the cooler of Vudka (with whom they had lived and worked in the same cell), had declared a lengthy hunger-strike, and had refused to work; after their stay in the cooler, Abankin and Safronov, still on hunger-strike, were transferred to the hospital.
- **Yakov Suslensky** — from 13 to 28 May — for 'using impermissible expressions in his complaints' (in one complaint Suslensky compared the conditions in which he and his comrades were imprisoned with those enjoyed by V. I. Lenin in exile; he also remarked on the disproportion between the prisoners' 'crimes' and punishments — this complaint was addressed to Andropov).

In protest against his unlawful punishment, Suslensky declared a hunger-strike; on the fifth or sixth day of his strike he had a serious heart attack, and for about five hours he lay unconscious on the wet cement floor; twice

he was given injections, after which he regained consciousness — and was left lying on the floor. 'If you die — we'll just write a report,' the prison doctor Subocheva told him. Suslensky abandoned his hunger-strike. He was left in the cooler, but for the next few days his bunk was not taken out of the cell during the daytime.

Bobur Shakirov[28] was put in the cooler for 15 days from 31 March. The order to punish Shakirov for 'using impermissible expressions in his complaints' came from the Chief Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions (GUITU).

At Shakirov's request, Captain Dmitriev showed him the 'impermissible expressions' in his complaints: these turned out to be words like 'political prisoner' and 'political prisoners'. In one of his complaints Shakirov writes that Suslensky, who was his cell-mate (they were held together on strict regime) had been punished groundlessly, that Suslensky was seriously ill, and that such a man should not be punished by being placed in the cooler.

* * *

The following have been put on strict regime for refusing to work:

Alexander Sergiyenko;[29]

Bobur Shakirov — for four months, in March;

Yury Vudka — at the beginning of June, on coming out of the cooler, for four months;

Georgy Davydov[30] — in the first days of June (Davydov was also deprived of visits to which he was entitled in September; in answer to inquiries by Davydov's wife, Colonel Zavyalkin, the head of Vladimir prison, officially informed her of Davydov's punishments and the reason for them — 'refusal to work');

Vladimir Bukovsky — for half a year from 29 June.

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A 'hijack case fringe man', **David Chernoglaz,** and **Georgy Gladko** were released from Vladimir prison in June at the end of their sentences.

David Chernoglaz soon left for Israel.

Georgy Gladko[31] journeyed to Rostov-on-Don, where his mother lives, but could not obtain a residence permit there because he was not working anywhere, nor could he obtain any work there, because he had no residence permit. In August the authorities banished him from the city.

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In May **Sergei Malchevsky** (*Chronicle* 36) was sent from Vladimir prison into exile (to the town of Troitse-Pechersk, Komi ASSR).

* * *

Degtyarenko, a resident of Odessa region, is serving a term in the camps under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code).

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In 1970-73 **Tovstonyuk** (from the village of Cherkany) served a term in Cherkassy region under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code.

In 1972-73 **Vasily Belous** (from the town of Uman) was serving a term in the same region under the same article.

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Sven Kreek, charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda', is in a Tallinn prison. He was arrested on 11 January 1975.*

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In June 1975 **Sergei Soldatov** was taken back from Moscow to a Tallinn prison. He had been diagnosed as mentally responsible.[32]

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In August 1975, having completed his sentence, **Sergei Pirogov** (*Chronicle* 32) was freed from a labour camp in Arkhangelsk region.

[**Chronicle* 39 reports that he was later ruled not responsible and interned in a Tallinn mental hospital. An Estonian samizdat document dated 21 October 1976, signed 'Representatives of the Estonian Democrats', and addressed to the US Congress, Amnesty International and the UN, reports that Kreek died in a Tallinn prison on 8 August 1975, aged 45, and that he was a poet and managing director of the Endla theatre in Pärnu: 'Having devoted his life to the restoration of democratic ideals, he wrote and distributed several treatises (among them a Socialist Manifesto), in which democratic reforms were proposed . . . His death was officially explained as a suicide by hanging in his cell. But serious doubts persist as to the truthfulness of that statement. He was buried secretly and the site of his grave is not known. It may well be that the KGB took an opportunity to do away with this patriot. In any case, Sven Kreek's prematiure and tragic death is directly connected with his political credo and activity. It resulted from the violation of his basic human rights by the Soviet authorities.' See *Documents from Estonia on the Violation of Human Rights,* Estonian Information Centre, Box 450-30, Stockholm, Sweden, 1977.]

In the Psychiatric Hospitals

On 15 July 1975 **Leonid Plyushch** had been in Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital for exactly two years (see *Chronicles* 29, 30, 32, 34-36).

From the beginning of June to 3 September Plyushch was given multiple 'treatment': he was given triftazine tablets and insulin injections at the same time. Evidently, however, it was not intended to go as far as inducing an insulin shock: he was not once tied to his bed. Since 3 September the insulin injections have been discontinued. He is given triftazine as before: three tablets, three times a day.

During a visit in September Plyushch looked ill: perspiring, weak, crushed, feeling pessimistic: 'I'll never get out of here!'

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The Leningrad journalist **Boris Dmitrievich Evdokimov** (*Chronicles* 26, 27) has been held for three years already in the same Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital; he was arrested in the summer of 1971.

* * *

Yury Belov (see *Chronicle* 34) has again had his period of treatment in the Sychyovka special psychiatric hospital prolonged.

Vladimir Titov (*Chronicle* 30) has been transferred from the Sychyovka special psychiatric hospital to Kaluga ordinary psychiatric hospital number 1. Titov served a 5-year sentence under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code; on completing his term he was tried afresh and sent to Sychyovka for compulsory treatment.

* * *

In the spring of 1975 a medical commission decided to transfer **Gennady Paramonov** (*Chronicles* 15, 33) from Chernyakhovsk special psychiatric hospital to an ordinary psychiatric hospital.

About the Crimean Tatars

Chronicle 34 reported that in the autumn of 1974 about 150 Crimean Tatar families were living in the Crimea without residence permits — mostly in houses they had bought in the countryside. From January to May 1975 the Crimean authorities gave residence permits to about 50 families (apparently on orders from the central government). Among these are families who returned to the Crimea a long time ago and have suffered various forms of persecution (for example, the Kashka family), and also families who arrived in 1975.

In August and September new trials were held for 'violation of the residence regulations' (article 196 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code).

Bektash Mamutov, who returned to the Crimea in November 1974 and lived in the village of Lgotka, was sentenced to 3 years' banishment from the Crimea.

Dzhantemir Seitmambetov, who had been living with his family of ten in the village of Zhuravki (since March 1975), was banished for 2 years.

Adzhire Osmanova, from the village of Bogatoye in Belogorsk district, was banished for 1½ years (her brother was shot by the Germans in 1943, together with 43 other Crimean Tatar inhabitants of the village of Bodrak, for giving help to the partisans).

* * *

The Crimean Tatars sentenced to banishment usually do not leave, but continue to struggle for their right to live in the Crimea and in their homes.

Mustafa Pashala, sentenced to 2 years' banishment in August 1973, is living with his family in the village of Zolotoye Pole. His son, **Yaiya Pashala,** who returned from army service in May 1975, sent a declaration in September to the USSR Supreme Soviet, in which he writes: 'The Chairman of the District Soviet Executive Committee answered me: "If we give you a residence permit, we'll have to give one to your father as well. Then we shall appear to have been unjust to your father".' And further on he writes: 'When I was serving in the Soviet Army, no one reproached me for being a Crimean Tatar, I was a citizen of the USSR; but since demobilization I have once again become a Crimean Tatar. For four months now I have not been registered on the army reserve list, nor have I been able to obtain a passport; this means that I am deprived of all civil rights . . .'

* * *

Adzhimelik Mustafayeva, 58 years old, who had been living in Simferopol since February 1973 in a house bought 'illegally' without a residence permit, received a routine summons to the police station on 18 September. Here she was arrested on a charge of violating residence regulations. On 26 September policemen broke into Mustafayeva's house. There they found her brother, a sick man, who had come specially because of her arrest. They forcibly took him to the police station on a motorcycle, and there they demanded that he leave within three days. The arrested woman's daughter, Afife Mustafayeva, who lives in Krasnodar, tried to obtain her mother's release at the Simferopol procurator's office and, at the end of September, she sent a complaint to the USSR Procurator-General and a letter to Chairman Mazurov of the Commission in Charge of Women's Year in the USSR.

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Zore Binarifova, whose family lives in Novoalekseyevka, graduated from the training school of the City Market Gardening Organization in Simferopol, in the summer of 1974. Not long before her graduation she and another student, also a Crimean Tatar, were informed by an official of the personnel department that they would not receive residence permits in Simferopol because of their nationality. These girls were given their graduation certificates not at a special evening ceremony like everyone else, but separately. They were expelled from their hostel and dismissed from the shop where they had already started working, after being assigned there. Some of their fellow students came to their defence by writing a letter to the USSR Supreme Soviet, for which they were reprimanded by the same personnel department. Zore herself complained to various official bodies from October 1974 to June 1975. The city procurator answered her by saying she could appeal against her dismissal to a court. The court refused to accept the case on the grounds that the time limit for legal action on a labour dispute had expired. In addition, she was advised, in answer to her complaints, to obtain work in Novoalekseyevka, where she had a permanent residence permit.

* * *

Novoalekseyevka (a settlement in the Genichesk district of Kherson region, bordering on the Crimea).

On the night of 18 May, on the [31st] anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars from the Crimea, a black flag of mourning was hoisted on a pole near the village soviet. This incident is being investigated by KGB officials from Kherson and Genichesk. An investigation is also being carried out concerning the poster, hung up on 13 August 1974, protesting against the deportation of the **Seitdzhelilov-Yakubov** family from the Crimea (*Chronicle* 34). At some interrogations (or 'conversations' — it seems a criminal investigation has not been formally initiated) people are being made to sign promises not to reveal the proceedings. P. P. Popov, the deputy head of the Kherson KGB administration, has interrogated schoolchildren about the flag of mourning.

* * *

In February the Kherson Regional Party Committee called a meeting of Crimean Tatar communists in Novoalekseyevka. The secretary of the committee told the meeting that Novoalekseyevka was over-populated and asked that Crimean Tatars preparing to re-settle here from Uzbekistan (their former place of exile — *Chronicle*) should be told to settle in neighbouring districts.

The deputy chairman of the settlement soviet spoke at the meeting. In reply to a question from the secretary of the party committee, she stated that there were about 500 Crimean Tatar families living in Novoalekseyevka.

It is known that houses are being built in Novoalekseyevka for settlers who have been invited from various regions.

* * *

Aishe Seitmuratova, who has been demanding a re-examination of her case and her exculpation since her release from camp (*Chronicle* 34) is also asking to be re-instated as a graduate student at the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences History Institute (when she was arrested in 1971, she was three months short of completing her post-graduate course). The director has refused to accept her application to the History Institute. On 18 April 1975 A. Seitmuratova appealed to the Science Department of the CPSU Central Committee. In her declaration she writes that when she applied for a post-graduate course, she was discriminated against because she was a Crimean Tatar.

Between 1964 and 1967 she passed her sentence examinations to the USSR Academy of Science History Institute in Moscow with high marks, but was only accepted the fourth time and then she was admitted to a different institute, the one in Tashkent.

A. Seitmuratova also provides a number of statistics concerning the level of culture and development among the Crimean Tatars, comparing their situation before the war with their situation today in Uzbekistan.

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Ebazer Khalikov (*Chronicles* 31, 32) was released on 6 December 1974 before his sentence had ended. His co-defendant **Eskander Kurtumerov** was released on 17 May 1975, on completion of his sentence. The third defendant in this case, **Riyad Ramazanov,** is due to be released in September.

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Ridvan Charukhov ('rowdy assault' — *Chronicles* 31, 32, 34) has been transferred from a camp to 'chemical construction' (conditional early release involving assignment to a building-site under the surveillance of a commandant's office); he has made some trips home to the Crimea on leave.

Events in Lithuania

The information in this section is largely based on issue 17 of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church.*

The Trial of Nijole Sadunaite

On 16 and 17 June 1975 the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR heard case number 416 which had been separated from case number 345 and in which Nijole Sadunaite (born 1938) was charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda', and specifically with reproducing and distributing the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church.* The presiding judge at the trial was Kudryashov, the prosecutor was procurator Bakučionis. The defendant refused to have a defence lawyer. Only five KGB officials (including Pilelis, Platinskas,

and Jankauskas) and six soldiers were present in court. The judge did not even allow witnesses to stay in the courtroom after giving evidence, with the exception of the defendant's brother, Jonas Sadunas. KGB officials asserted that the trial was a closed one.

N. Sadunaite was arrested on 27 August 1974 (see *Chronicle* 34). During the pre-trial investigation she did not give any evidence, and because of this the investigators threatened her with internment in a psychiatric hospital.

At the trial Sadunaite refused to answer questions, explaining that she did not consider herself a criminal and that she considered her judges to be defenders of falsehood and coercion. She explained her refusal to have a defence lawyer, first by her wish to avoid unpleasant consequences for her friends who would have tried to find one for her (Nijole told how in 1970, when she was trying to find a lawyer to defend the priest Šeškevičius, KGB officials Gudas and Kolgov had threatened that they would imprison her and persecute her relatives); and secondly by the fact that 'truth does not need to be defended, it is all-powerful and unconquerable. Only treachery and falsehood need weapons, soldiers and prisons, because they are powerless yet wish to continue their rule.. There is no greater happiness than to suffer for the truth and for people.'

Jonas Sadunas, who appeared as a witness, said he had not read the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and had got to know of the material confiscated from his sister only from the search record.

Vladas Sadunas, Nijole's twin brother, confirmed in court that the three issues of the *Chronicle of the LCC* and the book *Simas Kudirka* [*Chronicle* 20], confiscated from him during the search, had been given to him by Nijole.

A headmaster, Povilaitis, denied that he had, as reported in *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, number 8, forbidden pupils to participate in the church funeral of their schoolmate or that he had terrorized pupils while forcing them to join the Pioneers and the Komsomol.

The witness Kušleika denied that his son had been forced to join the Pioneers (this was reported in *Chronicle of the LCC*, number 11).

The witness Brone Kibickaite denied that Sadunaite had given her the *Chronicle of the LCC* and the leaflet 'How to Behave during Interrogation'. Kibickaite refused to answer when the judge asked her: 'As you were good friends, no doubt you used to go to church together?'; and when the judge began to insist she declared: 'You have no right to ask that. Faith is every individual's personal affair.'

The procurator called for Sadunaite to be given four years in camps and five years' exile.

In her speech Nijole defended the *Chronicle of the LCC*. She said:

> The *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* reflects like a mirror the crimes committed by the atheists against believers. As evil does not like its own ugliness, it fears its own reflection in the mirror. It is for this reason that you hate all those who tear off your mask of falsehood and hypocrisy. However, the mirror does not lose its significance because of this. A thief robs people of their money but you rob people by depriving them of their most precious possession — loyalty to their convictions and the opportunity of passing on these treasures to their children, the younger generation... In Lithuania the Church is not separated from the state but is enslaved by it. The authorities interfere in the crudest way in the internal affairs of the Church... Your crimes are pushing you very rapidly towards the rubbish-heap of history... To fight for human rights is every person's most sacred duty in life! I am happy to have the privilege of suffering for the *Chronicle of the LCC*, for I am convinced of its truth and necessity, and I shall remain faithful to my convictions to the last moment of my life...

In her concluding statement Sadunaite said:

> This is the happiest day of my life: I am being tried because of the *Chronicle of the LCC*, which fights against spiritual and physical tyranny. This means I am being tried for serving the truth and loving people...! I have an enviable lot: not only have I fought for human rights and for justice, I have been sentenced for doing so. My punishment will be my triumph. I am only sorry that I have not had enough time to do a lot for people. I will gladly lose my freedom for the freedom of others, and I am willing to die so that others may live.

The court sentenced N. Sadunaite to 3 years in strict-regime camps and 3 years' exile. On hearing the sentence, Nijole asked: 'Why have they given me so little?'

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At the end of May 1975 **Povilas Pečiulaitis**, a former political prisoner, got 1 year of strict-regime camps for 'violating the residence regulations'. He had been released from a camp in 1972 after 19 years' imprisonment and forced to live without a residence permit, as he could not obtain one in Lithuania. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, at an appeal hearing on 12 June, upheld the new sentence (see also *Chronicle* 36, 'News in Brief').

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On 12 June 1975 **Leonas Laurinskas** (*Chronicle* 36) was arrested in the town of Taurage. The pretext for his arrest: a section of cable, found in his case during a search, was defined as a 'weapon'.

Laurinskas had earlier received an invitation from Israel and had applied to emigrate.

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In the autumn of 1974 **Anele Paškauskiene** was arrested in the town of Jurbarkas. She was charged with disseminating anti-Soviet leaflets. After a lengthy

investigation at KGB headquarters. Paškauskiene was sent to the psychiatric wing of the Lukiškis prison in Vilnius.

Paškauskiene had been working in a Communal Services Factory and studying as a third-year external student at the Faculty of Economics. At home she has a husband and two small children.

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On 16 February 1972 the Lithuanian national flag was raised in the village of Gruzde, Mažeikiai district. KGB officials accused **V. Maijauskas,** a 25-year-old driver, of having done this, and arrested him. Some time later he was sent to a psychiatric hospital.

* * *

On 7 April 1975 KGB officials led by Major Markevičius carried out a search at the home of a doctor, **Jadviga Lapenyte** (Vilnius, Tilto St. 12, flat 6). They were looking for 'anti-Soviet literature'. They found nothing. The search was followed by a five-hour interrogation.

* * *

On 14 August 1975 **M. Vitkunaite's** home was searched. The search was again led by Major Markevičius. A Lithuanian translation (published officially in 1963) of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* by Solzhenitsyn was confiscated.

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In the middle of August the KGB summoned for interrogation five priests of Vilkaviškis diocese: **P. Adomaitis, P. Dumbliauskas, J. Zdebskis, L. Kunevičius** and **S. Tamkevičius.** The interrogations were 'in connection with case number 345'. They were asked about the joint declaration sent by the priests to the Committee for Human Rights in Moscow concerning the Lithuanians arrested under case 345, about Sergei Kovalyov, about the *Chronicle of Current Events,* and about *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR.*

* * *

Lithuanian former political prisoners are often not given residence permits in Lithuania. For instance, **Balys Gajauskas**[33] has been refused a residence permit for the second year running; he was earlier imprisoned for 25 years and is forced to live under the constant threat of arrest for 'infringement of the residence regulations'. Gajauskas has a 74-year-old sick mother. He is her only means of support. His countless requests for a permit to reside with his mother have so far had no effect.

About 20 other Lithuanians, former political prisoners, are in a similar situation.

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K. Tumenas, Commissioner for the Lithuanian SSR of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, has asked **Bishop L. Povilonis** to try to stop the publication of the *Chronicle of the LCC.* The bishop answered that he was not responsible for the founding of the *Chronicle of the LCC* and could not do anything about it.

KGB officials, in talks with the priests **Lauriunas** (Kabeliai parish) and **Garuckas** (Ceikiniai parish), have tried to persuade them that the *Chronicle of the LCC* will only cause harm.

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On 12 May 1975 the engineer **Vaičiunas** (*Chronicle* 36) was 'warned' by the KGB, apparently in accordance with the decree of 25 December 1972 (*Chronicles* 30, 32). Vaičiunas refused to sign the 'warning'.

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On 28 April 1975 six priests of Vilnius diocese appealed to the leaders of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR in a declaration asking for 'the release of prisoners and those under investigation (in connection with case 345 — *Chronicle*) and the opportunity for Lithuanian believers to avail themselves of the freedoms guaranteed in the USSR Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights'.

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On 21 May 1975 Vytautas Kabelis, headmaster of the Balys Dvarionis School of Music in Vilnius, and Jonas Urban, the school's party secretary, forced a music teacher, **Aldona Kezyte,** to resign 'at her own request'; at the same time the headmaster openly told Kezyte that she had worked very well (Kezyte had worked for 25 years at the school and had often been praised by the school and local authorities), but that he had been ordered to dismiss her because she was a believer.

* * *

In August, issue 18 of the *Chronicle of the LCC* appeared.

Persecution of Religious Believers

The Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives in the USSR, issue 25, reports:

In February 1975 five searches were carried out at the homes of believers in the town of Zyryanovsk [in Kazakhstan].

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On 2 May 1975 police in the town of Shchuchinsk, Kokchetav region, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Chekushin and Captain Kinzhitayev, tried to disperse a prayer-meeting of German Baptists held at the home of **P. Ya. Zimens.** The believers succeeded in keeping the police out of the house. After the meeting many were detained at the railway station. On the evening of the same day Zimens was arrested.

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The procurator's office in the town of Uman has initiated proceedings to deprive the **Muzyka** couple of their parental rights over their ten children (from one to 14 years old).

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The *Bulletin* publishes in this issue: protests against the destruction of the printing press of the Baptists' 'Christian' publishing house (*Chronicle* 34); a declaration (signed by 522 people) protesting against the Orthodox Easter Day (4 May) being made a working day; a list of reform Baptists [*initsiativniki*] in prison on 1 June 1975 (there are 110 names on the list, 70 of them arrested in 1973-74; 25 of them are serving their second term, eight their third term, and two their fourth term).

* * *

At the beginning of June [in fact on 27 June] 1975 the women printing workers of the Baptists' 'Christian' publishing house (*Chronicle* 34) were released: **E. I. Gritsenko, Z. P. Tarasova, I. D. Korotun** (or Korotunova), **T. S. Kozhemyakina** and **N. G. Lvova.**

* * *

On 14 May 1975 in the town of Kramatorsk, Donetsk region, KGB officials arrested the Seventh Day Adventist **Nikifor Nikolayevich Chernov** (born 1905). The arrest was preceded by a search of a container, carried out on the orders of the Samarkand KGB Administration. As a result of the search a great deal of religious literature was confiscated (Bibles in particular), together with a tape recorder and tapes of psalms. After Chernov was arrested, he was apparently taken to Samarkand, which he and his wife had just left.

In the Stalin era Chernov was imprisoned for 10 years under articles 58-10 and 58-11 [of the Stalin-period code].

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In September 1974 the Kirovograd Regional Court sentenced **Maryan Tsobulsky** to 5 years in strict-regime camps, under article 209 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Infringement of the person and rights of citizens under the pretext of performing religious rites').

Tsobulsky is a graduate of a higher-education institute, has taught Ukrainian language and literature, and at one time was a headmaster. He is about 50 years old. After the war he served 10 years under article 58 of the old criminal code and then 4 more years at the beginning of the 'sixties. He is a Jehovah's Witness.

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In the village of Stavchany in Khotin district, Chernovitsky region, during the funeral of Trofim Chaglei, the local leader of a congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses, one of the speakers was arrested. His name is not known to the *Chronicle.*

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Khmelnitsky Region (*Ukraine*). The Education Department of Starosinyavsky district in Khmelnitsky region has started court proceedings to deprive **Maria Ivanovna Vlasyuk,** living in the village of Ilyatki, of her parental rights over her two children — Svetlana (10 years old) and Viktor (6). M. I. Vlasyuk belongs to the Seventh Day Adventist religion. The case against her was started because she encourages her children to take part in religious services and refuses to let Svetlana go to school on Saturdays. This religious education has led, according to the District Education Department, to Svetlana's being isolated from the school's social life and generally being 'deprived of childish poys'. It was maintained that the little girl's weak health was also caused by her 'participation in religious sectarianism'.

On 16 April 1975 the People's Court of Starosinyavsky district decided to take Svetlana away from her mother and hand her over to the care of the welfare authorities, but without depriving Maria Ivanovna of parental rights. As for six-year-old Viktor, the court decided to leave him with his mother.

An appeal against this by M. I. Vlasyuk was turned down. In its decision of 27 May the Khmelnitsky regional court relied, in particular, on articles 61 and 64 of the Ukrainian SSR law on marriage and the family, which imposes on parents the duty of bringing up their children in the spirit of the moral code of the builders of communism.

On 8 June M. I. Vlasyuk complained to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR. In her complaint she refers to Soviet and international law and also asserts her natural right to bring up her own child. She categorically denies that Svetlana has suffered physical or moral harm from her upbringing.

The *Chronicle* does not have the precise facts but it seems that in June or July the Supreme Court upheld the decisions of the regional and district courts.

On 15 July representatives of the district police arrived at M. I. Vlasyuk's home. They asked to see Svetlana, saying they had heard that Maria Ivanovna had 'sacrificed her as a victim'. They even handed over a written statement that they would not 'remove the child Svetlana Vlasyuk from her parents until the decision of the court takes legal effect'.

The mother brought the child. The police chief began to disperse the crowd

that had gathered and to shout at M. I. Vlasyuk. Bystanders tried to shame him, saying 'This is how the Germans took our children away'.

Several officials ran up to Svetlana. The little girl became frightened and began to run away. One of the visitors, a certain Melnik, ran after her. The mother fainted. After this the police quickly drove away.

No further news of the fate of the Vlasyuk family is available.

Extra-Judicial Persecution

In 1972 new 'Directives on the Awarding of Degrees and Titles to Academics' were issued, which gave V A K [the Higher Degrees Commission] the right to deprive academics of degrees and titles 'for anti-Soviet activity'.

In 1973, on the basis of these Directives, V A K deprived the political prisoners **Alexander Bolonkin** (*Chronicle* 30) and **Vasily Lisovoi** (*Chronicle* 30) of their academic degrees. Now the same is about to happen to **Kronid Lyubarsky** (*Chronicle* 28).

Before his arrest, Lyubarsky worked in one of the laboratories of a scientific research institute of the U S S R Pedagogical Academy dealing with syllabi and teaching methods.

In the spring of 1975 a telephone call from V A K to Kashin, the head of this institute, told the latter that Lyubarsky was to be deprived of his Ph.D. degree in physical and mathematical science for 'anti-patriotic activity', but, in this connection, 'a campaign from below' was necessary.

Kashin summoned Oleg Fyodorovich Kabardin, head of the laboratory in which Lyubarsky had worked, and suggested that he should write a 'call to deprive Lyubarsky of his degree' on behalf of the whole laboratory. Kabardin at first tried to refuse, pointing to Lyubarsky's scientific achievements, but Kashin said that it was not Lyubarsky's practical abilities which were now important, but his social allegiance (in the summer of 1972 Kabardin had written a character reference for the court which tried Lyubarsky in which he had spoken favourably of his practical abilities). Kashin went on to say roughly this: 'By now you know his social allegiance — you were, after all, at the trial. Lyubarsky did not admit his activity was criminal, he did not repent, even though many of those who repent are released. Besides, stubbornness on the part of a laboratory head looks strange, and inevitably gives rise to the thought that perhaps he shares Lyubarsky's views.'

Evidently this last argument had the necessary effect. Kabardin wrote the required document 'on behalf of the laboratory'. The Institute's Academic Council then unanimously decided to forward the petition to V A K.

* * *

In the summer of this year **Len Vyacheslavovich Karpinsky,** head of the scientific-communism department of the publishing house 'Progress', was expelled from the party.

L. V. Karpinsky is the son of V. A. Karpinsky (1880-1965), the well-known revolutionary, who worked with V. I. Lenin and later served as a member of the All-Union Central Soviet Executive Committee.

At the beginning of the 1960s L. V. Karpinsky was secretary for ideology of the Central Committee of the Komsomol [Communist Youth League], and later served on the editorial board of *Pravda,* as his father had done in his time. After the publication in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of his article 'On the Way to the Première' (written with F. Burlatsky), on the subject of censorship in the theatre, he was removed from the *Pravda* editorial board and worked in the secretariat of *Izvestiya,* then in the U S S R Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociology, and, finally, in the Progress publishing house.

Karpinsky was expelled from the party after a pile of typed scientific articles, notes, and essays on sociology, political economy and economics was discovered in his desk. This material included 11 copies of a letter sent from Prague and addressed to Karpinsky. The author of the letter was **Otto Lacis,** who was working on the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism.* Lacis had expressed his views on some acute problems in the social sciences. Both the letter and the other material discovered were written from a Marxist point of view and were loyal in tone. One of the main accusations levelled at Karpinsky concerned the number of copies he had of the letter.

Lacis has been expelled from the party and dismissed from his job.

Karpinsky was also dismissed from his job after being expelled from the C P S U.

Not long before the events described here, A. L. Yanov, a historian and philosopher who emigrated in 1974 (*Chronicle* 34) and is now a contributor to the journal *Twentieth Century* (see 'Tamizdat News' in this issue), gave an interview to English radio correspondents. He stated, in particular, that among the employees of Moscow party and Komsomol publishing houses there was a group of people united by the desire to analyze contemporary economic and sociological problems from a Marxist standpoint.

* * *

In July 1975 **Zviad Gamsakhurdia** was forced to 'resign at his own request' from Tbilisi University where he had been employed as a senior lecturer in the Department of English Philology and had taught American literature and English language, on the grounds that the course in American literature had been abolished. I. Bachiashvili, Dean of the Faculty of West European Languages and Literature, told him that his English language lessons were also under threat of suspension.

* * *

On 19 May 1975 the degrees commission of the Scientific Research Institute of Mathematics and Mechanics at Leningrad University, investigating the case of **S. I. Levin,** a senior technical officer in the Polymer Stability Research Laboratory, came to this conclusion:

> S. I. Levin has sufficient qualifications for the post of senior technical officer, but by his attitude to the social activities carried on at the Faculty he has a disturbing effect on the laboratory personnel and this in turn undoubtedly has an effect on the work of the laboratory as a whole.
>
> He creates an abnormal political climate.
>
> In connection with the above-mentioned facts the commission concludes that S. I. Levin is not suited for the post that he occupies.

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In March 1975 **Vladimir Eller** (22, a German from Kemerovo region), a fourth-year student at the Translation Faculty of the Moscow Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages, was expelled from the Institute and the Komsomol 'for lack of principles and for behaviour incompatible with the norms for a Komsomol member'. He was accused of having had a two-year friendship with Magda, a member of the West German embassy staff, whom he had introduced to friends at the Institute as a student from East Germany. On his return from a student exchange trip to East Germany in March 1975, Eller was, according to other students, summoned by the K G B.

He was informed that Magda had been followed for a long time and he was asked to hand over the literature he had obtained from her. Eller brought in *The Gulag Archipelago* and *Cancer Ward.* Eller was expelled from the Komsomol by its institute committee, without a general meeting being held.

At the end of May a meeting of students of Eller's year was asked to discuss the 'personal cases' of V. Zhiltsov and S. Parkhomov. They had shared a room with Eller, but had informed neither the Komsomol committee nor the Dean that Magda was from West Germany. S. Kamensky, secretary of the bureau for students of this year, said that as they had not been able to resist his 'ideological diversion', they could not be entrusted with the job of being translators. At his suggestion the meeting passed a motion strongly condemning them 'for lack of principles' and calling for their expulsion from the institute. Six people out of 80 abstained, and their names were noted down by the leader of the year.

The Translation Faculty accepts only students recommended by district Komsomol committees.

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The All-Union Institute of Scientific and Technical Information.
Order 1/DSP

4 August 1975
For internal use

While working at the International Centre for Scientific and Technical Information, as one of an international group of experts, **Yu. A. Polyusuk,** head of the Institute's Department of Mathematical Information Systems (O M O I S), had two non-business meetings, on 14 and 18 July, with a foreign specialist working as part of the group.

The meeting on 14 July, which was organized outside the city, was attended by **N. A. Fenina,** head of the Scientific Methods Department, and **Yu. I. Fenin,** senior research associate at O M O I S.

I order:

1. For infringeing the existing regulations on unofficial meetings with foreign specialists, Yu. A. Polyusuk, head of O M O I S, N. A. Fenina, head of S M D, and Yu. I. Fenin, senior research associate at O M O I S, are to be severely reprimanded.
2. The section heads of the institute are to be told that non-business meetings with foreign specialists must be arranged in accordance with the Department of International Relations and Information.
3. Comrade A. G. Chakhmakhchev, head of the Department of International Relations and Information, is to strengthen controls to ensure that the regulations on work and meetings with foreign specialists are observed.
4. This order is to be brought to the attention of the Institute's heads of department.

Director of the Institute,
Professor A. I. Mikhailov

State Security and Artificial Intelligence

From 3 to 8 September 1975 the International Association for the Study of the Artificial Intelligence held its regular conference in Tbilisi. The conference's agenda and participants were approved by the International Organizing Committee. The conference was arranged by the Soviet organizing committee and the Georgian S S R Academy of Science Institute of Cybernetics.

The International Committee included among the participants four Soviet scientists who were Jews who had been refused exit visas: the eminent Soviet cyberneticist, **A. Ya. Lerner** (from Moscow); **O. Ya. Gelman,** a former senior research associate at the Georgian S S R Institute of Cybernetics, who was dismissed from the Institute two years ago after applying for an emigration visa to Israel, and who had received a refusal 'for security reasons'; and the brothers

Isai and Grigory Goldshtein (from Tbilisi).

About a month before the conference was due to begin, Gelman was given permission to emigrate and told to leave immediately, which he did.

The Soviet authorities refused to accept the nomination of Lerner and the Goldshtein brothers. The International Committee then sent a questionnaire to all association members asking what they should do in consequence. Of 300 replies received, 200 suggested that if the scientists invited were not allowed to attend by the Soviet authorities, the conference should be transferred to another country — otherwise members would refuse to take part in the conference. After a statement to this effect had been issued by the Committee, Lerner was allowed to participate in the conference.

Professor McCarthy, president of the association, and Professor Winston, chairman of the conference organizing committee, came to Moscow ahead of time and checked literally every step of the arrangements for Lerner's journey to Tbilisi, right down to the reservation of his hotel room. After many delays, A. Ya. Lerner arrived in Tbilisi and was able to take part in the conference.

The Georgia K G B forbade the Goldshtein brothers to 'go near' the place where the conference was being held. Nevertheless, they came to one of the sessions. While putting a question to the speaker, Isai Goldshtein observed the conference regulations by giving his name and that of his country: Israel. The next day the brothers were summoned to K G B headquarters where they were categorically forbidden to attend the conference meetings. When they objected, saying they had been invited to the conference by Americans, a K G B official declared: 'As this conference is taking place in Tbilisi, we are the masters here — not they.' In spite of this, the Goldshtein brothers were persuaded by the conference organizers to participate in its work, and the conference chairman, Chavchanidze, even found himself forced to declare publicly that they had been invited by the U S S R Academy of Sciences and the Georgian S S R Academy of Sciences.

Near the building in which the conference meetings were held a continuous watch was kept by officials of the Tbilisi K G B, led by Major L. V. Shanidze (see *Chronicle* 32); they also followed, almost openly, individual conference participants. However, there were no excesses. Some K G B officials wore conference membership badges (but not name-tabs).

The Right to Marry

Chronicle 36 has already reported (in the section 'Letters and Statements') on the obstacles that Soviet authorities have put in the way of the intended marriage of **Alexander Sokolov,** the Moscow writer, and the Austrian teacher **Johanna Steindl.** On 16 May A. Sokolov received a letter from the Austrian Embassy in Moscow, which said that 'According to information received from the Soviet authorities your fiancée, Miss Steindl, may return to the U S S R in order to marry you. Permission for Miss Steindl's entry visa, which has been sent to the Soviet Consulate in Vienna, is conditional on an invitation from you.'

On 29 May Sokolov was invited to O V I R by Inspector I. N. Krivosheyev, who suggested that he invite his 'friend from Austria' in the usual way; at the same time, he was told that the investigation of such cases takes about four months.

On 3 June, the day before the appointed registration of their marriage, Sokolov asked Shamanina, the director of the Marriage Palace, to postpone the registration, as his fiancée could not return to the U S S R on the appointed day, owing to circumstances beyond her control; whereupon he received a promise that the marriage would be registered on the day that she returned.

On 4 June J. Steindl flew to Moscow at the personal invitation of the Austrian consul. Customs officials at Sheremetevo airport detained her for 16 hours in the hall for transit passengers, not even allowing her to phone the Austrian Embassy, and permitted her to enter Soviet territory only on the morning of 5 June.

On 5 June A. Sokolov and J. Steindl went to the Marriage Palace where the same Shamanina stated that, as they had failed to turn up at the right time, they would have to arrange a new date for the registration of their marriage, which could not be earlier than September. Their references to the fact that Johanna had only a one-month visa made no difference.

Sokolov and Steindl appealed to Gusev, Deputy-Head of the R S F S R Ministry of Justice's Marriage Registration Bureau. He refused to help them and advised A. Sokolov to travel to Austria to register his marriage. When Sokolov asked how and on what basis he could do this, Gusev answered that he 'does not know all the laws'.

Sokolov's parents have declared to the K G B and the District Military Commission that Alexander is mentally ill and that he is not, therefore, responsible for his actions and should be subject to supervision. An official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told Sokolov that, until his mental competence was established, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs could not help the couple.

In addition, the official said: 'There is an organization against which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can do nothing, although it understands that this incident could impair relations between Austria and the U S S R.'

A new date for the registration of the marriage was set by the Marriage Registration Bureau for September; O V I R, however, refused a request from the Austrian Embassy to prolong Steindl's stay in the U S S R.

On 13 June Alexander Sokolov sent a telegram to Podgorny in which he addressed the latter as the deputy whom he elected, asking him to 'help us in our battle with bureaucracy, which has now been going on for half a year. Moreover, this concerns not only ourselves but also the fate of our unborn

child'. Podgorny's secretary informed Sokolov that his telegram had been sent to the Marriage Registration Department of the Moscow Soviet.

At the end of June Sokolov received a summons to the District Military Commission. There he was given an appointment for an examination at a psycho-neurological clinic.

On 2 July Alexander Sokolov and Johanna Steindl were married by a Protestant clergyman. On 4 July J. Steindl had to leave the USSR, as her visa had run out. On 6 July Sokolov was sent by the clinic to psychiatric hospital number 14 for an in-patient examination.

The story of Alexander Sokolov and Johanna Steindl has been widely reported in the international press: articles on the subject have appeared in many Austrian newspapers, in the *Herald Tribune* and *The Guardian*. There have also been references to it in Russian-language foreign radio broadcasts.

About P. G. Grigorenko's Pension

After his first arrest in February 1964, when Pyotr Grigorevich was declared mentally not responsible and deprived of his rank as a general, he was given no pension at all.[34] It was only in December 1965 that a Military Commission allotted him a pension of 120 roubles (this being a 'personal' pension, neither a private's nor a general's). After his second arrest (in May 1969), the payment of this pension was terminated; only from January 1971 onwards (at which time he was in a special psychiatric hospital) was he paid 35 roubles, later increased to 45 roubles. After he was released for the second time (in June 1974), his pension was restored to the level of 120 roubles.

In August 1974 Grigorenko sent a declaration to the Moscow City Military Commissar in which he pointed to his unlawful deprivation of the pension due to him as a former soldier.

According to the law, a military pensioner can be deprived of his pension if he is sentenced by a court to a term of imprisonment, but pensioners receiving compulsory medical treatment are entitled to have their pensions paid in full (see sections 177 and 163 of the statutes brought into force by Decree 200 of the Ministry of Defence, dated 25 September 1972). On this basis P. G. Grigorenko asked for the back-payment of his pension covering the period when he did not receive it at all and for its retrospective topping-up to 120 roubles a month for the time when he was given a reduced pension. Having received only formal acknowledgements in answer to his two declarations, Grigorenko appealed to a court on 11 May 1975, making a claim against the Moscow City Military Commission for the payment of his back pension to the sum of about 5,000 roubles. In addition Grigorenko addressed a complaint to the USSR Procurator-General, demanding that either the court decision declaring him to be ill (not responsible) should be annulled as

unlawful, or the decision made by the Ministry of Defence to deprive him of his general's pension (300 roubles a month) should be rescinded.

Judge Troitskaya (of the Sverdlov District People's Court) issued the following decision on 30 May: 'to refuse P. G. Grigorenko's claim, as the said claim is not within the jurisdiction of the courts', and referred to 'the statute concerning the allotment and payment of state pensions'. The Moscow City Court upheld the decision. On 25 August the USSR procurator's office replied: 'The criminal cases against you in 1964 and 1970 have been checked out. There are no grounds to contest the court decisions in these cases.'

News in Brief

KIEV. Yury Timofeyevich Litvin, arrested at the end of 1974 or the beginning of 1975, has been sentenced by the Kiev Regional Court to four years' imprisonment, apparently under the article relating to 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'.* He was formerly imprisoned from the middle 1950s until 1965, under articles 58-10 and 58-11.

He has a son aged nine and a 14-year-old daughter. His family's address is: g. Vasilkov Kievskoi oblasti, ul. Libknekhta, d.1, kv. 15. His wife's name is Vera Litvin.

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MOSCOW. On 8 May 1975 **Eduard Valentinovich Samoilov,** a fourth-year student at the Moscow University Faculty of Journalism, was arrested. (He is from Kazakhstan and lived in a student hostel.) He was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. During a search an academic work of his was confiscated — a historical study of the USSR and the CPSU. One of the theses put forward in this study is that the cult of personality was a natural phenomenon in the development of our society. A microfilm copy of his work was also confiscated during the search.

The student who had lent Samoilov a camera was threatened with expulsion. Arkady Suslov, a fellow-student of Samoilov's, was also threatened with expulsion, because of his friendship with Samoilov.

When Samoilov's mother arrived from Kazakhstan, she was interrogated by investigator Repnev.

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[*In this sentence the article, the term of imprisonment and Litvin's patronymic are given wrongly — see *Chronicle* 39 in this volume. Corrections: article 187-1, four years, Timonovich.]

TALLINN. Sergei Rutkovsky (36 years old, a graduate of a motorway construction technical college), arrested in November or December 1974 and charged under one of the two 'political' articles of the Criminal Code, is apparently now in a Tallinn prison.

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G. P. Vins (*Chronicle* 35) has been sent to serve his term of imprisonment in Yakutia. V. Eremin, the deputy head of his Kiev prison, told Vins's relatives that his health was satisfactory.

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Nashpits and **Tsitlyonok** (*Chronicle* 36) have arrived at their places of exile: Nashpits in Chita region, where he is working in his profession as a doctor; Tsitlyonok in the town of Eniseisk, Krasnoyarsk territory, where he is an auxiliary worker in a factory.

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MOSCOW. Alexander Slepak, son of Vladimir Slepak (*Chronicle* 36), was stopped on the street by police, charged with 'resisting the authorities', and imprisoned for 15 days.

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TBILISI. On 24 July 1975 **N. Koberidze** was interrogated at the Georgian K G B headquarters by Colonel Zardalishvili. He advised Koberidze to end her friendship with Zviad Gamsakhurdia, 'whose days are numbered'.[35]

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ALEKSANDROV (Vladimir Region). On 17 August 1975, the day before he intended to go to Vladimir to consult a lawyer about Osipov's case, **Nikolai Ivanov,** a former member of the All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People (*Chronicle* 1)[36] was beaten up by three unknown men; he was released from the Mordovian camps two years ago, after six years' imprisonment. N. Ivanov had to receive medical treatment in the hospital for three weeks for concussion of the brain and injuries to his face.

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M. I. Raigorodetsky (*Chronicles* 32, 34) was released before the end of his sentence, in July 1975, by the Zaporozhe Regional Court.

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Lev Ubozhko (*Chronicle* 36) has escaped from the psychiatric hospital in Chelyabinsk region where he was undergoing compulsory treatment.

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After his release, **Valery Ronkin** (*Chronicle* 36) has settled in the town of Luga, Leningrad region. Neither Ronkin himself, nor his wife, has been able to obtain any work in the town.

The Ronkins have two children, one 12 and the other two years old.

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Andrei Amalrik (*Chronicle* 36) has been refused a residence permit in Moscow, where he lived before his arrest. The police have twice recorded that he has 'violated the residence regulations'. Amalrik has been forced to leave Moscow.

During Amalrik's 'absence' (in a labour camp and in exile), his cottage in Ryazan region was destroyed by unknown 'bandits'.

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MOSCOW. On the evening of 5 September 1975 the **Jewish New Year** began. The police closed the road turning into Nogin Square from Solyanka Street, and the traffic was forced into Arkhipov Street, the narrow alley where the synagogue is situated. When the service ended people poured out of the synagogue and the whole road overflowed. Young people started to sit and lie down in the road in front of the cars. Police attempts to disperse them were unsuccessful. An attempt by the police to make cars drive into the crowd resulted in the windows of some cars being broken. The police then closed Arkhipov Street to traffic. The festival ended normally.

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MOSCOW. On 21 September a large group of **Soviet Jews** celebrated the Jewish festival of Succoth (the feast of 'booths') in the suburbs, together with Israeli sportsmen who were then in the U S S R as participants in the World Heavy Athletics and Wrestling Championships, which had just taken place in Moscow and Minsk (members of the Israeli wrestling team were recent emigrants from the U S S R). The police demanded that a small Israeli sports flag, which had been hung on a tree, should be handed over to them. Those taking part in the festival refused to give up the flag. The police tried to seize the flag by force, but were forced to retreat.

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KIEV. A group of **French lawyers** has visited the Ukrainian S S R Ministry of Internal Affairs and asked to see one of the officials in charge to talk about **G. P. Vins** (*Chronicle* 35). They were told that the official in charge had gone to see the Minister and would not be returning until the end of the day, although, shortly before this, one of the people from Kiev accompanying the group had been told by the official's secretary that he was in.

The lawyers also visited the Medical Department of the Ukrainian S S R Ministry of Internal Affairs and spoke to two lieutenant-colonels there about **Plyushch.** The lieutenant-colonels refused to give their names. They also re-

fused to name the 'doctor in charge' of Plyushch's treatment. The lawyers were not allowed to visit Plyushch as they asked to do.

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MOSCOW. On 14 September 1975 **unofficial artists** prepared to commemorate the anniversary of their exhibition being broken up on 15 September 1974 (*Chronicle* 34), by exhibiting their pictures on the same piece of waste land. The authorities tried to dissuade them and promised to arrange an exhibition for them on 20 September at the Exhibition of Economic Achievements. On 13 September the Vladimir artist **Eduard Zelenin,** one of the organizers of the intended 'anniversary', was suddenly summoned by the police to Vladimir. He was then imprisoned there for 15 days. The majority of the unofficial artists gave in to the demands of the authorities. Nevertheless, three artists did exhibit their pictures on 14 September on the waste land.

On 20 September the unofficial artists' exhibition was to have opened in the House of Culture at the Exhibition of Economic Achievements. On the night before the opening, the responsible 'authorities' removed 40 of the pictures already on display. Then, as a protest, the artists began to take down their own pictures. The opening of the exhibition on 20 September was cancelled. Between 20 and 21 September a compromise was reached: the authorities agreed to reduce the number of 'forbidden' works to 10, while the artists agreed to put their pictures up again; however, they also demanded that Zelenin should be released. On 21 September Zelenin was released. On the same day the exhibition opened, and lasted until 30 September.

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In the middle of July the Moscow O V I R again refused **Elena Bonner** permission to travel to Italy for medical treatment (*Chronicle* 36). A few days later an O V I R official told her personally that she would be allowed to go abroad for three months. E. Bonner had not had time to tell anyone about this, when an unknown citizen rang a foreign journalist and told him about the permit given to her, as if at her request. On 16 August E. Bonner left the country. On 4 September in the town of Sienna (Italy), she had an emergency operation. On the same day somebody rang Sakharov, claiming to be speaking at the request of Vladimir Maksimov, and told him that the operation had been unsuccessful and that his wife was feeling very unwell. A telephone conversation with friends on the same day revealed that the mysterious phone call had been a deliberate lie.

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In July 1975 **Andrei Grigorenko,** son of P. G. Grigorenko, left the U S S R with his wife.

Letters and Statements

Vyacheslav Chornovil: Declaration to the Military Procurator of the Transcarpathian Military District (23 July 1973).

In his long declaration (19 pages) Chornovil gives details of the way in which his case was investigated in 1972-73. The basic method used to influence him while he was under investigation was false information passed on to him through his cell-mate, a 'stoolie' called Dubinyak, and also directly through his investigator. Chornovil was informed, for example, that he was going to be charged under article 56 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (article 64 of the R S F S R Code, i.e., 'treason'; the penalties include execution). The investigator and his cell-mate told him that his friends and relations had been arrested — when they had either not been arrested at all, or were arrested only later. Chornovil was even told that, after the arrest of P. Yakir (who had not been arrested), the latter's friends had tried to assassinate N. V. Podgorny.

Later they changed their tactics: they began to tell Chornovil about some sort of high-level conference at which (under pressure from the Italian and Canadian communist parties) it had been decided to release him, Dzyuba and Svetlichny (Dzyuba had not yet been arrested at this point), but to 'severely punish' the others arrested. The only way he could help them was to tell the investigators about his participation in the publication of *The Ukrainian Herald.* Chornovil made such a statement only after he had been told the date of his wife, A. Pashko's, imminent arrest — 17 May. Later, in the middle of August, Chornovil's wife and sister were indeed arrested for a few days, and Chornovil saw his wife — 'by chance' — in the corridor of the investigation prison. This happened after he had refused to make a more concrete statement.

At the beginning of 1973 Chornovil renounced his 'confession' in writing, and explained the methods by which it had been obtained. This statement was removed from the case materials. However, traces of the trickery and false information which had been used remained in the investigation records.

In a declaration dated 23 July 1973 Chornovil asks the procurator to make out criminal charges against Captain M. E. Boyechko, a senior K G B investigator for Lvov Region (who led the group investigating his case), for infringing article 175 of the Ukrainian S S R Criminal Code — 'coercing someone to give evidence'.

In a letter dated 1 August 1975 he reports that the military procurator of the Transcarpathian military district passed on his declaration to the procurator's office of Lvov Region, i.e., acted as if Chornovil had asked for a re-examination of his case. After a second complaint, dated 26 August 1973, he received a reply stating that there was no basis for bringing criminal charges against M. E. Boyechko.

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Vyacheslav Chornovil: Open letter to the President of the U S A (1 August 1975).
The letter is an attempt to take part in the dialogue between East and West; Chornovil feels that the thoughts he expresses reflect the opinions of 'a wide circle of Soviet political prisoners of various nationalities'.

His basic argument is that a lasting détente in international relations 'can be achieved not so much by military disarmament as by psychological demilitarization'. Soviet leaders, however, link the process of détente with an intensification of the ideological struggle. In practice, this leads to mass arrests, like those in the Ukraine in 1972-73. 'If something similar were to occur in the U S A,' writes Chornovil, 'in order for your countrymen to learn to "unanimously approve" of the actions of the authorities, half of them would have to be put in jail, and the other half made prison warders.'

Détente in its present form is turned, in this way, against the opposition in the U S S R. It is precisely because of this that political prisoners approve of the well-known [Jackson-Vanik] amendment of the U S Congress to the Trade Agreement: 'An alternative to the Mordovian and Perm labour camps and the psychiatric hospitals, namely the possibility to leave the country,' could lead to some humanization of the regime. 'And that, in its turn, could be the precursor of a true relaxation of tension, not merely a détente on paper.'

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Yury [P.] Fyodorov: Letter to the President of the U S A.
The letter takes as its theme the spread of communist influence in the world and criticizes the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the U S S R. In his conclusion Yury Fyodorov describes the conditions in the special-regime labour camp in which he finds himself, and asks the President to use his authority to support his demands to the Soviet government. The first among these demands is that an end be put to forced labour.

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Vasily Stus: 'I Accuse'
The author accuses the K G B of being responsible for the following:
— the organization of the rigged trials of 1972-73 in the Ukraine, in particular the rigging of his own 'case';
— the confiscation, during searches, of works of Ukrainian, Russian and world literature;
— having hereditary links with those who organized the Stalinist terror, as proved by the K G B's aggressive reactions to references to this period, for example, to those made by Stus;
— the persecution of those who hold non-communist convictions, as for example in the Stus case — i.e., the violation of 'the most elementary human rights';
— responsibility for the tortures which some Ukrainian political prisoners have been subjected to in the camps;
— causing 'irreparable harm to the Ukrainian nation and its culture' through the 1972-73 repression in the Ukraine which was 'on a scale unprecedented in the U S S R in recent times'.

'A generation of the young Ukrainian intelligentsia . . . has been transformed into a generation of prisoners.'

Stus names the K G B's 'internal reviewers' who wrote reviews on the confiscated works of Ukrainian writers. Their names are: A. Kaspruk (Ukrainian S S R Academy of Sciences' Literary Institute); A. Kovtunenko (same institute); A. Skaba (C P S U Institute of History); V. Evdokimenko (same institute); Yu. Zbanatsky (same institute); V. Kazachenko (same institute); L. Nagornaya (same institute); P. Nedbailo (Kiev University); V. Chirok (Pro-Rector of the Higher Party School); M. Shamota; and P. Yashchuk (senior lecturer at the Lvov University Faculty of Journalism).

'I feel that their responsibility for the mass repressions', writes Stus, 'is equal to that of the professional K G B officials.'

Stus suggests that his statement be used as eye-witness evidence in a future trial of the K G B, which he might not live to see.

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Father Vasily Romanyuk: Appeal to the Pope and the World Council of Churches.
The subject of both appeals by this Ukrainian priest, sentenced to ten years for openly speaking out in defence of V. Moroz,[37] is the violation of human rights in the U S S R.

The author calls for attention to be given to the fate of imprisoned women. He appeals to all religious activists abroad, especially holders of the Lenin prize for their contributions to peace between nations, to press the Soviet government to grant political prisoners the opportunity to leave the U S S R.

'Help us to win the possibility to leave this terrible country, where a man can be given 10-15 years in prison for his beliefs alone!' Fr Vasily Romanyuk considers that the aforementioned prizewinners have a moral right to their titles only if they can bring influence to bear on the Soviet government; if they cannot do so, they should renounce their titles.

Fr Romanyuk announces that to underline his appeals he will declare a hunger-strike from 1 August 1975. He has a second aim in declaring a hunger-strike — to obtain a Bible, which he has now been refused for three years. The second appeal has a postscript:

> If you can do nothing else to ease my fate, at least help me to obtain a Bible, for I will continue my hunger-strike until I have a Bible in my hands, and I ask you, beloved fathers and brothers in Christ, to help me in this.
> Yours sincerely,
> Father V. Romanyuk.

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Trofim Shinkaruk: Letter to the broadcasting station 'Radio Free Europe' (27 June 1975).
Trofim Efimovich Shinkaruk, a 44-year-old Ukrainian, has already spent 26 years in camps and prisons. At the moment, he is in a special-regime camp (camp 1 in the Mordovian complex). He has 8½ years left to serve. He hopes to publicize his 'call to the nations of the world' through the agency of the broadcasting station 'Radio Free Europe'.

The 'call' is a desperate appeal to people to reject communist ideology and not 'to stretch out their hands' to the communist leaders.

Shinkaruk is convinced he will die behind barbed wire. However, he wants his fate and the fate of millions of other prisoners to act as a warning to the West of the danger of losing freedom.

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Trofim Shinkaruk: Letter to the Secretary-General of the U N (27 June 1975).
After describing the situation of Ukrainian political prisoners, Shinkaruk writes: 'I appeal to you, and through you to all nations in the world, to turn your attention to this horrifying situation.'

Shinkaruk wants the U N to force the Soviet Union, under threat of expulsion, to 'abolish' the article on 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' from the Criminal Code.

* * *

A. A. Bolonkin: A supervisory complaint (4 October 1974).
In his complaint, addressed to the U S S R Procurator-General and the U S S R Supreme Court, A. A. Bolonkin (*Chronicle* 30) lists the many violations of the law which occurred in his case, during the pre-trial investigation, at the trial, and after the trial.

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V. V. Kislik: To the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet (12 May 1975).
The author writes that at present he is a citizen of two states: Israel and the U S S R. Because his wife and son live in Israel and he himself is trying to emigrate there, and because the Soviet government does not recognize double citizenship, he asks the Presidium to allow him to renounce his Soviet citizenship. He also lists the illegalities committed by the Visa Department of the Administration of Internal Affairs in Kiev while dealing with his application to renounce his Soviet citizenship.

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Nina Bukovskaya: Open Letter to the Secretary-General of the U N about International Women's Year (18 June 1975); Open Letter to the Organization 'Amnesty International' and the Society for the Defence of Human Rights (16 August 1975).

Vladimir Bukovsky's mother reports that her seriously ill son has been placed on the starvation 'strict-regime' for half a year for his refusal to work in Vladimir prison. She also reports that she, a pensioner, is being forced to pay for her son's upkeep in prison (as, otherwise, money for his food would be taken from his own account — *Chronicle*). She states that the strict-regime food in prison costs only 25 kopeks a day.

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Viktor Sokolov: Letter to Georgy Voronkov, Chief Psychiatrist of the Ukrainian S S R (27 June 1975).
V. Sokolov, a Muscovite, appeals on behalf of Leonid Plyushch. The letter ends as follows: 'And bear in mind that history will remember, not the anonymous monsters of the K G B, but you — Georgy Voronkov, Chief Psychiatrist of the Ukrainian S S R, with whose certain consent the murder of Leonid Plyushch is continuing!'

* * *

Lyudmila Alekseyeva: Letter to U S Congressman Senator Javits (4 July 1975).
The author asks that persistent pressure be exerted to obtain permission for Anatoly Marchenko to leave the country soon, as 'otherwise he may not live to see that day. In exile Marchenko has been assigned work as a loader, which is impossible for him, as his health has been undermined by 11 years of imprisonment in Soviet camps and prisons, and it has recently deteriorated greatly because of his 50-day hunger-strike in protest against his unjust trial.'

* * *

Nodar Tsuleiskiri: Complaint to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia.
On 25 July 1975 Colonel Zardalishvili interrogated the writer N. Tsuleiskiri at K G B headquarters about the publication of the speech he made at a party meeting of the Georgian S S R Writers' Union in the samizdat journal *Golden Fleece*, issue 1 (May 1975). After Tsuleiskiri had refused to provide the evidence demanded, Zardalishvili began to shout at him and threatened him with arrest 'for not informing'. This is the subject of Tsuleiskiri's complaint to the Central Committee.

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Malva Landa: 'Humanity and Respect for Human Rights — Soviet Style' (14 August 1975).
This open letter gives details of the persecution of many people for their beliefs or for attempting to exercise their legal rights.

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Zviad Gamsakhurdia: Letter to the Chairman of the K G B attached to the U S S R Council of Ministers (11 August 1975).

This is the second time I have been searched by officials of your institution at Domodedovo airport in Moscow. It is typical that on both occasions they carried out the search *masked as ordinary policemen*. On the first occasion, on 22 May 1975, during the registration of tickets for the flight to Tbilisi, I was standing in a queue by the counter. A policeman came up to me and asked me to go with him for a 'customs check'. However, it was strange that this 'customs check' applied only to me. As is well-known, passengers usually undergo customs checks immediately before boarding. The policeman took me to a middle-aged man in civilian clothes who carried out the search himself but *did not sign the record*. In answer to my questions he told me that he was from the Criminal Investigation Department and that his name was Tarayev, but *he did not show me his professional identity card*. He confiscated from me some books published abroad, and samizdat material of an informational nature (*A Chronicle of Current Events, A Chronicle of Human Rights in the U S S R*, P. G. Grigorenko's book *Thoughts of a Madman*, published in 1973 by the Herzen Foundation, etc. — *Chronicle*).

I consider such actions to be unlawful, for it is well-known that the Soviet Union, back in 1948, signed the Declaration of Human Rights, which guarantees free exchange of information (if, of course, the information does not concern military or state secrets).

On the second occasion I was searched in a rude and insulting manner. On 31 July I was stopped by a policeman on the square in front of the airport, who took me to the official on duty. Again people in civilian clothes appeared, once more calling themselves officials of the Criminal Investigation Department, though, *again, they did not show me their identity documents, not did they sign the personal search record which they drew up*. One of them said that his name was Chernov. They turned out my pockets and took off my shoes. A samizdat leaflet was confiscated from me. I was not given a copy of the search record.

I protest against this kind of arbitrary behaviour. I also protest against the fact that a personal search was carried out without any reason being given.

I ask you to take steps to prevent the recurrence of such incidents.

* * *

To the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet

Petition

We ask you to grant a general political amnesty — i.e., an amnesty for all persons convicted for ideological or political opinions and activities, or for their religious beliefs and religious activities.

We ask you to apply this amnesty also to persons deprived of their citizenship for the same reasons.

We ask you to extend the amnesty also to persons convicted for exercising the rights laid down in the U N Declaration of Human Rights.

We ask you to grant individual amnesties to persons convicted for other legal offences, whose prosecution was in fact motivated by ideological or political considerations.

First and without delay we ask you to grant an amnesty to all women political prisoners and also to women convicted for their religious beliefs and activities.

We ask you not to make the amnesty conditional on lengths of sentence, favourable character references, or any other stipulations.

At the same time we ask you to release from psychiatric hospitals persons forcibly incarcerated therein because of their world outlook or political views and activities.

The first general political amnesty in the history of the U S S R would be a weighty proof that the U S S R seriously intends to put into effect the principles of détente.

16 August 1975

L. Bogoraz (Moscow), **A. Marchenko** (Chuna, Irkutsk region), **T. Velikanova** (Moscow), **A. Lavut** (Moscow), **A. Sakharov** (Moscow), **M. Landa** (Krasnogorsk, Moscow region), **G. Podyapolsky** (Moscow), **N. Bukovskaya** (Moscow), **A. Ginzburg** (Tarusa, Moscow region).

The authors have appealed to Soviet citizens and their countrymen abroad to support their Petition.

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E. V. Yankelevich: Letter to the U S S R Procurator-General (21 August 1975). The author writes: 'I have reason to believe that the approaching trial of S. A. Kovalyov will turn into an unlawful kangaroo court.' Explaining his reasons, the author concludes: 'Comrade procurator-general, according to my deepest convictions your immediate intervention to preserve the impartiality, publicity and legality of these court proceedings could break the terrible tradition of secret vengeful trials of those charged under articles 190-1 and 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code . . . I request you to answer my letter publicly. I shall try to publicize my own letter myself.'

* * *

Valentin Turchin: Declaration (4 September 1975).
The chairman of the Soviet Amnesty International group writes:

It is now a year since the day our group was founded. In this time we have encountered serious obstacles to our work. Above all, letters we send abroad, and letters sent to us from abroad, are being quite abitrarily blocked . . . Also, materials sent by us to the Secretariat of Amnesty International in Lon-

don are not being allowed through . . . I also call the attention of public opinion to the fact that two members of our group — Sergei Kovalyov and Andrei Tverdokhlebov — have been arrested on political charges . . . I ask the leaders and citizens of countries which were signatories to the Helsinki Agreements to demand from the Soviet government that the trials of Kovalyov and Tverdokhlebov be open to the public and, in particular, to foreign journalists and observers from Amnesty International.

Official Documents

The *Gazette of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet*, 1975, number 33, publishes two decrees issued by the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 7 August 1975: 'On the introduction of amendments to article 209 of the RSFSR Criminal Code' and 'On the decision to annul the Decrees of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet regarding the accountability of persons who avoid socially useful labour and lead an anti-social, parasitic way of life.'

On 7 August 1975 the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet also passed the following resolution:

Not to be published

RESOLUTION
of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
ON THE PROCEDURES FOR APPLYING ARTICLE 209 OF THE RSFSR CRIMINAL CODE

The Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1 To lay down that a parasitic way of life, as envisaged by article 209 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, shall be understood to mean that an adult capable of working, has lived on unearned income for a considerable length of time (for more than four consecutive months or for a total of one year), avoiding socially useful labour and persisting in this after an official warning that such a way of life cannot be tolerated.

2 Persons leading a parasitic way of life (in the absence in their actions of evidence of vagrancy or begging) are summoned by the organs for internal affairs and warned that a parasitic existence cannot be tolerated. These persons are informed that, within a month, they must choose a place of work at their own discretion, and obtain employment, and that necessary assistance in obtaining work can be provided by the executive committee of the local Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

After the month expires, if they have not obtained employment and can provide no good explanation, such persons are officially warned by the organs of internal affairs that they will face criminal charges if they do not abandon their way of life within a month.

If, a month after such an official warning, a person continues to lead a parasitic way of life, the organs of internal affairs decide the question of bringing criminal charges against him in accordance with article 209 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

3 The executive committees of local Soviets of Workers' Deputies are obliged to ensure the obtaining of employment for persons not engaged in socially useful labour, bearing in mind the training they have, not later than 15 days after they apply for assistance in obtaining employment. The directions of executive committees of local Soviets of Workers' Deputies on the employment of such persons are binding on the heads of enterprises, institutions and organizations.

The administration and the non-state bodies in enterprises, institutions and organizations must take measures to involve actively in labour collectives persons accepted for employment, to create the conditions necessary for productive work by them, to organize their professional training and the raising of their qualifications.

4 Persons leading a parasitic way of life and avoiding summonses by the organs of internal affairs, or summonses for medical examinations to determine work capacity, are subject to being fetched and escorted in by the organs of internal affairs.

5 In connection with the change in the law: Persons sentenced under the first section of article 209 of the RSFSR Criminal Code to terms of more than one year are to be considered as having been sentenced to one year's imprisonment;

— persons sentenced under the second section of article 209 of the RSFSR Criminal Code to terms of more than two years are to be considered as having been sentenced to two years' imprisonment;

— persons sentenced under article 209-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code are to be released from further punishment.

This resolution is to be put into effect, as regards those sentenced under article 209 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, by People's Courts at the respective places of punishment, and, as regards those sentenced under article 209-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, by the organs of internal affairs and the procuracy.

6 The following resolutions are to be regarded as superseded: the resolutions of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of 25 March 1970 — 'On the procedures for applying the Decree of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet of 4 May 1961' and 'On the intensification of the struggle against persons who avoid socially useful labour and lead an anti-social, parasitic way of life'; and the resolutions of 22 October 1970, 'On certain problems

of the application of the Decree of the Presidium of the R S F S R Supreme Soviet of 4 May 1961' and 'On intensification of the struggle against persons who avoid socially useful labour and lead an anti-social, parasitic way of life.'

M. Yasnov, Chairman of the Presidium of the R S F S R Supreme Soviet
Kh. Neshkov, Secretary of the Presidium of the R S F S R Supreme Soviet
7 August 1975
d. number 6-24.

While formerly it was necessary for a criminal charge under article 209-1 to show that the person accused had led an 'anti-social' as well as a 'parasitic' way of life (see *Commentary to the R S F S R Criminal Code*, paragraph 2 of the commentary on article 209-1 — page 447), now this is no longer necessary (see paragraph 1 of the above Resolution).

Samizdat News

Andrei Grigorenko: 'Criminal Prosecution on Ideological Grounds and the Moral Problems Arising from this' (February 1975; 9 pages).
The author lists the 'psychological' methods used by investigators: persuading the person under investigation (or the witness) to give 'honest evidence', as this will ease his lot; threatening people close to the person under investigation; using information obtained from police files; exerting pressure through solitary confinement; obtaining information with the help of a 'stoolie'; the 'heart-to-heart talk' method; the 'punishment' method; the use of 'good' and 'bad' investigators; the use of crude pressures, and so on.

The author describes the situation of someone arrested on ideological grounds: 'Now it is there, on the far side of prison bars, that you have to decide once and for all: whether to refuse to cooperate or to participate in any way in the investigation process, and thus to assert your natural right, or to start cooperating with the investigators and admit that you are a traitor to yourself and the people who trusted you. This is a hard choice, and the instinct of self-preservation will prompt you to cooperate just a little with the investigation and then stop in time. *No: once you start to fall, you can stop yourself only by a miracle . . .*'

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Andrei Grigorenko: 'National Egoism and National-democratic Pluralism (about the nationalities question in the U S S R)' (March 1975, 11 pages).
On the existence of various nations in the U S S R and the formation of a 'Soviet nation'.

* * *

'Jews in the U S S R', Issue 7 (June 1974, 178 pages).
A new collection of materials on the history, culture and problems of Jews in the U S S R, compiled by A. Voronel, M. Azbel, B. Rubinshtein, A. Lunts and V. Brailovsky.

The journal includes the following articles: 'On the Negative Function of Words in the Problem of Jewish Assimilation', by A. Voronel; 'Assimilation and Free Choice' by A. Volin; 'Motherland, State, and People' by I. Domalsky; and 'Stereotypes' by E. Lyubov. The authors of many articles in the collection analyze the problems of the evolution of 'Hebrew' and 'Yiddish' culture, and the evolution of 'Russian-Jewish' consciousness, by reference to the chapter 'The Chaos of Judaism' from O. Mandelshtam's book *The Egyptian Stamp*, which is included in this issue of the journal.

The section 'Cultural Life' includes stories by Felix Kandel (Kamov), the play 'The First of April' by Nina Voronel, and poems by I. Rubin and N. Korzhavin.

'Who Am I?' is the section of the journal traditionally devoted to authors' 'confessions', in which they try to resolve the complex of problems linked with national consciousness, emigration, and attachment to Russia and her culture.

* * *

'Jews in the U S S R', Issue 8 (November 1974, 226 pages)
Compilers: A. Voronel, N. Voronel, M. Azbel, M. Agursky, V. Brailovsky, I. Rubin and A. Lunts.
The issue begins with M. I. Kagan's article 'Jewry in the Crisis of Culture', written in 1923. In the article 'Russian Racism as a Mystical Anti-Christian Tendency', the final formation of which the author dates back to 1905 and links with the decline of 'Christian civilization in Russia', M. S. Agursky singles out eight distinctive features of Russian racism, for example:

1 It sees the source of any social crisis in the evil activity of the Jews, who are trying to take over the world . . .
4 Christianity can, from a racist point of view, be useful in the fight against the Jews, but only if it is freed of all its Jewish elements.

Representatives of this tendency, including members of the 'Union of the Russian People', are abundantly quoted. References are made to the prevalence of their views and arguments in modern 'anti-Zionist' propaganda. In the article 'The Hidden Disease of Anti-semitism in the Modern World', I. Domalsky analyzes the development of anti-semitism and its adaptation to the modern world, particularly in the Soviet Union. The section 'Chronicle' reports events connected with the attempt to hold an 'International Seminar on the Use of Physics for Purposes Unconnected with Physics' in Moscow on 1-5 July 1974; this was organized by M. Azbel, V. Brailovsky, A. Voronel and others, with the support of Tel-Aviv University, and resulted, among other things, in the preventive arrest of its participants.

In the foreword to the section 'Cultural Life', the compilers write: 'The extremely complicated theme of cultural and other relations between the Jewish and Russian peoples dominates this whole issue. It was especially difficult to choose material for the section 'Cultural Life', as practically the whole cultural life of Jews in Russia is linked with this theme and the choice is far too wide.'

The issue contains an article by E. Lyuboshits, 'Russian-Jewish Relations from the 8th to the 17th Centuries'.

The section 'Who Am I?' includes (with the probable aim of helping the reader to answer this question) a series of anti-semitic statements. In publishing these the compilers note that 'official propaganda does not give a full picture of contemporary anti-semitism . . . A much fuller picture is gained by reading anti-semitic samizdat . . . We have at our disposal many more documents than those presented in this section.' The poems 'Without whom we could live well in Russia' by Sergei Vasilev, and 'To Meželaitis' by Alexei Markov, are printed in this section. Also included are 'The Plan for measures to strengthen anti-Zionist propaganda and improve the patriotic and national education of the workers and young people' (directives of the Central Committee of the C P S U, sent to C P S U district committees in the autumn of 1974) and a recording of a lecture by V. Emelyanov, Master of Economic Science on 'Judaism and Zionism', read on 19 February 1974 to the Rubber Industry Research Institute; this lecture contains a series of interesting assertions on, for instance, the existence of a Jewish-Masonic conspiracy.

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'Jews in the U S S R', issue 9 (March 1975; 293 pages).
Compilers: A. Voronel and N. Voronel (Israel), M. Agursky, I. Rubin and E. Finkelshtein.

This issue begins with Volin's article 'On Jewishness'. An article by I. Domalsky, 'Nation or Non-nation?', asserts the right of Jews to consider themselves a nation, an independent people, in spite of Lenin, Stalin and modern Soviet 'Zionologists'. E. Finkelshtein ('Homecoming and Absorption: Morality and Politics') writes about the difficulties of acclimatization among the immigrants in Israel, and the necessity of creating a 'buffer zone' to facilitate this process. V. Rubin's article 'The Perspectives for Russian Jewry' assesses pessimistically the possibility of a renaissance of Jewish national life in the U S S R through the effort of 'the Jews who remain'.

The 'History' section publishes extracts from a book by the journalist Michael Elkins, *Tempered by Fury,* on the fate of the Jewish anti-fascist resistance during the war years.

A group of journalists from *The Sunday Times,* in a book about the October war of 1973, describe the course of the war, the reasons for Israel's lack of success in the first days of the war, and its later victory. In the opinion of the authors neither the U S S R nor the U S A could permit the complete defeat of the Arabs in the war; consequently Kissinger exerted pressure on the Israeli government with the aim of saving the surrounded 3rd Egyptian army.

The remaining sections of the volume are devoted to matters of religion. A. Shoikhet considers that 'the ancient Judaic ascetic movement exerted such a strong influence on the development of Christian ascetism . . . that it would be more correct to speak of Judeo-Christian asceticism than of Christian asceticism'.

The volume includes Agursky's letter to Patriach Pimen of Moscow and all Russia and to the leaders of the autocephalous Orthodox churches, asking them to re-examine the question of whether it was right '. . . to canonize the infant Gavriil, an alleged victim of ritual blood sacrifice by the Jews . . .'

Also published is a short information section on 'Jews in the Modern World', containing information on the religious life of Jews, and on their numbers, in Turkey, Greece, Albania, Italy, Finland and Canada.

The 'Literature' section includes stories by B. Khazanov, I. Rubin and F. Kamov, Vilkovsky's essay 'Yom-Kippur in Moscow', and B. Yampolsky's autobiographical 'My Last Meeting with V. Grossman'.

The final section of the volume publishes letters to the editors from L. Ovsishcher and S. Rombe and a series of letters that E. Davidovich and N. Alshansky exchanged with the political commentator Yu. Zhukov.

Tamizdat* News

The 'Chronicle' publishing house (or Khronika Press) has published issues 13, 14 and 15 of *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the U S S R.* It has also published issues 33-35 of *A Chronicle of Current Events.*

Khronika Press has also printed *A Collection of Human Rights Conventions Ratified by the Soviet Union* and the book *In Defence of Andrei Tverdokhlebov* (in English).

Khronika Press has published a new book by A. D. Sakharov, dated June 1975 (see below).

Andrei Sakharov: *My Country and the World* (1975, 80 pages).

'Today I feel the necessity of returning to the theme of my earlier work (he has in mind the book he wrote in June 1968, *Progress, Co-existence and Intellectual Freedom* (*Chronicle* 5) — *Chronicle*); but I have concentrated not on optimistic futurology', i.e. on the dream, but on the dangers, errors and dramatic events of today, on everything that stands between the dream and reality', writes the author in his introduction. The book is about:

1 *Soviet society*: Many of the illusions of the Western intelligentsia can be explained precisely by their insufficient understanding of what lies behind

[*Tamizdat is an acronym meaning 'published there'. Usually it designates a samizdat work which has been sent abroad and published 'there', i.e. in the West.]

its façade, by their failure to understand the potential dangers of Soviet totalitarianism; ultimately this also explains the amazing miscalculations and failures of Western policy, which has yielded, without a fight, in one area after another to its partner in détente.

2 *The free choice of one's country of residence.* This important right is of great social significance as a guarantee of many other basic human rights, and also as a guarantee of international trust and the existence of an open society. The events resulting from the amendment to the trade bill passed by the U S Congress have reflected the attitudes of the socialist and Western worlds to this problem, their tactics, principles and disposition of forces. They have revealed the fragmented, disorganized and uninformed state of the West. I hope that the future will also show the inner strength of the West and its ability to learn from its difficulties.

Defending the freedom to choose the country one lives in constitutes a kind of experimental model or testing area, which will determine the entire nature of détente.

3 *Problems of disarmament.* Saving mankind from the threat of thermonuclear destruction is undoubtedly the first priority among the tasks ahead, but this task cannot be separated from other political, economic, humanitarian and moral problems, above all — from the problems of international trust and 'openness' in society, from the need to overcome the fragmentation of the West. A real solution of the disarmament problem must include: (a) a complete control system, including inspections; (b) a reduction of armaments to an equal level, which must be a sufficiently low level (this applies both to the negotiations on limitation of strategic weapons by the superpowers, and to regional negotiations); (c) the elimination of factors promoting the arms race; (d) the elimination of factors leading to strategic instability.

4 *The events in Indo-China and the Near East.* None of us, it seems, are yet in a position to assess the significance and scale of the tragedy which has occurred in Indo-China. However, this tragedy was undoubtedly made possible, to a considerable extent, by the blindness of the whole world to the aims and methods of the forces which stood behind the young men thrown into the fire of war. It is extremely important not to let this lesson be in vain. The duty of honourable people throughout the world is to help refugees and children orphaned by the war in every way and not to allow a new betrayal like that of the 'displaced persons' 30 years ago.

5 *The liberal intelligentsia in the West, its illusions and responsibility.* In spite of the many dangerous misconceptions which are widespread among them, I believe that the inner honesty, reason and altruism characteristic of this influential and most active section of Western society will prevail.

Conclusion. The world needs demilitarization, national altruism, and internationalism, free exchange of information, and free movement of people, openness, and international support for social and civil human rights. The countries of the Third World should receive aid from all sides and should, from their own side, fully accept their share of responsibility for the world's future, pay more attention to the development of material production and cease to speculate in oil.

All these are indispensable conditions for overcoming the fragmentation of mankind, saving it from the danger of thermo-nuclear war, famine, ecological disaster and dehumanization; these are the conditions that must be met in order to avert the dangers of scientific-technical progress and to use it for the good of all.

* * *

The publishing house 'Y M C A Press' has printed the essay collection *Live not by Lies.* It has also published the booklet *Two Press Conferences* (about the essay collection *From Under the Rubble*) (*Chronicle* 34), which contains the materials of the press conference organized on 14 November 1974 in Moscow by **Mikhail Agursky, Evgeny Barabanov, Vadim Borisov** and **Igor Shafarevich,** and from the press conference held in Zürich on 16 November 1974 by **Alexander Solzhenitsyn.**

Y M C A Press has published a collection of talks by the priest **Dmitry Dudko:** *Our Hope: Homilies* (*Chronicle* 32). Besides the talks themselves, the volume contains a declaration and a petition by Fr Dmitry, appeals on his behalf, and an article by A. Krasnov, 'Father Dmitry Dudko'.

Y M C A Press has also produced the book *The All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People,* a collection of all the materials relating to the 'VSKhSON case' (*Chronicle* 1) and the later fate of the group's members.

Y MC A Press has published two new books by A. Solzhenitsyn (see below).

Alexander Solzhenitsyn: *The Calf and the Oak* (*essays on literary life*) (1975, 632 pp.).
This book, written in 1967-74, describes events connected with the author's creative work in the years 1965 to 1974, up to his forcible expulsion from the U S S R.

The *Chronicle* is of the opinion that the picture that the author paints of certain of his fellow countrymen (for example Valery Chalidze) is not accurate.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn: *Prussian Nights* (1974, 64 pages).
This long poem is obviously inspired by the author's personal experience as a participant in battles in East Prussia.

Robert Conquest: *The Great Terror* (1974, 1064 pages).
Formerly extracts of this book, which tells of the years of the Stalinist terror, circulated in samizdat under the title *The Mighty Terror.* Now a Russian translation by Leonid Vladimirov has come out in Italy. The book's author

says, in a foreword to the Russian edition: 'I feel that this chronicle of events will convince those who survived the Terror that their sufferings have not been forgotten or erased from the memory of mankind.'

In Paris four issues of the journal *Kontinent* have now appeared. The editor of issues 3 and 4 is **Vladimir Maksimov.**

The journal *Twentieth Century* has started to come out in England. The editor and compiler is **Roy Medvedev** (in Moscow). The journal's secretary is Raisa Lert (*Chronicle* 34). The journal publishes articles by Soviet authors in English. Four issues have already appeared.

Natalya Reshetovskaya: *Sanya: My Life with Alexander Solzhenitsyn* (284 pages).
The above-mentioned book has appeared in the U S A in an English translation. On 1 August the newspaper *The International Herald Tribune* published a review of it by Susan Jacoby, who lived in Moscow in 1969-71. The review states [in back translation].

> These memoirs can only be regarded as a deliberate attempt by the Soviet authorities to compromise the character and works of a great writer who has already been deported abroad by these authorities. *Sanya* has the dubious distinction of being both a libellous and a boring book and cannot be understood without a good knowledge of Soviet literary politics.
>
> The author of *Sanya*, Natalya Reshetovskaya, was Solzhenitsyn's first wife. They married in 1940. They lived together for only one year before being separated — first by the war, then by Solzhenitsyn's imprisonment in a Stalinist labour camp. Some time later Reshetovskaya divorced her husband and married another man; however, in 1956 she was reunited with her first husband. In 1973 Reshetovskaya and Solzhenitsyn were divorced after a bitter legal battle which dragged on for three-and-a-half years. Immediately afterwards Solzhenitsyn married Natalya Svetlova who by this time had already borne him two children.
>
> It would be unfair to Reshetovskaya to describe this book as the hysterical ramblings of an abandoned wife as there is no evidence that Reshetovskaya wrote the book in the form in which it was published.
>
> There are some differences between *Sanya* and the extracts from Reshetovskaya's memoirs which appeared in the Soviet Union in the underground samizdat journal *Veche*.
>
> References to the *Gulag Archipelago* appear so persistently in the pages of *Sanya* that one's suspicions are aroused: this book could have been the main reason why the Soviet authorities arranged the publication of Reshetovskaya's memoirs . . .

Trials of Recent Years

On 19 January 1972 the Zaporozhe Regional Court tried **Ivan Alekseyevich Vernik** (born 1942, an electrician, with secondary school education) on charges of 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. The presiding judge at the trial was G. I. Melaninova. The state prosecutor was procurator A. Ya. Kovalenko. The prosecutor representing society was N. S. Golovan. The defence was conducted by the lawyer N. L. Kravtsova.

Vernik was accused of 'having systematically listened, with the aid of his V E F-12 transistor radio, to anti-Soviet radio transmissions from the foreign radio stations 'Voice of Ameria', 'Radio Liberty', and others. Succumbing to the influence of bourgeois propaganda, Vernik systematically carried out anti-Soviet propaganda among the employees in special department 205 at the 'Zaporozhe Metallurgy Assembly' works and among other persons, by spreading slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet social and political system.' (From the verdict: the verdict will be published in full in the *Archive of the Chronicle*.)

For example, the indictment states that 'in March 1971, while working in a group in the polishing workshop, Vernik repeatedly talked to other workers using language which sought to defame the political position of the working class in our country and slandering the material living conditions of the workers, while praising the way of life in capitalist countries'.

During the trial many of those who had seen Vernik's 'listeners' appeared as witnesses for the prosecution and confirmed the charges.

The court sentenced Vernik to four years in strict-regime camps (he had been arrested on 15 November 1971). The V E F-12 radio mentioned above was confiscated by the court 'for use by the State'.

Chronicle 33 gave I. A. Vernik's age and place of residence incorrectly in the list of prisoners in camp 36 of the Perm complex.

Activities in Defence of Human Rights in the Soviet Union Continue

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 regardless of frontiers.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19

Number 38 **31 December 1975**

Contents

Sakharov's friends and enemies. Before the trials of Kovalyov and Tverdokhlebov. The trial of Sergei Kovalyov. The Trial in Tallinn. The trial of Leonid Tymchuk. The appeal hearing in Osipov's case. The trial of Grigoryants. The case of Igrunov. Plyushch is released to go abroad. A forcible hospitalization. The arrest of Naritsa. In the camps and prisons. In defence of Bukovsky. Mustafa Dzhemilev continues his hunger-strike. The movement of the Crimean Tatars. Events in Georgia. The persecution of believers. Exit visas and call-up papers. News in brief. *Samizdat* news. Trials of past years. Addenda and Corrigenda.

EIGHTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Sakharov's Friends and Enemies

On 9 October 1975 the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament awarded the annual Nobel Prize for activities contributing to peace to Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov.

A. D. Sakharov heard the news from foreign journalists on the evening of 9 October. He said:

> I hope this will benefit political prisoners in our country. I hope it will strengthen the struggle for human rights in which I have participated. I consider that this prize has been awarded not so much for my personal services as in recognition of the contribution made by all those who are fighting for human rights, freedom of the press, and freedom of conscience, especially those who have paid so dearly for this by losing their liberty.
>
> I hope that now, in an era of détente, the award of this prize to someone who does not fully share the official point of view will not be regarded as a challenge to that official position but will be accepted as an expression of the spirit and tolerance and broad-mindedness, the spirit which should be an indispensable part of the process of détente.
>
> From this viewpoint, I have in recent months often called for an amnesty for political prisoners and now, after hearing that I have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, I should like to repeat that call . . . And, of course, I feel deeply grateful to the Norwegian Parliament.

* * *

Letters and telegrams of congratulation addressed to A. D. Sakharov poured in. From 9 to 22 October, 34 telegrams were received from various parts of our country and 33 telegrams from abroad.

Sakharov received two congratulatory messages from Vladimir prison:

Vladimir, 10 October 1975

Dear Andrei Dmitrievich,

I have just heard a radio report on the great honour done you, which you deserve (alas, this was only a commentary on it, so it must obviously have happened earlier). I sincerely rejoice on your behalf and warmly congratulate you! On behalf of myself and all our friends, I wish you many more fruitful years of activity in the name of Science, Peace and Democracy, and to their benefit. Keep healthy, for God's sake, and may your fortress of the spirit never fall!

We are all proud of you and send our love!

We shall yet see the sky lit up for you!

I warmly embrace you.

Yours, *K. Lyubarsky*.[38]

Dear Andrei Dmitrievich,

I am one of those among your friends who are forced to 'reside' temporarily in the Vladimir central prison, where I am sharing a cell with Kronid Lyubarsky. Our life here is somewhat monotonous and allows us few pleasures.

Suddenly yesterday, however, on 10 October, we heard of your award, through the disapproving comments of the newspaper *Volksstimme*, which were quoted on the radio. And the sun shone in through our barred window.

I am not at all sure, of course, that this card will reach you — it has a difficult journey ahead of it. However, if it reaches you, I and my fellow Jews who were arrested in December 1970-May 1971 would like you to know that we place you in the brilliant line of Russian humanists and internationalists, those like Korolenko and Kuprin, a line which will never die out.

History has shown that democracy is the only environment in which our small nation can develop normally. This is the second reason for our great joy today. We say the word 'Peace' on meeting and in parting, and those who truly fight for peace are very dear to us. History is made today, when you demonstrate in front of the Egyptian embassy on the day when our Homeland is once again attacked, today — when people come to your home wearing pistols, to try to teach you how to behave. But history will be written tomorrow.

Yours,

Gilel Butman.[39]

The Crimean Tatars circulated an open letter in *samizdat* (with 20 signatures), congratulating Sakharov. Issue 19 of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* published a message of congratulation from Lithuanians. Numerous congratulatory letters reached Sakharov by unofficial post.

A. D. Sakharov also received six hostile telegrams: from the employees of the Grodno regional theatre (23 October); from Sorokin, also from Grodno; from Vasilev, head of the Siberian Meteorological Scientific Research Institute (24 October); from the machine-operators of the Kalinin collective farm, Znamensky district, Tambov region, and Viktorov, the collective farm chairman (31 October); from the teaching staff of the Yangier branch of Tashkent Engineering Institute for Irrigation and Agricultural Mechanization (3 November); an anonymous telegram without a text arrived from Italy, addressed to 'Andrei Sakharov, traitor, Moscow'.

* * *

A Swedish journalist went for a walk in the Krasnaya Presnya district of Moscow and asked the first twelve passers-by how they reacted to the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to A. D. Sakharov. Ten people expressed their satisfaction, two their indignation.

* * *

On 11 October the Soviet press launched a pogrom-like campaign against Sakharov, beginning as always with quotations from the Western Communist press.

The basic commentaries were published mainly in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (for two months the 'Sakharov column' was almost a permanent feature). In the press and other media of propaganda it was asserted more than once that the Nobel Peace Prize had systematically been awarded to reactionary figures (usually unnamed; at any rate, Carl Osietski, Albert Schweitzer and Martin Luther King were not mentioned). The late Nobel was referred to as the inventor of dynamite.

On 25 October *Izvestia* printed a 'Declaration of Soviet scientists', signed by 72 full members and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Veniamin Levich, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, wrote an 'open letter to seventy-two colleagues in the Academy of Sciences'. Levich expresses his amazement: what could have made scientists, many of whom have undoubtedly served the cause of science, sign 'a document so far removed from truth and justice?'

The writers L. Chukovskaya, V. Voinovich and V. Kornilov also responded to the declaration:

> Seventy-two academicians have protested against the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Andrei Sakharov, setting themselves against world public opinion and all the honest people in our country. With cold readiness, at the beckoning of somebody's directing finger, they signed a letter which repeats almost word for word the recently published fabrications by a certain A. Viktorov in 'Literaturnaya Gazeta' [15 October]. These include accusations of slander against the Soviet system, of sympathy for the regime in Chile (refuted by Sakharov himself), and of pity for the fate of the 'unfortunate Hess' (taken out of context). And, as always in such cases, there is not a word of truth. The truth is that Sakharov is selflessly fighting for a true détente in international relations, against the arbitrary violence that sends people to gaols and psychiatric hospitals for their beliefs; he constantly campaigns for freedom of opinion, for an amnesty for political prisoners, for all that can be called 'human rights'.

The writer Lev Kopelev, in his article 'Andrei Sakharov's Achievement', writes:

> . . . Sakharov's good name will live for centuries. And in its undying light the column of names propping up the 'declaration' arouses perplexity and a sad feeling of disgust. Until 1953 it would have been dangerous to refuse to sign a text like this. Nowadays, however, a scientist risks only the temporary disfavour of the authorities or slight difficulties in his career.
>
> Have these educated, experienced and mostly elderly people really not realized that each person who has passed the age of seventy has less and less time left to atone for his sins? No official honours, praise, decorations, not even genuine services to science, will save them from the contempt of their contemporaries and descendants, from the merciless judgement of their own conscience in the last hours of their lives. The most eloquent obituaries, the grandest monuments over their graves will not balance the shameful weight of such a signature.
>
> It is hard to imitate Sakharov's example — he is a hero. It is, however, possible for anyone to refuse to participate in the persecution of a man who embodies the living conscience of the nation.

The following joint 'declaration for the press' was signed by Andrei Amalrik, Roy Medvedev, Valentin Turchin, Yury Orlov, Vladimir Kornilov, Vladimir Voinovich, Sergei Zheludkov, Osip Cherny, Ernst Neizvestny, Pyotr Grigorenko, Reshat Dzhemilev and Vitaly Rubin:

> A. D. Sakharov's entire public activity is based on the premise that true peace is impossible until governments recognize basic human rights. Violence directed inwards sooner or later turns outwards. For example, the 'peace pact' between Stalin and Hitler in 1939 became a prelude to the most terrible war in the history of mankind.
>
> It would have been ridiculous if, in 1939, a peace prize had been given to Stalin and Hitler, and someone who spoke out about the victims of Hitlerism and Stalinism had been attacked for being 'an opponent of détente.'
>
> We now see, from the decision of the Nobel Committee, that the terrible experiences of history have not been in vain.
>
> So we were all the more surprised and offended by the declaration of 72 Soviet scientists, which asserted that the Nobel Committee's decision was 'unworthy and provocative'. The words 'unworthy and provocative' could be better applied to the manner in which a few words, taken out of context and mixed with complete fabrications, are made out to be the views held by the Nobel prizewinner. We assume that the majority of those who signed the declaration were deceived, as the picture given in it of A. D. Sakharov bears no resemblance to the real A. D. Sakharov.

On 28 October the newspaper *Trud* published a piece entitled 'A Chronicle of Fashionable Life,' signed 'Z. Azbel', in its 'Political Topics' column.

On 2 November Raisa Lert, a member of the Union of Soviet Journalists and a member of the CPSU since 1926, sent an open letter to the editors of the paper *Trud*. The *Chronicle* publishes her letter in full:

> It was a shameful and terrible experience to read in your 'political topics' column the article 'A Chronicle of Fashionable Life', published in your paper on 28 October 1975.
>
> I felt shame for the author and the editors, and terror for the society which is allowed a press only of this sort.

You published this mud-slinging piece in order to turn your readers against Academician Sakharov out of disgust. However, in every man of integrity it will produce an aversion to your paper and to those who inspired your action.

I am not going to analyse here the opinions and convictions of Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov. As I do not agree with many of his expressed views, I could well argue with him if he had the opportunity of answering my arguments in his own country. He has been gagged — and so I will not argue with him publicly.

However, that which was published in your paper is not an argument. Neither is it 'ideological struggle'. It is merely a bucket of filth deliberately poured over the head of a pure, honest and humane man, who 'lifted his head from scientific calculations, looked around, and perceived the general disorder in human affairs'.

It is for this that you hate him and throw dirt at him. He should have kept on sitting over his scientific calculations and should not have disturbed the monopoly of power: only you yourselves are allowed to speak of 'the general disorder in human affairs' — and only in the sense required.

I do not know who Karavansky and Paulaitis are. But I do know the identity of Leonid Plyushch, Vladimir Bukovsky, Andrei Tverdokhlebov, Pyotr Grigorenko, Semyon Gluzman and many, many others, in whose defence Academician Sakharov has raised his courageous voice. These are people languishing in prison, camps and psychiatric hospitals, who are being brought close to death or to the edge of real psychiatric illness merely because they demand that the democratic freedoms proclaimed by us should be put into practice in our country.

Perhaps the blood of the Soviet people is on the hands of the talented scientists Leonid Plyushch or Andrei Tverdokhlebov? Or on the hands of mathematician Revolt Pimenov? Or perhaps on the hands of the communist Pyotr Grigorenko, honoured general of the Soviet Army, who has spent five years in a psychiatric hospital? Or maybe on the hands of Viktor Nekrasov, one of our most honest and talented writers, who fought in the trenches of Stanlingrad and wrote about it one of the best books in Soviet literature? This author has now been forced abroad and his books are quietly being removed from libraries. Perhaps the blood of Soviet people is on the hands of Valentyn Moroz, who wanted to preserve the treasure of Ukrainian culture from illiterate Russifiers and greedy plunderers? No, it is his blood that is on the hands of those prison officers who planted in his cell common criminals armed with knives.

There is indeed a large group of criminals whose hands really are stained with the blood of the Soviet people. You keep quiet about them. They are the officials of the punitive organs, those whose deeds in the glorious years 1937, 1949 and 1953 will ever be remembered. Some of them are continuing their activities, but the majority of them have settled down: some died in

their beds or in privileged hospitals, mourned by their families and party organizations; others were provided with large pensions and are enjoying 'a well-earned rest'. The blood they spilt in the interrogation rooms of the Lubyanka, Butyrka and other prisons, in Kolyma, Vorkuta and Karaganda — does that blood not disturb you?

Their successors are still at work today — with less bloodshed but great illegality. Sakharov concerns himself with their victims. And you cannot forgive him for this, because you are concerned not for the victims but for the executioners.

You dared to upbraid Sakharov for the fact that, although he was born in 1921, he took no part in the war but 'quietly continued his education'. Where would our country be now, if we had thrown all our scientists and students into the carnage of war (as was the case with the many scientific workers who voluntarily responded to the 1941 call-up in Moscow)? Millions fought, but millions did their part behind the lines. And you dare to reproach the young man who was made an Academician for his great services to science, who was three times made a Hero of Socialist Labour! There are not many people you could name who have given such a return for the education they received.

'Because of his inclinations (?), he was in no hurry to share the heroic lot of his contemporaries . . .'

Because of his inclinations? Here, in *The Party Activist's Notebook* (the hand-book for 1976, published in Moscow by the Political Literature publishing house), I can read the biographies of members and candidate members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU. These are the highest echelons of our country's rulers — the General Staff. Twenty-two people. Almost all took part in the Second World War; the majority are considerably older than A. D. Sakharov. However, among these twenty-two I counted four persons of Sakharov's generation who were not at the front and did not take an active part in the war. In 1941, one of them was 23 years old, another was 24, two were 27. A flourishing age, the age for army service. Of course all of them were either working or studying during the war years. Whatever one's feelings towards each of them personally, any allegation that these people 'because of their inclinations, were in no hurry to share the heroic lot of their contemporaries' would rightly be regarded as a shameless slander.

However, in the case of Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov shameless slander is, it seems, permissible? And not liable to punishment?

You are quick to accuse of mercenary motives a man who donated his entire Lenin Prize (100,000 roubles) to build an oncological centre in Moscow; a man who, as you know perfectly well, would have everything he desired, in whatever quantity, if he were as obedient and conformist as the 72 who condemned him.

Exploiting a scientist's unassuming nature, you have the insolence to make

jokes in the spirit of political pornography about his falling scientific productivity, which he himself has admitted. Firstly, however, in the conditions in which Sakharov lives, any continuation of scientific activity is an achievement. Secondly, even if Sakharov did nothing more in his life, he would still remain a great scientist. Thirdly, if you are so worried by insufficient scientific productivity on the part of certain scientists, why do you make no mention of those Academicians who have never achieved anything in science, either before or after becoming Academicians? For instance, Academician Mitin. Or Academician Ilichëv. Or certain others, among them some of those who signed the 'declaration of the 72'.

You accuse Academician Sakharov of chatting to an American visitor, the senator and millionaire Buckley. As far as I remember, Buckley came to the Soviet Union as one of the senators in a delegation invited by our government. If he is 'a well-known reactionary even by American standards', why was he invited at all? And why should Sakharov avoid talking to millionaires when our leaders themselves do not avoid such talks? Was Nixon not a well-known reactionary? Is President Ford an American communist? Is our government not afraid that, after its friendly talks with Nelson Rockefeller, it too will be admitted to the millionaires' club?

The statements made in the article about Academician Sakharov's wife are completely unreadable. This is how market-women used to abuse each other in the Odessa bazaar; I have heard that their moral and cultural level has since improved. Not having any taste for chronicles of fashionable life and feeling no curiosity about the private life of great people, I cannot understand what connection the glaucoma operation performed on Andrei Sakharov's wife has with his political opinions or character. I repeat, I am not a lover of the genre of fashionable stories, but if Soviet newspapers are now to include this kind of story, which was formerly absent, I would read with great interest an account of the activities of Madame Mzhavanadze, whose commercial operations have a direct relevance to the political views and character of her husband.[40]

The anti-semitic ending of the article is fully in keeping with its general moral and literary level.

I end by repeating what I said at the beginning — I am ashamed. I am doubly ashamed, for I belong to the same Union of Soviet Journalists and the same party as the editor of *Trud*.

Indignation at the article in *Trud* was expressed in a collective letter, 'In Defence of Academician A. D. Sakharov' (77 signatures).

* * *

On 3 November Lydia Chukovskaya came out in defence of Sakharov. Her article is also quoted in full:

Long live reason!

Since 1958 three Judases have been discovered in our country: Boris Pasternak, Alexander Solzhenitsyn (1970) and Academician A. D. Sakharov (1975).

All three of them sold their country to the capitalists in return for a handsome bribe — the Nobel Prize. Their treacherous machinations were detected in good time by the Soviet press. I do not know what remuneration Soviet newspapermen get for slander or how they are paid — by the line or for the whole article. Are they rewarded only in roubles or also by advancement at work, by being given flats or medals? Without going into details, I should like to note and emphasise one happy fact: reason has been getting the upper hand; people have stopped believing the official press. It is not only the genuine intelligentsia who have for long not believed a single word uttered by the hired slanderers and who form their own opinion of the true greatness of their national heroes (the 'Judases'); but the so-called 'ordinary people' too, on whose defencelessness (that is, ignorance) the newspapers count, they too sense the lies and reject them. Some days ago one person, a worker, sent me a copy of his letter to a paper (giving his full name and address). I here quote — verbatim — two extracts from it: 'You're liars, Sakharov does not hate the Russian people, he loves them.' 'Abuse and insults have never convinced anyone, and all the filth you are throwing at Academician Sakharov will not make him dirty: people will just stop respecting you. There's a lot I'd like to say to you, but there's no point, as this letter of mine won't get further than the KGB, and they know better than anyone what's happening in our country.'

I have reason to believe that there are dozens of similar documents lying today in Soviet newspaper offices. I am as pleased about this as I am about the Nobel Peace Prize, which Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov has truly deserved. It is rare to celebrate the triumph of justice. Although Sakharov's future fate is cause for anxiety, nothing can deprive us of this festival of justice. Let us be worthy of it.

* * *

The prize-giving ceremony was due to take place in Oslo on 10 December. Sakharov applied to the Moscow Visa Department for permission to travel to Oslo. At the same time he invited Y. F. Orlov, V. F. Turchin, S. A. Kovalyov and A. N. Tverdokhlebov to the prize-giving ceremony. Sakharov appealed to the Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Court: 'I ask you to grant S. A. Kovalyov the right to travel at my invitation, which he has, as he has not been condemned by a court'. Sakharov sent a similar letter to the Moscow procurator's office about Andrei Tverdokhlebov. He received no answer to these letters.

On 12 November the head of the Moscow Visa Department informed Sakharov that he had been refused permission to travel abroad 'on grounds of State security, as he has knowledge of extremely important state

and military secrets'. Sakharov stated that he considered the reason for the refusal to be insulting.

A collective statement 'For the Press' (with 37 signatures) commented as follows: 'In officially refusing Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov the right to leave the country to attend the Nobel Prize-giving ceremony, the Soviet government has merely underlined its usual lack of respect for the country's talent and, let us add, has also shown its fear of the steady process of change in society's thinking and morale.'

On 10 December Sakharov's wife, Elena Georgievna Bonner, received in Oslo the prize awarded to her husband. The next day, at a related ceremony, she read out a speech prepared by Andrei Dmitrievich and sent via her.

At this time Sakharov was in Vilnius, vainly trying to gain entrance to the courtroom where Sergei Kovalyov was being tried.

Before the Trials of Kovalyov and Tverdokhlebov

The publishing house 'Khronika Press' has issued the volume *In Defence of Sergei Kovalyov* (New York, 1975), which contains a short biography of Kovalyov and two letters: one from Yury Golfand, Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences (27 March 1975) and the other from George Wald of Harvard University's biology department (September 1975).

Yu. Golfand expresses a high opinion of S. Kovalyov's position as a citizen:

> This man has the highest and most noble convictions. He is deeply convinced of every man's right to express his thoughts openly and directly, and to defend his beliefs. He is always ready to protest against injustice, against any infringement of human rights, against illegality and arbitrary violence. In his social activities Sergei Kovalyov is always guided by these high principles, and displays exceptional goodness and spiritual sensitivity.

The author underlines Kovalyov's professionalism, that of a talented biologist, and regards his work as original and of great scientific interest.

Wald's letter, 'In Defence of those who Defended Others', besides presenting the basic facts about Kovalyov's social and scientific activity, reports on the persecution of other members of the Soviet Amnesty International group.

* * *

On 2 September 1975 a group of professors and staff members at Leyden University (in Holland) appealed to V. Kotelnikov, the acting president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, asking him to take action on behalf of the scientists Kovalyov and Tverdokhlebov. 'To our dismay,' the letter reads, 'we have found out from our colleagues and members of your Academy that Drs Kovalyov and Tverdokhlebov have been denied freedom of speech. We fear that their arrest may have a serious impact on the development of scientific contacts between the Soviet Union and other countries.'

A copy of this letter was sent to the Soviet ambassador in the Netherlands.

* * *

In an open letter to Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists, Academician Sakharov refers to the approaching trials of S. Kovalyov and A. Tverdokhlebov and says that one of the main reasons for their arrest was their participation in Amnesty International. Sakharov calls on these authoritative international organizations to 'send their observers and qualified lawyers, who will be independent of the Soviet authorities, to the trials of Kovalyov and Tverdokhlebov, so that they can take part in the trials and help to ensure that the accused are afforded their full right to a defence'.

* * *

On 6 October A. Sakharov appealed to L. N. Smirnov, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, asking him to grant free entry to S. A. Kovalyov's trial in Vilnius to Kovalyov's friends and also to representatives of the international press and Amnesty International, of whose Soviet group Kovalyov is a member.

Sakharov received no answer to his letter.

* * *

On 21 October 1975 T. Velikanova, A. Lavut and Yu. Orlov appealed to Amnesty International, the International Committee of Human Rights (Paris), and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, about the fact that Kovalyov and Tverdokhlebov were being denied the right to defend themselves: the lawyers they had chosen had not been allowed to take their cases. In addition, the authors of the letter raise the question of the infringement of lawyers' rights in the USSR: in political trials the lawyer's right freely to choose his client is denied; a secret and illegal system of 'permits' exists, according to which only certain lawyers are allowed by the Presidium of the Bar to appear in 'special cases'.

The authors of the letter ask the addressees to act without delay and:

— to demand that the Soviet government lift the discriminatory ban on Kovalyov and Tverdokhlebov which prevents them from choosing their own lawyers;

— to invite foreign lawyers to take part in the defence of Kovalyov and Tverdokhlebov, together with Moscow lawyers, and to petition for their admission to the trial on the basis of article 47 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure;

— to remind the Soviet leaders of their promises to observe the Covenants on Human Rights, which have been ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

* * *

On 26 October V. F. Turchin, chairman of the Soviet Amnesty International group, issued a statement for the press.

He rejects the assertion of the procurator's office, frequently repeated, that Tverdokhlebov's involvement in the foundation and work of the Soviet Amnesty International group bore no relation to his arrest.

A list of facts is presented in the statement concerning the searches and detentions of members of the group on 18 April, the day of Tverdokhlebov's arrest [*Chronicle* 36], about the arrest of group member Kovalyov, and about Turchin's interrogation concerning the Tverdokhlebov and Kovalyov cases. ('From the nature of the interrogations in the Tverdokhlebov case it is clear that the records of them... will become part of my own case, which, as I have recently learned, already exists.')

After referring to the humane and politically neutral character of Amnesty International, Turchin says:

> The activities of Andrei Tverdokhlebov and Sergei Kovalyov in defence of basic human rights in the USSR and throughout the world were not only completely free of any elements of violence or calls for violent action but were fully within the framework of the very restrictive laws existing in the USSR. Their arrest, and the sentences which threaten them and which would put them into the very severe conditions of the Soviet penal system, are the result of a broad interpretation of the laws whereby each word of truth that the authorities don't like is labelled slander.

Turchin calls on 'all those who are not indifferent when people are punished for being better and more honest than others: speak out in defence of Andrei Tverdokhlebov and Sergei Kovalyov'.

The Trial of Sergei Kovalyov

The trial in the case of S. A. Kovalyov (*Chronicles* 34-37) took place on 9-12 December in Vilnius, in the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR.

The chairman of the court was M. Ignotas, a member of the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR. The people's assessors were: Didžiuliene and Tereshin. The secretary was Saviniene. The public prosecutor was Bakučionis, a senior counsellor of justice and deputy-procurator of the republic. At the beginning of the session a defence counsel was appointed by the court.

S. A. Kovalyov was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

He was charged with participation in the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights and with having signed numerous statements and appeals written since 1969, including letters in defence of Grigorenko (1969), on the anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia (1969), in defence of Bukovsky (1971), concerning Krasin and Yakir (1973), an appeal in connection with the deportation of Solzhenitsyn (1974), a letter to the UN concerning the Crimean Tatars (1974), a letter to the League for the Rights of Man concerning Bukovsky (1974), and others. Kovalyov was also accused of having taken part in a press conference in A. D. Sakharov's apartment on 'Political Prisoners' Day', 30 October 1974 [*Chronicle* 33], and of transmitting abroad material on Soviet camps which was classified in the indictment as 'defamatory information'.

Kovalyov was charged with restarting the publication of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, with collecting material for it, and with assembling, editing, and transmitting abroad issues 28-34. The indictment made use of the similarity of the materials taken from Kovalyov when searched, to the contents of the *Chronicle*, and of marginal notes made by Kovalyov on certain documents. The charge of transmitting the *Chronicle* abroad was based on a statement made by S. Kovalyov jointly with T. Velikanova and T. Khodorovich in May 1974, announcing their intention to facilitate the dissemination of the *Chronicle*,[41] and also on the fact that issues 28-34 were published by 'Khronika Press' in New York.

Kovalyov was charged with possession of three issues of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and with using their contents in the *Chronicle of Current Events*.

Kovalyov was also accused of disseminating A. I. Solzhentisyn's book *The Gulag Archipelago*. A xerographic copy and part of a type-written copy of the book were found in his house. The main evidence for this point of the indictment was the book taken from V. Maresin as he attempted to photograph it, and handed over to the KGB, and the letter from S. Kovalyov to Andropov (October 1974) demanding that he should return him his book.

S. Kovalyov pleaded not guilty to the charges presented to him in court and refused to answer the question put by the judge: 'Do you admit the factual circumstances set out in the indictment?'

At the beginning of the court session Kovalyov made three requests:

1. To be given an opportunity to make use of the text of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.
2. To call a number of witnesses, including Krasin and Yakir.
3. To engage S. V. Kallistratova or D. I. Kaminskaya as defence counsel.

Kovalyov, both directly and through his wife, asked for these defence counsel both during the pre-trial investigation and after its completion. The refusals were motivated by the fact that these counsel lacked a 'permit' and by other reasons. In October 1975 L. Boitsova, Kovalyov's wife, sent a complaint to the USSR Minister of Justice, Terebilov, regarding the unfounded refusal of the request to permit Kallistratova or Kaminskaya to defend Kovalyov. In the reply sent from the Moscow City Bar and signed by Apraksin, Chairman of the Presidium, it was stated that the Bar independently decides questions of sending barristers to other towns.

The court dismissed all Kovalyov's requests except the calling of Krasin as

a witness.

Kovalyov refused the defence counsel appointed by the court. The judge invited Kovalyov to give evidence. S. Kovalyov said that he had not given evidence at the pre-trial investigation and had not participated in it, since he considered it illegal and criminal. As an exception to this stand he had expressed his opinion on the investigation of the evidence as regards its essential substance.

Kovalyov said that it would be logical to adhere to this position in court as well, since people in such cases are tried for their convictions and not for their crimes. But in spite of this he would take part in the trial in as far as the essential content of the case was concerned, i.e., whether there were false statements in the letters and in the *Chronicle*. But he would not reply to questions as to who had signed one or another document, and where.

Setting out his attitude to the *Chronicle* and the letters, Kovalyov called them useful and not contrary to the law. He said that there were, unfortunately, mistakes in the *Chronicle of Current Events*, and he agreed to take part in an analysis of the mistakes: he was in possession of evidence to show that these really were mistakes and not deliberate falsehoods.

On the second day of the trial, 10 December, the questioning of witnesses took place. Twenty-two witnesses were called in the case.

A doctor at the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital, L. A. Lyubarskaya, was questioned about the conditions in which L. Plyushch was kept and treated in the hospital. The judge put questions referring to material in *Chronicle* 34. Lyubarskaya replied invariably that everything in the hospital was done in accordance with the rules.

Kovalyov insisted on the assertion that in the Soviet Union psychiatric hospitals are used for repressive purposes. And he declared that he was deprived of the possibility of defending himself by calling his own witnesses. The court refused Kovalyov's request that Zhitnikova, the wife of L. Plyushch, should be called as a witness.

A. A. Kozhemyakina, deputy chief doctor at a psychiatric hospital in the Chekhov district of Moscow region, testified as a witness on the detention of P. G. Grigorenko in the hospital. The judge dismissed a number of questions put to witnesses by Kovalyov; in particular there was no answer to the question: 'Precisely how was an improvement in the health of Grigorenko manifested on his discharge?'

B. V. Polkin, a doctor at the central psychiatric hospital in Kirov region, and I. P. Kaftanyuk, a senior supervisor (warder) of the Internal Affairs Department in Kirov, were called to give evidence on an incident mentioned in *Chronicle* 32 regarding the detention of Khantsis in the hospital and in prison. The judge read out the testimony of Khantsis (from the record of the examination of his case) to the effect that during the period of his detention he was beaten and crippled, and when in prison he was put in the cooler seven times and was then put in solitary confinement. To this supervisor Kaftanyuk replied: 'In the Kirov prison there are no one-man cells and no one could physically endure the cooler seven times.' Answering a question put by Kovalyov as to whether the witness remembered any time when Khantsis showed violence, Kaftanyuk said: 'Listen, I don't have a head as big as the House of Soviets! I don't remember.'

Several other incidents from the *Chronicle* were examined. Witness Gudas, a bulldozer operator at a forestry station in Kaunas district (*Chronicle* 32), and witness N. G. Skvortsova from Arkhangelsk (*Chronicle* 32) partially refuted certain points in the *Chronicle*. The judge disallowed many questions put by Kovalyov to the witnesses.

G. E. Korolyova, a witness from Moscow, testified that once when she called at the apartment of her relation, which she had rented to Velikanova, she discovered there files containing letters from convicted persons, and since she regarded the contents of the files as suspicious she informed the police.

A group of witnesses (V. N. Chikina, senior technician, V. A. Gorbatov, head of a laboratory at the Experimental Veterinary Institute, Yu. L. Dobrachev, head of the Fodder Section of the Experimental Veterinary Institute, and V. M. Maresin, senior research associate at the Moscow Experimental Fish-Breeding Station, were questioned in connection with an incident when Solzhenitsyn's book, *The Gulag Archipelago*, was microfilmed. According to their evidence the following took place: Gorbatov allowed Dobrachev to microfilm in the laboratory a book by Schweitzer; Maresin helped Dobrachev, and when he had left he began to microfilm *The Gulag Archipelago*. Summoned by Chikina, Gorbatov discovered this, removed the book and the film, and subsequently handed them to the K G B.

V. Maresin refused to answer a question as to who was the owner of the copy of the *Gulag Archipelago* which was being photographed, declaring that in this he was guided by considerations of an entirely ethical nature.

V. F. Turchin, speaking as a witness, said that he had known Kovalyov well for a long time and considered that Kovalyov could not have engaged in the dissemination of any libellous documents.

After the questioning of the last witness, V. Turchin, judge M. Ignotas, without any request from the witnesses, and having heard the opinion of the two parties — the agreement of the procurator Bakučionis to let the witnesses go and the objections of Kovalyov — said that all the witnesses were free to go and declared an intermission.

The witnesses Boitsova, Turchin, Litvinov, Yasinovskaya, Maresin and Mizyakin remained in their places. They were persistently requested to leave the hall, so that the building could be aired.

The captain of the guard even referred to a resolution of the court. The witnesses expressed incomprehension as to why the permission given them to leave the court was being interpreted as their obligation to do so, all the more so since such a resolution would be contrary to the Code of Criminal Procedure. The arguments of the witnesses made no impression. The intention

was to remove the witnesses forcibly. Then V. Turchin obtained an assurance from the captain that after the intermission they would be readmitted to the court. The witnesses left the court. A few minutes before the end of the intermission, the captain left the building of the Supreme Court. After the intermission not one of the witnesses except L. Yu. Boitsova was re-admitted to the court. The guards in civilian clothing forcibly pushed them away from the doors, through 'their own public', which had begun to enter the hall; the 'public' unanimously expressed indignation at the 'loutishness of the Muscovites'. M. M. Litvinov (a witness) and Yu. F. Orlov, who also attempted to enter the hall, were taken to a special room and threatened with arrest 'for resisting representatives of authority' (an hour later they were allowed to go).

S. Kovalyov, who, while being led from the courtroom, had noticed that many witnesses had not left their places, and who had heard the noise and disputation by the doors after the intermission, saw that only L. Boitsova of the witnesses was in the court and declared that he himself would not remain there unless all the witnesses were readmitted to the hall. He said that he did not intend to participate further in this 'kangaroo trial', and that he was declaring a hunger strike until the witnesses and all those wishing to enter were admitted to the court. He demanded that he should be taken away. The judge declared an intermission until 10 a.m. on 11 December.

V. Turchin, V. Maresin, A. Mizyakin, M. M. Litvinov and F. P. Yasinovskaya wrote a statement addressed to the President of the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian S S R on the illegal exclusion of witnesses from the courtroom; they demanded permission to remain in the court until the end of the judicial examination, and referred to article 313 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the Lithuanian S S R. All the witnesses received permission to be present in court.

On the morning of 11 December Kovalyov made a statement. He described the incident with the witnesses which had taken place on 10 December and put forward a number of demands:

> First, that provision be made for all witnesses who wish it to be present in court, and for me to be given the opportunity personally or through my wife and other witnesses to be convinced that some of them do not in fact wish to remain at the trial.
>
> Second, that the presence in court be assured of Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov, Tatyana Mikhailovna Velikanova, Alexander Pavlovich Lavut, Malva Noyevna Landa, Vitaly Aleksandrovich Rekubratsky, Yury Fedorovich Orlov, and others of my friends who wish to be at my trial, and whom my wife and other witnesses will name. And on the same condition: I must have the opportunity of asking whether all who wish it have been admitted.
>
> Third, the court must examine a question which is not reflected in the materials of the case; as to whether the principle of the openness of court proceedings really is violated frequently and in an organized manner in the hearing of such cases. Among other things the court must question for this purpose, as witnesses, all the persons whom I have named and those who have come to my trial whom I do not know but whom the witnesses will name.
>
> Fourth, of course, I demand that this statement should be attached to my case. For my part I regret the expressions used by myself during today's incident, which, although literary, were offensive. I am ready to apologize publicly before the court and the persons present in it and to express my thoughts in less strong language. I find that the following version is suitable:
>
> A limit must be put to your cynical arbitrariness. I shall not, and I do not wish to remain longer in a gathering of persons who deliberately violate the law or assist in this. Of course I understand that an apology does not exclude the possibility of criminal responsibility for insulting behaviour. In the event that my moderate and not exaggerated demands are not met, I shall not end my hunger strike before the end of the judicial proceedings, and also, of course, I shall not return to the court.
>
> The court manages so easily without a defence counsel that it will of course easily be able to complete the case without a defendant either.
>
> I can only add the following: I shall be sad for an additional reason if my demands are not met: I was intending to present to the court weighty evidence of my innocence, while not, however, in the least counting on a just verdict. And so, if I am deprived of this opportunity in the event that my demands are refused, I shall be sad. But what can one do?

The judge announced that the witnesses who had come today and asked to be admitted to the courtroom were present. Others had gone away to their places of residence. The question as to the presence in court of other persons was not a question of legal procedure and was left to the decision of the court commandant. The court resolved to reject the petitions of the defendant Kovalyov set out in his statement.

Kovalyov insisted that the principle of a public hearing was a procedural principle and references to the court commandant were unfounded. He demanded the satisfaction of all his demands or his immediate removal from the court. When the escort led him away, Kovalyov turned to the witnesses on the front bench and said: 'My deep love to you all and to those who are outside the door and in Moscow! Warmest greetings to Andrei Dmitrievich!'

After conferring together, the court ruled: to remove Kovalyov from the courtroom and to continue examination of the case in his absence.

The court proceeded to the examination of evidence. Consideration was given to the testimonials about S. A. Kovalyov from the places where he had been employed: the university, where he worked until 1969, and the Moscow Experimental Fish-Breeding Station (1970-4). The testimonials refer to the scientific results obtained by Kovalyov in the field of electrophysiology and

the modelling of continuous media, and the important practical results which he achieved.

The judge then listed these documents: appeals and statements signed by Kovalyov, records of the examination of the case of Yakir and Krasin in which it was stated that Kovalyov, along with other persons, was a member of the Initiative Group; an Open Letter in which the aims and tasks of the Initiative Group are set out; an appeal to the 5th Congress of Psychiatrists in which it was stated that in our country medicine is used for repressive purposes; records of the examination of documents removed after a search, among them — various letters and materials from places of detention, material concerning arrests and court trials, lists of convicted persons, letters from camps, issues of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, various materials concerning the state of affairs in the Orthodox Church of Georgia, the 'Moscow Appeal' in connection with the exile of Solzhenitsyn, the text 'We ask for the transmission of this information to international organizations which proclaim their aim to be the defence of personal freedom on the basis of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*', and an appeal to the International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights, the League for the Rights of Man, and Amnesty International.

Graphological examination showed that a number of the manuscript texts, and also notes on various typewritten documents, had been written by Kovalyov.

The procurator asked for certain other documents to be made public, which might have the significance of evidence, in particular, comparative tables of the similarity of materials which were removed from Kovalyov and citizen Korolyova to others which were published in the *Chronicle*.

By decision of the court Kovalyov's requests for the summoning of witnesses were rejected and the evidence of Bochkovskaya, a doctor at a Dnepropetrovsk psychiatric hospital, given at the pre-trial investigation, was made public. In certain details this was at variance with the evidence given in court by Dr Lyubarskaya.

With this the judicial examination of the evidence was concluded and the court proceeded to hear the final pleas of both sides.

S. Kovalyov transmitted to the court a statement in which he said that he was prepared in all honesty to seek and discuss the form of his petitions, with all the necessary references to the law, but that he would not yield an inch in his demands. In his statement Kovalyov said:

> I regarded and still regard my participation in this trial as a matter of interest for myself, since I prepared thoroughly for it. As before, I consider that I behaved in an unsuitable manner. You yourselves provoked me into this by the removal of the witnesses. Without that I would not have put forward such demands. But the fact is that infringement of the law has now become so customary in judicial procedure in cases of this sort that a tendency has arisen to regard it as inevitable. I too should have followed this tendency for the sake of taking a substantial part in the trial. However, regrets concerning the conflict which has taken place are not now appropriate . . . I shall not alter my demands. I have not ended and shall not end my hunger strike!

The state prosecutor delivered his speech in the absence of the accused and any defence counsel.

The procurator again listed the letters and statements signed by S. A. Kovalyov, indicating Kovalyov's authorship by the fact of the documents' existence, their publication in an issue of the *Chronicle* or even by transcripts of the broadcasts of foreign radio stations: Liberty, the B B C, the Voice of America. The subject matter of the documents was not analyzed. Procurator Bakučionis said: 'A person's convictions are a matter of indifference to the Soviet authorities provided that he keeps them to himself and does not commit criminal acts. In his arguments about freedom, in the documents which he (Kovalyov) signed, one thing shines through: an attempt to impose on Soviet people the bourgeois concept of freedom, the attempt to depict freedom as a person's independence from society.' The procurator spoke of the particularly great danger for our society of the activity in which Kovalyov had been engaging; he did not perceive any of the mitigating circumstances prescribed by the law and proposed as the term of punishment — seven years in a strict-regime camp and an additional three years of exile.

The procurator drew attention to the behaviour in court of the witness Maresin in connection with his refusal to testify from whom he had received the book *Gulag Archipelago*.

After the procurator's speech the chairman announced that the court would begin to confer in order to determine the sentence. The conference lasted for almost 24 hours. About one hour before its conclusion Kovalyov was asked in prison whether he would not make a final plea. He refused. The court publicized his refusal directly before the reading of the verdict, on the afternoon of 12 December.

The verdict ruled that practically all the items in the indictment had been proved. The subjective aspect — the existence of an intention to subvert or weaken Soviet rule — was seen, despite the denial of this aim by Kovalyov, in the content of the incriminating documents and in the fact that they had been used by foreign propaganda.

The punishment: seven years in strict-regime camps plus exile for three years.

The sentence is final and not open to appeal. In a separate decision the court handed over to the procurator's office materials on the refusal of V. Maresin to give evidence.

* * *

The investigation and trial of Sergei Kovalyov took place, not in Moscow, but in Vilnius; Kovalyov was tried by the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian S S R, but he was charged according to article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

Evidently the authorities wanted there to be fewer spectators at the trial.

On the evening of 8 December, the day before the trial was due to begin, K G B officials in Moscow detained T. Velikanova, T. Khodorovich and M. Landa as they were driving to the Belorussky station to take a train to Vilnius. They were detained for some hours in district police stations while ridiculous accusations were made against them to justify their detention; afterwards these were not even repeated. They were released when the train to Vilnius had left and were warned not to try to leave again. Every day, while the trial lasted, they were followed round the clock in an unconcealed manner.

In Vilnius, on the morning of 9 December, before the train from Moscow arrived, K G B officials detained A. Terleckas, V. Petkus and V. Smolkin on the station platform, suspecting them of waiting to greet people from Moscow who were coming to the trial. All three were detained at K G B headquarters for half the day and told not to turn up at the court building.

On the day before the trial some Vilnius Jews who had so far been refused emigration visas were told that their cases were being reconsidered and five were given permission to emigrate. They were asked not to go to the trial.

On the morning of 9 December there were 20 to 30 Lithuanians at the court building; many of them had come to the trial from other towns. Neither they nor the people who had come from Moscow and Leningrad were allowed into the courtroom. Only relatives of the accused were allowed in, although officially it was supposed to be an open trial; the other members of the public got in with special passes. V. Jaugelis (*Chronicles* 34, 36) tried to enter the courtroom but was stopped by one of the K G B officials on duty in the outer hall, who told him to go away. V. Jaugelis remained standing outside the door of the courtroom. He was taken away and imprisoned for 15 days 'for not obeying the police and insulting them'. However, on 12 December he was released because of fears for his health (V. Jaugelis had only recently come out of hospital after an operation for cancer; in May 1975 he had been released from a camp on medical grounds).

Jurevičius [*Chronicle* 36], who had journeyed to the trial, was sent back to Šiauliai, his place of residence.

It is believed that before and during the trial several dozen people were detained in Lithuania.

From the second day of the trial, Lithuanians suspected of wishing to attend the trial, or even of being interested in it, were prevented — if possible — from entering the court building, while those who managed to get into the building were driven out. In the outer hall and corridors over 20 K G B officials were on duty — openly or in plain clothes. These 'operations' were supervised by Colonel Kruglov and Lieutenant-Colonel Baltinas, who were almost constantly present in the court building. A police detachment was led by a colonel who

was head of the city police force.

The Canadian journalist Levy was not allowed into the courtroom. He referred without success to the fact that Soviet journalists in Canada are allowed to attend trials and also to the agreement in Helsinki to remove obstacles impeding the work of journalists.

On 9 December Academician A. Sakharov, who had travelled to Vilnius and, like other people, not been allowed into the courtroom, wrote a declaration to the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian S S R, addressed to the judge in charge of Kovalyov's case and to Kovalyov himself, as a man conducting his own defence. Sakharov asked to be called as a witness in Kovalyov's case; his declaration read as follows:

> Having known Kovalyov for many years, I wish to give testimony in court about his exceptional integrity and honesty, his dedication to legality and justice, to the defence of human rights and to openness. My deep respect for S. A. Kovalyov led me to invite him as my guest to the Nobel Prize-giving ceremony in Oslo on 10 December 1975.
>
> I know that Kovalyov is being charged with giving foreign pressmen materials on the situation of political prisoners in the U S S R by publicising them at a press-conference on 30 October 1974, which was chaired by me. This material was in fact handed over by myself. I accept the full responsibility for my action and wish to confirm this in court.
>
> I am also the author of a letter which is part of the case evidence — the letter to the Head of the K G B, requesting the return of a book belonging to S. A. Kovalyov: Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*.
>
> I took part in compiling many of the collective appeals which are being used to incriminate S. A. Kovalyov on the ground that they are slanderous. Such a definition of the collective appeals we compiled together seems wrong to me and I should like to explain and expound my point of view in court.

On 12 December, while awaiting the verdict, Kovalyov's friends issued a declaration in which they described in detail how and why Kovalyov was being tried, how the trial was being conducted and what infringements of procedural norms had occurred. The declaration describes the trial as 'a mere parody of justice'.

Every day arguments arose outside the doors of the courtroom: K G B officials and their assistants kept insulting A. D. Sakharov and other friends of Kovalyov's. On 12 December, when the trial was drawing to an end, there were particularly fierce exchanges in the outer hall and later in the street. Some of the 'guardians of public order' even tried to provoke 'physical violence'. However, the following incident also took place. One of the men coming out of the courtroom said quietly, on passing Sakharov: 'Forgive us, but it wasn't Lithuanians who tried him'.

* * *

On 18 December 1975 a press-conference about Kovalyov and his trial was held in Moscow.

The press were given a collection of documents for publication: A. Sakharov's declaration to the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR (dated 9 December 1975); Professor V. Kirpichnikov's declaration to Judge Ignotas (11 December); the complaint addressed to the Procurator-General of the Lithuanian SSR by witnesses V. M. Maresin, A. A. Mizyakin, V. F. Turchin, M. M. Litvinov and F. P. Yasinovskaya; a declaration by the same persons addressed to the Chairman of the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR (10 December 1975); a telegram from Troshin, director of the Cellular Biology Institute, to the administrative head of the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR; the speech made by state prosecutor Bakučionis; and a record of the morning session in court on the third day of the trial.

Speaking at the press-conference, Academician Sakharov said:

> I should like to emphasize that Kovalyov has been condemned because his conscience moved him to defend other people, who, he was firmly convinced, were the victims of injustice. The charges against him — of aiming to subvert Soviet rule and of libellous activities — have not been proved. The trial was unashamedly unlawful — there was no openness, no summing-up by each side, no defence even from the accused, and no final statement by him.
>
> Kovalyov had been carefully preparing for a long time to disprove the allegations made against him in the charges, especially those relating to the *Chronicle of Current Events*. In the seven issues of the *Chronicle* which figured in the charges there are 694 separate items. The investigators investigated 172 of these. In 11 cases Kovalyov does not exclude the possibility of a mistake. He was preparing to prove that none of these mistakes was premeditated or libellous. 89 items were acknowledged to be accurate even by the investigators, and in 72 cases Kovalyov intended to prove the absence of error in the reports of the *Chronicle*. However, he was not given the opportunity even to begin on this task and it will be a long time before we learn of his undoubtedly convincing and well founded arguments.
>
> In court only seven items were examined, through which the prosecution wanted to prove the libellous nature of the *Chronicle*. Today we are in a position to assert that only in one or two cases of little significance did the prosecution manage to cast doubt on the accuracy of the reports in the *Chronicle*.
>
> The arrest and condemnation of Kovalyov constitute a challenge to public opinion in the Soviet Union and the world.
>
> The Soviet authorities — after Helsinki and during the Nobel Prize ceremony — clearly wished to demonstrate their toughness and the power that allows them to ignore their own laws. To leave this challenge without an answer would mean betraying a remarkable man and also the highest principles on which so much depends. The only possible response is to demand the annulment of the sentence passed on Kovalyov.

The Trial in Tallinn

From 21 to 31 October 1975 the Supreme Court of the Estonian SSR in Tallinn tried the case of Sergei Soldatov, Kalju Mättik, Matti Kiirend, Artem Yuskevich and Arvo Varato, all of whom were charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. (Their arrest and the pre-trial investigation were reported in *Chronicle* 36.)

The presiding judge was [P.V.] Afanasev, deputy chairman of the Supreme Court of the Estonian SSR. The people's assessors were Bartels and Vänikver. The prosecution was conducted by procurator Kestler.

Soldatov refused the services of a lawyer after studying the case materials. The reason he gave was that at this trial a lawyer could not defend the world outlook of the accused without coming into conflict with the official demands made on Soviet lawyers.

Kiirend stated at the beginning of the trial that a Communist lawyer was not suited to take on the defence in such a case and that he would therefore conduct his own defence. On 27 October Mättik renounced the services of a lawyer. On 28 October, 15 minutes before his lawyer was due to start speaking, Yuskevich also refused legal assistance: 'I want to be on the same level as the others', he said. The accused Varato was defended by the lawyer Kon.

The accused were charged with compiling, reproducing and disseminating over forty documents, including the following: 'Programme of the Estonian Democratic Movement', 'Programme of the Estonian National Front', the journals *Estonian Democrat* and *Estonian National Voice* (in Estonian), the journals *Democrat* and *Ray of Freedom* (in Russian), a 'Memorandum to the UN General Assembly', a 'Letter to K. Waldheim, Secretary-General of the UN' (referring to these last two documents, the indictment says: 'Soliciting the interference of the UN in Soviet affairs [the accused] took part, in 1972, in planning, compiling, reproducing and storing the 'Memorandum' and 'Letter' with the intention of disseminating them'), 'The Tactical Foundations of the Democratic Movement in the USSR', the article 'Russian Colonialism in Estonia', the *Chronicle of Current Events*, the book *Sources and Meaning of Russian Communism* by N. Berdyayev, *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?* by A. Amalrik, *The New Class* by M. Djilas, *The Gulag Archipelago* by A. Solzhenitsyn, the story 'This is Moscow Speaking' by N. Arzhak, the Czechoslovak manifesto of 1968, 'Two Thousand Words' (in October 1970 the Kaluga regional court had to remove this document from the indictment against R. Pimenov after it was proved during the court investigation that it

had been distributed in the Soviet Union by official Soviet organizations. See *Chronicle* 16).

All the above material was confiscated during searches. Five typewriters and a camera were also confiscated during the searches (the record of the search at Soldatov's home mentions only one confiscated object — a typewriter).

At the beginning of the trial Soldatov objected to the composition of the court, as a panel of judges consisting of communists could not judge democrats objectively. His objection was overruled. Mättik asked for observers from the UN to be invited to the trial, as the case included documents concerning that organization. Soldatov and Yuskevich upheld this request. The court rejected it.

Before the trial began, Mättik had asked that the case should be 'investigated in its fundamental aspects': that the documents should be analysed to determine if they were indeed libellous. The presiding judge refused to comply with this request, stating that competent authorities had already come to a conclusion and that matters of dispute could be resolved during the trial. Mättik then refused to take part in the court proceedings, while retaining his right to a speech in his self-defence and a final statement.

Soldatov and Kiirend also refused to give evidence in court. In addition, Kiirend stated that he renounced the evidence he had given during the pre-trial investigation (he had stated then that he was the author of the 'Programme of the Estonian Democratic Movement' and had told the investigators the hiding-place of his draft of it).

Varato pleaded guilty of all the acts he was charged with. As he had done during the pre-trial investigation, he cooperated fully during the trial with the authorities.

The court heard evidence from 13 witnesses. Four of these — P. Yakir, V. Krasin, Kosyrev (*Chronicle* 11) and Tutremov — were not present in court. Kosyrev and Tutremov sent telegrams saying they could not appear because of their state of health and that they upheld the evidence they had given at the pre-trial investigation. Yakir's testimony — both old (1972-3) and new — was read out in court. Reference was also made to Gavrilov and Paramonov (*Chronicle* 11), Bolonkin and Balakirev (*Chronicle* 30). Soldatov tried to persuade the court to call Yakir, Gavrilov and Tutremov. The court refused to call Yakir or Tutremov and completely forgot to take a decision about calling Gavrilov.

Of the nine witnesses interrogated in court, two denied that the accused had disseminated any anti-Soviet material; one admitted that 'a document' had changed hands but said he did not consider it anti-Soviet; three confirmed the passing on of certain documents referred to in the charges; one (a typist) agreed that some documents had been reproduced but pointed out that the facts contained in these documents were true. One of the witnesses (Joost) was described as a false witness and a provocateur by the accused. In regard

to the ninth witness, while the pre-trial investigation was still going on, Yuskevich had asked the Procurator of the Estonian SSR for a psychiatric diagnosis to be made of him. Yuskevich had received no reply to his request.

During the pre-trial investigation A. Amalrik was also interrogated about the case in Moscow; he refused to answer any questions.

In his speech for the prosecution the procurator declared that the activities of the accused 'had played into the hands of world imperialism', that 'the so-called democratic movement in the USSR was inspired from abroad' and that 'the original programme for this movement was compiled by the CIA in 1968'. Listing the 'incidents' which figured in the charges against the accused, he asserted they had been proved by the objects confiscated during searches, by the testimony of witnesses, the evidence given by the accused Varato, and the admission of certain facts by the accused Kiirend and Yuskevich. The procurator asked that Mättik be given a sentence of 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile, that Soldatov should be sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment and 4 years' exile, Kiirend to 5 years' imprisonment and Yuskevich to 4 years. In the case of Varato, he asked for a conditional sentence of 3 years with a five-year probationary period.

In his defence speech, the lawyer retained by Varato asked that his client be given a milder sentence, as he was the only one of the accused to admit his guilt in full, to repent sincerely and actively to assist the investigation.

In his defence speech Yuskevich disproved most of the charges against him. He admitted certain actions but noted that he was admitting only facts, not the interpretation put on them, as his actions on these occasions were fully in accord with the rights guaranteed in the Soviet Constitution, whereas the charges, by contrast, were based on an excessively free interpretation of the Constitution. Article 68 of the Estonian SSR Criminal Code (article 70 of the RSFSR Code) was, he declared, unconstitutional. Yuskevich said that he did not consider himself a participant, still less a leader, of any 'movement' and that he had become a 'democrat' only since his arrest. At the end of his speech Yuskevich referred to the abnormal conditions in which suspects were held: insulted by officials, badly fed and subjected to psychological pressure by the interrogators.

Kiirend declared in his speech that the Soviet Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights formed the basis for the activities of Estonian democrats. The democrats' aim had not been to overthrow Soviet rule or slander it, but to correct certain shortcomings. They had wanted to fight for democratic freedoms by peaceful means. He also said he did not consider the material covered by the charges to be either anti-Soviet or libellous, and that he was therefore not guilty of infringeing the Criminal Code. Kiirend stated that the greater part of his testimony during the pre-trial investigation had been given under strong psychological pressure, which he had been unable to resist because of his weak state of health. This testimony bore no relation to the facts and he had renounced it in court, but the court was making use

of it in spite of this. Kiirend also said: 'I feel I must mention the unworthy, even contemptible behaviour of Varato. Freedom obtained at such a price will be a heavy burden for him and for his family.'

In defending himself, Mättik stated that the material listed in the charges was not libellous, as all the facts mentioned therein had been taken from the Soviet press. They could not, therefore, be covered by article 68 of the Estonian SSR Criminal Code and consequently he did not consider himself guilty. Mättik referred to the curious fact that a document condemning the cruelty of the Tsarist government in 1905 was described as libellous in the indictment.

Soldatov described himself as a humanist and a religious believer. His activities had consisted of peaceful campaigning for democratic freedoms; they had not been directed against Soviet rule. He had also tried to speak openly about the shortcomings he was campaigning against: in May 1974 he had written a letter to Andropov but had received no reply. As a Russian living in Estonia, he was sorry that relations between the Russian and Estonian peoples had been 'clouded by certain matters'; he considered that any improvement in their relations would depend largely on the Russians, and by his activities he had tried to atone in some degree for the sins of the Russian nation. Soldatov did not consider himself guilty of any crime.

In his final statement Yuskevich declared himself to be a materialist, a convinced Marxist-Leninist and a Communist. All his life he had criticised shortcomings and this had never been called 'anti-Soviet activity'. He said that theirs was a political trial and that in 10 or 15 years it would be regarded as shameful, in the same way that the trials of the thirties and forties were now so regarded. He said: 'I was living a well-off life and I could have lived quietly, but my convictions would not allow me to do so. I was made a democrat on 13 December 1974; I never was one before, and after I come out of prison I will never take part in democratic activities. I want to bring up my grandchildren and live in peace.' He also said that he considered himself partly guilty of criminal activity, and that he could boldly and honestly look any man in the eye. As he had done in his defence speech, so in his final statement Yuskevich quoted Lenin a great deal.

Kiirend asked the court in his final statement to take into account the fact that the only aim of his friends and himself had been to correct the shortcomings in our society.

In his final speech Mättik tried to develop the idea that the moving force in history was not so much the proletariat as the intelligentsia, especially those people who had fought over the centuries for freedom and human rights. He said: 'Dictatorships are a misfortune for mankind. Floods, earthquakes and plague have not brought as much sorrow on mankind as dictatorial regimes. Communists cannot consider themselves the avant-garde of society.' Mättik said that the present court owed its existence to the dissenters who had contributed to the development of society over the ages by their efforts and

sacrifices. 'If there had been no Razin uprising, or other popular movements, no revolutions like those in 1905 and 1917, then judges today might still be bought in exchange for borzoi hounds and racehorses.' Mättik declared: 'The very fact that Estonian democrats are being tried here shows that their position is taken seriously.' He said he would always go on fighting for a free and independent Estonia.

Soldatov said in his final statement: 'An honest idealist cannot be a subversive or harmful element. Like some others, I could plead bad health and difficult living conditions, but this is in the evidence and the court knows it. I only ask the court to be lenient to my friends. I have always tried to make life better, not to undermine it.'

In his final statement Varato expressed repentance, understanding, regret and admission of his crimes. He asked the court for a light sentence.

The court sentenced Mättik and Soldatov to 6 years, and Kiirend and Yuskevich to 5 years, all in strict-regime camps. Varato was given the sentence asked for by the procurator. The court made a separate decision asking the procurator's office to start criminal proceedinps against the witness Heinasto for refusing to give evidence.

The indictment included a charge relating to article 70 of the Estonian SSR Criminal Code ('Organized action ... and also participation in an anti-Soviet organization'), but the state prosecutor waived the charge relating to this article. Mättik was charged with contravening article 207 of the Estonian SSR Criminal Code ('Unlawful possession of weapons'). The sentence relating to this article was subsumed in the 'overall' sentence.

The trial was public; however, almost the entire courtroom was filled by specially invited people. Nevertheless, apart from relatives, some of the additional people who wished to attend were allowed into the courtroom. None of the lecturers or students from Tallinn Polytechnic Institute, where Mättik and Soldatov had worked at various times before their arrest, were allowed into the courtroom.

All the accused had been subjected to a forensic-psychiatric examination. Soldatov had even been examined twice: in Tallinn, where he was declared not responsible, as had occurred seven years earlier (*Chronicle* 11), and in Moscow at the Serbsky Institute (*Chronicle* 36). Mättik also had been sent to the Serbsky Institute for diagnosis.

The Trial of Tymchuk

On 30 December Leonid Tymchuk was tried in Odessa on a charge of hooliganism.

On 4 November, when Tymchuk was returning home from work, he had been grabbed on the street and pushed into a minibus parked nearby; already

sitting in it were two women — the 'victims' — and a few 'witnesses'. At the police-station a report was drawn up: he had insulted the women, brawled, used bad language, and resisted the police. Tymchuk was sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment.

On 19 November Tymchuk was released, but on 23 November a similar incident took place: he was grabbed late at night on an empty street and taken in a police car — in which new victims and witnesses were already waiting — to the police station. Once again he was charged with hooliganism, but this time a criminal case was begun against him.

Tymchuk's friends sent a declaration to the district and regional procurators' offices, testifying that Tymchuk did not drink, that he was an educated, well-behaved man and 'could not have behaved like a hooligan on the street, nor could he have insulted anyone or done anybody any harm'.

The declaration was signed by six people: the teacher Golumbievskaya (*Chronicle* 37), the machine-operator Dontsova, the librarian Mikhailenko, the pensioner Mrs Barenboim, the dress-designer Kopteva and the lathe-operator Kryukov.

Tymchuk himself, after scrupulously setting out in detail what had happened, came to the conclusion that 'These people (those who took part in both arrests — *Chronicle*) were directed by a certain hand — that of the KGB'.

In court Tymchuk went into further details: he had been followed; he had discovered a microphone in his flat (*Chronicle* 35): 'I am being tried because I read a lot and have made certain deductions from what I read, because I have thought for myself and got to know people like Sakharov. The KGB didn't like this . . . The KGB official Grazhdan threatened me, saying "If you kick up a fuss, we'll get you into trouble through the police".' The witnesses Golumbievskaya and Gorodentsev, summoned at Tymchuk's request, confirmed that they had seen Tymchuk being followed. These witnesses spoke favourably of Tymchuk's character: 'He always has a book in his hand' . . . 'He could not have behaved like a hooligan'.

The 'victims' and the prosecution witnesses repeated the story contained in the police reports and the indictment. Their testimony during the pre-trial investigation and in court was unclear and contradictory; the defence lawyer Molchan expressed doubt about how they had come to be on the scene. Tymchuk and his lawyer pressed for a missing witness to be called — the taxi-driver Tokar, whose first testimony at the pre-trial investigation had read: 'A police official prompted me on how to write my explanatory statement'. The court refused to call Tokar.

The lawyer Molchan asked for a verdict of not guilty. The court found Tymchuk guilty and sentenced him to one year's corrective labour at his place of work, with confiscation of 20 per cent of his wages; he was made to sign a statement promising not to leave the city.

The *Chronicle* reminds readers: Leonid Tymchuk is 40 years old, a sailor of the seaport of Odessa, the author of an open letter supporting the 1968 appeal 'To world public opinion' from L. Bogoraz and P. Litvinov; he has signed a number of collective open letters about topical subjects in society, for example the 'Moscow appeal' (1974, *Chronicle* 32). In 1974 the Odessa KGB issued an 'Official warning' to Tymchuk.

On the day before the trial, 29 December, Tymchuk sent a telegram to the 25th Congress of the CPSU, demanding that it defend him against arbitrary violence — or that it give him the opportunity to emigrate to any free country.

The Appeal Hearing in Osipov's Case

On 9 December 1975 the Supreme Court of the RSFSR heard an appeal in the case of Vladimir Osipov (*Chronicle* 37). The court consisted of Lukanov, Gavrilin and Osipenko. The prosecutor was Zverev. The defence was conducted by the lawyer Volkova (from the town of Vladimir). The accused was not present.

At the court of first instance Osipov had pleaded not guilty. At the appeal hearing his appeal complaint was read out in which he again rejected the charges of slander and denied that he had any intention of harming the Soviet state. The letters and declarations used as evidence against Osipov were, according to him, mainly condemnations of harsh and unfounded sentences. The journal *Veche* (six issues of which he had edited) contained no libellous fabrications or material intended to undermine the Soviet state. Osipov denied the charge accusing him of sending material abroad.

The lawyer Volkova objected to the charge against her client of aiming to undermine or weaken the Soviet social system. She considered that Osipov's articles could be said to contain libel of the Soviet system, but without deliberate subjective intent. Volkova recalled that Osipov had asked the authorities for permission to publish the journal *Veche*, that in 1972 he had made a public announcement about the journal's publication and had even informed investigator Pleshkov of this. However Osipov's activities had not been nipped in the bud in time. Osipov believed that the Orthodox faith would save the Russian people from total alcoholism (he had defamed his people, generalising from the individual shortcomings of some citizens). Thus his Slavophilism was directed against alcoholism. The lawyer called Osipov's religious beliefs the result of his lack of a firm spirit: after his first term of imprisonment he had not been able to find accommodation for a long time, and living in such difficult conditions, had broken with atheism.

Volkova considered that Osipov should not be charged with being the author of certain articles listed in the indictment, nor with the editing of the 6th and 9th issues of *Veche*, and she considered that Osipov's sending of the journal to the West had not been proved. Osipov, according to her, had refused

out of moral and ethical scruples to name other people who had written articles or had helped in the publication and distribution of the journal *Veche*. However, from the case evidence it was known that there were other persons responsible for actions attributed in the charges to her client.

The defence lawyer asked that the charges relating to article 70, part 2, should be redefined under article 190-1; she asked the court to take into account the fact that Osipov had two infant children to support, and also the fact that he had broken with *Veche* long before his arrest.

Prosecutor Zverev repeated in his speech the charges made at the court of first instance. In his view, Osipov had spoken the truth during the investigation when he had admitted being the author of the articles that he was charged with writing, and when he had confirmed that he had met the American journalist Broenings; in court he had renounced his testimony: he had tried to evade responsibility in anticipation of punishment. Although Osipov had disassociated himself from publications abroad, it was obvious from the evidence of witnesses that he was very pleased by this, and had himself been involved in it (evidence of Dobrovolsky and others); he had made use of money received from the West. Osipov had been associated with Yakir, who had publicly denounced his own activities. This renegade, who had slandered his own system, had been rightly sentenced: he was a danger to the state.

The defence lawyer introduced a few more points, referring to individual episodes in the charges.

The Supreme Court announced its decision: to confirm the sentence passed by the court of the first instance—8 years in strict-regime camps.

The Trial of Grigoryants

In November 1974 the procurator's office of the Babushkino district of Moscow initiated a criminal case against S. I. Grigoryants under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

Sergei Ivanovich Grigoryants was born in 1941; he is a writer; in 1974 he and his family left Kiev and came to live in Moscow.

On 4 March 1975 S. I. Grigoryants was arrested. The pre-trial investigation ended in the middle of June. The investigation was headed by investigator Lekanov of the Babushkino district procurator's office. Two weeks before the end of the investigation new charges were brought against Grigoryants under article 154, section 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('speculation') and article 211 ('infringement of traffic safety regulations and exploitation of transport by persons directing means of transport').

From 8 to 25 September the Moscow City Court dealt with the case of Grigoryants. The presiding judge was Kareva. The prosecutor was procurator Poddubnaya. The defence was conducted by the lawyer L. A. Yudovich. By

order of the court the trial of Grigoryants was held in closed court (in the opinion of the *Chronicle* this is an infringement of article 18 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure). Because of this there were no spectators in the courtroom. Only the wife and mother of the accused were allowed to remain in court after they had given evidence as witnesses at the very end of the judicial examination of evidence.

Under article 190-1 Grigoryants was charged with selling to the Moscow literary critic N. P. Smirnov a few issues of the journal *Grani*, a few issues of the periodical *Mosty*, and a 1971 catalogue, published in Oxford, of foreign publications in Russian. According to the verdict, the charge under article 190-1 was supported by the testimony of N. P. Smirnov and Grigoryants himself. The court did not examine the question of whether the 'documents' referred to in the charges really contained 'defamatory fabrications'.

In spite of this the sentence based the charge of 'knowingly spreading false information' on the fact that the accused had tried to send abroad *secretly* a letter referring to these 'documents'.

Under article 154 Grigoryants was charged with three instances of reselling drawings and paintings. Grigoryants pleaded not guilty to these episodes. He stated that all these episodes did not extend beyond the normal activities of collectors: that is, exchanging some objects for others and ridding collections of unwanted items. The court did not agree with the arguments of the accused and his lawyer: all the episodes were included in the indictment. The second part of article 154 was said to be relevant because of the 'large scale' of the speculation involved.

The charge relating to article 211 was ruled by the court to be unproven.

The court sentenced Grigoryants to 3 years under article 190-1 and under article 154, section 2, to 5 years of hard regime, with confiscation of property. The total sentence was ruled to be the same as the sentence under article 154.

The Case of Vyacheslav Igrunov

V. V. Igrunov is threatened with internment in a special psychiatric hospital. As far as the *Chronicle* knows, in the last three years no such sentences have been imposed in 'political' cases.*

There follows an account of the investigation in Igrunov's case, including (for the reader's convenience) some episodes reported earlier (in *Chronicles* 34-37).

At the beginning of August 1974 Professor Alekseyev-Popov of Odessa University, a doctor of philology, was stopped on the street by KGB agents. 'We know,' they told him, 'that you have a copy of *The Gulag Archipelago*.

[*In fact, L. Plyushch received such a sentence on 5 July 1973. See *Chronicle* 29.]

You must hand it over immediately to the KGB.' Alekseyev-Popov did so.

At the same time he either confirmed, or himself gave information, that the book had been given to him by an acquaintance, the young historian Gleb Pavlovsky.

When Pavlovsky was summoned for interrogation, he gave evidence that he had got the book from Vyacheslav Igrunov.

* * *

Vyacheslav Vladimirovich Igrunov was born in 1948, the son of a man who was formerly an important party activist. He studied at the Odessa Institute of Economics. In 1973 he dropped his studies because of the birth of a child. He worked in a factory producing folk-art objects — first as a master craftsman, later as a workshop foreman. In his last year there he worked as an electrician.

The Odessa KGB had had its eye on him for a long time — since 1968. He was summoned by the KGB at that time because of his interest in the events in Czechoslovakia. In particular it was known that he had sent someone a Russian translation of the '2000 words' manifesto through the post.

* * *

Pavlovsky was interrogated for several days in succession about Igrunov, but Igrunov himself knew nothing of this. On 9 August Igrunov was detained and taken for interrogation. Igrunov denied the statements made by Pavlovsky and asked for a personal confrontation with him. While this went on, his home was being searched.

Samizdat was confiscated without any warrant: it included the article *Report from the Beria Reservation* by V. Moroz, and Khrushchev's speech to the 20th party congress. A watch was set up on the house.

On 14 August Igrunov's friend, the physicist Oleg Kursa, paid him a visit. In the absence of the owners, KGB men again visited the house and discovered Kursa reading samizdat. The following works were confiscated: *The Gulag Archipelago, Forever Flowing* by Grossman, a microfilm of a book by Avtorkhanov, and the two-volume edition of O. Mandelshtam's works.

Kursa stated that he had brought the books privately in Simferopol; the microfilm had been a present — he did not know what it contained.

In the second half of August Igrunov and Kursa were interrogated. Because of the testimony given by Pavlovsky, the following were also interrogated: S. Artsimovich (Igrunov's wife), A. Katchuk, V. Sudakov, S. Makarov, and Yu. Shurevich.

On 3 September Igrunov, Kursa and Pavlovsky were formally given a 'warning' under the appropriate decree, for 'acquiring, storing and disseminating literature of an ideologically harmful and anti-Soviet nature'. Igrunov refused to sign the 'warning'.

On 4 September Igrunov was summoned for a talk, at which an unknown

KGB official gave him a less formal 'warning': 'You're not Chalidze or Solzhenitsyn or Sakharov. We'll find a way of dealing with you!'

Then everything quietened down until February.

* * *

In the middle of February 1975 KGB officials turned up at the meteorological station in the village of Zolotoye Pole (Crimean region). They summoned meteorological engineer Valery Rezak and asked him to accompany them to his house for a search. Rezak managed to warn his wife and play for time (he was showing the KGB men the way). However, his wife was unable to destroy microfilm containing samizdat. (She tried to burn it but microfilm does not burn, it melts. It is far simpler to throw it into boiling water to wash off the emulsion — *Chronicle*.)

The following items were confiscated: microfilms of Avtorkhanov, Solzhenitsyn, and a lot of other samizdat, and photographic equipment. The Rezaks were taken to a hotel in Simferopol and interrogated for four days in succession, for eight to nine hours every day.

V. Rezak stated that he had got the microfilm from Igrunov, who had brought it from Moscow. According to Rezak, he had, over a number of years, regularly reproduced samizdat works at Igrunov's request — from the uncensored version of Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita* to *The Gulag Archipelago*. He gave similar evidence against A. Rykov, O. Kursa, E. Zilberman, and V. Telnikov (who left the USSR in 1971). Rezak said he himself had taken part in this because he was paid for it.

* * *

On 1 March a search was carried out at Igrunov's house. The following items were confiscated: *A Chronicle of Current Events* (issue 32), a handwritten text of a name index for that issue, a typewriter, film-developing equipment, and published records of party congresses.

After the search Igrunov was arrested.

On the same day searches were carried out in Odessa at the homes of A. Katchuk, Yu. Shurevich and P. Osherovich — all of which produced nothing (at Katchuk's home two broken typewriters were confiscated).

On 2 March in the city of Kalinin a search was carried out at the home of O. Kursa — also without results.

On 11 March A. Rykov's home (in Moscow) was searched.

* * *

On 11 March a personal confrontation between Rezak and Igrunov took place. Rezak was continuing to give evidence. Igrunov refused to participate in the investigation, declaring that he did not consider his activities to be either anti-Soviet or illegal.

In March there was a search (or perhaps the procedure known as 'confisca-

tion') at the home of V. Korobko, a relation of Kursa's and an acquaintance of Igrunov's. He was asked to supply the investigation with literature belonging to Igrunov. Korobko agreed to do so and handed over books published in the Soviet Union from Igrunov's library.

In the middle of March Oleg Kursa was summoned to Odessa. He was interrogated for three days. Kursa repeated the evidence he had given the year before.

On 20 March a search was carried out at the flat of Igrunov's parents, where Vyacheslav and his wife had lived for about a year before his arrest. Some samizdat was confiscated, including Avtorkhanov's *The Technology of Power*.

In the first half of April, Svetlana Artsimovich, Igrunov's wife, was interrogated three times. The questions concerned the origin of the material confiscated during the searches, Igrunov's acquaintances, particularly the Muscovites among them, and the conditions prevailing at Igrunov's former place of work.

A widespread search was apparently conducted for some 'samizdat library' which was supposed to exist in Odessa.

* * *

In April and May the following were interrogated: Pavlovsky, Katchuk, Igrunov's parents, his sister, and former workers at the workshop where he was the foreman. For the first time, questions were put regarding the 'strangeness' of Igrunov's behaviour.

On 15 May Svetlana Artsimovich was interrogated. She was asked four questions:

— 'Why did Igrunov keep 40 packets of photographic paper at home?'
— 'What contacts did Igrunov have outside Odessa, particularly in Moscow?'
— 'Did he know V. Khaustov, L. Bogoraz, or Yu. Shikhanovich?'
— 'What illnesses had Vyacheslav suffered from?'

(During her first interrogations, S. Artsimovich refused to cooperate with the investigation. Later she agreed to answer questions on condition that she would be allowed to visit her husband. This was promised her. However, when it became clear that she was not prepared to 'cooperate' with the investigation, the promise was taken back.)

After a routine set of 'unsatisfactory' answers from S. Artsimovich, the investigator Grazhdan declared: 'If you don't want to talk to us in a friendly way, we'll come to your place right now and conduct a search' (the search warrant was already in his hands).

During the search the following items were confiscated: a tape-recorder, a camera, notebooks, personal correspondence, and rough drafts which had been checked over and left behind on 1 March.

* * *

In June it became known that Igrunov was undergoing a psychiatric examination in section 14 of the Odessa regional psychiatric hospital. Officially nothing was said about this: parcels for Igrunov were accepted at the prison.

The psychiatric commission did not reach a united decision: two members diagnosed schizophrenia, but three of the experts did not come to a definite opinion.

At the end of June or the beginning of July, Igrunov was sent to the Serbsky Institute in Moscow.

* * *

In the middle of July, Rezak (from the Crimea) and Kursa (from Kalinin) were summoned to Odessa. On 19 July they were brought face to face. Rezak confirmed his earlier evidence.

Oleg Kursa declared his refusal to take part in the investigation proceedings, on the same grounds as Igrunov.

Altogether about 30 people were interrogated from March to July, in Odessa, Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities. Except for Rezak and Pavlovsky, no one gave evidence against V. Igrunov. Pavlovsky later stated that he renounced the evidence he had given.

* * *

There is good reason to believe that at some time in July a psychiatric commission at the Serbsky Institute declared Igrunov responsible for his actions. After this Igrunov was evidently returned to the prison in Odessa, but was soon sent back again to the Serbsky Institute.

At the beginning of September Igrunov's wife was officially informed that her husband was undergoing psychiatric diagnosis in Moscow.

In the middle of September Igrunov was sent back to Odessa, having been diagnosed 'schizophrenic'. The commission was apparently presided over by G. V. Morozov, and D. R. Lunts took part in it.

The psychiatric report ends with an important practical conclusion: 'an extremely dangerous man'.

* * *

On 2 October the investigator advised S. Artsimovich quickly to find a lawyer for her husband.

The Moscow lawyer Abushakhmin agreed to take on Igrunov's defence. However, Apraksin, the chairman of the Moscow Bar, refused to give him permission to travel to Odessa. S. Artsimovich herself spoke to Apraksin about the lawyer Pozdeyev, who had also agreed to defend Igrunov. Apraksin categorically refused to allow any Moscow lawyer to travel to Odessa, 'especially for a case like this one'. When Artsimovich referred to a recent precedent — the lawyer Shveisky had been allowed to defend M. Dzhemilev

(see this issue) — Apraksin declared: "That was a mistake which will not be repeated.'

Finally an agreement was reached with the Leningrad lawyer Lesko.

* * *

In the middle of October some of the items confiscated during searches were returned to Svetlana Artsimovich: a typewriter, photographic equipment, a camera, a tape-recorder, and all books published in the USSR. On her demand all these items were delivered to her home.

* * *

On 28-30 October the lawyer Lesko studied the case and told S. Artsimovich that, as the outcome was a foregone conclusion — committal to either an ordinary or a special psychiatric hospital, he saw no point in participating further in the case.

Igrunov, as a non-responsible person, was not allowed to study the case materials. The lawyer did not meet his client even once.

* * *

On 8 December a preparatory court session began to read the case materials. The trial was fixed for 22 December. Shortly before it, the Voroshilovgrad lawyer N. Ya. Nimirinskaya agreed to take the case.

It is an interesting fact that, although Igrunov was charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code), the case was conducted not by the procurator's office but by the Odessa KGB office. The chief investigators were Captain N. A. Shalagin, a senior KGB investigator, and First Lieutenant N. S. Grazhdan, an investigator. Examination of the case materials also took place at the Odessa KGB headquarters.

* * *

On 22 December the trial was postponed for an indefinite period, 'due to the illness of an expert witness'.

Leonid Plyushch is Released to go Abroad

In October there were more meetings and demonstrations on behalf of Leonid Plyushch in the West. In a letter Malva Landa called on those who participated in such actions not to slacken their efforts to obtain Plyushch's release. Tatyana Khodorovich and Plyushch's wife Tatyana Zhitnikova sent an expression of their gratitude to those who were actively concerned for Plyushch's fate.

A. D. Sakharov addressed himself thus to the participants in a meeting in Paris on 23 October:

> Today the whole world knows about Leonid Plyushch, a good and brave man who is undergoing the most terrible of experiences — torture in a madhouse. The root causes of Plyushch's tragic fate and that of hundreds of other prisoners in the special psychiatric hospitals lie in the ideological intolerance which prevails in society and in the lack of principle, the egoism and the cowardice of those in whose hands their fate rests. Precisely these causes gave birth to the thinking and behaviour typical of Snezhnevsky, Morozov, Dyshel and others like them; it was this that made possible the decision to send an intelligent and compassionate thinker to the hell of a special psychiatric hospital. The same reasons lie behind the habitual cruelty, surliness and tyranny of those who carry out such decisions. This was what gave birth to the cynical and merciless manipulators behind the scenes who trample underfoot the very basis of human life — the mind.
>
> But crimes against the mind threaten humanity as a whole. In the epoch of détente they are an anachronism which should not exist.
>
> Help us to pull Plyushch from the hands of his torturers. You are defending not one man only, but the very principles of reason and humanity; you are therefore defending the future of us all and of our children.

* * *

On 27 October T. Zhitnikova appealed to the USSR Minister of Health, Petrovsky, asking him to assist her and her husband to emigrate from the USSR. She expressed the fear that her husband's treatment in the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital could do him irreversible harm.

However, on 21 November a routine psychiatric commission prolonged the compulsory treatment. A week later, though, Zhitnikova was summoned to the Ukraine Ministry of Health and told that her request had been granted: she could emigrate to Israel with her husband and children.

On 4 December the Visa Department accepted Zhitnikova's documents and those of her children, but the processing of Plyushch's documents was constantly put off. Only on 24 December was Zhitnikova told by the Visa Department to write to the head of the hospital, asking him to arrange a special psychiatric commission 'because of the improvement in L. I. Plyushch's health' (in December the hospital had informed her that his physical and mental condition had improved).

After this, Siforov, the head of the Visa Department, personally supervised the formal arrangements as quickly as possible and in the most cooperative way. For example, he himself passed to the regional court the application for guardianship 'while treatment is continued in out-patient conditions', and in the meantime he treated the family's documents as if guardianship had already been established. On 30 December they were given visas with an

ultimate departure date of 10 January.

Observers (also T. Zhitnikova) believe that permission to emigrate was granted as a result of the widespread and lengthy public campaign in the West on behalf of Plyushch, while an important role was played by a recent appeal from the Central Committee of the French Communist Party to the Soviet leadership about Leonid Plyushch's situation.[42]

A Forcible Hospitalization

On 20 October the Leningrad engineer **Anatoly Dmitrievich Ponomaryov** (information on him was first given in *Chronicle* 26) was again forcibly placed in a psychiatric hospital, for the third time since 1970. In the autumn of 1973 he was released from the special psychiatric hospital on Arsenalnaya Street; a year later he was forcibly hospitalized again in psychiatric hospital 3 (of ordinary type) and put in the section for violent patients. In spring 1975 he was released, but remained at liberty for only three months. While he was free, Ponomaryov wrote a number of protests and open letters — both to Soviet authorities and to the West — about the illegalities he had suffered; this was used as the pretext for his latest hospitalization. M. S. Bernshtam was a witness of this undertaking. The *Chronicle* possesses a report made by him, which is given below in an abbreviated form.

. . . On 20 October A. D. Ponomaryov set off for his monthly routine check-up at the district psychiatric clinic with L. F. Lomovtseva, the doctor in charge of his treatment. Lomovtseva invited him into her consulting-room, but as soon as the door had closed behind him she went out again, and, in full view and hearing of the people standing about in the corridor, shouted to three waiting men: 'He's in there! Grab him! Quickly!' Then everything happened quickly according to plan. The three men, in quilted jackets, ran into the consulting room; the sound of blows and shouting was heard. The three pinioned A. D. Ponomaryov while the doctors stood at a distance. Anatoly tried to break loose. Then one of his captors deliberately, sharply and accurately gave him a heavy blow in the solar plexus. The now unconscious Ponomaryov was dragged down the stairs to a car parked outside the entrance. All this lasted no longer than a few minutes. M. S. Bernshtam, who entered the consulting-room almost immediately after Ponomaryov, witnessed all these events but was not able to interfere. When Ponomaryov was dragged out of the consulting room, Bernshtam told the doctors present that he (giving his name) was a representative of the Soviet Committee for the Defence of Human Rights and was recording the incident. On hearing this unexpected, if somewhat presumptuous statement, the doctors lost their heads. The first to recover was Lomovtseva, who asked M. S. Bernshtam to accompany her to the deputy head doctor, where Ponomaryov's mother

was already waiting.

There followed a detailed conversation with Lyudmila Dmitrievna Fedoseyeva, the deputy head doctor of the Vyborg district psychiatric clinic. Varvara Alekseyevna Ponomaryova stated that she, like her son, protested against her son's compulsory psychiatric treatment and cited as proof of his normality his normal behaviour at home, at work and in public places, and the absence of any complaints against him.

L. D. Fedoseyeva replied that a mother could not be a judge of her son's state of health and that the reason for his hospitalization and the compulsory treatment lay in the letters of protest he had written which were interfering with the work of the authorities. These letters were a symptom indicating that A. D. Ponormaryov's illness was growing worse; apart from these letters she was not objecting to anything in his behaviour, so the normality of his behaviour proved nothing about his health.

Bernshtam: 'What sort of letters are they?'
Fedoseyeva: 'Neither I nor the doctor treating him have read the letters, but we know their contents. They are the letters of a sick man. They are not anti-Soviet, but in them he expresses a low opinion of the Soviet government and in general writes cynically about our leaders.'
Bernshtam: 'If you haven't read the letters, on what grounds did you hospitalize Ponomaryov?'
Fedoseyeva: 'We possess information and an evaluation of the letters from competent authorities.'
Bernshtam: 'Which authorities do you mean?'
Fedoseyeva: 'Well, surely you understand. . .'
Bernshtam: 'But nonetheless?'
Fedoseyeva: 'Well then, officials of the KGB.'
Bernshtam: 'You said the letters were a symptom that the patient's illness is getting worse. But are KGB officials really competent to make such judgements?'
Fedoseyeva: 'They make a political judgement and phone us, advising us to intern Ponomaryov in a hospital; for us to make a medical diagnosis it's enough simply to know of the existence of anti-government letters, there's no need for us to read them.'
Bernshtam: 'But still — a diagnosis based on a phone-call from the KGB . . . You have not read the documents, yet you decide the treatment. I don't understand that.'
Fedoseyeva: 'Nor will you understand it — after all, you're not a specialist.'
Bernshtam: 'All the same, what do you know about the letters?'
Fedoseyeva: 'They curse our government; they're written in a rude, cynical, aggressive manner, by a person in an emotional, sick condition, and they were sent to fascist organizations — the Federal German government and Pinochet.'

Bernshtam (to Lomovtseva): 'Were you, as his doctor, shown the letters written by your patient?'
Lomovtseva: 'No, that's not the way things are done.'
Fedoseyeva: 'Lyubov Fyodorovna would simply be overcome with shame if she read them, they're so cynical; why should she read them?'

At this point the discussion came to an end.

The next day the head doctor of the clinic, E. Ya. Obolsky, said that they would be treating Ponomaryov for a long time, as he was 'inclined to fall under the alien influence of dubious persons', and that he would not be released without a ruling that he was mentally incompetent and without the appointing of a guardian.

According to Fedoseyeva, Ponomaryov's letters would not be attached to his medical history, but would remain in the files of the KGB.

A. D. Ponomaryov has been put in the 8th section (for violent patients) of the Skvortsov-Stepanov psychiatric hospital (number 3), the head doctor of this section being Tobak and the address being Fermskaya Street 36, Leningrad.

The Arrest of Mikhail Naritsa

On 20 November the 66-year-old artist and writer Mikhail Aleksandrovich Naritsa — author of the novel *An Unsung Song*, published in the West, and of some *samizdat* works (see *Chronicle* 16) — was arrested in the town of Jelgava, Latvian SSR. This is his fourth arrest. As regards his first two sentences (in 1935 — 5 years in camps, in 1949 — eternal exile), he was fully exculpated in 1957. His third arrest (in 1961, for sending the manuscript of his novel abroad) led to his incarceration in a special psychiatric hospital. Now M. A. Naritsa has been charged with 'disseminating deliberately false fabrications which slander the Soviet system'. He is again threatened with imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital.

Since 1965 M. A. Naritsa has been trying to emigrate from the USSR. Uppsala University (in Sweden), where he sent his research paper 'Perspective in Drawing', has invited him to work there. However, the Soviet authorities will not allow him to leave the country.

In an article, 'My Testament', Naritsa has declared that he renounces his Soviet citizenship.

A criminal case is also being prepared against M. A. Naritsa's son Pyotr. He is charged with hooliganism and resisting the authorities: on the day his father was arrested he put up placards in the windows of his apartment in Jelgava, which read 'Freedom and Justice' and 'Article 125 of the Constitution'.[43]

In the Camps and Prisons

Political Prisoners' Day

On 31 October a press-conference took place in Moscow to mark Political Prisoners' Day in the USSR. This day was first observed a year ago by political prisoners and their families.

The participants in the press-conference informed journalists about the draft statute on political prisoners drawn up in the camps of Mordovia and Perm. The draft had been signed by 71 political prisoners and sent to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The authors of the draft define political prisoners as persons sentenced to imprisonment for political, national or religious reasons. The basic features of the draft are as follows:

1 Separation of political prisoners from other categories of prisoner. A prisoner should be held in the territory of the republic where he allegedly committed the crime he is charged with.
2 Abolition of forced labour. Creation of normal working conditions for prisoners who wish to work.
3 Prisoners should not be subjected to punishment through hunger, cold, damp, deprivation of a bed or of clothes (i.e. by being put in the cooler — *Chronicle*).
4 The right to an unrestricted number of visits.
5 The right to hold religious services, to make use of religious literature, to unite in groups with others of the same denomination.
6 The right to do creative work.
7 The right to a conscientious medical service, independent of the penal administration.
8 The right to an unrestricted amount of correspondence.

The journalists were also given a collective declaration signed by T. Velikanova, Yu. Orlov, G. Podyapolsky, T. Khodorovich, V. Borisov, A. Sakharov, G. Salova and A. Lavut. Later the declaration was supported by L. Bogoraz, L. Alekseyeva, N. Ivanov, V. Rodionov, N. Lisovskaya, N. Bukovskaya, L. Ternovsky, E. Kosterina and Z. Grigorenko.

The declaration emphasises that the basic features of the statute on political prisoners include requirements which are applicable to all prisoners. The article in the Basic Law on Corrective Labour and in the Corrective Labour Code ('Punishment does not have as its aim the inflicting of suffering or humiliation') is not observed in reality. The entire functioning of the corrective labour system contradicts the above article.

The authors of the declaration also demand:

- that prisoners should be given the opportunity to consult lawyers,
- that real supervision by society should be established over the conditions of imprisonment in penal institutions.

Going on to discuss the situation of political prisoners as such, the authors refer to the extremely severe conditions in which they are held.

The difficulty of obtaining qualified legal aid is especially acute for political prisoners. Obstacles are put in the way of lawyers who agree to take political cases.

For a political prisoner, 'to reform' means to renounce his beliefs. Ideological pressure from the authorities to do so is backed up by material and physical persuasion techniques — the cooler or deprivation of parcels. Even medical care is often made to depend on the 'strategic considerations' of the authorities.

The political prisoner finds himself in a difficult situation even after his release — his choice of a place to live is restricted; he has difficulty obtaining work and a residence permit. Almost every prisoner released is put under administrative surveillance.

The authors of the declaration point out that Soviet prisoners of conscience have not — from the viewpoint of generally accepted legal standards — committed any crimes, and they demand a review of all cases and the release of all prisoners sentenced for political reasons. They call for the release of those now under investigation for such reasons, in particular S. Kovalyov, A. Tverdokhlebov, V. Igrunov and M. Dzhemilev.

An essay by Malva Landa, '30 October is Political Prisoners' Day in the USSR',[44] was attached to the declaration. The essay is rich in factual material, most of which is known to the readers of the *Chronicle*.

Two declarations by Sakharov were also tied to 30 October. The first concerns the situation of former political prisoners. Sakharov writes in particular about Anatoly Ponomaryov, who was again put in a psychiatric hospital on 20 October, and Sergei Babich, who, although he was released a year ago [*Chronicle* 32], still cannot find a job to support himself.

The second declaration is about the imprisonment of Maria Florescul for bringing up her nephew in a religious manner (see below in this issue).

Diary of Camp 35

(Perm region, April — September 1975)

April-May: Copies of complaints and declarations addressed to various authorities on various subjects were confiscated from a group of prisoners. Lieutenant Rogozov, head of the special section, explained to **Antonyuk** that this was done 'so that these declarations won't get abroad'.

May: Procurator Goldyrev of Chusovoi district pointed out to the camp authorities the illegality of taking money from the accounts of prisoners to pay for their food (money for the maintenance of prisoners should be deducted only from the wages they earn in camp — *Chronicle*). The money was returned.

23 May: The prisoner **Smirnov** refused a three-day visit. His reason: he did not wish to subject his sister to the humiliation of a body-search.

25 May: **Vyacheslav Petrov** [*Chronicle* 29] was transferred here from camp 36.

26 May: The long-standing dispute between the camp administration and **A. Altman** (Altman [*Chronicle* 17] has been trying to observe the practices of the Jewish religion while in the camp and wore a beard) ended with Altman being handcuffed and shaved forcibly. Lieutenant Nikolayev, who supervised the shaving, drew up a report about his 'resistance to authority'.

Lychak[45] got 7 days in the cooler. The reason? He had 'books lying on his cupboard'. (They should have been inside it.)

28 May: **Altman** was deprived of a routine visit on the basis of the report made by Nikolayev.

29 May: Altman declared a hunger strike. The situation became very tense — about 20 prisoners were willing to support Altman's hunger strike. **Moshnyan** also declared a hunger strike, as he too had been deprived of a visit.

30 May: The camp commandant, Major Pimenov, talked to Altman, admitted the falsity of Nikolayev's report and deprived him of facilities at the camp store instead of depriving him of the visit.

Altman ended his hunger strike.

1 June, Sunday: Declared a working day, 'because of the needs of production'.

3 June: Lieutenant Nikolayev forbade **I. Valdman** to go out to work, for 'infringing the regulations on dress' (he was carrying his jacket over his arm). At the same time he immediately drew up a report charging Valdman with 'not going out to work'.

4 June: Nikolayev reported **N. Gorbal, I. Kalynets, I. Ogurtsov** and **A. Khnokh** for 'drinking tea in working hours'.

7 June: Because of Nikolayev's report Kalynets was deprived of a visit (for the third time in the last eight months). Khnokh was deprived of access to the store.

For 'being late for roll-call' I. Ogurtsov was deprived of a parcel and barred from the store.

8 June: An 'inventory' was carried out in the camp zone, i.e. a search of the prisoners' personal effects, which are kept in a depository. The prisoners themselves had to bring their belongings for inspection. **Pidgorodetsky** and **Smirnov** refused to participate in this search of their own things. They were put in the cooler.

D. Basarab (serving his 23rd year of imprisonment; an invalid of the second category who has twice suffered heart attacks) said that he could not lift heavy objects and asked to have his belongings inspected at the depository. He was deprived of access to the store, of a parcel and of a visit.

Petrov refused to carry his books out of the warehouse, as they were not subject to inventory. He was deprived of a parcel and of access to the store.

Following the 'inventory' some people had their books confiscated, others were deprived of their slippers. The operation was supervised by Captain Polyakov, deputy commandant for prisoners' regime.

On the same day **Gorbal** was deprived of access to the store — for 'drinking tea' (see 4 June).

9 June: 6 o'clock in the morning: 'A protest hunger strike was declared by 14 political prisoners: **Antonyuk, Valdman, Gluzman, Gorbal, Demidov, Zograbyan, Kalynets, Petrov, Prishlyak, Pronyuk, Svetlichny, Soroka, Khnokh** and **Shakhverdyan.**

11 o'clock in the morning: A discussion with Pimenov took place. As a result, **Petrov** was thrown in the cooler for 5 days 'for insulting Captain Polyakov'. Protests were sent to the Central Committee of the CPSU.

2 o'clock in the afternoon: On Pimenov's orders Petrov was let out of the cooler. **Pidgorodetsky** had his 10 days in the cooler cut to 3 days.

Evening: The books confiscated the day before were returned to the prisoners. In the cooler Pidgorodetsky was given his jacket and a hot water bottle (this was unprecedented).

10 June: In the morning the camp authorities summoned **Kalynets** and **Basarab.** They were given to understand that their punishments would be commuted if they asked for this. Both men refused.

5 o'clock in the evening: Kalynets was deprived of access to the store instead of being deprived of a visit.

6 o'clock in the evening: The hunger strike was suspended 'because the illegalities have been partially remedied'. Only **Svetlichny** continued his hunger strike: the day before he had been deprived of a parcel and of access to the store for refusing to write production indicators on the notice board (usually this work was done by 'activists').

11 June: **S. Soroka** was deprived of a parcel and of access to the store (like Basarab, during the 'inventory' on 8 June he had asked to have his belongings inspected at the depository).

20 June: **Petrov** declared a hunger strike — he had been ordered to fulfil the work norm on a lathe, although he had never taken a course of instruction in its use and did not have the necessary qualifications.

23 June: The camp was visited by a commission of observers from the regional soviet executive committee. The commission summoned **Antonyuk, Gorbal, Pronyuk** and **Khnokh** and gave them the following choice: either they would take part in the labour colony's collective Soviet — or they would be sent to Vladimir prison. The members of the commission refused to give their names.

24 June: **Antonyuk** suffered a severe attack of pain in his kidneys. He received no medical assistance and was made to go out to work.

25 June: **Petrov** was told his request would be granted. He ended his hunger strike.

Major Yarunin of the MVD medical service, the head of the camp medical section, admitted that Antonyuk had suffered a kidney attack and prescribed some medicine for him, but refused to release him from work. Antonyuk went out to work, although he was seriously ill.

July: 'I listen regularly to radio broadcasts of extracts from the *Chronicle.* The facts given are accurate.' (Rogozov, head of the special section at camp 35, speaking to Superfin).

3 July: The camp was visited by a delegation of public figures from Kiev: it consisted of Kakovsky, Doctor of History, Goloveshko, deputy head of the Kiev regional soviet's department of justice, and Mordyuk, a worker at the Gorky factory.

Everyone was forced to attend the 'meeting' in the hall; officer Kuznetsov announced that anyone who refused would be deprived of access to the store.

Major Kotov said to prisoner **Gluzman** (in front of the members of the delegation):

'I shall order all the Jews to take off their six-pointed stars. Only one religion is allowed in our country — the Orthodox one; only crosses may be worn.

Gluzman asked, 'Well, what about Moslems, for instance?'

'Only crosses may be worn,' said Kotov.

Lieutenant Rogozov, head of the special section, drew up a report on **Pidgorodetsky:** 'At evening roll-call he insulted the public figures from Kiev.'

Pronyuk was put in the punishment barracks. On the same day or later **Gorbal** was also sent there.

4 July: Three KGB men (one of whom was the notorious Ruban from the Kiev KGB (see *Chronicle* 30); another was Captain Utyro, the KGB representative in camp 35) had a talk with **Pidgorodetsky** about his views.

5 July: Pidgorodetsky was put in the cooler for seven days, on the basis of Rogozov's report.

1 August: 'I'd shoot the lot of you if I had my way' (Ensign Gubarev's words to the prisoner Valery Marchenko).

2 August: **Antonyuk** suffered another attack of pain in his kidneys.

8 August: **Valdman** sent a declaration to Brezhnev and Kosygin announcing that his status was now that of a political prisoner.

17 August: Valdman demanded that his declaration, which was being held back by the camp administration, be sent off.

That evening Valdman had a heart attack.

18 August, morning: Valdman was examined by doctor Yarunin. His diagnosis: spasms of the coronary blood-vessels, general exhaustion, nervous exhaustion. A course of treatment was prescribed.

Afternoon: On the orders of Pimenov, Valdman was sent to the cooler for 15 days.

26 August: The prisoner **Skobas** died. Shortly before his death he went to the doctor but did not get into the hospital because there were 'no free beds'. He had been engaged in hard physical labour.

28 August: After a three-day visit from his mother, **Shakhverdyan** was subjected to a body search in which medical means were used. The probing of his anus was personally carried out by Major Yarunin, head of the medical section.

There is reason to think that Shakhverdyan's mother was subjected to a similar search.

Some prisoners announced a boycott of Yarunin as a doctor.

1 September: **Kalynets** declared a warning hunger strike. The reason for it was the confiscation of letters from his relatives, including one from his small daughter.

At the same time **Petrov** declared a hunger strike: he was asking to be hospitalized (Petrov has a stomach ulcer and pains in his heart).

4 September: Without receiving permission, **Altman** declared himself a political prisoner.

5 September: He was deprived of access to the store and of a parcel.

6 September: He was deprived of a visit.

8 September: Petrov was promised a place in hospital and ended his hunger strike.

Altman was sent to the cooler for ten days.

Valdman declared himself a political prisoner.

9 September: Petrov was transferred to the hospital.

10 September: Kalynets ended his hunger strike no later than this day.

12 September: Petrov was discharged from hospital. On the same day he was shut up in the punishment barracks until the end of his sentence (i.e. until February 1976), for 'systematically infringing the rules of detention'. Petrov declared a hunger strike, to last as long as he was kept in the punishment barracks.

14 September: Valdman was thrown in the cooler for ten days.

18 September morning: Altman came back into the camp after ten days in the cooler.

Evening: Altman was sent back to the cooler — for 15 days.

16-20 September: Mass protests by prisoners in camp 35. Letters were sent to the Central Committee and Podgorny about the illegalities and tyranny in the camp. The authors of many declarations warned that, if their protests were handed over in the usual way to lower officials for investigation (that is, to those who were the subject of the prisoners' complaints), then they would have to renounce their Soviet citizenship and appeal for help to international organizations.

* * *

S. Gluzman is being threatened with a new sentence.

On 12 September he was summoned by K G B representative Utyro. The latter told Gluzman that a new case was being prepared against him under article 70, section 2.

Gluzman is charged with: 1. getting information out of the camp about the hunger strike in summer 1974 (see *Chronicle* 33); 2. gathering information about the events in camp 35 (during a search sheets of paper bearing some sort of notes were discovered on Gluzman); 3. writing an article on P. Grigorenko (evidently this is a reference to 'An in absentia psychiatric report on the case of P. Grigorenko', which Gluzman helped to write; 4. *A Manual on Psychiatry for Dissenters* by Gluzman and Bukovsky (*Chronicle* 35), which appeared in samizdat and was published in the West (in the second half of 1974 the camp administration obtained a copy of this text.)

Perm Camp 36

The following were sent to Vladimir prison for proclaiming themselves political prisoners: **A. Zdorovy** (*Chronicle* 36), **V. Kalinichenko, V. Roketsky,** and [Fyodor] **Prikhodko.**[48] A number of prisoners were punished for the same offence by being put in the cooler, among them **A. Turik.**

* * *

On 25 May 1975 **Petras Plumpa** (*Chronicle* 34) sent a declaration from camp 36 to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, in which he renounced his Soviet citizenship and asked that he and his family should be allowed to emigrate. On 2 July Plumpa was informed from Moscow that his declaration had been passed to the Lithuanian procurator's office.

* * *

On 30 July, the date when the Helsinki Agreement was signed, a one-day hunger strike took place in the camp. Those who participated are sure that the Soviet government will not observe the terms of the agreement.

Perm Camp 37

At the end of September a new camp for political prisoners was opened in the settlement of Polovinka, two kilometres away from camp 35 (see *Chronicle* 37). The living conditions in camp 37 are unprecedented; in particular, each prisoner has his own bedside cupboard and each section has a refrigerator and an airing cupboard. There are no war criminals among the prisoners. The administration is polite to the prisoners and their relatives.

There are now about 50 prisoners in the new camp. The names of 26 are known to the *Chronicle*:

1. Grigory Berger-Kolodezh (a common criminal who became a 'political'; his sentences and articles of the criminal code are too numerous to list. See on him *Prison Diary* by E. Kuznetsov).
2. Berdnik.
3. Yury Vasilev (article 64; sentence — 11 years plus three in exile; has served six years [*Chronicle* 16]).
4. Mikhail Vendysh (article 64) [*Chronicle* 33].
5. Anatoly Gorodetsky.
6. Zinovy Dovganich (sentence ten years; due for release in 1979).
7. Vasily Doroshenko.

8. Vladimir Dyak (article 70 plus stealing timber; sentence ten years; has been in prison since 1971). He denies the theft charge (*Chronicle* 33).
9. Alexander Egorov (article 70, sentence four years[47]).
10. Izrail Zalmanson (article 64, sentence eight years; has three years left to serve).
11. Ismail Ismagilov.[48]
12. Yusup Kaziev.
13. Mikhail Kapranov (article 70, sentence seven years; due for release next year [*Chronicles* 12, 13].
14. Dmitry Kvetsko (artcile 64, sentence 15 years plus five years exile; has been in prison since 1967 [*Chronicle* 17]).
15. Vitaly Kolomin (article 70, six years; since 1971 [*Chronicles* 32, 33, 35]).
16. Kononchuk.
17. Mikhail Kopotun (article 70, sentence three years).
18. Ivan Kochubei.
19. Yury Levshin (article 64, sentence 12 years; since 1968).
20. Lychak (sentence eight or 12 years, article 64, two years left to serve).
21. Vladimir Marmus.
22. Vladimir Panchenko (article 64, eight years; about two left to serve).
23. Nikolai Potapov (article 64, 12 years, since 1966).
24. Alexander Chekhovskoi (article 70, sentence six years, since 1970 [*Chronicles* 33, 35]).
25. Isaak Shkolnik (article 65, sentence seven years, since 1972 [*Chronicle* 33]).
26. Shushunin.

About 40 prisoners were transferred from Mordovia, and about ten from Perm camp 35.

Mordovia

This autumn there were 44 prisoners in camp 17, about 50 in camp 3, and about 280 in camp 19.

* * *

The following prisoners took part in a hunger strike on 30 October 1975 (Political Prisoners' Day):

Yury Butchenko (or Buchenko) — camp 17, article 70, sentence seven years; recently brought from Leningrad. Nothing is known of his case except that two others were tried together with him.

Mikhail Kheifets — camp 17, article 70, sentence six years (*Chronicle* 34).

Pyotr Lomakin — camp 17, article 70, sentence two-and-a-half-years (released on 15 November).

Alexander Bolonkin — camp 19, article 70, sentence four years plus two in exile (*Chronicles* 28-30).

Paruir Airikyan — camp 19, articles 65, section 2, and 67 of the Armenian SSR Criminal Code (equals articles 70, section 2, and 72 of the RSFSR Code); sentence seven plus three (*Chronicle* 34).

Pyotr Sartakov — camp 19, 60 years old.

Graur (or Grauer).

Vasyl Dolishny.

* * *

Vitaly Konstantinovich Lysenko is in camp 17; he is about 35 years old, a naval lieutenant from Kaliningrad. The details of his case are unknown to the *Chronicle*; article 70 (perhaps also article 64), sentence — five years plus two years exile; apparently arrested in 1974. Tried in Leningrad. His co-defendant **Konstantinovsky** got 15 years plus five in exile. He must serve the first five years in prison and is now in Vladimir.

* * *

According to unverified information, in June this year **Alexander Bolonkin** received a 'Warning' under the appropriate decree. The 'Warning' apparently concerned Bolonkin's 'anti-Soviet activities'.

* * *

This autumn **Vasyl Stus** was transferred to the Ukraine — apparently for routine 're-education work'.

* * *

Stefania Shabatura was transferred to Lvov in October, where she was kept in prison until December. She is now back in camp 3.

* * *

On 6 December **Nina Antonovna Strokata-Karavanskaya** (*Chronicle* 28) was released at the end of her sentence. For the last few months of her imprisonment she was not held in a camp but in the MVD cancer clinic in Rostov-on-Don.

Vladimir Prison

According to some reports, the struggle against forced labour by the political prisoners in Vladimir prison has had some success. At present the situation is as follows: prisoners who had earlier been punished for refusing to work and who had not yet completed their punishment (in the cooler or on strict regime) have not had this punishment commuted, but no new penalties are being inflicted for refusal to work.

* * *

The mother of **Alexander Sergienko** (*Chronicles* 25, 27, 30) had a talk with the prison doctor in April. The latter declared that Sergienko was more or less healthy (Sergienko has severe tuberculosis; from 1951 he was continuously on the register at a tuberculosis clinic; his medical history was confiscated during the investigation of his case by K G B official Ganenko and has not been seen since).

In October Alexander Sergienko got 15 days in the cooler for using impermissible expressions in a complaint to the procurator.

* * *

The hunger strike begun by **Abankin** and **Safronov** on 15 May (*Chronicle* 37) lasted until 19 June — as a protest against Abankin being beaten up in the cooler.

* * *

On the night of 17-18 October, in cell 31 (block 3), the prisoner **Gunnars Rode** was taken ill. It was obvious that he was having a volvulus attack, like the one he had in 1971 (*Chronicle* 20). The warder Mikhailov — the same man who beat up the hunger striker Abankin in the cooler on 18 May (*Chronicle* 37) — refused to summon a doctor. Then the prisoners in cell 31 — **Vitold Abankin, Vladimir Bukovsky, Yury Grodetsky, Aleksei Safronov** and **Bobur Shakirov** — created a commotion, and broke the glass spy-hole and the food aperture. The assistant commandant on duty and a medical assistant came running. Rode was taken to the hospital wing. He was given medical treatment and later that day he was sent back to the cell.

The prisoners of cell 31 were dispersed to different cells and were later punished for making a noise and breaking the food aperture.

On 29 October Abankin was sent to the cooler for 15 days.

On 30 October Bukovsky, too, was sent there for 15 days (he was transferred to the cooler from the hospital wing).

On 2 November Safronov was sent to the cooler for ten days.

On 3 November Shakirov got ten days in the cooler.

* * *

The *Chronicle* now corrects its reports on how **Vladimir Balakhonov** has been moved from place to place. From January to July 1975 he was moved along the following route: Perm camp 35 — Mordovian camp 3 (the psychiatric wing of the hospital) — the K G B prison in Perm — Perm camp 36 — Vladimir prison (see *Chronicles* 35, 37).

On 20 December M. Landa appealed to Amnesty International, asking it to adopt (i.e. put on its books) the political prisoner V. Balakhonov, if this had not yet been done.

* * *

[D. M.] Airapetov has been brought to Vladimir prison from Azerbaidzhan.[49] He was sentenced under article 70 for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' (expressing his views, writing letters to various authorities). His sentence is seven years,[50] the first three years of which Airapetov must serve in prison.

* * *

In the autumn of this year the following were transferred from Perm camp 35 to Vladimir: **Nikolai Bondar, Zinovy Antonyuk** and **Iokhan Valdman.**[51] They are all held in block 1.

* * *

On 20 April **Vasily Petrovich Fedorenko** was brought to Vladimir. Fedorenko had not been allowed to emigrate to West Germany, where his sister lives, and had crossed the Czechoslovak border. He was detained in Czechoslovakia. He got a 15-year sentence, the first five years of which he must serve in a prison and the remaining ten years in a special-regime camp.[52]

He began a hunger strike as soon as he got to the prison and continued it for 95 days.

Fedorenko is 47 years old; he has served two previous sentences on political charges.

* * *

Colonel Zavyalkin, the prison commandant, said to prisoner Lyubarsky: 'The commentaries to the Corrective Labour Code were compiled by a bunch of illiterate academics' (January 1975).

* * *

In cell-block 2 (cell 2/15) there is a common criminal who is paralysed. He lies there without moving. So he has to be taken to the cooler on a stretcher.

This man's name is **Nikolai Edkov;** in the past he was a front-line pilot. He is sent to the cooler because he constantly writes complaints.

* * *

The traditional one-day hunger strikes by political prisoners in Vladimir took place on the following days: 30 October — 'Political Prisoners' Day'; 5 December — 'Constitution Day'; 10 December — 'Human Rights Day'.

This year a one-day hunger strike also took place on 20 (?) November [in fact 20 October] — the opening day of the International Women's Congress.

Belorussia

About a year ago a Central Women's Prison was opened in Belorussia. From now on women transferred to a prison regime will be sent, not to Vladimir, but to this prison.

Nadezhda Usoyeva (a True Orthodox Christian) [*Chronicle* 33] has been transferred there from Mordovia.

Georgia

On 23 September **Valentina Serapionovna Pailodze** [*Chronicle* 33] was released, on completing her sentence, from women's penal colony number 12 in Tbilisi.

On 11 September 1975 the newspaper *Tbilisi* published in its 'Courtroom' column an article by Z. Mesengiser — 'A Slanderer and Paper-soiler', again about V. Pailodze (see *Chronicle* 34). The article ends with these words: 'It is to be hoped that other people who have turned the writing of anonymous letters into a profession will draw appropriate conclusions from this unpleasant story'.

Krasnoyarsk Territory

On 11 October **Reshat Dzhemilev** was released from a camp on completing a three-year sentence (*Chronicles* 31, 34).

Letters and Appeals from Political Prisoners

1. An appeal 'to the governments of all countries, to the United Nations Organization, to all honest people in the world', compiled by a group of prisoners in Perm camp 36 at the end of last year, which has only now become available. The authors announce their intention to fight for recognition of their status as political prisoners. 'We are full of determination to pursue this aim to the end,' the appeal declares.

Later events — the development of the struggle for political prisoner status — are well known to readers of the *Chronicle* (see *Chronicles* 34-37, also this issue).

Those who signed the appeal included **Yakov Suslensky, Pavel Kampov, Yury Grodetsky, Nikolai Bondar, Anatoly Zdorovy, Vitaly Kalinichenko** and others.

2. **Bagrat Shakhverdyan:** 'To the Office of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation,' September 1973.[53]

Shakhverdyan feels that the conditions established for political prisoners in the U S S R contradict the Final Act of the All-European Conference signed in Helsinki. He notes that 'the prisoners had hoped for a great deal from détente' but that 'after the Final Act had been signed in Helsinki the authorities heaped repressive measures on us with renewed vigour'.

3. **Mikhail Kheifets,** August 1975. The writer, sentenced to six years in camps* by Leningrad city court in September last year (*Chronicle* 34), briefly describes his 'case'. He appeals to literary figures all over the world, especially

[*In fact to four years in camps plus two in exile.]

to the western communist writers James Aldridge, Albert Kahn and André Steel [?], calling on them to 'make every effort to ensure the victory of truth and justice'.[54]

4. **Stepan Soroka,** July 1975. An account of the visit paid to camp 35 by a delegation representing 'Ukrainian public opinion' (the visit has been referred to earlier in this section).

These were some of the comments made by Professor Kakovsky, Doctor of History, a member of the delegation.

— 'They shouldn't be imprisoned for their nationalist opinions, they should be executed.'

— 'Make them rot here!' (to the camp administration).

— 'The nationalists killed Halan!'

Soroka has his own views on the murder of the well-known Soviet writer Yaroslav Halan. He considers that the followers of Bandera had no reason to kill Halan and that Halan may have been bumped off by Stalin. In Soroka's opinion the young men who killed Halan had been prompted to do so by agents of the M G B.[55] As a further example, Soroka cites his own 'case' in 1952 — he was charged with being a member of an organization affiliated to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists which had been founded at the behest of the M G B by Ivan Kharechko (who nevertheless got a 25-year-sentence, like the others).

5. **Stepan Soroka:** Declaration to the Politbureau of the C P S U Central Committee. 3 June 1975.

In 1956 Soroka was released and his conviction was quashed. However, in December 1957 he was again arrested on the basis of a false denunciation — supposedly he was planning to assassinate N. S. Khrushchev. After the falsity of this allegation had been proved, Soroka was not released, as Khrushchev had by then been informed of the 'assassination attempt'. It is clear that the then chairman of the Ukrainian K G B, Nikitchenko, decided to resolve the situation by obtaining permission to revoke Soroka's release in 1956. In this way Soroka was sent to serve out his 25-year-term.

The resulting situation is expressed in the words of Kiev K G B official Major Ruban, quoted by Soroka: 'How can we release Soroka? He'll tell people all about it, then . . .!'

'It seems that my worst crime is my innocence,' concludes Soroka.

In Defence of Vladimir Bukovsky

5 September

Nina Ivanovna Bukovskaya appealed again to N. V. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, asking him to free her son and

allow him to go abroad. To her earlier appeals she had received answers that V. Bukovsky would himself have to write a request for a pardon before the question could be considered 'But my son was sentenced under a political article of the R S F S R Criminal Code; he was sentenced for his convictions,' writes Bukovskaya. 'An appeal from him for a pardon would mean a renunciation of his personal principles and beliefs . . . My son will never do that . . .'

13 October

After receiving a standard refusal from the U S S R Procurator's Office, N. I. Bukovskaya decided to make public her letter to Podgorny.

22 October, date of a letter sent by N. I. Bukovskaya to Giscard d'Estaing, President of France.

On the eve of the President's visit to the U S S R, N. I. Bukovskaya begged him to speak about her son's fate to the leaders of the Soviet government, and with Brezhnev in person.

Bukovskaya referred to the traditional French respect for mothers and hoped that her voice, the voice of a mother, would be heard.

26 December

N. I. Bukovskaya wrote an open letter appealing to Georges Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party.

The attention paid by the French Comumnist Party and by G. Marchais personally to the situation of Soviet political prisoners, his declarations that French Communists intended to carry out 'a policy of true democracy and preservation of human rights' — all this encouraged Nina Ivanovna to hope that Marchais would not refuse to help her and her son.

> My son has not committed any crimes against the laws of his country. He has merely fought consistently and unselfishly for human rights in the Soviet Union.
>
> At the end of 1970 he gave Western psychiatrists documents relating to the internment for repressive purposes of certain dissenters, mentally healthy people, in homes for the mentally ill. Soon after this he was arrested and condemned . . .
>
> I also ask you, from my heart, to speak out in defence of the young Soviet psychiatrist Semyon Gluzman, sentenced to seven years' imprisonment . . . because he protested against the incarceration in a psychiatric hospital of Pyotr Grigorenko, a man who in Gluzman's opinion was mentally healthy.

* * *

A meeting of students and teachers at Norwich University (England) has passed a resolution to regard Vladimir Bukovsky as an honorary student and to demand his release.

In Britain a Committee for the Release of Bukovsky has been formed; its members include David Markham, an actor and farmer, Harold Pinter, a director of the National Theatre, and Peggy Ashcroft, a well-known actress.

In Holland there is also a Committee for the Defence of Bukovsky, headed by the journalist [Henk] Wolzak. The members of the committee have been holding meetings all over the country on behalf of Vladimir Bukovsky.

* * *

Bukovsky has now served almost five years of his prison sentence — one year in an investigation prison, one year in Vladimir Prison, one year in a camp, and, since May 1974, he has again been in Vladimir. He has over two years left to serve in prison, then five years in exile. He has a duodenal ulcer and cholelithiasis; he also suffers from rheumatism and has a heart complaint.

Mustafa Dzhemilev Continues his Hunger Strike

Mustafa has managed to send a letter to a friend of his from an Omsk investigation prison. He writes:

> Things are in general much the same with me. On 18 August I was examined by the doctors; their observations were as follows: pulse 57, temperature 35.5°C., blood pressure 90/60, weight 45 kg.
>
> In general they say that people 'are not allowed to die' here. This is probably true, because on the same day, 18 August, I was transferred to the prison hospital where I was given injections of glucose and vitamin B1, in addition to daily intravenous injections. On 26 August I was once more transferred to my cell in the cellars, but on 1 September they had to take me back to the hospital, as my stomach trouble was making me very ill. They kept me there for four days, and today, 5 September, I was taken back to the cellars again.
>
> I am not being bothered by the investigators.
>
> Let me tell you about an incident that occurred on 12 August. That morning Lieutenant-Colonel Surov, the prison commandant, came into my cell. He asked when I would end my hunger strike, and, on hearing that I did not intend to end it, began to shower insults on me. He said that he had discovered what an anti-Soviet scoundrel I was and that I was naive to think that a hunger-strike would help me gain my freedom. He concluded by inspecting the cell and when he noticed some inscriptions on the wall he ordered me to be given a brush and some whitewash to paint them out, although he could see from the nature of the inscriptions that I had nothing to do with them; he could also see that I was hardly able to stand up.
>
> 'If he doesn't obey — punish him!' he said to the warder on duty. I could have been punished by having my bed removed and the folding bunks fastened back, so that I would have had to lie on the wet cement floor.
>
> When the warder hinted to him in the corridor that such bullying might

evoke a reaction of desperation on my part, the commandant said, '*Let* him hang himself — that would be even better!' From this I realized that my suicide would be regarded in certain circles as the most desirable solution . . .

Don't fail to phone Moscow and convey my gratitude and greetings to A. D. Sakharov and Z. Mikh-na.*

Goodbye, my friend.

Mustafa Dzhemilev, 5 September 1975

* * *

P. G. Grigorenko asked the lawyer Shveisky to pass on to Mustafa an appeal from all his friends to end his hunger-strike. Mustafa replied that he himself was against self-torture in principle, but that for him a hunger-strike was not only a form of protest but also a defence against the possible appearance of new false witnesses in the form of cell-mates. While on hunger-strike, he was kept in solitary confinement.

In the middle of October the Omsk regional court passed Dzhemilev's case back to the investigators for further investigation.

On 4 November P. G. Grigorenko sent a declaration to the R S F S R procurator's office. He referred to the fact that M. Dzhemilev was being kept in a damp cell and was on hunger-strike 'as a protest against the unfounded charges against him and in order to prevent false witnesses being planted next to him'. To draw out the investigation represented a mortal risk. Grigorenko asked that imprisonment be replaced by any other form of restraint which did not involve deprivation of freedom. He expressed his readiness to act as a guarantor for Dzhemilev or to find other guarantors.

A reply came from the Omsk procurator's office on 24 November: a refusal.

In the middle of November Mustafa's mother and brother were allowed to visit him. Mustafa was very weak, and he fainted.

On 29 November a press conference was called, in which P. G. Grigorenko and Vasfie Khairova, Dzhemilev's sister, took part.

Vasfie recounted how her brother had been persecuted by the authorities since 1966. She said: 'At our request Pyotr Grigorevich wrote to the R S F S R procurator's office, to ask that Mustafa be released on bail until the trial, so that we could feed him up.' In the R S F S R procurator's office she had been laughed at: 'If we released hunger-strikers, everyone would go on hunger-strike.'

Vasfie also described how she had travelled to Moscow:

> At the airport I was searched. They said they were looking for explosives. I asked why they were searching only me and letting other people go through without being searched, but I received no comprehensible reply. When they were searching my handbag, they pulled out a notebook and leafed through it, reading all my notes. I asked if explosives could be inserted among the notes in the handbook. Again they muttered something indistinct.

*Zinaida Mikhailovna Grigorenko.

On 3 December Mustafa's parents, four sisters and two brothers, appealed to the International Committee of the Red Cross, to Amnesty International, and to leaders of communist parties, calling on them to save Mustafa's life.

On the same day Z. M. Grigorenko, P. G. Grigorenko, V. Khairova, R. Dzhemilev and A. D. Sakharov sent a letter to the U N, demanding a public investigation of Dzhemilev's case by a special commission.

On 18 December the following 'Report on Mustafa Dzhemilev' was circulated in Moscow:

> The trial of Mustafa Dzhemilev was fixed for 17 December 1975 in the city of Omsk.
>
> Defence counsel Shveisky, defence witnesses and relatives came to the courthouse on the morning of 16 December.
>
> Yu. I. Anosov, presiding judge of the regional court and also the presiding judge in M. Dzhemilev's case, was not at his place of work and arrived only towards the end of the working day. He did not grant the lawyer's request to see the accused so as to be able to prepare his case, and justified his refusal by the lateness of the hour. He promised that the meeting would be allowed on the morning of the 17th.
>
> On the morning of the 17th the court secretary announced that Anosov had been taken ill and had been driven from his home to the hospital in an ambulance. The trial was postponed indefinitely. The lawyer was not allowed to meet his client.
>
> Mustafa is continuing his hunger-strike. His sisters saw him being taken to a 'black maria'. Mustafa resembled a skeleton with skin tightly drawn over its bones. He seemed to have grown smaller and could hardly walk.
>
> The court secretary ironically asked Mustafa's sister: 'Did you see your Mustafa, then, so small and thin?'
>
> We have managed to establish that Anosov was at the courthouse that morning. He was not taken to the hospital. After repeated telephone calls to him, his secretary replied: 'Anosov has suddenly been taken ill.'
>
> We are firmly convinced that the trial was deliberately postponed, that this was planned in advance as a bureaucratic trick to deprive Mustafa of a qualified defence lawyer and the presence of defence witnesses.
>
> Relatives suffered great material hardship because of the expense of travelling to the trial.
>
> The calculated aim is clear: to conceal the illegal, fabricated charges from his people and world public opinion by means of a closed trial with no witnesses.

Reshat Dzhemilev, Vasfie Khairova, Gulzar Dzhemileva, Enver Seferov, Anatoly Kudryashov . . . Pakiz.

* * *

950 Crimean Tatars living some in the Crimea (about 600) and some in Uzbekistan, have put their signatures to a document demanding 'Freedom for Mustafa Dzhemilev'.

The Movement of the Crimean Tatars

Simferopol

On 18 November 150 Crimean Tatars assembled at the regional soviet executive committee building, as they wanted to ask the committee chairman for permission to register as residents and obtain employment. The chairman refused to see them and the police detained two persons: **Mustafa Sofu** (demobilized in 1972), has been living since then at the Shalfein state farm without a residence permit) and **Servet Mustafayev**[56] from the village of Belaya Skala; the rest were taken to the regional M V D headquarters. Here superintendent Gaidamak interviewed four people and on various pretexts refused to grant them residence permits. The Tatars dispersed only after the two who had been detained were released.

* * *

On 22 November at the railway station, **Medat Kurtvanov** and **Mamedi Chobanov** were taken off the Simferopol-Kharkov train. Letters in defence of Mustafa Dzhemilev were confiscated from Chobanov; these contained 700 signatures and were addressed to the Central Committee of the C P S U and the Committee of Human Rights.

Two days later Chobanov was taken back to his home in the village of Zhuravki by K G B officials; a search was then carried out. Nothing was confiscated during the search, which was conducted by Ilinov, an official from the regional M V D and by two policemen and two K G B men. One of the K G B men, who called himself Ivan Timofeyevich, said: 'If you go on behaving like this there might be a repetition of what happened in 1944.'

* * *

Adzhimelek Mustafayeva, who was arrested in September (*Chronicle* 37), has been sentenced to 1½ years' banishment from the Crimea.

'The Crimean Hills are in Danger'

Refat Khalilov, who in recent years had been living in Novoalekseyevka (Kherson region), in September 1975 bought a house in his home village of Gavr (now Plotinnoye), in the district of Bakhchisarai.

On 29 September he himself set off to go there in a lorry, with his household effects, while his wife, children (aged 16 and 14) and aunt travelled in a car lent to him by a friend. The lorry was stopped and turned back at the first traffic-police post in the Crimea, at Chongar. The car in which Khalilov's family was travelling was not stopped till after Simferopol, in the settlement Priyatnoye Svidaniye. Here they were met by some policemen, a plain-clothes man and a number of vigilantes. The driver's documents were confiscated and the car was escorted to the Crimean border, where the documents were returned.

Over the next few days the roads leading to the village of Plotinnoye were patrolled by police units. On 30 September (or 1 October) the leaders of the state farm and local party activists were summoned to the Golubenkoye village soviet. There two K G B officials explained to them that, although all nations are equal in our country, the Crimean Tatars could not be allowed to return to these villages. On the other hand, after the European conference [in Helsinki], they could not be deported either. For this reason they must take every measure to ensure that Crimean Tatars did not buy houses in the Crimea.

On 9 October Khalilov's family (without him) nevertheless arrived at their house. A local policeman soon turned up and examined their documents. About two hours later, two cars drove up to the house, containing a Colonel and a Captain of the police, together with the chairman of the village soviet and a group of vigilantes. A bus belonging to the state farm was also driven up. The Colonel ordered the whole family to get into the bus immediately. Nazife Osmanova, Khalilov's aunt, showed him a letter announcing her husband's death at the front, while defending Sevastopol. She asked to be allowed to spend just one day in her homeland, which she had not seen since 1944. The former owners of the house were shocked by the cruelty of the police; the former owner's 18-year-old son said: 'You're driving people out just like the Fascists.' The driver wanted to refuse his services, as it was time to take the children to their homes from the infant-school, but the Colonel said: 'The children will get home by themselves; the main job now is to get these people out of the Crimea.' With two vigilantes as an escort, the family was driven back to Novoalekseyevka.

Appeal by Crimean Tatar Women (August 1975). The appeal was sent to the party and government in connection with International Women's Year, the 25th C P S U Congress and the 30th anniversary of Victory. It gives the names of dozens of Crimean Tatar women who fought heroically at the front, in partisan units and as members of the underground. Many of them perished. The tragedy of the nation's deportation and destruction in exile is described. Periya Dzhumaniyaziya, whose nine sons died at the front, herself died from hunger in exile.

The appeal calls for the return of the Crimean Tatars to their homeland. It is signed by about 1,000 people.

Information Bulletin No. 115
from Representatives of the Crimean Tatar People

Volume 207 of information material about the Crimean Tatar people has been sent to the 25th Congress of the C P S U. It consists of: (a) 'Demands of the Crimean Tatar People' (20,000 signatures); (b) data on the history of the Crimean Tatars; (c) statistics on the nation's population from 1944 to 1974, compiled by means of independent censuses and inquiries (before 1944 there were 560,000 Crimean Tatars; of these, 57,000 perished in the war against fascism, and 80,000 were in the regular army in May 1944; the remaining 420,000 people were deported from the Crimea; in the first years of exile the nation lost 46 per cent of those deported, i.e. 193,000 people; there are now 833,000 Crimean Tatars); (d) statistics on the material loss suffered by the nation as a result of the deportation (the total losses amount to almost three million new roubles), on the destruction of cultural treasures, cemeteries and other national and religious treasures; (e) photocopies of various documents which were handed in to the Central Committee of the C P S U between 1964 and 1974. (This volume of materials was also sent to the U N and the Italian and Rumanian Communist Parties — *Chronicle*).

In addition, the following documents have been sent to the Central Committee of the C P S U: a letter from veterans of the Second World War (331 signatures); a letter describing the activities of the Crimean authorities against the Crimean Tatars (598 signatures); and 160 individual letters.

It is reported that on 23 November a set of the above-mentioned documents was confiscated by officials of the K G B and M V D from the left luggage lockers at Moscow's Kazan station.

Mustafa Khalilov, a representative of the Crimean Tatars, set off for Moscow but was taken off the plane on 20 November while it was still in Tashkent.

It is reported that on 23 November at the Novodevichy cemetery in Moscow a monument to the pilot Ametkhan Sultan, twice Hero of the Soviet Union, was ceremonially unveiled. The monument was built with funds collected by the Crimean Tatars and funds donated by the authorities of the Aviation Institute where Ametkhan Sultan had worked as an experimental pilot [prior to his death in World War II].

The information bulletin is signed by: Mukhsim Osmanov, Zore Memetova, Nuri Kayaliev and Server Matrosov (all from Fergana region); Amet Abduramanov, Mustafa Khalilov, Alpaz Seidametov, Umer Ilyasov and Ibraim Ibraimov (from Tashkent region); Akim Abdureshitov and Aishe Veliullayeva (from Andizhan region); Shevkhi Mukhteremov and Kadyr Ametov (from Samarkand region); and Dilyara Dadoi (from the Crimean region).

Events in Georgia

The Georgian S S R procurator's office has started proceedings against **[Yu.] Dzhangiani** and **[L. A.] Frolov,** former officials at remand prison number 1 in Tbilisi, where they were in charge of the torturing of detainees (*Chronicle* 36). The number of the case is 10669. The case is being conducted by special investigator Khabuliani.

* * *

Tbilisi. At the end of August 1975 K G B Colonel Zardalishvili interrogated **T. Gvazava,** who works as a binder at the printing works attached to the Institute of Economics. Zardalishvili reprimanded Gvazava for having bound forbidden books at the request of **Zviad Gamsakhurdia** and categorically forbade him to meet Gamsakhurdia again.

At the beginning of September an employee at the printing works, **V. Mikhailov,** who was in charge of an 'Era' copying machine, testified during a K G B interrogation that he had made copies of *samizdat* and that he had been given this *samizdat* by **N. Kavtaradze,** an employee of the same printing works. On being interrogated, Kavtaradze testified that Z. Gamsakhurdia had given him the *samizdat* to copy.

At the end of November Mikhailov was reprimanded by the party and dismissed from his job.

The interrogations at the printing works may, perhaps, be linked with the case concerning the journal *The Golden Fleece* (see the section 'Samizdat News' in this issue). In connection with this case searches have been carried out at the homes of **L. Kokaya,** a student at the philological faculty of Tbilisi State University (one copy of the journal was confiscated), and of **R. Siradze,** a student at the Academy of Arts. The students were interrogated. **B. Nebierdize** and **U. Gabitashvili** were also interrogated and made to sign certain promises. The interrogation of **N. Koberidze,** which was reported in *Chronicle* 37,[57] was also connected with this case: his poems had been published in the journal *The Golden Fleece*. An unofficial search was carried out at the home of N. Koberidze and a film-script was confiscated.

* * *

On 17 September **Zh. Zvezdina,** who worked at the conservatory, was ininterrogated by the K G B. She was told that the K G B had information that she was reading a copy of the *Gulag Archipelago* which Z. Gamsakhurdia had given her. She was then asked: 'Isn't it true that Gamsakhurdia made you read this book?' Zvezdina replied, 'No, I myself asked Gamsakhurdia for the book over the telephone, and you were listening into our conversation.' The interrogators advised Zvezdina to break off her relationship with Gamsakhurdia and to report any chance meeting with him to the K G B.

On 3 November the police stopped **D. Chikmizov,** a representative of reli-

gious believers in the Tsalka district, from visiting Z. Gamsakhurdia. Chikmizov was detained near the house and forbidden to enter it on pain of arrest.

Liya Bedoshvili, a fourth-year student at the philological faculty of Tbilisi University, made a statement to the district police superintendent on 16 November, declaring that for three weeks she had been continuously followed by unknown persons, who had been stopping her on the street and threatening her. She was asked to come to the police station, but was interviewed there by K G B official M. Gagua. He was interested in hearing why she maintained a friendly relationship with Z. Gamsakhurdia.

* * *

In a declaration addressed to A. Inauri, head of the K G B attached to the Georgian S S R Council of Ministers, and dated 20 December, **Z. Gamsakhurdia** describes the secret search, preceded by a break-in, which was carried out at his house on 17 December. On that day, when he drove back to his house in the evening he could not at first drive up to his house — the narrow road was blocked by a dump truck. When the dump truck let his car get past, he discovered the outer door open and signs of a search on his writing table.

* * *

Teimuraz Dzhvarsheishvili, a Tbilisi historian known for his active part in revealing the corruption and embezzlement which had been going on in the Georgian Patriarchate with the collusion of certain highly-placed K G B officials (*Chronicle* 34), is now in an intensified-regime corrective labour colony in the town of Rustavi. On 21 August he was sentenced in Sukhumi to four years for 'rape'.

Dzhvarsheishvili was arrested on 29 July at Sukhumi station, when, while seeing off his 'victim', Gerda Sabonite, to Vilnius, he went with her — at her request — to the police station, where some things had supposedly been left for her.

In a letter written on 18 November from the camp,[58] Dzhvarsheishvili reports that immediately after his arrest investigator Pachulia was given the following instructions in his presence: '. . . We can't let this man go. See that this case is carried through to the end. It's necessary to do so.' At one of his interrogations a man sat beside Pachulia, giving him some kind of instructions in Abkhazian. Some strange behaviour by Gerda during the three days of their 'romance' and during the investigation have led Dzhvarsheishvili to conclude that their relationship was used to fabricate the charges against him. Moreover he is sure that Sabonite was planted on him.

An appeal by the lawyer Grinfeld to the Supreme Court of the Abkhazian S S R points out that a number of incidents which came to light in court concerning Sabonite's behaviour do not bear out the 'rape' story. The lawyer asks for the sentence to be annulled and the proceedings against his client to be quashed.

* * *

In June 1974 **Beglar Samkharadze,** an invalid of the first group, had his pension stopped. The Zeravshan district court had decided, in his absence, that B. Samkharadze was not a war-veteran but a traitor to the Motherland, that he had obtained a military pension by deception, and that he would have to repay 19,000 roubles. The court based its decision on the 25-year sentence passed on Samkharadze in 1950 for 'treason to the Motherland' (he was freed in 1955).

Beglar Samkharadze was a prisoner of war. Finding himself in France, he escaped to join the partisans, fought with them and was seriously wounded. Official documents sent from France testify to his heroic participation in the Resistance. At one time *Literary Georgia* wrote about this. The declarations which B. Samkharadze and his brother (and guardian) Nik. Samkharadze have sent to various authorities[59] point out that the persecution of B. Samkharadze began after the brothers demanded in 1973 that those who had obtained his 'confession' in 1950 by means of torture which drove him to mental collapse, should be punished.

In their declarations they write that the present leaders of the Georgian K G B and procuracy are rehabilitating the Beria-Rukhadze clique by revalidating the unlawful sentences of that time.

* * *

'Frescoes Destroyed by Artillery'. This is the title of an article by **Z. Gamsakhurdia** (*samizdat,* 5 December 1975), in which he describes the danger threatening the unique David-Garedzha cave monastery, which contains frescoes of the 8th to 14th centuries (*Large Soviet Encylopaedia,* volume 7, 1972). Since 1952 the Karayaz artillery range has existed in its grounds. There have been cases of direct hits on the caves containing the frescoes. The Bertubani monastery has been almost completely destroyed.

The article quotes from the correspondence begun on 13 September 1975 by Zviad Gamsakhurdia (a part-time employee of the [Ministry of Culture's] Monument Preservation Department) after a fire broke out in the grounds of the monastery as a result of a bombardment. He appealed to Colonel-General Melnikov, in command of the Caucasus military district, suggesting that he should 'move the artillery range a few kilometres away from the historical monument, for the waste ground round there is extensive'. P. V. Melnikov's reply, sent to the Georgian S S R Ministry of Culture on 26 November, reads as follows:

'Unfortunately the ruins of the monastery are in the middle of our firing range and we do not intend to move this firing range. Tourists are not to be allowed there without passes from us.'

The author of the article appeals to public opinion in the Soviet Union and throughout the world to 'raise its voice against the vandalism being perpetrated by the artillerymen of the Caucasus military district, who scorn cultural treasures belonging to the whole nation'.

The Persecution of Believers

In 1967 the publishing house 'Mintis' ('Thought') issued a pamphlet, *Dying They Fought*, edited by Vytautas Denas and published in Vilnius. One of its short articles contained a description of how the priest **Vincentas Gelgota** killed a man. In May 1968 Gelgota wrote a letter to Denas in which he demanded a public refutation of this article. In his reply Denas asked Gelgota to forgive him for his error, which had been caused by false information, and told him that he would try to get this fact published. He enclosed in the letter the text of his refutation. However, neither the republican papers nor the local papers of Kapsukas and Šakiai published the refutation sent to them by Denas.

* * *

On 15 September 1975 the education department of the Mažeikiai Town Soviet Executive Committee demanded that the married teachers **Antas Skiparis** (27 years' teaching experience) and **Marija Skiparienė** (25 years' teaching experience) should resign 'at their own request', because their son had entered the priests' seminary that year. They were forced to submit.

* * *

In August 1975 music teacher **Bukauskaitė** was married in church in the town of Šilutė. The next day she was dismissed from her job.

* * *

In 1975 the Kaltinenai Town Soviet Executive Committee fined an invalid, **Miss Vismaniaitė,** 20 roubles for having prepared five children for their First Communion.

* * *

On Roman Catholic feast days taxi drivers in Kaunas are forbidden to drive people to the town of Raseinai. On 9 September 1975, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, one of the taxi drivers was deprived of his permit by the motor inspectors' office for violating this ban.

* * *

In June 1975 the Vilnius K G B returned to **Father A. Keina** some articles which they had confiscated from him during a search. Of 50 prayer books confiscated from him, only one was returned.

* * *

Dnepropetrovsk. On 7 September 1975 the police carried out a raid on Baptist believers. During a service in the home of a church member **(I. A. Petrenko),** seven men — some in police uniforms, some in civilian clothes — walked in among the praying people, insulted them and threatened them with violence, moreover at the hands of criminals. ('We'll let a gang loose on you,' said local policeman M. P. Reshetnik.)

The believers sent a declaration concerning this incident to international and Soviet authorities.

* * *

Volgograd. Religious believers report, in declarations addressed to L. I. Brezhnev, that the local authorities are persecuting them:

On 31 August 1975 the police arrested **N. N. Lyubarsky** at his home, without any reason, and imprisoned him for 15 days in detention cells 'for not obeying the police'. While he was under arrest, an administrative commission fined him 50 roubles in his absence, for 'illegally carrying out a cult ritual' (a religious service).

On 28 September a detachment of police and their assistants in civilian clothes turned up at a harvest thanksgiving service. Police first lieutenant V. A. Tsekhmistrov, who was in charge of the operation, ordered the believers to leave their 'illegal prayer meeting', and then cut off the electricity.

The 85-year-old pensioner **V. N. Kharitoshin** has been fined repeatedly because Baptist meetings take place in his house. In the autumn of 1975 he was fined 100 roubles (Kharitoshin's pension is 28 roubles a month).

Elektrostal. On 18 October 1975 the following telegram was sent from here:

> Finland, Helsinki. To Urho Kekkonen. Copies to L. I. Brezhnev and A. D. Sakharov.
>
> Respected Urho Kekkonen, we Evangelical-Baptist believers of Moscow and the surrounding districts appeal to you, as the Chairman of the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe, because our government responds to all our petitions asking to hold religious services freely by increasing repression, thus crudely violating the documents signed at Helsinki. Today, when we were celebrating the feast of Harvest Thanksgiving, representatives of the authorities came to the place where the congregation had gathered, at 16/15 Dachnaya Street in the town of Elektrostal, used physical violence, and took everyone to the police station, threatening them with fines and imprisonment. For 14 years we have been regularly deprived in this way of our right to confess our faith. We ask you to direct our government to observe article 7 of the declaration signed at Helsinki. Elektrostral, Moscow region, 16/15 Dachnaya Street; **G. Z. Rudnichenko.**

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Moscow. On 22 June the administrative commission of Babushkino district in Moscow warned **A. A. Vlasov**, a member of a Christian-Pentecostal congregation: 'If we catch you again at one of your religious get-togethers, we'll put you on trial.'

This year A. A. Trushin, the Moscow regional commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs. has three times summoned Christian Pentecostal preachers to his office for discussions; on 24 October K G B officials A. D. Shilkin and S. P. Shalev took part in such 'discussions' at Trushin's office. They demanded that the congregation should register, threatening it with trials if it refused. The congregation regards the conditions of registration as incompatible with the demands of the Christian religion.

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Moscow region. The priest **Fr Dmitry Dudko** (*Chronicle* 32), who was working in the village of Kabanovo, Moscow region, has once again been left without a parish: at the end of December the elder of the church, without the agreement of the 'twenty' [the parish council], cancelled his employment contract, explaining to the parishioners that such was the decision of the district Soviet executive committee. On 28 December Fr Dmitry came to the church to attend a service (his place had already been taken by another priest). The parishioners do not want to part with their pastor and a spontaneous meeting took place near the church; over 300 people signed a petition on behalf of Fr Dmitry Dudko.

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Zhitomir. The fight of believers to preserve their Orthodox church (*Chronicle* 30) has ended in defeat: in August their church was torn down before the eyes of a stunned crowd of parishioners.

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Village of Srednyaya Elyuzan, Gorodishche district, Penza region. Until 1970 there were three active mosques open here. In the autumn of 1970 one of them was closed and in 1972 the local authorities closed another — because of alleged infringement of sanitary regulations. Since then the mosque has been used to store damp mineral fertiliser.

On days of prayer, up to a thousand Muslim believers assemble in the only remaining mosque, which can barely hold them all.

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Samarkand. On 28 August 1975 the police carried out searches at the homes of citizens **V. K. Novikov, E. Nedavnyaya** and **A. V. Shelkov,** members of an Adventist congregation.[60] The following were confiscated: Bibles, religious literature (also the U N Declaration of Human Rights and the U N Covenants), tapes and cassettes 'containing religious recordings' (to quote the search record). There is a striking comment in the search record: 'Religious books were found in the cellar of the living-room.'

After the searches, Novikov, Nedavnyaya and Shelkov were interrogated about where they had obtained the religious literature; they were threatened with criminal proceedings.

As a result of constant requests, *the Bibles were returned to their owners;* the remaining literature was not returned.

* * *

Kursk region. On 27 June 1975 **Zinaida Petrovna Tarasova,** an Evangelical Christian-Baptist sentenced in the case of the 'Christian' publishing house (*Cronicles* 34, 37), was released under a 'women's amnesty'. She was refused a residence permit (in a village in the Kursk region), as she had not been 'exculpated, but only amnestied'. Only three months later, after complaints to higher authorities, was Tarasova given a registration permit (according to the law, an amnesty erases a conviction — *Chronicle*).

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Kokchetav. In September or October 1975 a group of reform Baptists [*initsiativniki*] were tried here.

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Belovodskaya Station, Kirgiz S S R. On 19 July an official of the district Soviet executive committee warned **M. Ya. Bakhareva,** a mother of five children, that she would be deprived of her parental rights. Bakhareva is a religious believer (probably an Adventist), and her children do not attend school on Saturdays. An administrative commission has fined Bakhareva four times, although her children are good pupils. Her last fine was 25 roubles; this is almost as much as she receives per month in alimony payments for all her five children.

Krivoi Rog. *The Bulletin of the Council of Relatives of Baptist Prisoners,* number 27, publishes a report on the death of Baptist *Ivan Vasilevich Biblenko* (born 1928, released from imprisonment in 1974, a member of the Baptist church in Krivoi Rog).

On 13 September I. V. Biblenko set off for a religious festival in Dnepropetrovsk. It became known that he had not arrived in Dnepropetrovsk; neither did he return home. Biblenko's wife and mother informed the police, drove round all the hospitals in Krivoi Rog, and later made similar inquiries in Dnepropetrovsk, but no one, anywhere, knew anything about Biblenko. At the traffic police office they were told that on 13 and 14 September there had been no motor accidents on the roads between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. Two weeks of searching yielded no results.

On 22 September they appealed to the procurator's office. On 26 September the family received a telegram from Dnepropetrovsk saying that I. V. Biblenko had died in the Mechnikov hospital on 24 September. In his death report, death was stated to have occurred as a result of a blow to the head suffered in a motor accident on 13 September. Biblenko was in a hospital in Krivoi Rog for

four days and on 17 September was transferred to a Dnepropetrovsk hospital.

Basing themselves on the fact that Biblenko's relations had received contradictory evidence and that his presence in the hospital had been hidden from his family, the members of the Krivoi Rog Baptist congregation consider Biblenko's death to be the result of a violent attack. In a statement of complaint addressed to Brezhnev, Podgorny and Rudenko, the congregation asks for 'a commission of investigation to be formed to discover the real cause of death and those who were really guilty of causing it'.

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The Position of Religious Prisoners

In July 1975 the wives of the imprisoned Baptists **V. A. Artyukh** and **P. A. Artyukh** sent a complaint to the procurator's offices of the USSR and the Belorussian SSR about the fact that their husbands had been deprived for two months of correspondence with their families. They report that chief political officer Zalessky of camp UZh-15/5 (in the town of Ivatsevichi, Brest region) had answered their inquiries by writing: 'Letters containing religious appeals and quotations will not be dispatched from this labour colony.'

* * *

Daugavpils, penal institution OTs-78/11-4. **Evgeny Kiryanovich Gauer,** an Evangelical Christian-Baptist, 55 years old, sentenced under article 151, section 2, of the Latvian SSR Criminal Code, to four years' imprisonment (*Chronicle* 34), has been forbidden to conduct his personal correspondence in his native language.

* * *

Religious prisoners in the prisons and camps are forbidden by the administration to have religious books. A prisoner on whom such books are found is punished.

Baptist prisoners **V. A. Pikalov, Ya. F. Dirksen, Ya. Ya. Enns, I. F. Tevs, M. M. Desyatnikov,** and **P. G. Adrian,** in corrective labour colony 8 in Omsk, asked the camp administration to allow them to have a Bible and were refused. The reason for the refusal: 'The Bible is not included in the list of permitted articles.'

A. T. Kozorezova, wife of prisoner **A. T. Kozorezov** (Omsk, p/ya UKh-16/7) was told by Turchenko, an official of the camp's operations section, that if a Gospel were found on her husband, he would be punished for harbouring a forbidden book.

The Baptist prisoner **M. A. Pshenitsyn** (*Chronicle* 34), held in a camp with the address g. Novokuibyshevsk — 14, UR-65/3, had a Gospel confiscated from him during a camp search and was put in the camp prison. Because of this he declared a hunger strike on 29 June 1975. His wife wrote a number of protests and declarations: to the camp commandant, to the Council for Religious Affairs, to the procurator-general of the USSR. On 18 July I. I. Borodin, the deputy commandant of the camp, replied to Pshenitsyna stating that 'the confiscated object has been returned to your husband'.

The case of the Pshenitsyns allows one to suppose that official directives banning religious literatures (or at least the Gospels) in camps do not in fact exist.

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It has become known that in August 1974 in the village of Beregomet, Vizhnitsa district, Chernovtsy region, the sisters **Mariya Nikolayevna Florescul** and **Olga Nikolayevna Kondryuk** were sentenced — the former to three years' imprisonment, with confiscation of property, the latter to two years' imprisonment. Both were charged under articles 123 (section 1) and 124 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code — that is, with educating their ten-year-old nephew Seryozha in the spirit of religion. (Both sisters are Adventists. The Kondryuk family brought up and supported Seryozha after the death of his mother.)

O. N. Kondryuk was released under an amnesty in August 1975. M. N. Florescul is being held in a camp with women who suffer from venereal diseases.

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The prisoner **Lidiya Aleksandrovna Korzhanets** (Gomel, penal institution UZh-15/4; an Evangelical Christian-Baptist, sentenced in 1973 under articles 139 (section 2), 186, and 222 (section 1) of the Belorussian SSR Criminal Code, term — four years) has appealed to Brezhnev, Podgorny, Kosygin, the USSR procurator's office, and the International Women's Committee; she is shocked by the fact that the 'women's' amnesty of 16 May 1975 (to mark International Women's Year) did not include those sentenced for their religious beliefs.

The Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives, in support of L. Korzhanet's appeal, calls for the release of women sentenced 'for religion' and submits the names of these women Baptist prisoners: **Dina Iosifovna Kravchenko,** born 1941, sentenced to four years in camps on 10.9.1973 under articles 142 (section 2) and 227 (section 2); **Olga Georgievna Nikora,** born 1950, sentenced on 5.3.1974 to four years of camps and three years' exile, under articles 209 (section 1) and 138 (section 2); **Elya Valterovna Kasper,** born 1949, sentenced on 8.2.1974 to three years in camps under articles 170-1 and 200-1; and **Lidiya Aleksandrovna Korzhanets.**

* * *

The reports in this section have been based on the materials in *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* numbers 18 (August 1975) and 19 (October 1975); in *The Bulletin of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives* number 27; and on declarations and complaints by believers to various authorities.

* * *

Public Statements by Priests and Believers.

Fr Gleb Yakunin and **Lev Regelson,** 'Appeal to the Delegates to the Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches'. (10 pages, 16 October 1975).[61]

The authors express themselves in favour of the ecumenical movement. They are optimistic about the healing of Christian divisions through the Christian love that has grown up in answer to mass Christian witness and martyrdom. They recall examples of such Christian love and fellowship which united representatives of different denominations in the period of the Russian Orthodox Church's sufferings — examples which, in their opinion, should also inspire the activity of the W C C. With regret they note that 'in the wide circle . . . of important problems (dealt with by the W C C) the subject of religious persecution has so far found no place — although it would seem to be a central theme of Christian ecumenism'.

The authors put forward a set of practical proposals which could help to attract the attention of Christians to martyrs for the faith and could serve to ease their lot. They call on Christians to support those who openly profess other faiths and 'all those fighting for freedom and human dignity, for the preservation of the image of God in man'.

On 27 December the same authors issued the following 'Declaration to Foreign Journalists':

> The joyful news has reached us that the World Evangelical Baptist Congress has declared 6 January a day of prayer for Christians persecuted in the U S S R.
>
> We express our deepest gratitude for this manifestation of true Christian solidarity and hope that Christians of other denominations will support this important beginning.
>
> We ask you to remember Father Dmitry Dudko, recently dismissed at the behest of the authorities from service as a priest in the Church of the Holy Martyr Nikita in the village of Kabanovo, Orekhovo-Zuyevo district, Moscow region; and also hiero-deacon Varsanofy Khaibulin, dismissed in November from service in a church in the town of Murom, Vladimir diocese, because of his extensive preaching activity.
>
> At the same time as Father Dmitry Dudko was dismissed, Father Gleb Yakunin, one of the undersigned and one of the authors of the appeal to the delegates at the Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi, was also dismissed from his work.
>
> On 25 December the elder of the 'Troitse-Kainardzhi' church in Balashikha district, Moscow region, in which Father Gleb Yakunin worked as a reader, declared that she was dismissing him from his work at the demand of A. A. Trushin, the Moscow regional commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs.

* * *

On 14 December 1974 the Metropolitan of Krutitsa and Kolomna, who is the administrator of Moscow diocese, issued Decree 900 to all the senior clergy of the diocese. The Decree forbids the administering of extreme unction to groups of old people in their homes, enjoins strict registration of parents' consent to the baptism of their non-adult children, and forbids the mention of 'political or social examples' in sermons.

On 2 December 1975 **Father Gleb Yakunin** published a commentary on the Decree. In particular he writes: 'The Decree was read to senior diocesan clergy, specially assembled for the purpose, after which the priests added their signatures to it, as proof that they were acquainted with the Decree. The text was not circulated and it was forbidden to make copies of it.'

* * *

On 16 December 1975 **hiero-deacon Varsonofy (Khaibulin)** appealed to the Secretary-General of the World Council of Churches, asking him to add to the materials of the 5th W C C Assembly's 'special committee for the defence of believers' rights' his open letter (dated 23 November 1975) to Archbishop Vladimir of Vladimir and Suzdal, a member of the Russian Orthodox Church delegation to the Assembly.

The open letter was written as a result of hiero-deacon Varsonofy's dismissal from service in the Blagoveshchensky Cathedral in Murom. The author links the real reasons for this dismissal and his earlier experience of persecution with 'the most basic problem of the Church's position in our country' — its 'take-over by the State'.

Criticizing the conformism of Russian Orthodox Church leaders, hiero-deacon Varsonofy asks the question: '. . . does the episcopate have the right to agree to the take-over of the Church by the State, by an ideocratic regime which openly proclaims to the world its aim of completely rooting out the idea of God from human consciousness?' The author rejects possible accusations of anti-Sovietism, writing: 'The future of Soviet Russia — great and glorious future — lies in the cooperative coming together of communists who respect the freedom of the Church, and Christians who respect the social truth of Communism, but are always prepared to sacrifice everything for the Church's independence.'

Referring to K G B interference in the affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church and the toleration of this interference by Church leaders, hiero-deacon Varsonofy gives an account of his talks with Colonel A. I. Shibayev, head of the operations section of the Vladimir K G B (in March 1975, after an interrogation about the journal *Veche*), and with First Lieutenant V. G. Zaitsev, operations commissioner of the Murom K G B department.

'The logic of the Moscow Synod leaders — "We are compromising to save the Church" — is the logic of heretics'; this is how the author sums up his arguments on the functions of the Church and the position of the Russian Orthodox Church. He calls on the Ecumenical episcopate of the Orthodox

Catholic Church to apply 'the appropriate canonical sanctions'; he calls on all Christians to help the Russian Orthodox Church.

* * *

V. A. Shelkov. 'The Single Ideal' (19 pages, October 1975).[82]
The author expounds systematically the Adventist arguments which oppose State coercion directed against the spirit, against free will, and against the freedom of conscience, belief and convictions given by God to each person. To combat this coercion, *sacrifice*, a single ideal, a single aim are necessary. 'Our single ideal has been given to us in the historic personality of Jesus Christ, the Son of God . . . The emulation of this one ideal should be the aim of the progressive minds of humanity . . .' Shelkov argues against those who link their hopes for the moral regeneration of the people with the idea of nationality or with the idea of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Vladimir Andreyevich Shelkov is the chairman of the All-Union Church of Free Christians, the True Adventists. He has spent more than 20 years in prison for his religious activity; in 1945 he was condemned to be shot (this was later commuted to a ten-year sentence). He spent his last ten-year term in Mordovia, between 1957 and 1967. After his release he settled in Central Asia.

In 1970 he was detained on the street. A search was carried out at his home, but nothing compromising was found and he was released. He did not wait to be arrested, but went into hiding.

Since then Shelkov has been leading an illegal existence. A countrywide search for him has been proclaimed: recently, at the home of his family, a new search took place.

This year V. A. Shelkov celebrated his 80th birthday.

Exit Visas and Call-up Papers

In 1974 **Teivel Abramovich Silnitsky** and his family, residents of Krasnodar, applied for emigration visas to Israel. Silnitsky's son Alexander was at this time a fourth-year student at Krasnodar Polytechnic Institute and was scheduled to take part in a pre-call-up military muster. He refused to take part in this muster and was therefore expelled from the institute. This was followed by summonses to the military enlistment office. A. Silnitsky, who had meanwhile obtained Israeli citizenship, sent a letter to the Minister of Defence through the enlistment office. In the letter he explained that because he was an Israeli citizen, he could not serve in the Soviet Army.

The Silnitskys were refused exit visas as their sons Alexander (born 1953) and Mikhail (a few years younger than Alexander) still had to undergo military service. Case materials on Alexander Silnitsky's avoidance of military service

(article 80 of the R S F S R Criminal Code) were passed to the Krasnodar procurator's office.

On 28 October 1975 **Alexander Teivelevich Silnitsky** was arrested in Moscow. He was sent to Krasnodar in a prisoners' convoy and arrived there in the middle of November. Silnitsky declared that he considered himself to be a citizen of the state of Israel and would not take part in the investigation.

The case was heard on 15 December by the People's Court of the Lenin district in Krasnodar. The presiding judge was V. P. Goncharova, the prosecutor was Tolmacheva and the defending lawyer was N. I. Kovalyov. The following were summoned as witnesses: Silnitsky's parents, an official of the district enlistment office and the head of the military department at the polytechnic institute. The case was heard not in the People's Court building but somewhere else — exactly where, the court office refused to say.

In court Silnitsky declared that he considered himself an Israeli citizen and had no intention of breaking the law.

The prosecutor made a speech in which in particular he reproached Silnitsky senior for ingratitude to the country that had saved his life, given him and his children an education and was now asking his children to fulfil their obligations as citizens by serving in the army.

The defence lawyer pointed out that Silnitsky's avoidance of army service had been prompted by his desire to emigrate from the country, but that the permission to emigrate granted to the Silnitsky family a few days before the trial in fact removed any guilt from his client. The court sentenced A. Silnitsky to two years in ordinary-regime camps.

A few days before the trial K G B officials in Krasnodar told Silnitsky's father to stop his relatives in Israel and the U S A sending protest telegrams to the local authorities. If this continued, they said, his permission to emigrate would be cancelled.

Alexander Silnitsky's father, mother and brother have now left the U S S R.

A Silnitsky's father is a native of Warsaw; at the age of 16 he participated in the Warsaw ghetto rising. Ten members of his family died in the ghetto. Silnitsky's mother grew up in the Kharkov ghetto, where her father, brothers and other relatives perished.

* * *

In 1972 **Mark Lutsker** applied to emigrate but he soon received a call-up notice. He travelled to Moscow to press his case and was told at the offices of the Central Visa Department that his application would be granted. However, when Lutsker returned home and went to the local Visa Department, he was arrested there and sentenced to 2½ years in camps 'for avoiding military service'. After serving his sentence (in a camp and on compulsory assignment to industrial labour) Lutsker again applied to emigrate on 10 October and once more received call-up papers from the military enlistment office. He is now 24 years old.

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Yury Pokh from Odessa got a prison-term for refusing to serve in the army after handing in an application to emigrate to Israel [*Chronicle* 26]. On 21 December 1975 he returned to Odessa. When he was put on the register at the military enlistment office, the commissar said: 'You'll have to serve your time in the army!' A few days after this conversation, Pokh's father died of a heart-attack.

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Leonid Levit (from Tiraspol) is being threatened with arrest because of his refusal to serve in the army, as are **Zakhar Braginsky** (from Leningrad) and **Boris Levitas** (from Kiev).

* * *

Army service is an obstacle to many would-be emigrants to Israel.

After applying to emigrate in 1970, **E. Feldman** was conscripted into the army. After he was demobilized, he again applied to emigrate, together with his mother and brother. They were refused permission because Feldman had served in the army.

In the spring of 1975 his brother was called up.

V. Maksimenko was called up after applying to emigrate in 1971. In 1973, when he ended his army service, he was told that he would have to wait for at least five years before emigrating to Israel.

Marantsenboim and **Kuperman** were also refused permission to emigrate because they had served in the army. The following have so far been unable to emigrate to Israel: **Baras** (demobilized in 1969), **Mishkin** (in 1968), **Ass** (1968), **Kantor** (1968), **Tesker** (1968), **Pekarsky** (1967), **Khess** (1967), **Raskin** (1967) and **Zitserman** (1966).

* * *

On 13 October 1975 the Moscow city court examined the appeal presented by the lawyer S. V. Kallistratova on behalf of **A. Malkin** (*Chronicle* 37) and confirmed the original sentence.

On 28 October the Presidium of the Moscow city Bar examined a complaint by A. Malkin's father against **S. V. Kallistratova** (see *Chronicle* 37) and found there to be nothing incorrect in her actions.

* * *

As reported in *Chronicle* 37 **Ya. Vinarov** was given a 3 year sentence in the summer of 1975 for refusing to serve in the army. His letter to Brezhnev, written in June, is now available:

> In September 1974 I handed in an application to the Visa Department of the Internal Affairs Administration of the city of Kiev, asking to emigrate to Israel. In March 1975 I was refused a visa for security reasons without being given a date when I could emigrate. V. N. Siforov, head of the Kiev Visa Department, told me that this was on account of my education in Voronezh polytechnic institute and the course in military training that I had attended there.
>
> In this connection I would like to report the following. I was expelled from the third year of the mechanical-technological department at Voronezh polytechnic institute in May 1974. The couses in military-technical training began in the fourth term of the second year, so I had been attending them for only one year. The greater part of this time was taken up with learning drill and also in learning the following subjects:
>
> The strategy and tactics of the West German and American armies: this information cannot be a Soviet state secret.
>
> The composition and regulations of the Soviet Armed Forces, through open sources freely sold in the Knigtorg bookshops.
>
> The other literature I read was not secret but for general use by personnel. I was never under the authority of any military units. I have never signed any promise not to divulge secret information, and as a result I have never had access to secret literature. More than a year has passed since my expulsion from the institute. I also know that people who attended the same military training courses have been given permission to emigrate to Israel.

In connection with his forthcoming call up into the army, Vinarov speaks of 'the insincerity of taking an oath of loyalty to a country which you have expressed a wish to leave.'

He asks that 'the legally unjustified decision of the Kiev Visa Department be revoked'.

Similar declarations have been sent to other places by Ya. Vinarov.

News in Brief

A Chronicle of Current Events on its Founder

On 18 December 1975 **Natalya Evgenevna Gorbanevskaya** emigrated.

N. E. Gorbanevskaya was born in Moscow in 1936. She graduated from the faculty of philology at Leningrad University.

In 1961 she contributed to the typewritten collections of poetry *Syntaxis* (edited by A. Ginzburg).

On 25 August 1968 N. Gorbanevskaya took part in the protest demonstration on Red Square (*Chronicle* 3). Later, in 1969, she wrote a book about this demonstration and the trial of those who took part in it, *Red Square at Noon*.

Natalya Gorbanevskaya was the moving spirit behind the foundation of the *Chronicle of Current Events* in the spring of 1968. She organized the

publication of the *Chronicle*; her work in many ways determined the style, structure and principles of the *Chronicle*.

On 25 December 1969 Gorbanevskaya was arrested. The main charges against her were her authorship of the book *Red Square at Noon* and her systematic activity in editing issues of the *Chronicle*. She was declared not responsible and sent to the Kazan special psychiatric hospital. She was released in February 1972.

Natalya Gorbanevskaya is a poet and the author of many collections of poetry which circulated in samizdat in the sixties and seventies. In 1972 a collection of her selected poems, *The Coastline*, was published in the USA. The Soviet press has sometimes published her translations of Polish, Czech and Spanish poetry. Gorbanevskaya's original work has hardly ever been published.

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On 14 November 1975 **Andrei Tverdokhlebov** (*Chronicles* 36, 37) finished studying the materials of his 'case'.

* * *

On 5 December 1975 the traditional 'silent demonstration' took place on Pushkin Square in Moscow. The first demonstration on Pushkin Square took place 10 years ago.

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10 December is the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations Organization.

On 10 December the trial of Sergei Kovalyov was taking place in Vilnius.

On 10 December the Supreme Court of the RSFSR confirmed the sentence passed on Vladimir Osipov — 8 years' imprisonment.

On this day a group of Soviet citizens issued a declaration addressed to world public opinion.

The authors outline the situation as regards human rights in the USSR, as far as this is possible within the confines of a short declaration, and declare their solidarity with those fighting for these rights; they also declare their solidarity with political prisoners on hunger strike, and they protest against infringements of human rights.

The declaration is signed by the following: V. Bakhmin, V. Borisov, K. Velikanova, Z. Grigorenko, T. Velikanova, E. Kosterina, I. Zholkovskaya, R. Urban, V. Gordeyev, V. Voinovich, V. Kornilov, S. Zheludkov, D. Dudko, Yu. Orlov, T. Khodorovich, M. Landa, G. Podyapolsky, N. Bukovskaya, V. Nekipelov, G. Salova.

* * *

The authorities continue to persecute **Alexander Ginzburg.**

In the spring of this year Ginzburg went round nearly all the places of employment in the town of Tarusa in search of a job. He tried unsuccessfully to obtain work a a hospital orderly, a stoker, an electrician and an odd-job man.

In April he managed to get a job as a park attendant in a local rest-home. Usually such work ends in November. However, on 1 September Ginzburg was suddenly dismissed 'because of the end of seasonal work', without even being given a few days' notice.

Ginzburg handed in a declaration to the local trade-union committee, pointing out the infringements of the law which had taken place; his wife I. Zholkovskaya wrote a complaint to the Tarusa district committee of the CPSU.

On 15 September A. S. Venikov, secretary of the district party committee, promised that the situation would be normalised. On the same day Ginzburg was re-employed (though in a different job). He was sent to harvest fruit, which involved dragging heavy sacks about from morning till night. Ginzburg has a duodenal ulcer and has been categorically forbidden to do heavy manual labour.

On 1 October Ginzburg was told that his employment would be terminated on 14 October 'because of the end of seasonal work'. This time a letter from Ginzburg's wife to Venikov remained unanswered. Ginzburg was then taken to hospital suffering from a haemorrhage of the ulcer and remained there until the middle of December.

Ginzburg has two children, aged one and three.

* * *

During his visit to the USA in August 1975 **A. I. Solzhenitsyn** discussed the question of his 'fund for the support of Soviet political prisoners and their families' with American senators. This fund is administered in the USSR by A. Ginzburg. The senators took a decision to try to ensure his safety.

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On 10 October 1975 **Serafima Starobinets,** a first-year student at Moscow electro-technical institute of communications (a resident of Lvov), was expelled from the Komsomol, and the meeting petitioned that she be expelled from the institute; this happened soon afterwards.

The reason for her expulsion was that S. Starobinets had dined, on 18 September, with some Israeli sportsmen who were taking part in the world athletics championships. After dinner one of the sportsmen escorted her to an underground station. As soon as he had gone, a policeman asked her to accompany him to a police station, where her passport was examined under the guise of a search for some female criminal who had committed a robbery; the details on her passport were noted down; the police then apologized to her and let her go home.

The report drawn up by Sergeant Tumashevich, which was sent to the institute of comunmications, stated that he (Tumashevich) had noticed a young woman in the entrance hall of the 'Rossiya' hotel, who was spending a long time in the company of foreign nationals and was drinking spirits with them right in the entrance hall. She had been detained, taken to the police station and discovered to be the student S. Starobinets.

At a censure meeting S. Starobinets's arguments that the policeman's report was false were not taken into account. The very fact that she had dined with foreigners was regarded as 'immoral'. The student's guilt was made worse by the fact that the sportsmen were Israelis. She was asked: 'Didn't you think that there might have been spies among them? Or that they might have tried to create a provocation involving you?'

S. Starobinets appealed to Professor I. E. Efimov, the rector of the Institute. She declared that the expulsion had been carried out hurriedly, without checking the unsubstantiated statement of the police sergeant. The rector replied that a signal from the police was enough for expulsion, as was the fact that the incident was linked with Israel.

S. Starobinets also appealed to the police station where Lieutenant Yu. V. Nemanezhin, the deputy superintendent, told her that police officials are educated in the spirit of Soviet morality and that her action had been a misdemeanour which did not require the compiling of legal documents or testimony by witnesses, but could be dealt with administratively.

On 20 October the case of S. Starobinets was examined by the Komsomol bureau of the Institute. The participants censured 'the ruling circles of Israel'. The Komsomol authorities changed the reason for S. Starobinets's expulsion from 'immorality' to 'political immaturity'.

* * *

Lithuania

The majority of these reports are taken from the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, issues 18 and 19).

On 25 June 1975 **Mindaugas Tamonis** (*Chronicle* 35) sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist party referring to the threat of neo-Stalinism and the need to develop a Christian culture.

On 27 June a policeman came to Tamonis's place of work and ordered him to report to the Vilnius psychiatric hospital. Tamonis refused. On the evening of the same day a police captain and some orderlies took Tamonis off to the psychiatric hospital.

On 29 June Tamonis's mother died of a heart attack.

Tamonis spent about two months in the hospital.

One day in November Tamonis was found dead beside a railway track. It is supposed he committed suicide.

On 10 November the funeral took place; it was attended by over 200 people. The funeral rites took place under the surveillance of the KGB.

* * *

In June 1975 **Leonas Laurinskas** was sentenced to 1 year in strict-regime camps for 'possession of arms' (*Chronicle* 36, 37).

* * *

In 1971 a national **folk-song club** was established at the Trade Union House of Culture (S. Daukantas Street 5) in Vilnius. In four years the club organized over 100 performances; its activities have been praised in the press many times.

On 11 September 1975, when club members arrived for their first meeting after the holidays, they were forbidden to enter by order of the deputy-director of the House of Culture. Members of the choir wanted to begin a rehearsal in the entrance-hall but were forced to leave the building by the administrative authorities of the House of Culture.

The *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* number 19 expresses a fear that the national folk-song club may suffer the same fate as the ethnographers' club (*Chronicle* 29).

* * *

Leonas Andriukaitis (from Kaunas) wrote a letter to *Izvestiya*, asking if it was true that there were plans to issue new passports in the Russian language only. He had understood in this sense (mistakenly) an article in *Izvestiya* on the new passports. He expressed his opposition to this; many Lithuanians and people of other nationalities did not know the Russian alphabet. The author of the letter was summoned by the KGB. As he was ill his son went instead of him. The KGB officials promised him that they would take steps with the Andriukaitis family.

* * *

G. I. Ermakov, a prisoner in Perm camp 35, who got a 4-year sentence in 1974 under article 70 for writing and sending around anonymous 'letters of an anti-Soviet nature' (*Chronicle* 36), sent a declaration to the USSR procurator-general on 2 July. He asserts that he did not write or send the letters attributed to him. He had earlier admitted guilt 'under the influence of the investigators'; his lawyer, writes Ermakov, has asked him not to make a fuss, 'because it will only make your situation worse'.

* * *

In the space of one week I. Smagin, a section head of institution ZhKh-385 (the Mordovian camps), signed the following two letters.

Institution ZhKh-385,
10 March 1975,
Number 3/K-2,
431 160 Yavas,
Zubovo-Polyana district,
Mordovian ASSR.

to citizen N. N. Kryuchkov,
Moscow,
Chernomorsky Boulevard 7,
block 2, flat 124.

In answer to your complaint of 2 January 1975, I inform you for the second time (N. N. Kryuchkov has received no 'first' reply—*Chronicle*) that according to official information from the Moscow postal division, no registered letters addressed to the village of Barashevo in the Mordovian ASSR for prisoner A. A. Bolonkin were submitted.

Institution ZhKh-385,
17 March 1975,
Number 3/K-5,
431 160 Yavas,
Zubovo-Polyana district,
Mordovian ASSR.

to citizen N. N. Kryuchkov,
Moscow,
Chernomorsky Boulevard 7,
block 2, flat 124.

In answer to your statement of 20 February 1975, I inform you that the registered letters sent by you to the prisoner A. A. Bolonkin institution ZhKh-385/19 have been returned justifiably, because . . . (both replies refer to the same registered letters—*Chronicle*).

* * *

Gennady Paramonov (*Chronicles* 15, 33, 37), tried in 1969 in the 'Baltic Fleet officers' case and sent for compulsory psychiatric treatment, was transferred in September 1975 from Chernyakhovsk special psychiatric hospital to the Perm regional psychiatric hospital of ordinary type (his mother lives in Perm). In November he appeared before a psychiatric commission, and it extended his compulsory treatment.

* * *

In May 1975 **Vasily Nikolayevich Nikitenkov** (*Chronicles* 19, 24, 35) was released from a psychiatric hospital.

* * *

24 December was the fifth anniversary of the last day of the 'aeroplane trial' (*Chronicle* 17). On that day in Moscow a **'silent demonstration' of Jews** took place on the steps of the Lenin Library opposite the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. 37 people took part in it. Another 8 persons heading for the demonstration were detained by police near their homes and released on the evening of the same day.

* * *

In October-November 1975 **Gesya Borukhovna Pinson,** mother of the Boris Penson of the 'aeroplane case', journeyed three times from Riga to Moscow and staged demonstrations on her own, holding up a placard calling for her son's release. On each occasion she was taken to the police station and deported from Moscow.

At the end of November, in Riga, she was asked to come to the police station; a statement was drawn up alleging that she had insulted the police and she was imprisoned for 10 days under the decree on petty hooliganism.

When, after her release, she tried to travel to Moscow, she was taken off the train at the last moment and her ticket was taken away.

Afterwards she was summoned to the Riga Visa Department and told to emigrate from the USSR (the Riga Visa Department has had in its possession since 1970 the applications for emigration written by herself and Boris; in 1970 they had received a refusal, which had been the reason for Boris's participation in the 'aeroplane affair').

G. B. Pinson made it a condition for her emigration that she be allowed a special three-day meeting with her son (her routine visit was due in May 1976). She was promised this and the visit was fixed for January 1976.

Prior to 1940 G. B. Pinson was a member of the Latvian Communist Party and was active in underground activities. In 1940, when Latvia was incorporated into the USSR, she saw the beginning of the mass deportation of Latvians to Russia and left the Communist Party.

* * *

On 10 October the Odessa regional court, consisting of V. M. Kotenko, D. I. Konevsky and K. S. Smirnova, with the assistance of prosecutor G. P. Shulyachenko and defence lawyer N. Ya. Nimirinskaya, examined the appeal of **L. D. Roitburd** (*Chronicle* 37). The appeal was turned down and the sentence confirmed.

* * *

On 24 December four searches were carried out in Moscow (at the homes of **Vladimir Prestin, Iosif Begun, Pavel Abramovich** and **Elias Essas**) in connection with the case of the journal *Jews in the USSR* (*Chronicle* 37). During the searches typewritten copies of the journal were confiscated, as well as plain paper and unused carbon paper. In one case the confiscations included not only foreign currency certificates which had been obtained by wholly legal means but also documents granting the right to receive these. As a rule, books about Israel and Jewish history, published in Israel in the Russian language, were not

confiscated. The search at Begun's home was conducted by Tikhonov, who is in charge of the investigation of the journal.

* * *

On 26 December, in connection with the same case, a search was carried out at the home of **Malva Landa** in Krasnogorsk (near Moscow). Material on political prisoners was confiscated from her. The investigator conducting the search secretly removed from the search record a page on which M. Landa had noted down how she had been seized on the morning of the search and taken to a police station, where she was detained for an hour without any explanation. There the police had spoken to her very rudely and no record of her detention had been drawn up.

* * *

On 20 December 1975 **Elena Georgievna Bonner,** wife of A. D. Sakharov, returned to the USSR (see *Chronicle* 37 and the section 'Sakharov's Friends and Enemies' in this issue).

On her arrival at Sheremetevo airport (in Moscow), customs officials confiscated from her not only published copies of A. D. Sakharov's book *My Country and the World* (*Chronicle* 37) in various languages, but also *A Collection of Conventions Ratified by the Soviet Union* (Khronika Press, New York) and a Bible. The customs official conducting the search of her belongings said: 'We only allow Bibles to very old people'. He also deceived her by promising, but then failing, to give her a copy of the list of items confiscated.

* * *

On 19 April 1975 an International Committee to Combat Psychiatric Abuses was founded in Geneva. Amnesty International took part in organizing the committee, whose work has been widely publicized in the press; national sections have been formed in a number of European countries.

On 5 September the British section was founded; its chairman is Professor Henry Dicks, president of the Royal College (an association of psychiatrists). In July Dicks wrote a letter to Snezhnevsky, whom he knows personally (Dicks has worked in the USSR and was a member of the Soviet psychiatric society).[63] Snezhnevsky replied that it was not Soviet psychiatrists who were abusing psychiatry for political ends but those who were using former patients of Soviet psychiatric hospitals for a dirty anti-Soviet campaign.

Snezhnevsky's answer, when it was read out on 21 November at a meeting of the Royal College,[64] made a great impression on those present. A resolution was adopted by 50 votes to 2, condemning the use of psychiatry against dissenters in the USSR and calling for a commission of psychiatrists and lawyers to be sent to the USSR. At the meeting reference was made to Plyushch, Gluzman and Bukovsky.

* * *

Alexander Gorlov (*Chronicle* 21) has left the USSR.

* * *

On 12 July 1975[65] **Vladimir Maramzin** (*Chronicle* 35) emigrated.

* * *

In November **Vadim Delone** (*Chronicles* 3, 4), a participant in the Red Square demonstration in Moscow on 25 August 1968, emigrated together with his wife **Irina Belogorodskaya** (*Chronicles* 3, 6, 28-30).

* * *

On 4 September **Boris Landa,** a Moscow psychotherapist, a member of the Soviet Amnesty International group, and the author of several letters in defence of human rights in the USSR, emigrated to the USA. The Visa Department had twice refused him permission to emigrate to the USA, where Landa's wife lives. In July of this year Landa's wife visited him for a month in Moscow, at his invitation. Together they wrote a number of letters to L. I. Brezhnev, N. V. Podgorny and Shchelokov, but they received no reply. Landa and his wife then sent a telegram to Helsinki — 'to the American delegation for passing on to Brezhnev', in which they told their story and asked for help in being reunited. In addition they informed the head of Brezhnev's office that if their request was not fulfilled by the beginning of the Helsinki conference, they would take whatever steps they considered necessary. On 28 July a deputy to the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs informed Landa by telephone that his request had been granted.

* * *

The Right to Marry (conclusion)

Chronicles 36 and 37 have already reported the obstacles which the Soviet authorities have put in the way of Moscow literary critic **Alexander Sokolov** and the Austrian teacher **Johanna Steindl** and their desire to marry.

On 4 July J. Steindl was forced to leave the USSR: the Visa Department would not extend her visit to Moscow. The new date for the registration of their marriage was fixed for 23 September; the young couple were assured that the bride would have the opportunity to visit Moscow at that time. In spite of this, the Soviet embassy in Vienna refused J. Steindl a visa.

On 22 September Alexander Sokolov handed in an application to the local Visa Department for emigration to Austria in order to register his marriage.

On 23 September the young people began a hunger strike: J. Steindl in St Stephen's cathedral in Vienna (she intended to hold the hunger strike outside the Soviet embassy in Vienna, but the Austrian police authorities asked her to demonstrate in any other place) and Alexander Sokolov in his Moscow flat. Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian chancellor, appealed to L. I. Brezhnev to intervene.

On 29 September the deputy head of the Moscow Visa Department told Sokolov that he would be allowed to emigrate to Austria. On 8 October Alexander Sokolov left the country.

* * *

In the first days of November 1975 **I. S. Bobrov,** a Master of Technical Sciences, was informed by the Visa Department that permission had been granted for his emigration to Israel; at the same time he was told that this would remain in force only until 12 November. Bobrov said that such a short time for making preparations, which included only a few non-working days, would make things very difficult for him. Sivets, an official of the Visa Department, told Bobrov that officials of 'the relevant organization' would be willing to help him in his difficulties, if he in his turn agreed to meet them and talk to them. Bobrov categorically refused to take part in any such exchange. One day later he was given a visa, on which the date '28 November' had been typed; this date had, however, been crossed out and under it a new date, '12 November', had been typed in.

Yu. R. Tuvin, a Master of Technical Sciences who left the USSR earlier, was put in exactly the same position. As he wanted to have the opportunity of saying goodbye to his son, who was not in Moscow at the time, Tuvin agreed to the suggested meeting. The resulting 'talks' with KGB officials (who would not give their names) differed from the usual interrogations only by the absence of any record and of any similar procedural 'formalities'.

* * *

V. F. Turchin, who was in Vilnius during the trial of S. A. Kovalyov, phoned home a number of times — but only on the first day of the trial: on the second day his home telephone had already been disconnected without warning. Turchin's friends in Moscow asked the telephone repairs office:

'What's wrong with telephone number 129-25-30?'

'The telephone has been repaired but has been switched off for three months.'

'Why?'

'For breaking the regulations.'

'What regulations?'

'Paragraph 59 of the Statutes on communications.'

'And what do these regulations say?'

'I don't know.'

'Who does know?'

'Phone the chief communications engineer, Vladimir Aronovich Ioffe.'

The conversation with Ioffe:

'Tell me please, why has telephone number 129-25-30 been disconnected?'

'Is it your telephone?'

'No, my friend's.'

'So ask your friend; he knows perfectly well why it is.'

'But he's not in Moscow at the moment, nor was he when it was disconnected; the repairs office told me the telephone had been disconnected because paragraph 59 of some regulations had been broken.'

'They told you the truth.'

'But can't you tell me what this paragraph 59 consists of?'

'What do you want to know for?'

'So that I know what to protest about.'

'All that is quite useless!'

'But nevertheless?'

'All right, I'll read it to you: "A telephone may be disconnected if it is being used for purposes contrary to state interests or public order;[66] rent continues to be payable in the usual way." Do you understand?'

'Not quite, I must admit. Who is it that decides what is "contrary to state interests or public order?"'

'The relevant authorities, of course.'

'But what "relevant authorities" can decide what is "contrary to" anything? Do you mean they listen in to telephone conversations?'

'This is a completely unnecessary conversation!'

'Do you mean that some third person is listening to *our* telephone conversation as well?'

'I repeat, this is a wholly unnecessary conversation!'

'But tell me, who gives the order to disconnect a telephone?'

'The head of the communications network.'

'Well, who does the head of your network work for — the Ministry of Communications or the "relevant authorities"?'

'*We all work for those authorities.*'

'What do you mean? You too?!'

'Listen, I've already said much too much.'

* * *

In October **E. Ts. Chukovskaya** received two letters at once. The first was in an envelope bearing the return address of a friend in Leningrad and a Leningrad postmark — but it turned out to be from somebody else and had been written in the Caucasus. The envelope of the second letter bore exactly the same return address (and the corresponding postmark). Without opening the second envelope, Chukovskaya took both letters to the post office (district K-9, Central Telegraph). The director, on hearing her complaint, was shocked: 'Surely you don't think our postmen change letters around?' Chukovskaya assured the director that she fully trusted the postmen but asked that those who were in fact responsible should be found. When she received a categorical refusal at the post-office, E. Ts. Chukovskaya turned to the procurator's office.

In her presence and that of witnesses, an investigator opened the second envelope and revealed that the letters had been switched before the Moscow

stamps had been put on them. At the investigator's suggestion, Chukovskaya wrote a declaration asking that those who had violated the secrecy of her correspondence be found. The procurator's office replied that there were no grounds for starting a criminal case. Chukovskaya is continuing to demand that those responsible be found and punished. She also demands the return of her letters, which were kept by the procurator's office after being examined.

* * *

Eduard Trifonov, an employee of the Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy, was given a character reference for his emigration to Israel. In the character reference, it was noted among other things that 'He concealed his nationality in the interests of his career.'

* * *

A group of young Leningrad poets and artists have sent a letter to the department in charge of parks and gardens in Leningrad. The letter describes how on 14 December 1975 at 11 o'clock in the morning, they planned to commemorate the Decembrists by organizing a poetry reading on Senate Square (this anniversary is officially celebrated on 26 December in the new style calendar).

On the morning of 14 December six people were detained on their way to Senate Square: **Yuliya Voznesenskaya, Viktor Krivulin,** and his wife **Tatyana Goricheva, Boris Ivanov,** and two others.

Senate Square was cordoned off and blocked by police and vigilantes. The streets leading to the square were barricaded with cars.

Two artists, **Sinyavin** and **Filimonov,** managed to get to the square (they had not spent the night at home). When they began to be pushed out of the square, Filimonov threw a banner which he had rolled up under his arm into the Neva. The banner floated off, with the text uppermost: 'The Decembrists were the first Russian dissidents.'

The police did not disperse until evening. It is rumoured that in the neighbouring police stations extra detachments were on duty the whole of the following night.

A few days later Yu. Voznesenskaya was summoned by the KGB. Voznesenskaya and her friends were asked to give notice of such events beforehand in future, so that needless alarm would not be caused; they and their verses were praised and they were offered help in getting their work published.

A couple of days after that, the entire group were invited to the editor's office of the journal *Aurora,* where Gleb Gorbovsky, an editor of the journal, promised to publish their work in future.

* * *

On 29 October the Moscow city court refused to grant **Mirra Prazdnikova's** claim for alimony to support her child. The child's father is Miloš Gladek, a highly placed State Security official of the Czechoslovak SSR. Judge Korneva stated that 'the claim is justified but the respondent is not under our jurisdiction'; when the city court inquired about Gladek's salary, the reply was that this was a state secret.

On 29 December the case should have been heard in the Supreme Court of the RSFSR, but was put off until March 1976.

* * *

On 18 January 1975 **Andrei Nikolayevich Sokolov,** 48 years old, a member of the CPSU, deputy head of section 2 of the Chief Administration for Preventing State and Military Secrets Appearing in Print (Glavlit), was arrested. He was charged with putting on the black market books which had been sent to his section for destruction after being confiscated at the customs.

It was discovered that he had apparently been doing this for 15 years. In recent years Sokolov had provided the book market mostly with books by Solzhenitsyn, Chukovskaya, Voinovich and with the journal *Kontinent.*

The (closed-court) trial lasted from 12 to 30 September. Sokolov was sentenced for speculation and abuse of his official position to 7 years' imprisonment and barred from taking up a responsible position for 5 years after his release.

Sokolov's immediate superior Sokochtikov, the head of section 2 of Glavlit, was retired on pension.

The 'leakage' of confiscated books was discovered by criminal investigation officials while they were investigating a case involving the loss in the customs of parcels of records, ties, umbrellas and so on.

* * *

Moscow. On 10 September the People's Court of Volgograd district sentenced **Vladimir Arkhangelsky** to 2½ years' imprisonment[67] under article 206 ('hooliganism').

Arkhangelsky was tried for fighting with his acquaintance Karakhan and two of his colleagues, one of whom he hit on the head. The fight took place on 19 June and ended in a reconciliation, but a week later Karakhan initiated legal proceedings. On 1 July Arkhangelsky was arrested.

The *Chronicle* mentions this case not because Arkhangelsky was a member of 'Group 73' (*Chronicle* 30), but, first, because there is serious reason to believe that Karakhan's court application was inspired by someone else. Secondly, during the investigation Arkhangelsky's wife was visited by KGB official A. K. Shevchuk (in charge of the case of A. Tverdokhlebov even before his arrest), who gave her to understand that if her husband were to give evidence against Tverdokhlebov, things would be made easier for him.[68]

* * *

Yakutsk. On 11 December 1975 a search was carried out at the home of **P. E. Bashkirov,** an employee of the Republican Museum of Fine Arts. State security officials came to the wing of the museum where Bashkirov lives while he was absent. After waiting for the arrival of Bashkirov's wife, A. L. Gabysheva, they followed her into the house without showing a warrant and carried out the search; as a result the book *The Creator and the Moral Feat* by Rzhevsky was confiscated. After the search A. Gabysheva was taken away for an interrogation which lasted about four hours. At the same time P. Bashkirov, who had been picked up on the street, was also brought in for interrogation. No warrant was presented for the search, nor was a record made either of the search or of the confiscated material, or of the interrogation. A few days later P. Bashkirov received a formal summons to a second interrogation, at which again no record was made. It is known that KGB officials Lieutenant Gulyayev and Major Kuznetsov participated in the search and the interrogations.

* * *

The printing-press of **the 'Christian' publishing house,** seized on 24 October 1974 at the Ligukalns farm-house (*Chronicle* 34), is now in a museum of criminology in Riga which is closed to the public. According to reports from visitors, the press (which is completely hand-made) is still in working order and can be easily used. The standard of the printing is very high.

* * *

In September there were unannounced showings of the documentary film 'The Spider's Web' (directed by L. Makhnach) at closed sessions in the newsreel auditorium of the Moscow film theatre 'Rossiya'. The film basically makes use of film and photographs taken by hidden cameras — on the streets of Moscow (American journalists meeting Andrei Amalrik, the crowd outside the Moscow Synagogue during a Jewish festival), in the entrance-halls of Moscow hotels (the graduate student Mikheyev meeting a Swiss[69] tourist, who gave him his passport so that Mikheyev could leave the country illegally), in the passenger lounge at Sheremetevo airport (the detention of Mikheyev and some other incidents), in the customs booths at Sheremetevo airport (a foreign woman who had tried to bring in material about Bukovsky, being searched). To judge from certain parts of the film 'The Spider's Web', hidden cameras are also used to observe various foreign establishments which study Soviet problems or try to send religious and political literature into the USSR ('Slavic Mission', the Munich Institute for the Study of the Soviet Union and others) and broadcast in Russian (Radio Liberty). The film uses extracts from the interview given by Andrei Amalrik to American television and part of the press-conference given by P. Yakir and V. Krasin after they had been sentenced.

The second half of the bill was taken up by the film 'Night over China', whose theme is the violation of human rights in the Chinese People's Republic.

Tickets to the films 'The Spider's Web' and 'Night over China' were distributed to party district committees, district soviet executive committees and various institutions.

* * *

Samizdat News

V. F. Turchin: *The Inertia of Fear*
Socialism and Totalitarianism. Part 1: Totalitarianism[70]

In the foreword to the book the author describes his views as positivist and socialist (though not Marxist). He is a supporter of gradual democratic change. He sees the function of critics 'not to oppose themselves to the ruling circles as a hostile force, but to trace a path which would allow for a way out of this dead end and would move towards changes which have been maturing for a long time'.

The first part of the book is dedicated to an analysis of the present situation in the Soviet Union. The author's basic idea is that totalitarianism in this country 'ends up in a static regime'. The author quotes various examples from life, particularly of an autobiographical nature. He examines various aspects of the state ideology in the USSR. Much space is devoted to a criticism of historical materialism from the point of view of a scientist and cyberneticist.

Yu. F. Orlov: *Is a Non-totalitarian Form of Socialism Possible?*[71]

The author analyses the basic characteristics of the 'totalitarian form of socialism', their interrelation and interdependence. He asserts that 'maximum monopolization of economic initiative' is typical of the majority of socialist countries and is almost synonymous with monopolization of political initiative.

The present-day 'symbiosis of socialism and totalitarianism' is considered by the author to be a very plain lesson and he forecasts further 'totalitarianization of the world' on a socialist basis.

Nevertheless he does 'not consider the situation hopeless'. As he regards the theory of historical determinism and the theory of scientific socialism with its wholly planned economy to be unscientific, he puts forward in their place a concept of personal responsibility for historical development. He suggests, however, that the only social structures that should be striven for are those that could be considered 'stable in the long run'. As a realistic alternative to totalitarian socialism, he proposes 'socialism with decentralised private economic (and political) initiative', but without private property.

However, at this stage he considers most important the development of 'an

ethical anti-totalitarian movement'. The author is a convinced opponent of violence, which 'can only make the present situation worse'.

Mikhail Bernshtam: *The Future that Cannot be Put off* (71pp)

The author himself describes his work as follows: 'This summary recipe of mine aims only to repeat in a new way the most important ideas of A. D. Sakharov (a reference to Sakharov's book *My Country and the World — Chronicle*) and to attract attention to them, to stimulate the discussion, definition and development of them; to prepare the spiritual soil for Sakharov's proposals to be put into practice in the unpostponable future'.

Apart from the two introductory paragraphs, the work consists of seven chapters:

1. 'Détente'. Economic cohesion. Life. 2. Economics. 'Reform'. Economic revolution. 3. Socialism and totalitarianism. The dangers of 'crawling' under them. 4. An economic approach to our economy and true love of the people. 5. Reformism and radicalism. 6. Authoritarianism and totalitarianism. 7. A systematic approach. Two socialism. Two paths of history.

A. Moskovit: *Metapolitics* (1975)

This historical-philosophical work criticizes Marxist evolutionism and the theory of social progress. The author uses a wide selection of historical material from various countries and civilizations as a basis for his original concept of a struggle between the forces of 'understanding' and 'non-understanding' (or more precisely, the choice between understanding and non-understanding) as the chief factor determining the socio-political form of human society. A rough example: the habit of fearless and far-seeing perception of the future and the choice of personal responsibility for the fate of one's country lead people towards the establishment of democracy. People's efforts to close their eyes to future consequences for the sake of short-term gains, to relieve themselves of responsibility and hand it over to some 'strong man', lead to tyranny.

The author convincingly demonstrates the unfounded nature of hopes for the automatic advent of a 'bright', democratic (and so on) future. Such a future can come about only as a result of people consciously choosing understanding and responsibility.

Okros Satsmisi (The Golden Fleece)
Journal of Literature and Public Affairs. Tbilisi

The journal's editor is **Zviad Konstantinovich Gamsakhurdia,** member of the Writers' Union, member of the Georgian Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights, member of the Soviet Amnesty International group. The journal aims to publish novels, stories, poems and articles which cannot appear in the official press because of the ideological censorship.

The first issue of the journal[72] came out in May 1975. It opens with an introductory article by Z. Gamsakhurdia in which he announces the journal's aims and explains its title (the 'Golden Fleece' is a symbol of the ancient Colchid culture; the expression 'okros satsmisi' also has a secondary meaning — 'a cloud which brings forth rain'). 'May this journal', writes the editor, 'bring life-giving rain after the long drought of enforced silence.'

Prose is represented in the first issue by the short novel 'Friendship amongs Enemies' by Konstantin Gamsakhurdia (who died in 1975), and a story by Basil Melikishvili (who died in the '30's) — 'The Lake of Snakes'.

Gamsakhurdia recalls the friendship which grew up between him and Rakhim Vekilov, one of the leaders of the Musavatists,[73] when they were in the Solovki camps for political prisoners in the 1920s — a friendship which lasted after they were both released and continued right up to Vekilov's tragic death.

The short story 'Lake of Snakes' is dedicated to the great Georgian poet Vazha Pshavela.

The poetry section includes the anti-Stalinist poem 'Invective as a monument' by Gabriel Dzhabushanuri, which he wrote in Stalin's lifetime. This section also includes poems by Niko Samadashvili, Shoto Chantladze, Merab Kamareli, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Sezman Martvili, Leon Kartveli and Nunu Shalvashvili. Also among the authors is Teimuraz Chanturishvili, who is now serving a term in the Perm camps for political prisoners (*Chronicle* 33). This section also contains translations from Friedrich Hebbel [1813-63] and Soeren Kierkegaard [1813-55].

The section dealing with public affairs prints an article by the historian Ivan Dzhavakhishvili, 'Questions of 19th century Georgian History', about the administrative attempts that were made to change the ethnic character of certain districts in the country; and the speech made to the Union of Writers of Georgia by the writer Nodar Tsuleiskiri during a meeting of writers with E. Shevardnadze, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party. Tsuleiskiri objected to the attempts being made to place the Russian language in a privileged position in Georgia in comparison with the languages of other nations of the U S S R. He spoke of the decline in Georgian culture among the people.

The journal ends with three essays by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Merab Kostava and 'V. R.' under the general title of 'Alaverdobis Tsetskhli' ('The Fire of Alaverdob'), all dedicated to the late writer Guram Rcheulishvili, who specialized in short stories.

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The second issue of *The Golden Fleece* came out in July 1975, and the third issue in the autumn.

Trials of Past Years (The Case of A. Sergienko)

Oksana Yakovlevna Meshko, mother of the political prisoner Alexander Sergienko (*Chronicle* 30), has appealed to Amnesty International. She describes the trial of her son (place and date) and the events that followed.

During the trial about ten charges were made against A. Sergienko. Here are some of them:

1. Correcting the draft of I. Dzyuba's work *Internationalism or Russification?* (Dzyuba himself denies this).

2. Making statements about the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia (he was accused of having certain conversations with students — even though Sergienko had not associated these people since his expulsion from his institute in 1967; Sergienko was expelled in connection with the arrests and persecution in the Ukraine in 1965-7).

3-4. Sergienko had been a contributor to *The Ukrainian Herald* and had been the author of the item 'Obituary'. (Sergienko had delivered a speech of farewell at the funeral of Alla Gorskaya, an artist who died in mysterious circumstances, and this obituary was printed in *The Ukrainian Herald*. In connection with the *Herald*, notes that he had made in an exercise-book, confiscated during a search, were used as evidence against him. The exercise-book contained a few unconnected phrases (and a copied out extract from Koestler's novel *Darkness at Noon*).

5. Making slanderous statements about the Russification of the Ukraine (Sergienko had participated in an independent delegation to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian C P to discuss the necessity of providing teaching in Ukrainian in the institutes of higher education in the Ukrainian S S R).

6. Making nationalist statements (he took notes in Ukrainian, wrote exams in his native language and asked questions at lectures on historical materialism).

The court considered Sergienko's 'scornful' comments on the book *Lenin on the Ukraine* and a newspaper containing a speech by Brezhnev to be indications of his undoubtedly 'dissenting views'.

During the trial the accused and his lawyer were not allowed to call most of their witnesses.

Sergienko pleaded not guilty. The defence lawyer Martysh demanded that the court acquit his client. However the court gave him an even longer sentence than the prosecutor had asked for — adding three years' exile to seven years of imprisonment.

Since the trial the Sergienko case has not been available to lawyers. The lawyers I. S. Ezhov, M. Y. Linda and N. Ya. Nimirinskaya were unable to study the case.

O. Meshko's many complaints have remained effectively unanswered. A talk with an official of the reception-room of the C P S U Central Committee, Shcherbakov, led to nothing. During their conversation he permitted himself some ironical comments about O. Meshko's declaration to the C P S U Central Committee. Shcherbakov gave the following reason for refusing to accept the declaration: 'The C P S U Central Committee and its members do not have the right to interfere in legal matters . . .'

Efforts made on his behalf by deputies of the U S S R Supreme Soviet Mikhail Stelmakh, Dmitry Kabalevsky and Boris Paton have not affected Alexander Sergienko's fate.

Addenda and Corrigenda

Chronicle 35: in the 'News in Brief' report from Tallinn, Peterson was mistakenly included among those arrested.

Chronicle 36. in the list of political prisoners known to the *Chronicle* in Vladimir prison number 27 was said to be Tupelman, 'a Latvian partisan'. This man's name is not Tupelman but Tumelkans, and he is not 'a Latvian partisan'. He is imprisoned for serving in the so-called Latvian legion, formed during the German occupation of Latvia. He was arrested in 1972; his sentence is six years under the article corresponding to article 64 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. Tumelkans has now been moved from Vladimir to a camp.

Chronicle 37: in the section 'Events in Lithuania', it was stated that on 14 August 1975 'M. Vitkunaite was subjected to a search'. The verb should have been in the feminine to correspond with the subject.

Same issue, 'The Trial of Osipov': should read: the witness A. Ivanov (Skuratov), not (Skurlatov).

Chronicle 37: in the report on the interrogations in the Kovalyov case, it was not made clear that not only T. Velikanova and G. Podyapolsky but also Z. Gamsakhurdia, M. Kostava, V. Rtskhiladze (this name was distorted), M. Landa and A. Ginzburg refused to give evidence.

Activities in Defence of Human Rights in the Soviet Union Continue

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 39 **12 March 1976**

Contents

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NINTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Obituary

On the night of 8/9 March, **Grigory Sergeyevich Podyapolsky,** a scientist and poet, one of those who has openly and courageously fought for human rights in the USSR, died of a brain haemorrhage in a Saratov hospital.

Grigory Podyapolsky had an exceptional, outsize and vivid personality.

He was a talented scientist and had done important work on the dynamic theory of resilience in geophysics and hydrodynamics, which was published in the USSR and abroad. He was able to make a particularly important contribution to the theory of the formation of tsunami [seismic sea-waves]. This work of his was very significant in the forecasting of tsunami and has been deservedly recognized.

Science was more to Podyapolsky than a profession. It expressed the very essence of his nature. His scientific thinking was passionate and inspired. None of the everyday difficulties of life could distract Podyapolsky for long from his scientific work and interests.

At the same time, however, his creative scientific work could not engulf him entirely. He was intolerant towards evil and, because of this noble intolerance, disliked procrastination.

In 1969 Grigory Podyapolsky became a member of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR, the first association in our country to be independent of the authorities, which openly spoke out in defence of human rights. In 1972 he became a member of the Committee for Human Rights in the USSR.

It is impossible to list all the prisoners of conscience whom Podyapolsky defended. He came to the defence of Esenin-Volpin and Grigorenko, Ginzburg and Galanskov, Plyushch and Bukovsky, Kovalyov and Tverdokhlebov. His signature appears on many important documents defending human rights.

In 1969 the directors of the Earth Physics Institute refused to allow him to defend his dissertation, and in 1970 he was dismissed from the Institute, where he had worked for 17 years.

During 1969-75 Podyapolsky was summoned for interrogations by the KGB, and a search was carried out at his flat.

In this tense and difficult situation, risking unemployment, Podyapolsky continued his scientific work, his defending of people's rights, and his literary work.

In 1974 a collection of Grigory Podyapolsky's verses, *The Golden Age,* was published in the West, revealing for us yet another side of his many-faceted personality.

Podyapolsky was an actively good man, amazingly tolerant of other people's opinions, and at the same time, firm and uncompromising.

He has left his image in his works.

That image will be remembered not only by us. It will remain as part of the historical memory of our country, as the ashes of our unfading friend will remain in his native soil.

* * *

The obituary was signed by 91 persons.

* * *

Podyapolsky's funeral took place on 12 March in Moscow. About 300 people came to pay their last respects. At the crematorium A. D. Sakharov made a short speech. At the funeral Professor Zvolinsky, a representative of the Institute of Geology and Mountain Mineral Exploration, described his scientific work. In addition, Professor Zvolinsky said that Grigory Sergeyevich's uprightness and independence of judgement, together with the fact that he expressed his views openly, had inspired great respect for him. In her speech Z. M. Grigorenko spoke of the warmth and concern that he had shown towards her family when her husband was in prison, of his role in the release of Pyotr Grigorenko, and of Podyapolsky's struggle for the release of other political prisoners.

In the Camps and Prisons

Political Prisoners' Day (addition to *Chronicle* 38)

On the eve of 30 October 1975 a general search was carried out in the cells and workshops of Mordovian camp 1. After the search KGB official Demishev summoned the prisoners and tried to persuade them not to take part in the hunger strike planned for 30 October. To obtain their agreement he offered them packets of tea. Searches and cajoling talks also took place at camp 10 in the Mordovian complex.

On 30 October the planned hunger-strike took place in Camp 1. Thirty prisoners out of 47 took part. In Camp 19, in addition to those mentioned in *Chronicle* 38, **Matviyuk, Ovsiyenko** and **Rudaitis** took part in the hunger-strike. In Camp 3 three men and four women went on hunger-strike.

Yury [P.] Fyodorov got two months in solitary for taking part in the hunger-strike. Officially this was for 'infringement of the regime'.

* * *

On 30 October 1975 the mothers and wives of some political prisoners wrote an open letter to N. V. Podgorny. They fully supported the demands of the political prisoners and appealed to the Soviet government, demanding the introduction of a statute for political prisoners in the USSR. The letter was signed by these mothers of political prisoners: N. Bukovskaya, O. Meshko

(mother of A. Sergiyenko) and G. Pinson (mother of B. Penson); and by these wives: T. Zhitnikova (wife of L. Plyushch), V. Isakova (wife of G. Davydov), V. Lisovaya, R. Moroz, L. Murzhenko, G. Salova (wife of K. Lyubarsky), E. Svetlichnaya and N. Fyodorova.

The Mordovian Camps

Camp 19 is designed for 750-800 people. The work in the camp is organized on the system of mixed brigades. The brigade's wages are divided equally between all its members regardless of what each man has earned individually. The working conditions are bad: the machines are old and there is a great deal of noise.

At the end of January 1976 there were about 270 people in the camp. At the start of the year the output norm was raised by 10 per cent. Often Sundays are working days. This is announced over the radio or at the building site. Compensatory rest 'by schedule' (i.e., in turn) should be given for work done on Sundays, but it is difficult to obtain this, as in the absence of one worker the others must do his work for him.

The timetable includes repeated assemblies: for work, for morning exercise, for political education classes, for roll-calls twice a day. There is a free period of half-an-hour.

The political education classes take place five times a week. All prisoners now attend them. At these classes officers read out lectures according to an assigned plan which is sent to them.

The sanitary conditions are satisfactory: the barracks are clean. The camp shop sells margarine, sweets, tea, biscuits, small hard cakes, tinned ffsh, salted cucumbers and tomatoes in jars, mixed lard, margarine fat mixture, oil and jam. Milk and coffee are not sold.

* * *

Vladimir Osipov (*Chronicles* 37, 38), **Artem Yuskevich** (*Chronicle* 33), and **Markosyan** (*Chronicles* 34, 37) have been brought to camp 19.

Markosyan has severe stomach ulcers. In January and February he was deprived of access to the camp shop and of visits.

The following persons are also in camp 19 at present:

Ushakov — a lecturer from Leningrad. Sentenced under article 70.

His co-defendant **Sarkisyan,** a taxi-driver, is in Perm camp 36. Their trial took place no earlier than September 1975.

Leonid Trepov — sentenced to 12 years for attempting to cross the border; was earlier in Vladimir Prison.

Yury Aleksandrovich Khramtsov (born 1931), sentenced to 25 years in 1953. An American spy. He was parachuted onto the territory of the Soviet Union together with a partner. The partner shot him in the head and handed him over to the authorities. He has twice been transferred to Vladimir prison; the second time he was there from 1971 to 1974. For refusing to work (officially he has the right not to work, as he is an invalid), he was put in solitary, where he went on hunger-strike. Khramtsov has tried several times to obtain recognition of his U S citizenship and transfer to the camp for foreigners. Nothing has come of these efforts.

* * *

In September 1975 investigator Potapov visited **Bolonkin** in camp 19 to question him in connection with the Tverdokhlebov case. A. Bolonkin refused to give any evidence and stated that if the investigating authorities required it, they could bring him to speak at the trial in Moscow.

On 2 October Bolonkin was put in the punishment barracks for four months. On 23 October he was transferred to the cooler, whose walls were covered with various scrawled anti-Soviet slogans. The authorities wanted to blame Bolonkin for these, but did not succeed through lack of evidence (see also *Chronicle* 38).

On being released from the punishment barracks, Bolonkin received a visit from his wife. After the visit, papers given to her by Bolonkin were confiscated from her. For this Bolonkin was put in the camp prison.

Declarations by Bolonkin to official institutions are being declared libellous by the administration and are not being allowed to leave the camp.

At the present time his state of health is very bad: he has chronic gastritis and serious inflammation of the intestine.

Bolonkin's term ends in September 1976.

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At the beginning of 1976 **Antanas Sakalauskas** was taken away from Camp 19.

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At the beginning of 1976 **Vasily Ovsiyenko** (born 1949, arrested 1973 under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code; sentence — four years) was transferred to the hospital (in Camp 3). He was assigned to the psychiatric section. As there are no free beds in this section at the moment, he has been placed temporarily in a surgical ward.

* * *

Three days before **Vasily Stus** was due to be transferred from Camp 17 to a Leningrad prison hospital, he was summoned to the guardhouse, given his clothes for the journey and sent back to the camp. Stus and his comrades found a microphone in the padded jacket he had been given. They demanded that this fact be investigated by a special commission.

In Leningrad Stus was operated on. He has now returned to Camp 17. His state of health is satisfactory.

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Sergei Soldatov has been brought to Camp 17 (*Chronicle* 38).

* * *

At the end of December 1975, **Vasily Lisovoi** was taken to Kiev for 'a chat' [with officials].

* * *

Commencing in October 1975, searches were carried out in all the political zones in the Mordovian camps, in the course of which the following were confiscated: official documents (copies of sentences, for example), copies of complaints and declarations addressed to official Soviet institutions, and personal notes and letters. **V. Chornovil** had his verses confiscated. **B. Penson** and **S. Shabatura** had drawings confiscated. Prisoners report that they no longer receive books ordered through 'Books by Post'.

* * *

The administration and K G B officials have carried out prophylactic talks with prisoners, threatening them with new terms of imprisonment for communicating any information about the camps to the outside world. **V. Stus, V. Chornovil** and **B. Penson** were personally warned about this.

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It has been announced in all the political zones in the Mordovian camp-complex that all visits would be cancelled until 10 March. In the zones for common criminals visits are taking place as before.

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On 12 January 1976 Ukrainian political prisoners in the Mordovian camps held a hunger-strike to mark the fourth anniversary of the start of the 1972 repressions in the Ukraine.

* * *

In December 1975 Panfilov, deputy-procurator of the Ukrainian S S R, and the historian (?) Trapeznikov from Moscow visited the Mordovian camps. They talked to prisoners whose works have been published abroad, suggesting that they should sue the publishers for printing these without the permission of the authors.

In exchange for their agreement, the authors were promised royalty fees and a re-investigation of their cases.

The Perm Camps

Since the mass hunger strike of 1974 (*Chronicle* 33), the situation in Camp 35 has not been normalized. The prisoners' defence of their human rights has been

met by repressive measures on the part of the administration. Thus, recently at least 13 people have been transferred to Vladimir prison (*Chronicles* 33-38).

Since the beginning of 1975 many prisoners have unilaterally adopted 'the status of political prisoner', and since September 1975 they have been renouncing Soviet citizenship.

From 16 to 21 September the following prisoners sent announcements of their intention to renounce Soviet citizenship to N. V. Podgorny: Altman, Basarab, Verkholyak, Gluzman, Gorbal, Gurny, Demidov, Dyak, Ermakov, Zakharchenko, Kalynets, Kivilo. Kryuchkov, Malyazhinsky, Mamchur, Marchenko, Motryuk, Ogurtsov, Pidgorodetsky, Prishlyak, Pronyuk, Savchin, Svetlichny, Smirnov, Soroka, Tsepko, Shovkovoi, Shushunin.

Soon **Basarab, Demidov, Motryuk** and **Shovkovoi** were summoned by K G B officials Utyro and Shchukin and by Kitmanov, the deputy camp commandant. The authorities demanded that they renounce these declarations.

On 25 September, after a long spell in the cooler, **I. Valdman** renounced his Soviet citizenship.

Before the anniversary of the October Revolution, Utyro and Shchukin carried out a search of all the prisoners' personal effects. They confiscated the texts of renunciations of citizenship and unsent letters to K. Waldheim and foreign ambassadors. These documents were confiscated as being 'libellous'.

On 10 November **Mashkov** renounced his citizenship.

On 10 December renunciations of citizenship were sent to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet; letters were sent to foreign ambassadors, inquiring about the possibility of acquiring citizenship of the country concerned; a letter was sent to the Secretary-General of the U N, asking him to take them under the jurisdiction of the U N while the question of citizenship was being settled; a complaint against the camp administration, which was holding back the above-mentioned declarations, was sent to the U N Human Rights Commission.

Those who renounced their citizenship included: **Asselbaums** (who wrote to the Austrian ambassador), **Basarab** (wrote to the U S ambassador), **Verkholyak** (to the Canadian ambassador), **Gluzman** (to the U N), **Grabans** (to the Danish ambassador), **Demidov** (to the French ambassador), **Zograbyan** (to the Italian ambassador), **Kalynets** (?), **Kivilo** (to the Swedish ambassador), **Marchenko** (?), **Motryuk** (to the French ambassador), **Ogurtsov** (to the Belgian ambassador), **Pidgorodetsky** (to the Chinese People's Republic), **Pronyuk** (to the Netherlands), **Svetlichny** (to the U N), **Soroka** (to Great Britain), **Shakhverdyan** (to Switzerland), and **Shovkovoi** (to the Netherlands).

In addition, it is known that **Mamchur** wanted to appeal to the Vatican for help, **Valdman** to Norway, and **Savchin** and **Mashkov** to Canada.

Diary of Camp 35 (September 1975-January 1976)

17 September: Grabans was deprived of access to the camp shop because of a report by Kitmanov.

At the end of September a routine quarrel took place between officials of the medical unit and the prisoners about the quality of the food. The immediate reason for the quarrel was the inedible nature of the fish.

8 October: Because of a report by Polyakov, **Ogurtsov** was punished for 'insolent and coarse language'. Even before this happened, Ogurtsov had informed the administration that he would henceforth refuse to speak to Polyakov.

On the same day **Zograbyan** refused to work as a lathe-operator because he was a trained metal-worker and sewing-machine operator and there was work available in the camp in these specialities. He was deprived of a visit.

* * *

25 September: Valdman was not allowed to go to his work after roll-call, but on the following day he was given 15 days in the cooler — for refusing to work. Procurator Muradyan of Chusovoi district told Valdman: 'You can go on being punished for ever because of one infringement of the regime.'

8 October: Valdman was lying in the hospital with pneumonia. He was prescribed antibiotics, but no check was made on his reaction to them. Valdman, already worn out by his time in the cooler, went into a state of shock after being given the medicine — he had fits of fainting and shuddering, and his larynx swelled up. He was relieved of this condition by a male nurse because no doctor was there. (At the time Dr Solomina was searching for spare blankets — see below.)

9 October: About ten prisoners sent off identical statements:

To the U S S R Supreme Soviet,
The U S S R Parliamentary group,
Deputy V. P. Ruben [chairman of the group]

DECLARATION

At one of the previous conferences of the Inter-Parliamentary Union the 'problem of torture in the modern world' was discussed. In this connection I consider it necessary to inform you of the fact that in Camp VS 389/35, where I am being held, my comrade Valdman, an Estonian, has been subjected to torture over a lengthy period of time.

10 October: An assizes session of a court changed the type of Valdman's punishment — transfer to Vladimir prison. Valdman was sent to Vladimir on 15 November.

* * *

8 October: Polyakov carried out confiscations of 'spare' cotton blankets and padded mattresses. This action was conducted on the basis of M V D order number 20 of 1972 [*Chronicle* 33]. Among those who had their blankets confiscated were invalids, chronically sick people and the very old. Doctor Solomina took part in the blanket hunt.

To the Executive Committee of the Union of the Red Cross Society and the U S S R Red Crescent

On 8 October 1975 in Camp VS 389/35, in view of the approaching cold of winter, the administration forcibly confiscated from the prisoners, including invalids of the First and Second Groups, the following 'spare' objects: cotton blankets and padded mattresses, probably with the aim of preventing colds. I myself had my mattress and blanket confiscated. As I shall no longer be able to make use of the above mentioned objects myself, I ask you to demand them from the administration and hand them over to the prisoners in Chilean political camps as an expression of the international solidarity of workers. (Signature)

After these declarations had been handed in, the confiscated objects began to be returned to invalids from 10 October onwards.

9 October: Zograbyan was put in the camp prison.

10 October: Marchenko and **Ermakov** were deprived of access to the camp shop.

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The prisoner **Bružas,** who is seriously mentally ill, is being held in Camp 35.

30 September: Gluzman wrote on behalf of Bružas to his colleague — Academician Snezhnevsky. He wrote that in spite of his condition Bružas had not once been examined. The day after the letter was sent a consultant psychiatrist arrived in the camp. He examined Bružas (at the same time he summoned **Soroka** and threatened to put him in a psychiatric hospital is Soroka did not stop writing complaints to official institutions).

One week later, on 8 October, Gluzman was told that his letter to Snezhnevsky would not be sent, as it contained 'information not suitable to be disclosed'.

10 October: A court ordered the release of Bružas on medical grounds, and a week later he was freed from the camp.

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10 October: K G B officials Afanasov and Utyro confiscated 'for examination' a sealed envelope addressed to 'The Procurator of the R S F S R'. The envelope contained a complaint about the actions of the administration in regard to **Zograbyan.**

K G B officials and a few camp officers carried out a search on **14 October,** which lasted for many hours. The handwritten text of an open letter to the editor of the journal *The Journalist* was confiscated from Marchenko. This letter was a response to an article by two journalists from East Germany, who

had described in the journal their visit to a Chilean political camp.
15 October: A delegation of public figures from Ivano-Frankovsk, led by K G B officer Novitsky, visited the camp.
16 October: Polyakov, Pimenov, Osin, Kuznetsov and Khromov carried out education of Kalynets, Gluzman, Demidov, Zograbyan and Shakhverdyan.
17 October: The 'Educative Commission' (Polyakov, Pimenov, Osin, Ryabyshev, Sidyakova, Kotlyachkov, Pavlov and others) summoned **Zograbyan** because of his 'bad attitude to work'.
18 October: Pimenov deprived **Shakhverdyan** of a visit for 'impudent behaviour during prophylactic and educative commissions'.
18 October: Zograbyan was put in the camp prison for the second time, after refusing to work as a lathe operator.
24 October: Zograbyan came out of the camp prison.

A conversation between Ensign Gubarev and Zograbyan:
G: 'Now you've got involved with the Yids, you'll be sitting in the camp prison all the time.'
Z: 'But there are no Jews left in the camp except Gluzman.'
G: 'Yes, it's exactly him you mustn't get involved with, or you'll be inside for the next 30 years; there are people like that here — with 30-year sentences.'
25 October: On the orders of the administration, some of the prisoners carried prison-style bunks into one of the barracks — bunks made of iron. The prisoners from these barracks had earlier been taken out. The next morning they began to return, supervised by Polyakov. The prisoners protested against the prison bunks.
Demidov: 'Where's the court decision transferring me to a prison regime?'
Polyakov: 'You'll get the court decision. It will soon come.'

From protests the prisoners switched to action. In spite of cordons of warders and the personal interference of Polyakov, many of them managed to exchange the bunks for those they had had before. In the evening they wrote declarations to the Chusovoi Procurator's Office.
27 October: Degtyarnikov, Head of the K G B operations section, summoned **Marchenko.** He was extremely displeased with Marchenko's letter to the editor of *The Journalist*.

Then Degtyarnikov had a talk with **Ermakov** and advised him to stop his protests and demands for his case to be reconsidered. (Ermakov was charged with disseminating anonymous letters — *Chronicle* 38). When Ermakov said that there was not a single witness to the charge about anonymous letters, Degtyarnikov retorted: 'All right, so there are no witnesses, but we are convinced that you're the author of the letters, and that's enough.'[74]

Another quotation from Degtyarnikov: 'After 1937 the security organs did not fabricate a single case. That's already an historical fact . . . We've now received the powers we've been asking for for a long time. Like what happened in 1952.'
In October Prishlyak received an answer from the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S S R to his declaration of 5 September, which had been dedicated to the anniversary of the establishment of 'the Red Terror' by the Council of People's Commissars. The answer read: 'Your plea for a pardon has been sent for examination to the Supreme Soviet of the U S S R.'

29 October: Senior Lieutenant Timofeyev tried to have a talk with prisoners who had sent declarations on 5 September to the Supreme Soviet of the U S S R. However, they refused to talk with him.
3 November: Demidov was deprived of access to the camp shop.
In October and November Gorbal, who was in the punishment barracks, was deprived of access to the camp shop on several occasions. Once he was barred from the shop for not getting up at the signal to rise, on a day when he had been excused work by the doctor.
4 November: A letter to his Canadian relatives was confiscated from **Prishlyak.**
10 November: Zograbyan was deprived of access to the camp shop for refusing to work.
14 November: After making representations to Osin, the production chief, **Zograbyan** was put in the camp prison for three days.
18 November: Zograbyan appealed to Yarunin to give him medical aid.
19 November: Zograbyan was given 15 days in the cooler for refusing to work as a lathe-operator.
26 November: Kitmanov reported **Kalynets** for 'drinking tea in the cultural-recreation room' (see also *Chronicle* 38).

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10 November: Mashkov adopted the 'status of political prisoner' and sent a declaration to the U S S R Supreme Soviet renouncing his Soviet citizenship. At the same time he wrote a plea to K. Waldheim asking to be taken under the jurisdiction of the U N, and a letter to R. Ford, the Canadian ambassador to the U S S R, asking for Canadian citizenship. These letters were not dispatched from the camp.

On the same day Mashkov was put in the camp prison for seven days. One day after he came out he was put in the prison again.
25 November: Mashkov was summoned for a talk. Polyakov threatened to have him put in a psychiatric hospital.
On **27 November** Mashkov was put in the punishment barracks for six months. After this he did not go to work for a long time. Mashkov had never worked on a sewing machine before; he asked to be shown how to operate it. Chaika responded by ordering him to be given the cooler food ration for 'refusal to work'. Mashkov went on hunger-strike and Chaika withdrew his order.
4 January: Mashkov went out to work for the first time.

* * *

30 November: Petrov ended the hunger-strike he had begun on 12 September (*Chronicle* 38). He ended the strike on the condition that he would be put in

the hospital.

On the evening of the same day Petrov was hospitalized.

Since November a new officer has been working at the camp — Lieutenant Shukshin.

At the end of November, the prisoner **Pavlov** was transferred to Camp 36 from Camp 35.

In November Demidov was deprived of a visit for slowness in getting dressed.

1 December Svetlichny and **Kalynets** were deprived of access to the camp shop.

Since December, the chief of the operations section has been Lieutenant Bukin.

9 December: An assizes session of a court examined the case for the release on medical grounds of **Gogolyuk,** who is seriously ill; the case for release was rejected. In his speech procurator Muradyan argued that 'he's not been inside long enough'. (Gogolyuk was born in 1920; during the war, he collaborated with the Germans; he is serving his second term, which began in 1973 — *Chronicle*).

9 December: Sitchenko was transferred to Camp 37.

* * *

Chaika to **Čukšis** (born 1912, arrested 1963, sentence 15 years): 'We'll just keep squashing you bit by bit, and your complaints don't get any further than the gates'. He also said to **Kakiks** (born 1917, sentence 25 years): 'Well, drop dead if you can't work'.

* * *

19 November: Dyak and **Kochubei** were taken off to camp 37 in a serious condition. Kochubei was hospitalized at once, Dyak three days later.

20 December: Matti Kiirend arrived in the camp (*Chronicle* 38).

On the same day **Ashuika,** who served during the war in the German police force, was brought to the camp. He was sentenced to 15 years by the Supreme Court of the Belorussian S S R. He is 53 years old.

23 December: Kitmanov and Osin summoned **Soroka** and **Marchenko.** They were threatened with reprisals for not fulfilling the work-norm, although they are both invalids.

24 December: Gilel Butman returned from Vladimir prison. He had received one year in prison at the time of the 1974 events. Butman was transported to the camp with criminals, who had started a fight and tried to steal his few remaining possessions. A year ago, when he was on the journey to the prison, the guards beat Butman with their rifle butts, shouting 'Yid face', and threatened to set the dog on him. Butman then complained to the procurator's office and received the following answer: '. . . the report has not been confirmed. Butman himself attacked the guards.'

* * *

Kitmanov said to **Orlovich** in **December 1975:** 'If you go on praying we'll punish you.'

* * *

24 December: Shakhverdyan was deprived of access to the camp shop (he had not gone to 'get acquainted' with the newly appointed Lieutenant Bukin).

On the next day **Matusevičius** was put in the camp prison for ten days for refusing to work. (He is 46 years old; he got a 25-year sentence in 1953. He is ill with a heart condition; he has asked for medical aid and exemption from work.)

25 December: Zograbyan was deprived of access to the camp shop for refusing to work as a lathe-operator.

26 December: A reply was received from the Chusovoi procurator's office to the declarations about the prison-type bunks. The actions of the administration were declared to have been correct.

26 December: Because of illness, **Svetlichny** was not in a condition to reach the canteen. Gluzman wanted to take his supper to him at the barracks — but this was not allowed.

29 December: Zograbyan wrote a petition to the International Labour Organization and handed it in to be posted. On the same day he was put in the camp prison. The petition was handed over to the K G B.

In December **Shakhverdyan** was sent to the punishment barracks — for 'libellous complaints'.

As already reported, **Altman** adopted the status of political prisoner in September. From that moment he has hardly been out of various places of punishment. On **4 January** he came out of the punishment barracks. On **5 January** he was put in the cooler again for 15 days. Officially, Altman was punished on each occasion for refusing to work.

7 January: Petrov resumed his hunger-strike, as he had not received an answer to his declarations. He was in the punishment barracks, as before. On **12 January** he sent a declaration to Brezhnev announcing that he was thinking of renouncing Soviet citizenship.

14 January: Zograbyan was sent to the punishment barracks.

15 January: 'In connection with the closure of the central hospital in institution VS 389 for repairs,' all the patients were discharged. Among them was **Vladimir Dyak,** whose condition is said to have deteriorated.

15 January: Zograbyan was told that his declaration to the International Labour Organization had been passed to the Chief Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions.

* * *

In October **Motryuk** was seriously ill — he has furunculosis of the head. In December **Pronyuk's** condition grew worse — he had frequent fainting fits and dizzy spells. He has tuberculosis of the lungs.

Svetlichny is seriously ill — he suffers intensive attacks due to kidney disease and often has bleeding from the nose.

Vladimir Yakovlevich Cherkavsky has a serious kidney disease. He is greatly in need of the following medicines: pyat-nok, bisentol and dopingit.

Cherkavsky is about 50 years old. He has about a year left to serve of his ten-year sentence; then he has a further five years in exile.

[Camp 36]

During his spell in the prison of camp 36, **Vladimir Balakhonov** suffered a major haemorrhage from the stomach. He was given no medical assistance, in spite of protests by his comrades which took the form of a hunger-strike.

* * *

Yury Vladimirovich Dzyuba is in Camp 36. Dzyuba was born in 1950; he lived in Kharkov and has an uncompleted higher education.

In 1971 Dzyuba sent an application to the Kharkov Visa Department asking to renounce his Soviet citizenship and emigrate to the USA, and paying tax amounting to 500 roubles. On 20 August 1973 he was arrested on a charge of anti-Soviet propaganda. The real reason for his arrest was probably a letter of his to the USSR Ministry of the Interior. This letter was broadcast by Radio Liberty in the autumn of 1974.[75] From the time he handed in his declaration until his arrest, Dzyuba was forced to leave his place of work three times 'at his own request'.

The investigation took nine months. During this time Dzyuba underwent three psychiatric examinations, the last of these at the Serbsky Institute. He was declared sane.

Dzyuba was sentenced by a Kharkov court to five years in strict-regime camps, for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. The court was in session from 17 to 23 June 1974. He arrived in the camp on 21 September 1974.

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A. Turik and **Gaiduk** have been transferred to Vladimir prison for assuming the status of political prisoners.

* * *

P. Plumpa refused to work on Christmas Day (25 December).

* * *

On 8 January **Sergei Kovalyov** arrived in Camp 36.

[Camp 37]

On 6 February 1976 **Izrail Zalmanson** was put in the camp prison for 15 days for writing a series of declarations.

* * *

The *Chronicle* continues the list of political prisoners in Camp 37, which was begun in *Chronicle* 38:

27. Yury Vasilev (article 70, four years).
28. Pyotr Vinnichuk (has been in captivity since 1973).
29. Boris Zalivako (article 64, eight years plus five in exile, since 1969).
30. Andrei Kravets (article 70, three years since 1973).
31. Andronik Markaryan (article 70, four years since 1973).
32. Razmik Markosyan[76] (article 70, seven years plus three in exile, since 1974).
33. Radomir Mikitka (article 70, five years).
34. Dmitry Mikheyev (article 64, six years since 1970).
35. Boris Mudrov (article 64, six years).
36. Nikolai Petrov (article 64, ten years since 1974).
37. Nikolai Sinkov (article 70, five years since 1973).
38. Vladimir Sitchenko (article 64, ten years).
39. Vladimir Slovodnyuk (article 70, five years since 1973).
40. Konstantin Terebenin (article 64, 15 years since 1971).
41. Viktor Khaustov (article 70, four years since 1973).
42. Eugenius Juodviršys (article 70, two-and-a-half years).
43. Anatoly Merkurev.
44. Grigory Gimpu (article 70, six years).

Vladimir Prison

Addendum number 6 to Order number 20, issued by the Ministry of the Interior in 1972, forbids the wearing of crosses round the neck. This ban concerns prisoners serving their terms in prisons, and possibly also other categories of prisoner.

* * *

On 11 July 1975 **Evgeny Pashnin** had his cross taken away as 'a forbidden object'. Pashnin has been sending complaints to the Council on Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers. His complaints are redirected by the Council to the prison administration.

On 26 November 1975 First Lieutenant Kichigin took away a cross from **N. I. Fedoseyev.**

On 9 January 1976 **Yury Vudka** was given back a letter he had written, on the grounds that the letter contained psalms, and, as Captain Doinikov stated, 'psalms are forbidden'.

* * *

On 18 January **Gabriel Superfin's** term of confinement on strict regime came to an end. He spent the last days of his term in the cooler.

On 19 January Superfin told his mother during a visit that, if his Bible was taken away from him, he would be forced to take extreme measures.

A day later, on 21 January, while Superfin was out exercising, his Bible was confiscated. (He had carried this Bible with him through all the searches since his arrest, though this had led to disputes with the authorities every time.)

On 22 January Superfin declared a hunger strike.

* * *

Leonid Pedan is on strict regime in Vladimir Prison; he was born in 1951, and was sentenced as a common criminal; in October 1973 in a camp he got a three-year sentence under article 70.

On 22 October 1975 **Mo Khun** was transferred to Alma-Ata, apparently for a review of his case.

His real name is Yui-Shi-Lin. Mo Khun is the name on his Soviet documents. Mo Khun has been in the U S S R since 1968. He was arrested in 1972.

* * *

The report in *Chronicle* 38 that the administration at Vladimir Prison had accepted the refusal of prisoners to work, has unfortunately turned out not to be true. For example, **Georgy Davydov,** on completing four months on strict regime, has been put back on strict regime — this time for six months. He has been deprived of a visit.

The following were punished for refusing to work in the summer of 1975: **Bukovsky, Grodetsky, Meshener** — all 15 days in the cooler, and **Makarenko** — twice punished, for eight and 15 days.

* * *

In the summer of 1975 **N. Budulak-Sharygin** (*Chronicle* 32) was deprived of his invalid status (he was an invalid of the second group). He was refused permission to receive medicine from home (i.e. from England). N. Budulak-Sharygin suffers from hypertension and has a weak heart.

Alexander Chekalin continues to suffer haemorrhages from his ears. He is rapidly losing his sense of hearing. He receives no medical attention.

Anatoly Efremov (a political prisoner who was formerly a common criminal) had an operation; he now suffers considerable kidney haemorrhages. He receives no medical attention. When he asked a doctor: 'What am I supposed to do — hang myself?', the doctor replied 'Go ahead and hang yourself. That'll be one swine less.' Efremov was offered medical aid in return for cooperation with the K G B.

Arye Khnokh is in bad health (he has gastritis and haemorrhoids), as is **Evgeny Pashnin** (who has stomach ulcers and a duodenal ulcer). Both of them receive no medical attention.

M. Makarenko has a liver illness and doctors have found a dark patch on his lungs. Although he has been prescribed glucose, he is not being given infusions of it. The response to his inquiries is: 'We don't have any glucose.'

Yury Shukhevich's health has got worse.

* * *

One of the prisoners in Vladimir Prison — **Oleg Spiridonov** — has attempted to burn himself to death. He was sent to the cooler; two days later he was transferred to the hospital.

* * *

As has already been reported in *Chronicle* 38, **V. P. Fedorenko** was brought to Vladimir Prison on 20 April 1975. According to his sentence, he must spend the first five years of his term of imprisonment (i.e. until September 1979) in a prison, and the rest of his term — ten years —in a special-regime camp (*Chronicle* 38 mistakenly reported that the first five years would be 'either in prison or on special-regime'). Besides 'treason to the motherland', he was also charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'.

On 26 April Fedorenko went on hunger-strike. He continued the hunger-strike for 95 days — until 31 July. On 5 July the 31st day of his hunger-strike, he was beaten up by warders in the presence of Captain Dmitriev, the political-education instructor.

On 10 December 1975 Fedorenko again went on hunger-strike, demanding that his case be reviewed and that he should be released. He is determined to continue the hunger-strike until the end of the 25th Congress of the C P S U. On 1 February 1976 many prisoners held a one-day hunger-strike in support of Fedorenko's protest.

* * *

On his arrival at Vladimir, **Evgeny Pashnin** was put on strict-regime for six months. After this, he spent about a month on ordinary-regime, but was then again transferred to strict-regime for six months.

* * *

In October 1975 the Swiss organization 'Movement for Freedom and Human Rights' awarded its annual prize to **Kronid Lyubarsky.** A letter from the president of this organization states that the organization's board wanted:

1. To honour a representative of the Soviet dissidents, who, in extremely difficult circumstances, making many sacrifices, have made particular efforts in the fight for freedom and human rights.
2. To honour a man who was a worthy representative and sufficiently well-known among Soviet dissidents, but not *very* well-known here in the West, thus emphasising the symbolic character of the prize; in other words, to honour *in the person of Lyubarsky all* those who, athough they have sacrificed much, remain *little known.*

Lyubarsky heard about the prize and gave instructions to have the money given to a fund for the aid of political prisoners.

At the beginning of February 1976 Lyubarsky was put in the cooler.

* * *

The administrative authorities at Vladimir Prison confiscate a considerable portion of outgoing and incoming correspondence under pretexts that are clearly absurd. Recently they have even stopped giving reasons for confiscation.

On 12 January **N. Budulak-Sharygin** began a hunger-strike, demanding that the illegal confiscation of correspondence should cease. His wife, who lives in England, has not received any letters from him since August 1975.

* * *

On 19 January and 2 February (after a visit to her son on 28 January) **Nina Ivanovna Bukovskaya** sent open letters to Amnesty International and the International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights. In these letters she reported on the serious condition of Vladimir Bukovsky's health and the arbitrary violence of the prison administration.

In the letter dated 5 February, addressed to G. Marchais, Bukovskaya asks him to visit her son or send him a food parcel.

* * *

While the 25th Congress of the C P S U was taking place, 32 political prisoners in Vladimir Prison went on hunger strike. They were: Antonyuk, Abankin, Afanasev, Balakhonov, Bondar, Budulak-Sharygin, Bukovsky, Valdman, Vudka, Grodetsky, Davydov, Zdorovy, Lyubarsky, Makarenko, Moroz, Pashnin, Pavlenkov, Popadyuk, Pedan, Prikhodko, Roketsky, Suslensky, Safronov, Sergienko, Superfin, Turik, Fedoseyev, Fedorenko, Chekalin, Khnokh, Shakirov and Shukhevich.

They were demanding an end to the practice of using hunger for political ends, as a punishment or means of applying pressure on the beliefs of political prisoners. They refer to the fact that the international court at the Nuremberg trials laid down that feeding prisoners on less than 2000 calories per person per day should be considered third degree torture and a crime against humanity. At the same time, according to their calculations, a prisoner in a Soviet prison does not get more than 1900 calories per day. (In *Chronicle* 33 it was reported that the official prison food norm on ordinary regime is 2050 calories; the strict-regime food norm is 1950 calories, but for the first month of strict-regime it is 1250 calories, while in the cooler the norm is 1350 calories and 850 calories on alternate days.)

They also demanded an end to psychiatric repression and threats of psychiatric repression.

The administration of Vladimir prison informed the hunger-strikers that it had no right to send their statement to the Congress.

Several dozen political prisoners in the Perm and Mordovian camps also held a hunger-strike during the Congress in protest at the persecution of dissidents, at the cruel sentences imposed on them, at the inhuman conditions of confinement in places of imprisonment, the persecution of relatives and friends of political prisoners, and at the further persecution of those who had finished

their sentences.

T. Velikanova, A. Ginzburg, Yu. Orlov, M. Landa, I. Nudel and V. Borisov appealed to world public opinion, calling on people to support the demands made by the hunger-strikers. 'We ask you to remember,' they wrote in their appeal, 'that the existence of such political prisoners (whatever their number) creates an atmosphere of pervasive fear, of an all-pervading lack of freedom in our country.'

* * *

A criminal case has been brought against the prisoner **Valery Timokhin,** under article 70 of the Criminal Code of the R S F S R. Earlier he had got three years on a 'criminal' charge and was sent to Vladimir Prison as a domestic orderly, where he worked as a painter. The reason why the new case has been made out against him stems from certain of his caricatures found on the prison walls.*

Ordinary-Regime camps

In March 1975 the Kiev district court sentenced **Yury Timonovich Litvin** to three years in ordinary-regime camps under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian S S R Criminal Code (in the section 'News in Brief' in *Chronicle* 37 his patronymic and sentence were wrongly given).

Yu. T. Litvin (born 1934) has already spent ten years in prison, in 1955-65, for his part in the Ukrainian national movement.

He was arrested for the second time on 14 November 1974 in the town of Rovno. In the indictment Litvin was charged with composing and disseminating his own verses and the article 'The Tragic Gallery' (its contents are not known to the *Chronicle*). At his trial Litvin refused to give evidence (he even refused to answer questions about his place of birth, etc.), stating that if the trial was a 'spectacle' for the court and the witnesses, for him it was a 'death-sentence' (Litvin has a very serious stomach ulcer). When the judge asked him if his refusal signified a lack of respect for the court, he answered in the affirmative. Litvin's wife, who appeared in court as a witness, stated that the defendant did not like Brezhnev: 'When Brezhnev was on television, he would switch it off.' In his final statement Litvin repeated that the sentence would mean death for him.

In a camp in the Komi A S S R he has been put on heavy labour. At the end of August, during a visit from his mother, Litvin lost consciousness from pain and the visit was terminated.

[**Chronicle* 41 corrects several errors in this account. Valiakhmed (Russianized form — Valery) Timokhin, an artist born in 1947, was arrested in November 1975 for circulating political leaflets and held in Vladimir prison while under investigation (article 70). He was then ruled not responsible by psychiatrists and eventually (*Chronicle* 44) sent to Sychyovka.]

In December 1975 Litvin was taken to the republic's hospital at Syktyvkar (in the corridor outside his ward an ensign was stationed). On 10 December he was operated on. On 8 January 1976 Litvin was transferred to the camp; he was supported under his arms as he went to the 'Black Maria' and then the 'Stolypin waggon', and he was accompanied by a nurse. He is 170 cm tall and weighs 42 kg. On 28 December 1975 the doctor in charge of Litvin signed the following document: 'Clinical diagnosis: perforated stomach ulcer. Diffused suppurative peritonitis. On 10 December the ulcer was sewn up. In the post-operative stage, there were three haemorrhages from the stomach, with a haemoglobin fall of 4 per cent. The patient's condition is extremely serious . . .'

The address of his mother, Nadezhda Antonovna Poruvchenko, is: Kiev region, Vasilkov district, village of Barakty.

* * *

Alexander Feldman (the 'story of the cake' — *Chronicle* 32) was deprived of a visit and a pacel in January-February 1976.

Releases

On 10 December **L. G. Lukyanenko** was transferred from Vladimir Prison to Chernigov, where his wife lives. On 8 January Lukyanenko was allowed a half-hour visit from his wife. On 20 January he was released at the end of his sentence.

On the same day his co-defendant **Ivan Alexeyevich Kandyba** was released from Camp 35. In 1961 they were both sentenced to be shot, but later this was commuted to 15 years' imprisonment (*Chronicle* 33).

* * *

Iosif Meshener was transferred from Vladimir to Bendery. There he was released on 12 February (a day late). Meshener was sentenced to six years' imprisonment under article 70 (*Chronicle* 16).

During a search before his transfer, a number of handwritten documents were confiscated from Meshener — statements by prisoners and copies of sentences.

* * *

On 16 November **Nikolai Andreyevich Gorbal** was sent from Perm Camp 35 into exile in Tyumen region. Gorbal was sentenced under article 70 to five years in camps and two years in exile (*Chronicle* 33).

* * *

On 5 January **Vyacheslav Petrov** went into exile from Camp 35; he was sentenced under article 70 to three years in camps and two years in exile (*Chronicle* 28).

* * *

Gunnars Astra was transferred to Riga from Camp 36. On 26 February he was released at the end of his sentence. He was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment under articles 64, 70 and 228 (*Chronicle* 33).

* * *

Nikolai Kots (wrongly called Kotsnik in *Chronicle* 33) has been sent from Camp 36 into exile in the town of Teguldet, Tomsk region.

Kots is a graduate of the Agricultural Academy and the department of mechanics and mathematics at Kiev State University. In 1967 he was working in Ternopol as a lecturer at a technical college. He was sentenced under article 70 to seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile. He served his camp term in Mordovia and Perm.

* * *

In October 1975 **Vladimir Ilich Ganzyuk** (born 1932) was sent into exile.

He is serving his second term: his last sentence was five years in camps and three or five years in exile. Before that he had already served ten years for being a member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. His second term was also for U I A activities.

In 1972 Ganzyuk made a statement renouncing Soviet citizenship but received no reply.

* * *

The following have been released under pardons from Camp 37 in the Perm camp-complex:

Vasily Egorovich Doroshenko;

Shaltayan, co-defendant of Gimpu and Grauer;

Ararat Tovmasyan, sentenced in 1973 to 3½ years (*Chronicle* 34); his co-defendant was Bagrat Shakhverdyan;

Ruben Khachatryan, sentenced in 1974 to 2½ years (*Chronicle* 34);

Alexander Egorov, sentenced to four years under articles 70 and 72; his co-defendants were Kuzin and Savinkin (*Chronicle* 29);

Nikolai Sentsov. In 1966 he was serving as a border guard and escaped into Iran. A few months later he returned and was sentenced to 12 years under article 64.

* * *

In Camp 19 of the Mordovian complex:

On 28 January **Viktor Komarov** was released early (two years and three months before the end of his term). Komarov wrote a statement asking for a pardon. He was imprisoned for eight years.

On 28 January **Korovin** (*Chronicle* 34) was released. His sentence was two years of camps and two years in exile. He served his camp term in full. The term of exile was commuted by a pardon.

Vasyl Dolishny has been released at the end of his sentence. He has served five years.

* * *

Letters and Appeals from Political Prisoners

Deeply respected Academician,
Dear Andrei Dmitrievich [Sakharov]
The spiritual genius of Russia through the complex and difficult years of its social existence has always presented a great man to the world, a symbol of the inner potential of the nation who, by influencing thousands of people through his personal self-sacrifice, through the power of truth, through the authority of his personality and his great courage, has himself defended — and inspired others to defend — freedom, justice and humanism. When you published *Progress, Co-Existence and Intellectual Freedom* you immediately and for many years thereafter became the standard-bearer of those forces of public opinion who, although they have their own national aims, have been following the same path, and are now walking side by side with you, as they intend to do in the future.

I am happy for you and the great recognition of your activity through the Nobel Prize award. Making use of a very rare and unexpected opportunity, I congratulate you with all my heart that you were picked out for award. I wish you many, many years of life, good health and strength, and inspiration on your hard but noble path.

With deep respect,
Yours,
Ivan Gel

* * *

Dear Andrei Dmitrievich,

We — Armenians, Latvians, Estonians, Russians, Ukrainians and Jews;
We — democrats, nationalists and Zionists;
We — those serving twenty-five years and novices, all congratulate you, rejoice on your behalf and are proud of you, as a true human being, a great humanist! We thank you for providing a pure ray of light in this ninth circle of our concentration-camp hell.

Gluzman, Svetlichny, Marchenko, Shovkovoi, Motryuk, Demidov, Shakhverdyan, Prishlyak, Kalynets, Soroka, Asselbaums, Kivilo, Gurny, Ogurtsov, Grabans, Ermakov, Zakharchenko, Pidgorodetsky.

Those in the punishment barracks or in the cooler — Zograbyan, Altman, Valdman, Pronyuk, Petrov and Gorbal — have asked Gluzman to sign on their behalf.

11 October 1975.

* * *

To the International Office of the World Postal Union, Berne, Switzerland.

Dear sirs,

I have the honour to inform you that the Soviet Union has just observed the World Postal Convention, and in this I perceive — with sincere gratitude — your personal influence: on 22 October of this year I was for the first time given a letter from outside the USSR, namely from Eva Butman, Kibbutz Naan, Israel 73268, dated 16 September 1975 (all correspondence formerly sent to me from abroad has been kept from me and has often be returned to the senders marked 'inconnu' (unknown). I deliberately write this in Russian (not in French), in order to shorten its passage through Soviet territory.

Yours respectfully,
S. Gluzman.
27 October 1975.

Similar letters were written by **I. Kalynets** and **I. Svetlichny.**

* * *

Respected [UN] Secretary-General,

We wish to inform you that the penal system run by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs includes an official censorship department with many thousands of functionaries called 'censors', and we ask you to explain how this can be reconciled with Resolution 426(IV) passed by the United Nations in 1949, which condemns censorship.

Political prisoners **Gluzman** (signature),
Svetlichny (signature),
Shakhverdyan (signature).
November 1975, political camp VS 389/35

* * *

S. Gluzman: Letter to M. A. Suslov (October 1975, eight pages)

The author tries to convince the addressee that the Soviet penal system is senseless and useless in achieving the ends laid down for it by the authorities. The letter ends as follows:

> I am very dangerous. I am a witness. I have within me thousands of pages of as yet unwritten articles, stories, essays and novels.
>
> I cannot be reformed and it may be that I shall survive and preserve my memories. My beliefs are those of morality and humanism, so I shall not keep quiet. My comrades, of whom there are hundreds, will not keep quiet either. Half-hearted measures will be no use. Tortures and cruelty have always been used as means of control in the political battle, but their effectiveness is temporary. If history and mankind have some kind of meaning, it is in this. Because of objective factors you cannot change the direction of internal affairs in the USSR, nor do you want to. Then take really radical measures!

Shoot (or hang) all 'especially dangerous State criminals', my friends and myself. Death is the best way of re-educating dissidents — reliable and effective. Satisfy the primordial aspirations of those who, like the Khromushins and Polyakovs, who have often regretted aloud the passing of the old times. Then fear will reign once again, if only for about ten years. A dead enemy is a good enemy. Public opinion in the West will probably express its disapproval; altruistic committees and private individuals will publish new leaflets in defence of Siamese cats, stray dogs and Soviet political prisoners — but diplomats and professional politicians will still smile at you at parties and receptions and will continue to trade and trade and trade. That's what the world's like: why not have principles as regards a weak power like Spain, which doesn't have a single atomic bomb? But the Soviet Union, that's a power that has to be reckoned with.'

* * *

B. Shakhverdyan: *Open Letter to Academician V. A. Ambartsumyan* (October-November 1975)

I was pained to read in the newspaper *Izvestiya* of your 'bewilderment' and 'indignation' (among that of others) at the award of the Peace Prize to Academician Sakharov by the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament. I suffered this pain — not because of my heart disease, but from shame. Here political sympathies and beliefs are not the point. We are not born Communists or anti-Communists, we are born human beings, and our natural human characteristics, which civilization has defined in the legal term 'human rights', are the basis of existence in a reasonable society, striving — ideally — to achieve a prosperous life for all its members. You are not only the President of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, you are also a deputy. You know quite well that in Armenia, as in the rest of the USSR, human rights are not observed. Need I remind you of the events of April 1965 in Erevan? Or of the trials of 1965-74? Or of the fact that I was accused by the KGB in court of harbouring 'a libellous document' — the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? Have you ever tried to get into a closed trial, by making use of your authority as a deputy? No... Have you ever, even once, given any material aid to those who really need it — the families of Armenian political prisoners? No... Did you try to discover the cause of engineer Aika Spandaryan's death in a KGB security prison? No. You, as an academician and a deputy, knew all this. But you never raised in the Supreme Soviet the question of putting an end to closed 'trials', of removing the artificially-created 'anti-Russian' label from Armenian patriots, who speak from a national-democratic position. You kept quiet, until the time came to 'condemn' Andrei Sakharov. This was an amazing situation: Academician Sakharov, a Russian, seeming to have no links with Armenia, its culture or its people, showed a sincere concern for the fate of many of its persecuted sons and daughters, while you, an Armenian, did not lift a finger in defence of your violated Motherland or in defence of basic human rights, yet you 'condemn' him. Did you think, at the moment when you signed, of those respected scientists who chose you as a worthy member of their scientific societies and universities? What position have you placed them in, 'Honorary Doctor'? You express indignation, instead of standing in support of Andrei Sakharov as behoves a principled scientist and humanist. If you were a member of the Committee for Human Rights in the USSR, your name and scientific merits would be of invaluable help, not only to our homeland, Armenia, but to the whole of civilization. That is why I am pained. I am ashamed of a scientist and an Armenia who has forgotten the aims of science and the sorrows of his country. So, with the help of friends, I have translated this appeal into Russian: my short commentary on your disgrace should become known to the Russian people as well.

* * *

B. Shakhverdyan: *Declaration to J. Barroso Chavers, President of the World Federation of Societies of the Red Cross, the Red Crescent and the Red Lion and Sun* (January 1976)

...I have read in the Soviet press that the Chilean junta allows members of the International Committee of the Red Cross to send parcels to political prisoners and thus aid them. I hope that you will also find it easy to help me, in Soviet Russia. I ask you to send me a parcel containing food and medicines and thus relieve my sufferings...

* * *

Demidov: *Declaration to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR* (27 October 1975. Signature: Demidov, a Ukrainian)

I am perplexed by the position adopted by the supervisory officials and Soviet authorities of your republic, in that they completely ignore their prime duty of making sure that Soviet laws are correctly observed with regard to Armenian citizens sentenced by courts of the Armenian SSR and now serving terms of imprisonment in Camp VS 389/35 on the territory of the RSFSR.

Demidov lists a number of violations of the law with regard to Shakhverdyan and Zograbyan (see 'Diary of Camp 35' in this issue of the *Chronicle*). The declaration ends as follows:

I dare to hope that through your persons the highest legislative authority of the Armenian SSR will show a proper concern for the fate of those Armenian citizens who have been temporarily handed over by the Armenian republic to a system of corrective labour institutions in the RSFSR. The aim

is to 're-educate' them, but it should not be to subject them to moral and physical sufferings and forcible Russification.

* * *

Father Vasyl Romanyuk: *Appeals to A. D. Sakharov, President of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR, and to the National Council of Churches in the USA*

The subject of both appeals is the fact that he has been forbidden to have a Bible (*Chronicle* 37). The author again writes: 'I shall maintain my hunger strike until I am given a Bible.'

* * *

In the Psychiatric Hospitals

The *Chronicle* possesses the following information on persons being held in Special Psychiatric Hospitals (SPH) under 'political' articles of the Criminal Code.

Dnepropetrovsk SPH

Anatoly Anisimov — born 1950, from Trans-Carpathia; has been in the SPH since 1970; sentenced under article 76(?);

Boris Dmitrievich Evdokimov — born 1923, a journalist from Leningrad. For a number of years he was published in the journal *Grani* under the pseudonym 'Sergei Razumny'. He was arrested in the summer of 1971 under article 70, declared not responsible and sent to the Leningrad SPH. In 1972 he was transferred to Dnepropetrovsk (*Chronicles* 26, 27, 37);

Leonid Efimov — born 1950; from Ivano-Frankovsk; has been in the SPH since 1970; sentenced under article 70;

Zabolotny — born 1935, a worker, mentioned in *Chronicle* 27;

Ivankov[77] — a radio operator on the tanker 'Tuapse' who asked for political asylum in the USA but later [in 1956] returned to the USSR. In spite of an undertaking given by the Soviet embassy to the US State Department, Ivankov was tried on his return to the Soviet Union and put in a SPH. He has been in the Kazan and Chernyakhovsk hospitals. Everywhere he has received large doses of powerful drugs. He has been in Dnepropetrovsk since 1968. The doctors are promising him an 'eternal bed'. All the other crew-members of the 'Tuapse' have, after imprisonment in Mordovia, completed their sentences and been released (*Chronicle* 8);

Boris Kovgar — born 1926; a Kiev museum official. After 1967 he was a secret informer for the KGB. In 1972, during the time of the mass arrests in Ukraine, he wrote and distributed an open letter in which he plainly described how he had worked for the KGB. He was arrested, then in September 1972 he was declared to be mentally ill but not 'exempted from punishment'. After he recovers he will have to undergo trial (*Chronicles* 28, 30);

Anatoly Ivanovich Lupynos — born 1937. First sentenced in 1956 to 6 years in strict-regime corrective labour institutions. He did time in Dubrovlag and was given a second sentence there. He was released in 1967 with his legs paralysed. He worked as an administrator in a musical and choral society. In May 1971 he was arrested again for 'anti-Soviet propaganda' (reading verses at a meeting near the monument to Shevchenko). He was diagnosed (as a schizophrenic) at the Serbsky Institute (*Chronicle* 22).

Mikhail Petrovich Lutsik — born in West Ukraine, on the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; he spent his childhood in Vienna; in the 1930s he lived in Germany and studied in Berlin. He was arrested by the Gestapo, released (in about 1941-2) and sent back to his homeland. In 1944 he was arrested by the KGB; in 1956 he was exculpated; in 1960 he was arrested again and got a 15-year sentence. He was released in 1972; he refused to accept a Soviet passport, as he considered himself a citizen of Austria and wanted to emigrate from the Soviet Union. In the autumn of 1973 he was sentenced to 2 years for 'vagrancy'. In 1974 he was transferred from a camp to the Dnepropetrovsk SPH, as he continued to assert that he was an Austrian citizen (*Chronicles* 24, 35);

Viktor Ivanovich Maltsev[70] — born 1913. First sentenced in 1961 under article 58 of the old Criminal Code. Gives the impression of being seriously mentally ill;

Popov — born 1910, from Dnepropetrovsk; has been in the SPH since 1968; sentenced under article 70;

Sergei Potylitsin — born 1952, from Trans-Carpathia; has been in the SPH since 1971; sentenced under article 83 of the RSFSR Criminal Code — 'illegal crossing of the border';

Nikolai Grigorevich Plakhotnyuk — born 1936, graduate of a medical college and medical institute; worked in the Pushche-Voditsy sanatorium. He was arrested on 13 January 1972 in the case of the *Ukrainian Herald*. He was sent to the Serbsky Institute for a diagnosis. There he went on hunger-strike in protest at the rude way patients were treated. He was declared to be ill; the diagnosis was schizophrenia with persecution mania. On 13 November 1972 his case was heard in court. The court declared Plakhotnyuk to be not responsible 'at times' and ordered him to be sent for compulsory treatment in an SPH, but after his recovery to be tried as a sane man (*Chronicles* 27, 28)

Vasily Ivanovich Chernyshov — from Leningrad; a graduate of the Faculty of Mathematics and Mechanics at Leningrad State University, he taught mathematics in an institute of higher education; married, has a son. Chernyshov wrote verse and prose 'for himself'. He gave the exercise book containing his compositions to two acquaintances to read, and in March 1971 he was arrested on a charge of anti-Soviet propaganda. After a 30-minute psychiatric examination, Chernyshov was diagnosed as having 'chronic schizophrenia in paranoid

form' (his co-defendant, V. Popov, who read the exercise-book, received the same diagnosis. He was released from a psychiatric hospital in 1973). Chernyshov was in the Leningrad SPH and was subjected to drug treatment there; in 1972 he was transferred to Dnepropetrovsk (*Chronicles* 18, 27).

Those interned in Dnepropetrovsk on 'political' charges usually receive large doses of neuroleptic drugs.

Sychyovka SPH (Smolensk region)

Yury Sergeyevich Belov — born 1942. In 1968, while he was in exile after a 3-year prison term under article 70, he was arrested and given a second sentence under section two of the same article, for attempting to send abroad his book *Report from Darkness.*

In the autumn of 1971 a new case was initiated against him under article 70 for 'agitation inside the prison'. A medical examination at the Serbsky Institute declared him not responsible. In May 1972 he was transferred from Vladimir to Sychyovka. Until now, commissions have extended Belov's term in the SPH, although the hospital doctors recommend his discharge (*Chronicles* 9, 18, 26, 27, 30);

Breslavsky (this is probably the same person as N. I. Broslavsky)[79] — born 1905, a worker. During the war, he served on the Turkish border as a border-guard, crossed the border and settled in Turkey. In 1945 the Turkish authorities handed him over to the Soviet authorities. Breslavsky was sentenced under article 58-1a and served 10 years. On his release, he applied to the Turkish embassy. When he came out of the embassy he was arrested. He was charged with 'attempting to cross the border illegally' (article 83 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, with reference to article 15). The verdict was 'schizophrenia'. In 1972 he was transferred from Leningrad SPH to Sychyovka;

Zinovy Mikhailovich Krasivsky — born 1930. Arrested in March 1967. He was sentenced by a Lvov court in 'the case of the Ukrainian National Front' (*Chronicle* 17) to 12 years for 'treason to the motherland' — the first 5 years in prison — plus 5 years in exile. In December 1971, shortly before the end of his prison term, a new case was initiated against Krasivsky in Vladimir prison — under article 70, section 2 — for verses 'of a nationalist character', which he had written in prison. In the spring of 1972 he was declared not responsible in the Serbsky Institute and sent to an SPH* (*Chronicle* 27). Until he was put in the SPH Krasivsky never complained about his heart. Now he has a bad heart; in August 1975 he suffered a heart attack;

Vladimir Krasnyak — sentenced under article 70. In August 1975 he was sent from Vladimir prison to the SPH. The prisoners consider him to be mentally ill (*Chronicles* 33, 36);

Pyotr Alekseyevich Lysak — an engineer; was put in an SPH in about 1957

[**Chronicle* 41 points out that this was the Smolensk SPH, and that he was here put in the Sychyovka list by mistake.]

(at a meeting he opposed the exclusion of some students from a higher education institute on political grounds). Formerly he was in Leningrad SPH (*Chronicle* 11);[80]

Konstantin Petrovich Malyshev — born 1929, from the Gorky region; an engineer employed by the administration of the city party committee. He was charged under article 190-1 for his complaints to higher authorities;

Iosif Mikhailovich Terelya — born 1942. Sentenced in 1968 for Ukrainian nationalist propaganda. He started to serve his term in Dubrovlag*. In 1969 he was transferred to Vladimir on suspicion of organizing an escape-tunnel. In Vladimir he was tried again and declared not responsible (*Chronicles* 18, 27, 30).

According to unconfirmed reports the following patients in Sychyovka SPH were charged under political articles: A. Andreyev,† B. Bodanin,[81] D. Boss,[82] V. Bublik,[83] A. Denisov, M. Klishch, M. Maksimov, I. Makhayev, the priest Efrem Okinin, I. Uletsky and the priest Chudakov. Apparently **Boris Davarashvili**[84] (*Chronicle* 30), **Kotov**[85] (*Chronicle* 30) and **Purtov**[86] (*Chronicles* 27, 26) are still in Sychyovka.

Kazan SPH

Vladimir Avramenko — born 1930, a Muscovite, an engineer, a graduate of Moscow Aviation Institute. He used to write poetry and read it to his friends In 1972 he was arrested on someone's denunciation and sentenced for the 'anti-Soviet content' of his verses. It turned out that a 'case' had been prepared against Avramenko since the time he had taken the entrance exams to the Institute, when he had written an essay revealing his real attitudes. He was declared not responsible and sent to Kazan;

Nikolai Ivanovich Baranov — born 1936, a worker from Leningrad, arrested in Moscow; charged under article 70; declared not responsible, diagnosed as a 'psychopath', put in Leningrad SPH, later transferred to the SPH in Alma-Ata. Baranov escaped from Alma-Ata with a group of other prisoners; during the escape one of the hospital staff was killed. Baranov was captured and sent to Kazan. He now receives large doses of neuroleptic drugs and is in a very lifeless state (*Chronicles* 18, 27).

Kim Saifullovich Davletov — born 1932, a Muscovite, a Master of Philology, a senior researcher in the department of dialectical materialism at the Institute of Philosophy attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences, a member of the Institute's party committee. In December 1971 he was arrested for publishing a Stalinist pamphlet in Albania; charged under article 70 (*Chronicles* 24, 25, 34);

[*Inaccurate. *Chronicle* 41 reports that Terelya was serving a term for a criminal offence when, in 1969, he was sentenced again for circulating leaflets in the camp.]
[†*Chronicle* 41 gives details of his case, but reports that he was released a few years ago.]

Vyacheslav Anismovich Dzibalov — born 1915, a senior engineer at the Leningrad Institute of Mechanics; with a group of friends, he spoke out in support of 'a renewal of Soviet society and the revival of Leninist policies'. He was arrested in March 1971 under article 70. He and some of his co-defendants — M. S. Musienko, Andrei Kozlov and one of the Purtov brothers — were declared non-responsible. Dzibalov was at first confined in Leningrad S P H, but in 1972 he was transferred to Alma-Ata and then to Kazan;

Gennady Zadkov — born 1940; put in Kazan S P H in 1968 as a result of a 'camp case' involving article 70;

Andrei Matko — born 1950. In 1975 he was tried under article 70 and declared not responsible;*

Alexander Stepanov — born 1936, a radio-technician from the Central Volga. He wrote a number of letters (including one to the science fiction writer A. Kazantsev) in which he drew his own picture of the world, strongly influenced by science-fiction. According to his hypothesis, extra-planetary beings are carrying out an experiment on Earth and all human social life is the result of this experiment. It seems that Communists play a somewhat negative role in the life of society. Because of these letters Stepanov was arrested in 1970 under article 70. He was declared not responsible. Stepanov is in bad health and for therapeutic reasons he should not be prescribed the neuroleptic drugs with which he is being treated;

Lyubov Shtein — born 1949; in 1971 tried to escape to the West, but was arrested in Czechoslovakia and handed back to the Soviet authorities. Charged under article 64;[87]

Yury Bondarev — born 1954. Tried in 1974 for hi-jacking an aeroplane.

According to unconfirmed information, **Kozlov** is still in Kazan. He is about 40 years old, a worker. This is his second term in Kazan. He ended up there the first time for being an active 'writer of complaints'. After his release he tried to emigrate to join his relatives in South America; for this he was again arrested in 1973, declared not responsible and sent to an S P H. He was apparently charged under article 83 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

Vladimir Trifonov is still in the **Leningrad S P H;** he was arrested in March 1968 for 'anti-Soviet remarks' under article 190-1 (*Chronicles* 26, 34).

Petras Cidzikas (*Chronicle* 34), arrested in February 1973 in connection with the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, pamphlets and verses, is being held in the S P H in **Chernyakhovsk. Mikhail Stepanovich Zverev,** an engineer from Pyatigorsk, is in the same hospital. He was charged under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. He was declared not responsible by a decision of the Stavropol Territorial Court on 18 November 1975 and sent for compulsory treatment. He has never been on any psychiatric register, although he received a head wound during the war. His wife considers him to be a normal person.

[**Chronicle* 41 gives more details, and reports that he should appear in the Sychyovka list, not the Kazan list.]

Releases from S P H s

Kazan S P H. The following have been released:

Andrei Kozlov — born 1939, from Leningrad, arrested in March 1971; co-defendant of Dzibalov (see above). Released in 1974 (*Chronicle* 26);

S. M. Stroganov (*Chronicle* 27);

Vladimir Shlepnyov — charged in 1971 with trying to cross the border illegally under article 64 with reference to article 15. Released in 1973 (*Chronicle* 26).

Dnepropetrovsk S P H

A. F. Chinnov has been released. Born in 1938, he is a graduate of the Faculty of Chemistry at Leningrad State University. In December 1968 he was arrested for trying to cross the border, declared not responsible and diagnosed as schizophrenic (*Chronicles* 26, 34). He was transferred to Dnepropetrovsk from Leningrad S P H. Released in 1974 or 1975.

It is known that out of the patients in the *Leningrad S P H* in 1971-2, the following have been released: **I. M. Larin, Yu. P. Sapezhko** and **A. G. Chepula** (*Chronicle* 18).

In addition, the "national Communists" arrested in 1968 — **A. Fetisov, M. Antonov, V. Bykov** and **O. Smirnov** – have been released from S P Hs long ago (*Chronicle* 7).

The following have also been released: **Viktor Prikhodko** (*Chronicle* 19) and **Maria Semyonovna Musienko,** a co-defendant of Dzibalov, Kozlov and Purtov.

Psychiatric Hospitals of Ordinary Type

Meleshko — born 1935, a taxi-driver from near Moscow. He tried to obtain justice in some disputes at his taxi base; when he did not succeed, he began to write letters to the local authorities, for which, in 1972, he was charged under article 190-1 and sent to Kazan. In January 1976 he was transferred to the ordinary psychiatric hospital 'White Pillars' near Moscow;

Sergei Musatov — born 1953, a Muscovite. In 1973 he was serving in the army in Hungary and tried to escape to Austria, but was captured on the border. He was charged under article 64. Declared not responsible. In January 1976 he was transferred from Kazan to 'White Pillars';

Mikhail Ignatevich Kukobaka — a worker from the town of Alexandrov, arrested in 1970, charged under article 190-1, declared not responsible and sent to Sychyovka S P H. In 1974[88] Kukobaka was transferred to an ordinary hospital in the town of Vladimir. Compulsory medical treatment of him stopped over three months ago, but Kukobaka has not yet been discharged from the hospital (*Chronicles* 27, 34);

Gennady Paramonov (the Baltic Fleet Officers' case — *Chronicle* 18), who was transferred in the autumn to an ordinary hospital in the town of Perm

(*Chronicle* 37), ceased to receive compulsory treatment at the beginning of February. He has not yet been discharged from the hospital.

* * *

Lev Ubozhko, who escaped from an ordinary hospital in Chelyabinsk region (*Chronicle* 37), has been captured and returned to the hospital.

* * *

Vladimir Titov, who was being given compulsory treatment in Sychyovka, has been transferred to an ordinary psychiatric hospital in the town of Kaluga. While he was serving a 5-year sentence under article 70 in Vladimir prison, he was tried again because of a letter he had written from prison, and declared not responsible (*Chronicles* 27, 30).

Pyotr Kopytin has been transferred to an ordinary psychiatric hospital from Kazan; he is 26 years old, a Muscovite who was working as a postman. He used to put *samizdat* into post-boxes together with people's letters.

Sven Kreek was arrested in Tallin on 11 January 1975 (*Chronicle* 37). He was charged under article 70 for distributing pamphlets with his own verses in them. Declared not responsible and sent for compulsory treatment to an ordinary hospital in Tallinn.*

In 1975 the following persons were in ordinary hospitals:

Yu. P. Brovko (*Chronicle* 35); **B. D. Vinokurov** — in the Kashchenko Hospital in Moscow (*Chronicle* 35); **V. Maijaskas** (*Chronicle* 37); **Birute Poškiene** — in Kaunas (*Chronicle* 35).

The *Chronicle* has no information about their discharge.

A. D. Ponomaryov is in the Skvortsov-Stepanov psychiatric hospital in Leningrad (*Chronicle* 38). **Yury Pavlovich Tarakanov,** a 35-year-old teacher of English who was arrested in Leningrad on 6 February 1976, is in the same hospital. In 1962-64 Tarakanov was imprisoned under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. In 1971 during the 24th Congress of the CPSU he was put in the Skvortsov-Stepanov hospital. In 1975 he was refused a visa to emigrate to the USA.

In Defence of Efim Davidovich

On 9 May 1975, at 12 noon, on the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over German fascism, a Jewish anti-fascist meeting took place in Minsk. War veterans, former partisans and young people gathered in the former ghetto district. About 500 people were present, including Jews from Moscow and from a number of towns in Belorussia and the Baltic states. Wreaths were laid

[*But see footnote to *Chronicle* 37's item.]

at the foot of the memorial; they bore inscriptions in Hebrew, Yiddish and Russian: 'To the Martyrs and Heroes of the Jewish People, from the Jews of Minsk.' The first wreath was carried by Colonels Lev Ovsishcher and Efim Davidovich.

Officials tried to prevent the meeting taking place. Many policemen and KGB officials were brought into the district for the meeting. The deputy chairwoman of the district Soviet executive committee expressed her dissatisfaction at the Jewish inscriptions on the wreath-ribbons and did not want to allow Davidovich to speak. When she asked what organizations he represented, Davidovich replied: 'I represent the dead who lie in this grave, and the living who have come to this meeting.' The indignation of the assembled Jews forced the representatives of authority to retreat. The meeting took place.

Efim Davidovich made a speech, in part of which he said:

> On this momentous anniversary of victory over German fascism, it is not by chance that we have gathered here in the ghetto, by this modest memorial. Under this monument, erected by donations from Jewish widows and Jewish soldiers who returned from the war, lie those near and dear to us who were tortured to death by the fascists. Five thousand lie in this grave. There are many such graves. 200,000 Jews perished in the Minsk ghetto...
>
> We were not, however, only victims and martyrs. The Jewish people made a worthy contribution to the destruction of the German war machine. Over a million Jews fought in the ranks of the anti-Hitler alliance; of these, about half a million fought in the ranks of the Soviet Army. 170,000 received Soviet decorations and medals for their actions in battle; 133 Jews received the title of Hero of the Soviet Union; 150 Jewish generals led Soviet troops into battle, from the first fighting in 1941 to the victorious storming of Berlin. The heroic Warsaw ghetto uprising shook the whole world... The underground anti-fascist organization of the Minsk ghetto and its fighting groups made a significant contribution to the defeat of the enemy. In particular, it organized the escape of women and children from the ghetto to the Jewish partisan unit of Semyon Zorin. The lucky ones who managed to escape from the ghetto fought and died in partisan units in the Soviet Union, Poland, France, Yugoslavia and other countries...

At the end of his speech Efim Davidovich asked for 'a minute of silence to pay respect to the memory of the martyrs and heroes of the Jewish people.'

During Davidovich's speech, which he delivered with enthusiasm and fervour, complete silence reigned among those who had come to the meeting; only sighs were to be heard. When Davidovich stopped speaking, lots of people thanked him, kissed him and blessed him: for many years Soviet Jews had not heard a good word spoken publicly about their people. After Davidovich's speech, Shmaya Gorelik and a few other older men read out a prayer for the dead, in spite of an attempt by the authorities to prevent it.

On 16 May 1975 Davidovich was informed that he had been deprived of the

title of retired Colonel, and of the corresponding pension and medical services.

In the middle of January 1976 Efim Davidovich came to Moscow. On the morning of 21 January TASS put out the following report on teletype:

Mrs Bonner's Anti-Soviet Show

Moscow, 21 January (TASS). Mrs E. Bonner, wife of the well-known anti-Soviet figure Sakharov, received an enviable training during her recent voyage abroad. During her lengthy tour of Western European countries, she not only learned to humbly thank her masters for various 'prizes' and financial hand-outs, but she also learnt the basic principles of how to put on an anti-Soviet show.

Mrs Bonner has decided to put on her next such show today, for which purpose Sakharov's flat has been chosen as the stage. The active Zionist Efim Davidovich, who has specially come from Minsk for the occasion, has been invited to play the star role in this anti-Soviet revue. The culmination of the spectacle is to be a so-called 'renunciation', when Davidovich plans to renounce his Motherland and all it once gave him, in front of film-cameras...

On 22 January E. G. Bonner made the following reply:

Colonel Davidovich, who fought against fascism and received for this a number of Soviet decorations, has no need to renounce his motherland, where his family perished. Two years ago, when he applied to emigrate to Israel, he rejected the Soviet state, but the motherland and the state are not identical in meaning. No matter where a man lives, his motherland remains the place where he was born. Unfortunately, the TASS statement does not state why Colonel Davidovich has not yet received permission to emigrate, although during this period he has been deprived of his military title and pension...

On the same day Davidovich himself replied to the TASS statement:

I was amazed to hear that TASS had given more attention to my visit to Moscow than to the visit of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, in that it has put out a special statement about me.

My conversation with Academician Sakharov and his wife Elena Bonner was interpreted by TASS as a preparation for a public, anti-Soviet renunciation of my motherland. This TASS statement, which does not correspond to reality, proves only an indisputable fact — that the listening devices in Academician Sakharov's flat are in bad working order. There is no other source for this information, nor could there be. These devices enabled the KGB to establish the fact that we had a conversation and, apparently, certain individual words could be distinguished. But the KGB did not manage to make out the meaning. Not wishing to look like fools to their bosses, the operators of this Moscow 'Watergate' put together some sort of rubbish.

I have never had any intention of renouncing my motherland — the state of Israel — while my Soviet motherland has already renounced me, eradicating all I did for this country in peacetime and at the front during the war.

My visit to Moscow springs from the necessity of obtaining a qualified medical diagnosis which I have been deprived of in Minsk.

As for my public protests, there have been quite a few of them in the past, and I shall not end them while the USSR is still illegally and forcibly detaining even one Jew out of the thousands who are now prevented from exercising their inalienable right to emigrate.

On 1 March 1976 Davidovich had another heart-attack, his fifth. When this became known in Moscow, 10 Moscow Jewish activists (D. Beilina, V. Rubin, A. Shcharansky, A. Lerner, V. Slepak, M. Azbel, V. Brailovsky, V. Prestin, P. Abramovich and V. Fain) wrote the following telegram of appeal to Brezhnev:

Former retired Colonel Efim Davidovich has had five heart attacks and is now in a serious condition. Though he showed great courage in the Second World War, was wounded more than once and received many decorations, Davidovich is living in a state of persecution which results from his desire to emigrate to Israel. Davidovich's condition is desperate, a matter of life and death. We call on you to show humanity, to intervene at once and allow Davidovich to emigrate to Israel. This is the only way now left to save his life and it depends on you.

There was no reply to this telegram.

On 7 March 1976 the following appeal was sent by the Jews of Moscow and other towns in the USSR to Jewish societies, war veterans and people of good-will all over the world:

Save Davidovich!

Efim Davidovich, one of the leading fighters for the rights of Soviet Jews, has had a fifth heart-attack and is in a serious condition. Davidovich began his campaign against anti-semitic articles in the press when he was already a sick man, and he defended the dignity of the Jewish people with the same courage he showed when fighting during the war.

Soon the persecution of Davidovich began. In December 1972 a case was initiated against him and his friend Ovsishcher concerning anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. Davidovich was arrested, but the Belorussian KGB obviously feared to take the responsibility in case of Davidovich's death in prison and soon released him, having obtained from him a written undertaking that he would not leave town. Continuous interrogations began, after which Davidovich was brought home in a serious condition. In May 1973, under the influence of numerous protests from world public opinion, above all from army veterans, the Soviet authorities were forced to close the case. After this, convinced that anti-semitism in the USSR was state

policy and that the only way out for a Jew who did not wish to renounce his people was repatriation to Israel, Davidovich applied to emigrate.

Permission for his emigration was not granted, on the pretext that Davidovich was in possession of state secrets. A repressive atmosphere was created around him: the KGB threatened people who came to visit him; libellous articles were written about him. In January 1976 TASS put out a special statement asserting that Davidovich was about to publicly renounce his motherland. Davidovich replied that his motherland was Israel, which he would never renounce, while his other motherland had itself rejected him.

In May 1976 Davidovich — who had shown great courage in the Second World War, had been wounded more than once and received many decorations — was deprived of the title of retired Colonel, of his pension and medical services. The doctors whom Davidovich later consulted in Moscow came to the conclusion that his heart condition was the result of nervous strain which arose from the persecution to which this seriously ill man had been subjected for years. What is happening to Davidovich cannot be defined otherwise than as conscious and systematic murder.

We appeal to all people of good-will — save Davidovich before it is too late. Ask the Soviet authorities to give him immediate permission to emigrate to Israel. It may depend on your energy and persistence whether Davidovich will ever see the land of his dreams.

This appeal was signed by 112 persons from 15 cities.

Academician Sakharov, Elena Bonner-Sakharov, Yury Orlov, Nina Strokata (Karavanskaya), Alexander Ginzburg, Lyudmila Alekseyeva, Larissa Bogoraz and Malva Landa have appealed in an open letter to European and American doctors to help in obtaining permission from the Soviet authorities for Efim Davidovich's emigration to Israel.

'Our appeal on this matter is addressed to doctors', they write, 'because the case of Davidovich involves not only the usual violation of the right to emigrate from our country, but also the torture of a seriously ill man.'

In Defence of Mustafa Dzhemilev

On 25 December, eight days after the trial in Omsk was postponed because of the judge's sudden illness (*Chronicle* 38), the case of M. Dzhemilev was transferred to the Supreme Court of the RSFSR. Mustafa's family were informed of this by the Omsk regional court over the telephone in January, but Supreme Court officials kept on saying for a long time that they knew nothing about the case of M. Dzhemilev (they even said this to defence counsel Shveisky).

In the middle of January, when rumours were circulating about Mustafa's

death, his relatives asked to visit him, but in Omsk they were merely given a form stating that he was alive and was in an investigation prison as before.

P. G. Grigorenko is still trying to have Mustafa's arrest ended in favour of another form of restraint. On 7 January he twice appealed to the procurator of the RSFSR (*Chronicle* 38). On 30 January P. G. Grigorenko and A. D. Sakharov asked the Supreme Court of the RSFSR to allow them to stand bail for Dzhemilev. They received no answer to this declaration.

On 17 February P. G. Grigorenko sent a declaration to the Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court. He wrote:

> In two days it will be five months since the investigation of M. Dzhemilev's case ended, but his trial has not yet taken place and there is no way of telling when it will take place. The defendant, meanwhile, is on hunger strike — he has been on hunger-strike for *eight months*. This endangers his life, even when artificial feeding is used. The enclosed note, which I received from a great specialist on feeding, states this conclusively.

At the end of the declaration he says:

> It is quite obvious that M. Dzhemilev is not going to evade the trial, nor can he hinder the investigation, which ended long ago, and he will appear for the trial at the right time. Therefore there is no reason to keep him under arrest and at the same time to endanger his life. His release before the trial would help his relatives to bring him back to health.
>
> I ask you to answer my request with all speed and give a positive reply. Do not force me to bring this case to the notice of the 25th party congress, which has enough matters to deal with already. Your authority can decide this question.

* * *

Besides the 950 Crimean Tatars who signed a demand for the release of Mustafa Dzhemilev, mentioned in *Chronicle* 37, Mustafa's parents also received letters with over 1,500 signatures, about 700 of which were on a petition asking for his release on bail.

A group of young Crimean Tatars from the Crimea and neighbouring districts, in a statement sent to A. D. Sakharov and Amnesty International, write: 'Mustafa's tragedy is the tragedy of a whole nation which has had its homeland, language, history and culture taken away.' The statement was signed by E. Seitvaanov, I. Ibragimov, Seitosman and Seitmustafa Smailov, D. Abdulayeva, S. Yagyaev, M. Useinov, R. Karasheyev, M. Kurtveliev, F. Seitbekirova and M. Aliev.

* * *

The writer on religious affairs, A. E. Krasnov-Levitin, now in emigration, has sent a message to President Sadat of Egypt, to muftis, mullahs and all Moslem

believers. He writes, that Mustafa Dzhemilev is 'definitely not guilty of anything', that he had stood up for justice for his own nation, 'together with the great Russian humanists Alexei Kosterin, the writer, General Grigorenko and Academician Sakharov'. Krasnov-Levitin appeals to them:

Dear Moslem brothers!

I am a Christian believer, but you and I are united by our faith in one God, the God of love and justice, who commands us to help one another and severely chastises us for egoism and indifference. Mustafa is a Moslem believer... Can you really abandon him in his misfortune? Will you not help a suffering brother?

Protest to the Soviet government, help him!

If you do not, will the God of battles and Lord of victories not turn away His face from you?

* * *

On 19 February the following telegram was sent to the 25th Congress of the CPSU:

To the Presidium of the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

Mustafa Dzhemilev, arrested on an obviously false charge, a participant in the Crimean Tatar movement for their return from exile, is now in the ninth month of a hunger-strike in Omsk prison.

The investigation ended five months ago. The trial is being delayed, clearly in the hope that death will result. His family and friends fear for Mustafa's life. More than once there have been rumours of his death. These rumours have not been disproved. His elderly father has had a serious heart attack; his mother is constantly in tears. Numerous appeals for Mustafa's release before the trial have gone unanswered. From the point of view of justice, keeping a dying man under lock and key is pointless and inhuman. At the request of his parents, we ask you to use your influence on the judicial authorities in order to release Mustafa Dzhemilev immediately, either into the care of a guarantor or on bail.

Andrei Sakharov.

Pyotr Grigorenko.

* * *

Mustafa's mother and sister received a postcard from him in prison which greeted them on 8 March.

Crimean Tatars Continue to Return to their Homeland

It is reported from the Crimea that at the beginning of 1976 there were about 300 Crimean Tatar families living there without residence permits or employment. In spite of this, more families keep arriving.

The authorities are warning householders not to sell houses or rent flats to Crimean Tatars, threatening them with dismissal from work and other punishments if they disobey. Judicial and administrative measures are being taken against the Crimean Tatars who have already settled there.

Ablyakim Anifiev and **Mustafa Bodzhek,** living in the village of Lgovka (Chelebi-Eli), were sentenced to 5 years' banishment on 19 December. **Bektash Mamutov** was sentenced to 3 years. The total number of people sentenced to banishment seems to be twenty to thirty.

In January 1976 the war-invalid and communist **Seitmemet Umerov,** living in Simferopol, was summoned to court. (The *Chronicle* does not know if a court hearing took place.)

In the village of Zemlyanichnoye, Police-Lieutenant V. Sinyagovsky sealed up the house of **Khalil Khalilov** in the absence of its owner. In the village of Kurskoye, the collective farm management refused to allow **Kerimova** to establish lawful possession of her garden allotment. She was informed that 'her family of five children is a burden on the collective farm'. In the village of Krasnogvardeisk three families had their electricity cut off.

Since the mass appeal to the regional Soviet executive committee and the forcible dispersal of the Crimean Tatars on 18 November (*Chronicle* 38), strengthened police detachments have been seen on duty outside the committee buildings on reception days.

During November and December 1975 about 20 Crimean Tatar families were given residence permits in the Crimea.

Persecution of Religious Believers

The parishioners of **Father Dmitry Dudko** have appealed to the executive committee of the Orekhovo-Zuyevo district Soviet for an explanation of the reasons for the termination of his employment (*Chronicle* 38). At the executive committee they were told that the order for Father Dmitry's dismissal had come from Moscow, but were refused information as to exactly from whom.

The parishioners of St Nikita's church have sent petitions in defence of Father Dudko to the chairman of the Orekhovo-Zuyevo district Soviet executive committee, to Trushin, the Moscow regional commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, to V. A.

Kuroyedov, the chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, to Metropolitan Serafim of Krutitsa and Kolomna, and to Patriarch Pimen of All Russia.

V. A. Kuroyedov stated in his article 'Soviet Law and Freedom of Conscience' (*Izvestiya*, 30 January 1976)[89] that 'the parishioners of St Nikita's church ... have renounced the services of the priest Dudko, driving him out of their church for preaching sermons of an anti-social nature'.

The Moscow intellectuals F. Svetov, I. Khokhlushkin, I. Shafarevich, Vadim Borisov and Z. Krakhmalnikova have come to the defence of Father Dmitry. On 12 January they sent an appeal to the heads and hierarchies of Christian churches and to the World Council of Churches.

* * *

536 Evangelical Christian-Baptists from Kharkov Region have sent a declaration dated 9 February 1976 to the USSR procurator-general about their fellow-believer **Boris Maksimovich Zdorovets** [*Chronicles* 7, 29, 30] who is in a strict-regime camp in the town of Perevalsk. 'The camp administration', they write, 'is inciting criminals to physical violence against Zdorovets. At the same time, they are recruiting prisoners to follow him and give compromising evidence against him. The administration has deprived him of the opportunity to correspond with his friends by confiscating his list of addresses.' The signatories to the letter support Zdorovets's request that a commission be set up to investigate illegalities.

In a declaration to the procurator-general of the same date Zdorovets's family (his wife and three children) report that B. M. Zdorovets is in the cooler and is on hunger-strike.

* * *

In a declaration to Brezhnev and Podgorny dated 10 January 1976 **Alexander Alexandrovich** and **Lyubov Yakovlevna Voloshchuk** (Gorky, ul. Bogorodskogo 14, kv. 15) [*Chronicle* 45] describe how, at school number 24, pupils and teachers, including the class teacher Galina Borisovna Redina, senior teacher K. V. Smirnova and the headmaster V. Ya. Server, mock their son Igor — in the second class — because he is a believer. The declaration ends as follows:

> We, his parents, are very worried that our son is in danger of his life.
>
> In appealing to you by means of this declaration, we ask you to intervene immediately and stop this discrimination against our child, as the present situation is a threat to our son's life.
>
> At present, we have to keep our son home from school, until we are convinced that such persecution, mockery, insults and threats will end, and until we are given full guarantees backed up by action on your part.
>
> We, as parents, are very concerned for the life and health of our child and for the fate of our two younger sons, who will soon have to go to the same school.

> If our declaration is not thoroughly investigated and effective measures are not taken, full responsibility in the future for our son's life and health will fall on you. We did not send our son to school to be mocked, beaten and jeered at.

* * *

On 2 January 1976, in the town Novomoskovsk, Dnepropetrovsk region, **F. E. Sagan,** the presbyter of an unregistered Pentecostal congregation, was fined 50 roubles. He had previously been fined many times and had often been summoned to the KGB office; in 1971 his home was searched and religious literature was confiscated; in 1973 he was tried by a communal court. Now F. E. Sagan faces criminal prosecution.

On 19 January the police seized five people on a street in Dnepropetrovsk; they were members of the registered congregation of Baptists and Pentecostals who were on their way to a religious service. They were taken to a police station and detained there all night.

The Dnepropetrovsk newspapers *Zarya* [*Dawn*] and *Dnepr Vecherny* [*Evening Dnieper*] published an article on 26 January, which announced that a public meeting in the village of Taromsky had called for an end to the activity of the Pentecostal congregation.

* * *

Electricity has been installed for all the residents of the village of Vyazovets in Belogorsk district, Khmelnitsky region, with the exception of Baptist believer **Antonina Petrovna Velma.**

Events in Lithuania

On 8 February 1976 the newspaper *Tiesa* published the following report: 'For services to the consolidation of socialist legality and active participation in public life, **Mikolas Ignotas,** member of the supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, has been awarded the Honorary Diploma of the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR'. In December 1975 M. Ignotas was the presiding judge at the trial of S. Kovalyov (*Chronicle* 38). According to reports from Lithuania, M. Ignotas, Secretary of the party organization at the Supreme Court, took on the trial of Kovalyov after some of his colleagues had on plausible-sounding pretexts refused to take part in it.

* * *

On the morning of 4 February, at the Belorussky station in Moscow, **Birute Pašiliene** (*Chronicle* 34) was detained after arriving from Klaipeda. She was told that she was suspected of a theft which had occurred in the next carriage,

and she was taken to the police station and searched; her papers were confiscated. After this she was dispatched by plane to Vilnius (with an escort). Here she was interviewed by the KGB, while a search was being carried out at her home in Klaipeda in the presence of her husband. The search-record stated that the search was being conducted in connection with Case 345, because anti-Soviet material had been found on B. Pašiliene in Moscow. The search was conducted by Major Markevičius. The confiscated material included the 'Moscow Appeal', an interview and statements by A. Solzhenitsyn, the article 'At the Command of Conscience' by T. Khodorovich, and other items.

On 5 February, in Vilnius, **Jonas Volungevičius** (*Chronicle* 36) was forcibly detained after refusing to obey a telephone summons to go to KGB headquarters. During the interrogation he was asked to explain how his autobiography had been found at the home of Birute Pašiliene. Volungevičius refused to answer.

On 6 February **Albertas Žilinskas** (*Chronicle* 36) was summoned for interrogation by Brilys, an official of the Lithuanian KGB operations section. Brilys was interested in A. Žilinskas's trip to Klaipeda to see Birute Pašiliene.

B. Pašiliene, J. Volungevičius and A. Žilinskas are former political prisoners.

* * *

In November 1975 the first issue (number 1/41) of the journal *Aušra* (*Dawn*) came out in Lithuania; it has been revived after an interval of 100 years. The introductory article explains the aims and nature of the journal: the rebirth of the Lithuanian people's cultural life and national consciousness, and the realisation of the influence exerted by the 'occupation' on the national and cultural life of Lithuania. The issue includes: a translation of A. Solzhenitsyn's 'Live not by Lies', the speech of Jonas Jurašas at the 'Sakharov Hearing' in Copenhagen in October 1975, and an article on Bishop Motejus Valančius, the great proponent of Lithuanian culture and enlightenment, on the hundredth anniversary of his death. Valančius is particularly famous for founding temperance societies, at first in Lithuania but later also in Russia.

* * *

From the 'Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church,' number 20 (8 December 1975)

The issue begins with a section on **'M. Tamonis** — Victim of State Security'. A biographical note on him from the *Small Soviet Encylopaedia* is quoted. An account is given of M. Tamonis's letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU, dated 25 June 1975, which conveys 'his unfounded faith in the goodwill of the Communist Party leadership'. In the letter Tamonis asks in particular for a referendum about the restoration of sovereignty to the Baltic republics; he suggests that discrimination against believers should cease, and that the infringement of civil rights should end. It was right after this that Tamonis was placed again in a psychiatric hospital.

A long obituary is published, written by the dead man's friends. (Tamonis's death was reported in *Chronicle* 38).

* * *

In a declaration to the President of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, dated 15 September 1975, **Bishop Julijonas Steponavičius** says that for 15 years now he has been prevented from fulfilling his duties and has effectively been in exile in Žagare, although no charges have been brought against him; he was merely informed that the situation resulted from an order of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR. The declaration describes the activities of the bishop as apostolic administrator of the Vilnius archdiocese in the years 1958-61, activities which led to his persecution by the authorities (although he never broke the law).

* * *

The article **'Save Nature in Lithuania!'** is reminiscent of a letter sent in 1966 by a group of intellectuals (21 people) to the then First Secretary of the Central Committee, Sniečkus, and the President of the Council of Ministers, Šumauskas. The forecasts made by the authors of the letter concerning the destructive results of construction of oil refineries and other projects then in progress, have been justified.

'The pollution of the Baltic Sea', the article says, 'also violates the international obligations of the Soviet Union'. The article presents evidence showing that the protection of nature in Lithuania is far worse than in Western countries or in the RSFSR. The main point made by the article is that Moscow is indifferent to the state of nature in Lithuania, while the Lithuanian leaders are afraid to come to its defence.

* * *

A successful three-hour **strike by bus-drivers** in Šiauliai is reported; it was caused by a cancellation of bonuses. The strike was on 1 October 1975.

* * *

On 28 September 1975 **Father Sigitas Tamkevičius** (*Chronicles* 32, 36), rector of the church in Simnas, sent a declaration to the head of the Lithuanian KGB. He pointed out the infringements of the law which had occurred during a search of his house and the interrogations that followed. Although six months have gone by since the search, the confiscated objects have not been returned to him; these were: cassette recordings of sermons, a notebook and sermon notes, part of a typewriter (minus the letters) and issues 7 and 8 of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*. S. Tamkevičius declares: 'I consider it unlawful to persecute people because of the *Chronicle of the*

Lithuanian Catholic Church, for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights gives every Soviet citizen the right to distribute any truthful information'; he refuses in future to give any evidence about such matters.

On 30 October Fr Tamkevičius was summoned to the executive committee of the town soviet of Simnas, where a KGB official let him read the answer to his declaration: the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* had been attached to a criminal case; the fate of the remaining confiscated objects would be decided in the course of the pre-trial investigation.

S. Tamkevičius has been transferred to another parish.

* * *

A number of cases have been reported of the authorities hindering religious activity and the expression of religious feeling: crosses outside houses have been demolished; a statue has been secretly removed from a churchyard; fines have been imposed for teaching children religious knowledge; an orderly and a nurse have been sentenced for inviting a priest to visit a dying man in hospital.

* * *

This time, in the regular section on 'The Soviet School' only two cases are reported of teachers taking action against religious pupils.

This section also gives an account of the speech made by Central Committee member Sinkevičius to an August conference of teachers in Šakiai. Sinkevičius spoke of the unusual attention being paid to Lithuania, which he had noticed when he was abroad. He also said that he had read 16 issues of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* and he warned the teachers: 'Any lack of tact shown by a teacher in conversations with a religious pupil or his parents will appear in detail in this journal, without any exaggeration, with the name, school and date given, and will be distributed not only in our country, but also abroad.'

A Case of Refusal to Give Evidence

The pre-trial investigation in the case of **Valery Maresin,** accused of refusing to give evidence as a witness (*Chronicle* 38) at the trial of S. A. Kovalyov, has been concluded.

The investigation organs of the Lithuanian KGB interrogated V. N. Fedorenko, V. S. Malyshev and P. M. Slepov, colleagues of Maresin and Kovalyov, who repeated and supplemented the evidence which they had given at Kovalyov's trial (the suspicious behaviour of the 'Kovalyov group', 'apolitical conversations', Maresin's reading of a typewritten text which he refused to show; Malyshev also testified that he had informed the administration of what was

happening, but the administration had not reacted to his warning). The director of the laboratory, Gorbatov, laboratory assistant Chikina and section director Dobrachev repeated their testimony about the circumstances in which the book *The Gulag Archipelago* had been confiscated.

From 29 January to 3 February First Lieutenant I. Rusetsky of the Lithuanian KGB interrogated in Moscow V. Maresin, his wife Tamara Maresina and a former colleague of Maresin, Arie Mizyakin. While interrogating T. Maresina, the interrogator asked her to influence her husband to reveal the owner of the copy of A. Solzhenitsyn's book that had been confiscated from him. He promised that this admission would save Maresin from unpleasant consequences, and said that otherwise he could be deprived of his master's degree.

A. Mizyakin affirmed at the interrogation, as he had done at the pre-trial investigation in Kovalyov's case, that he was familiar with Kovalyov's letter to Andropov; however, as previously, he refused to answer the question about where he had seen the letter, as he considered this question irrelevant to the case.

At an interrogation on 2 February Maresin, at the request of the investigator, explained the substance of the moral principles on account of which he had refused to give evidence in court. Once again he refused to affirm or refute Kovalyov's statement (in his letter to Andropov) that the confiscated book belonged to him, Kovalyov. Nonetheless, the investigator asked him: 'Will you continue to stick to your moral principles after criminal proceedings have been instituted against you?'

On 4 February **A. D. Sakharov** issued a statement:

> ...However, he (Maresin — *Chronicle*) is being questioned not about motives and circumstances for refusing to give evidence, but about the episode of the attempt to duplicate A. Solzhenitsyn's book *The Gulag Archipelago,* which incriminated Kovalyov. All the others are being questioned only about Maresin's case. These new interrogations arouse great alarm.
>
> Is Maresin really being prepared as a new victim for a show of strength? Or is this yet another attempt to strengthen in advance the precarious case for Kovalyov's sentence?

On 9 February in Vilnius, where he had been summoned to acquaint himself with his case, Maresin made a statement to the procurator:

> . . . Having been present at this trial as a witness, I have become firmly convinced that the prosecution of citizens under articles 70 and 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code represents persecution for beliefs and is, consequently, a contradiction of the USSR Constitution.
>
> Therefore I cannot consider the refusal of a witness to give evidence at the examination of such cases to be a crime against justice, and thus I cannot plead guilty to committing this crime. At the same time I recognize that this

is my subjective opinion and is in contradiction to juridical practice.

Therefore, having no other means of upholding my point of view, I have decided to dissociate myself totally from participation in this case . . .

In accordance with this statement, Maresin refused to sign the protocol on the completion of the pre-trial investigation.

Polemics with Sukharev

The journal *New Times*, number 1, 1976, published an interview with A. Ya. Sukharev, the first Deputy-Minister of Justice of the U S S R, headed 'Concerning some Dishonest Proponents of the Rights of Soviet Man'.

A. Ya. Sukharev asserts that 'in the sphere of safeguarding and defending human rights our country has already reached a level about which ordinary citizens in the so-called "free world" can only dream.' He addresses himself, on his own admission, to a Western audience. The article was, however, also read within the country, and has drawn many responses.

In his article 'Are there Political Prisoners in the Soviet Union?' **A. Amalrik** disputes many of Sukharev's statements, for example his assertion that the Soviet authorities have never persecuted people solely for their membership of any social, public or political group. Amalrik recalls the practice of taking hostages during the years of the establishment of Soviet power, the dispossession of the kulaks, and the persecution of small peoples such as the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans.

In reply to Sukharev's assertion that 'one can be sentenced only for one's actions, and for those which are against the law and criminal; one cannot be sentenced for one's opinions; opinions are not the business of justice', Amalrik writes that it is impossible to sentence people for convictions they have not expressed — until a machine for reading thoughts is invented, but that once an 'unorthodox thought has been expressed — printed, written or spoken — it is considered to be an action for which one may be sentenced. Moreover, the evaluation of the thought expressed as "anti-Soviet" or otherwise depends entirely on the considerations of the investigating bodies at that particular moment, for there is no juridical definition of the concept "anti-Soviet".'

Ivan Svetlichny, in a letter from a labour camp (number 35 of the Perm camp-complex) comments with mordant indignation on Sukharev's statement that Soviet justice has never prosecuted people for their convictions or for belonging to an opposition party (in the past) and so on.

Referring to his own experience and that of his comrades, I. A. Svetlichny refutes Sukharev: '. . . the absolute majority of trials for so-called agitation and propaganda were closed trials, and in those cases when exceptions were made to the general rule and "open" trials were held (as in my own case, for instance), a specially selected public was present in the court-room. Even my own mother, not to mention my friends and comrades, stood for several days at the door of the court.' Svetlichny ridicules Sukharev's description of the conditions of prisoners' detention and of the 'preservation of their rights'.

Sukharev devoted a significant portion of his interview to the case of Kovalyov (*Chronicle* 38). The authors of letters addressed to Sukharev and to the editors of the journal have compared his version with their own observations: they are L. Boitsova (Kovalyov's wife), A. Mizyakin (his colleague) and V. Turchin, who were witnesses at the trial; Ivan Kovalyov (Kovalyov's son), who was present in the court-room, and Yu. Orlov and N. P. Lisovskaya, who stood at the door of the court for four days.

Sukharev asserts that the trial was open. **N. P. Lisovskaya** recounts in a letter:

. . . At the door of the court-room where the sessions were taking place stood plain-clothed guards. On the first two days they admitted to the court-room only people who showed them printed cardboard tokens, and on the last two days they admitted them without the tokens, as by then they knew by sight whom to admit and whom not to admit.

On the morning of the third day I arrived at the building where the trial was being held an hour and a half before the beginning of the session and saw with my own eyes that people were being admitted not through the main entrance (which was already closed), but through the emergency exit. When the main entrance to the building was opened I went up to the doors of the court-room and saw that there were plenty of free places, but nonetheless they did not admit me, repeating in a monotone: 'There are no places'. In reply to the statement I submitted to the chairman requesting him to admit me to the court-room, the chairman played a cheap trick on me: he pretended that he was telephoning the superintendent and asking him to help me to enter the court-room, but in fact there was no-one at the other end of the telephone, since when I sought out the superintendent he said that no-one had telephoned him, and in fact he had been in the court-room, where it would have been impossible to telephone him . . .

Not only were those of us who wished to be present at the trial not admitted, but on the first day a platoon of soldiers was called out and ordered to draw the curtains of the windows more closely so that we could not even see through a chink what was happening in the court-room . . .

According to Sukharev's assertion, 'Kovalyov was granted the right to defence stipulated by the law, and he made extensive use of it.' **L. Boitsova** recalls that Kovalyov was forced to conduct his own defence at the trial, since 'the defence lawyers he chose did not have some sort of "pass" for cases heard in open sessions (?)'. **A. Mizyakin** points out that not one of the people whom Kovalyov asked to be summoned as witnesses was called into court. Kovalyov's questions to the witnesses who appeared in court were constantly disallowed;

the court ignored contradictions in the evidence of witnesses (concrete examples of both are given in **I. Kovalyov's** letter).

> Moreover, the witnesses summoned by the court were removed from the court-room after being questioned, despite Kovalyov's demand to retain all witnesses after questioning: at any point in the court examination he might have supplementary questions for any of them. According to criminal procedural regulations, witnesses are *obliged* to remain in the court-room after questioning until the end of the court examination . . . (from A. Mizyakin's letter).

In reply to Sukharev's statement that 'the examination of his case was conducted painstakingly, thoroughly and objectively. More than twenty witnesses were questioned in the case, a great quantity of documents and other evidence was analysed and checked . . . (His case consisted of 30 volumes, numbering about 15,000 pages)', L. Boitsova, I. Kovalyov and A. Mizyakin point out that less than twenty hours were spent on the 'painstaking examination' and that 'in almost every case the examination of documents took the form of merely reading out the first words of the documents'.

N. P. Lisovskaya ends her letter like this: 'How can we believe the remainder of Sukharev's interview when he so distorts the events of the present day? It is worthwhile to ponder why he calmly tells lies when he knows perfectly well that there are people able to expose him as a liar.'

Comparing the charges brought against S. Kovalyov with the views of Sukharev, **Yu. Orlov** and **V. Turchin** in their joint letter draw this conclusion: 'Thus the Ministry of Justice has officially confirmed that the mere distribution of information about political repression in the Soviet Union is considered to be an especially dangerous state crime!'

The *Chronicle* considers it necessary to comment on the following opinion of Sukharev's: '. . . thanks to the irresponsibility of Kovalyov and those like him, there are many such lists floating around in the West, which, to put it mildly, cannot but arouse disbelief by their fantastic fabrications. But it can happen that genuine names of people against whom criminal proceedings have been instituted appear in them. For example, on one of the lists transmitted to the West by Kovalyov, fascist accomplices and members of punitive expeditions who during the war tormented, tortured and shot Soviet people appear as "victims of the arbitrary actions of the Soviet authorities" and "fighters for democratic rights". One is a certain Dudenas, an active participant in punitive expeditions and mass executions in Lithuania and Belorussia, whose hands are reddened with the blood of hundreds of people. Another is the fascist toady Ostrovsky, who by his servility towards the Hitlerites and by unthinkable bestiality earned the rank of "President of the Belorussian Central *Rada*" formed by the Nazis in occupied Minsk.'

The people Sukharev mentions are in fact named in the 'List of Prisoners in the Perm Camps known to the *Chronicle*', contained in issue 33 of the *Chronicle*, an issue which incriminated Kovalyov. (Although Sukharev scrupulously avoids mentioning the *Chronicle*, he undoubtedly has this list in mind.)

However, in the first place Ostrovsky appears in the list under section VII —'War Criminals'. Here is what the list says about him: '73. Ostrovsky: was once a minister in the Belorussian government set up by the Germans. Sentence —25 years. In the camp he is a member of the Soviet of the Colony Collective' (for some reason Sukharev does not mention this last fact).

In the second place, although Dudenas appears in the list under section VI, 'Lithuanian National Movement', it does not follow from this that the *Chronicle* designates him as a 'fighter for democratic rights', since the foreword to the list states: 'It should be borne in mind that there may be errors in the dividing of prisoners into groups. For example, among the Lithuanians listed under "National Movement", there are some of whom the *Chronicle* knows only their names and terms of imprisonment; among these there may be some persons convicted for collaboration with the Germans during the war'. And in the list there is nothing about Dudenas except his surname and his sentence.

The *Chronicle* is forced to conclude that Sukharev is consciously and intentionally distorting its reports and libelling Kovalyov.

Letters and Statements

A Letter of Appeal to Soviet Scientists

Yesterday the Moscow biologist Sergei Kovalyov was sentenced in Vilnius. According to the classic traditions of Soviet justice, he has been sentenced to ten years' deprivation of liberty — seven years in camp and three in exile . . .

The glory of Soviet science is talked of loudly and at length, and each of you feels that he shares something of that glory.

Let us remember the shame of Soviet science: the lines of scientific enquiry which are forbidden, the schools rendered leaderless, the ineradicable stain of the 'struggle against the cosmopolitans', the scholars forced out of science and killed or tormented in the camps. Let us remember the newspapers of the thirties, the demands for execution and payment in blood for 'enemies of the people' and the signatures of scientists underneath. Let us remember the betrayal of ideas and of friends. Scientists pronounced anathemas and conferred blessings. Surely those who by right of inheritance have taken over and are developing the glory of Soviet science are, equally, partakers of its shame? Having accepted the title of Soviet scientist, we are obliged by the debt of our inheritance to accept and share the guilt of our predecessors and their responsibility for the recent past, even to take into account their dismal experience: our successors will have to pay for our sins.

. . . I am not addressing those who are clearing a place for themselves at the expense of the fate of others. I am addressing those scientists who are pain-

fully straining their consciences for the sake of science — surely you can see that this is self-deception? Surely you can sense that in making a choice between the fate of Sergei Kovalyov and research on the nucleus of cells, and favouring the latter, you are championing not science, but your own place in it? . . .

The nature of the Vilnius trial and Sergei Kovalyov's sentence is a demonstration experiment performed on you: tyranny is testing the limits of its present potential. Surely you will not, once again, allow it to find that potential to be boundless?

I am not appealing to you by name; but I call upon each of you individually to feel personally responsible for what has happened and to seek and find convincing and active forms of protest.

However dismal human experience may be, I cannot believe that there will be no-one among you who will dare to defend the honour of science and of Russia, and your own dignity as human beings and as scientists.

13 December 1975

Larisa Bogoraz
Master of Philology.

* * *

178 people from 16 cities (Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilisi, Kharkov, Vilnius, Gorky, Pskov, Smolensk, Alexandrov, Luga, Donetsk, Tarusa, Kalinin, Dushanbe, Kaluga) and from the Crimea have issued this statement:

In Defence of Sergei Kovalyov

On 12 December 1975 Sergei Kovalyov, the well-known biologist and active participant in the human rights movement, was sentenced to seven years in camps under strict regime and to three years in exile.

In his public activity, which is what he was sentenced for, Kovalyov fights against tyranny and lawlessness and speaks out in defence of people persecuted for their beliefs. As an opponent, in principle, of violence, he fights with words: through verbal protest and wide-ranging, accurate information. He is one of those who publicly declared their responsibility for the distribution of the *Chronicle of Current Events.*

For this he has been convicted as an 'especially dangerous state criminal'.

At his trial Sergei Kovalyov strove to defend the *Chronicle* and declarations supporting human rights in the USSR from charges of being libellous and illegal. By gross violations of the right of free speech and of the norms of legal procedure, the court compelled Kovalyov to renounce further participation in the trial.

The attempts to conceal this trial from the public and make it in practice a secret trial have been obvious. The aim of such trials and sentences is also obvious: they want to break our sense of civic responsibility and active sympathy and help for those whose rights have been crushed. They want to return us to the times when such trials took place to cries of organised approval, when not even one voice of protest was heard.

We believe that that age of suicidal and shameful silence in our country will not be repeated.

We demand a halt to persecution for exchanging ideas and information.

We demand a halt to the persecution of people who champion human rights, who defend those who have fallen victim to political repression.

We demand the revocation of Sergei Kovalyov's sentence!

9 January 1976

M. Azbel, L. Alekseyeva, G. Altunyan, S. Alber, V. Albrekht, A. Amalrik, E. Armand, D. Babich (Kvachevskaya), T. Bayeva, E. Barabanov, I. Baskin, V. Bakhmin, I. Beilin, D. Beilina, N. Beloozerov, M. Bernshtam, L. Bogoraz, E. Bonner-Sakharova, R. Bonner, Vad. Borisov, Vl. Borisov, L. Borodin, V. Brailovsky, A. Bryksina (Kaleda), N. Bukovskaya, B. Vail, I. Valitova, K. Velikanova, T. Velikanova, M. Voyenny, V. Voinovich, J. Volungevičius, V. Gayenko, Z. Gamsakhurdia, Yu. Gastev, S. Genkin, V. Gershuni, K. Gildman, A. Ginzburg, L. Ginzburg, A. Gladilin, S. Goldman, Yu. Golfand, R. Gordeyev, R. Gorodinskaya, Z. Grigorenko, Yu. Grimm, Z. Dzeboyeva, I. Dudinsky, Fr. Dmitry Dudko, I. Dyadkin, Fr. Sergei Zheludkov, T. Zhitnikova, I. Zholkovskaya, M. Zavelsky, Sh. Zakirov, T. Zaochnaya, N. Ivanov, K. Jokubinas, O. Iofe, V. Isakova (Davydova), A. Kalinovskaya, S. Kallistratova, I. Kaplun, A. Karpovich, A. Kaulins, I. Kiblitsky, V. Kirpichnikov, V. Klebanov, L. Klemanova, I. Kovalyov, E. Kokorin, I. Koltunov, N. Komarova, L. Kopelev, I. Korneyev, V. Kornilov, M. Korovin, A. Korchak, M. Kostava, E. Kosterina, V. Krivulin, I. Kristi, O. Kurganskaya, A. Lavut, M. Landa, V. Lashkova, E. Lebedeva, S. Levin, R. Levitanaite, A. Lerner, R. Lert, N. Lisovskaya, A. Lunts, G. Makudinova, V. Maresin, R. Medvedev, T. Mendzheritskaya, O. Meshko, A. Mizyakin, M. Mikulinsky, M. Mikhailov, L. Murzhenko, V. Nedobora, M. Nedrobova, V. Nekipelov, E. Nikolayev, M. Novikov, I. Nudel, Yu. Orlov, E. Orlovsky, O. Okhapkin, S. Pavlenkova, Yu. Perelman, A. Petrov-Agatov, A. Podrabinek, G. Podyapolsky, V. Pomozov, S. Ponomaryov, V. Petkus, V. Rakhmilevich, L. Regelson, V. Rodionov, G. Rozenshtein, N. Rozenshtein, M. Roizen, V. Ronkin, V. Rubin, I. Rubin, M. Rudenko, R. Rudenko, G. Salova (Lyubarskaya), D. Samoilovich, A. Sakharov, T. Semyonova, E. Sirotenko, V. Slepak, V. Smolkin, E. Smorodinskaya, V. Sychev, A. Terleckas, L. Ternovsky, A. Tille, V. Timachev, E. Trifonov, E. Trubetskaya, V. Turchin, R. Urban, K. Uspensky (Kostsinsky), L. Finkelshtein, E. Finkelshtein, M. Khait, L. Khalif, S. Khakhayev, A. Khvostenko, A. Khmeleva, S. Khodorovich, T. Khodorovich, I. Khokhlushkin, L. Tsypin, V. Chekatuyeva, T. Chernyshova, L. Chukovskaya, A. Ivich, E. Shabanov, L. Shabashov, N. Shatunovskaya, V. Sheinker, M. Shepelev, A. Shuster, A. Shcharansky, V. Shcheglov, A. Yagodnitsyn, E. Yakir, I. Yakir, R. Yakir, E. Yankelevich.

The following have also expressed their protest against continuing political repression:

Political prisoners of Vladimir Prison:
V. Balakhonov, V. Bukovsky, Yu. Vudka, G. Davydov, L. Lukyanenko, K. Lyubarsky, M. Makarenko, I. Meshener, V. Pavlenkov, Z. Popadyuk, G. Rode, G. Superfin, Ya. Suslenksy, A. Khnokh, A. Chekalin, B. Shakirov, Yu. Shukhevich;

Political prisoners of the Mordovian special-regime camp:
I. Gel, S. Karavansky, N. Kurchik, M. Osadchy, V. Romanyuk, D. Shumuk;

Political prisoners of the Mordovia strict-regime women's camp number 3:
N. Svetlichnaya, I. Senik, I. Stasiv-Kalynets, S. Shabatura;

Political prisoners of Mordovian strict-regime camps 3, 17, 19:
P. Airikyan, A. Bolonkin, M. Kheifets, K. Matviyuk;

Political prisoners of the Urals strict-regime camps 35, 36, 37:
A. Altman, N. Bondar, S. Gluzman, N. Gorbal, I. Kalynets, I. Kandyba, V. Marchenko, V. Petrov, V. Pidgorodetsky, I. Svetlichny, S. Soroka, B. Shakhverdyan, O. Vorobyov, G. Mukhametshin, E. Sverstyuk, V. Khaustov, Yu. Vasilev, M. Kapranov;

Political exiles:
S. Malchevsky — Komi ASSR, A. Marchenko — Irkutsk region.

Open Appeal

During the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the CPSU which is taking place in our country, we are issuing a call to facilitate the solution of a question which has the highest moral and political significance . . .

We call for a general political amnesty, for the release of political prisoners in prison psychiatric hospitals and for legislative reform to liberalize the regime in places of imprisonment for all categories of prisoner. Only when we are purged of this shame, of this nightmarish weight crushing people's consciousness, can we think of the revitalizaton of the moral, political and even economic life of the country.

A political amnesty in the USSR and other countries of Eastern Europe would be a truly historical act of enormous significance for all mankind, would make a general political amnesty in the whole world possible, and through this would facilitate mutual understanding between peoples, genuine détente, humanism and peace.

We hope for a wider understanding of this in our country and abroad.

We especially appeal to all the delegates and guests of the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the CPSU, and to the leaders of the CPSU and of foreign delegations.

23 February 1976.

V. Turchin, Yu. Orlov, A. Sakharov, P. Grigorenko, A. Amalrik.

Mikhail Kheifets's mother has written to the general secretaries of the communist parties of the Soviet Union, Italy, France and Britain, requesting that her son be pardoned (*Chronicles* 32, 34).

* * *

O. Ya. Meshko, a former prisoner of the Stalinist camps, appealed to the 25th Congress of the CPSU to revoke the unfounded sentence on her son Alexander Sergienko (*Chronicles* 30, 38). She writes: 'I am convinced that sooner or later he too will be exculpated' (Oksana Yakovlevna was herself exculpated in 1956 — *Chronicle*). 'Will this happen now, while he and I are both still alive?'

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A. D. Sakharov: Interview with the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* (25 February 1976).

A. D. Sakharov answered four questions about his impressions of L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the Twenty-Fifth Congress. Below is his reply to the fourth question:

4. On civil rights and freedom of belief. In the corresponding passages of Brezhnev's speech one senses above all else the inveterate dogmatism, intolerance and hypocrisy of the bureaucracy which prepared the materials for the speech. In response to the continually growing concern of world public opinion about continuing legal and psychiatric repression, forced labour, agony, hunger and cold in the camps and prisons, and religious persecution, there have been only a few hypocritical and mendacious articles in the Soviet press, which have tried somehow to reject these reproaches. But how can one soften the impression made by the trial of Kovalyov, sentenced on a charge of circulating information about persecution to seven years of imprisonment and three years in exile by a judicial procedure in which the defence counsel and the accused himself did not participate? Or the impression given by the many years Grigorenko and Plyushch have spent in psychiatric prisons? Or by dozens of cases of children being taken away from religious parents? Or by the continuing discrimination against the Crimean Tatars, by the suffering of Mustafa Dzhemilev? Or by the fact that for four years a 70-year-old doctor, V. F. Livchak, has not been able to see her daughter, who has left for Israel with her husband? One could multiply the examples endlessly. Brezhnev says: 'Every conversation about increasing discipline and social responsibility is portrayed there (i.e. in the West) as a violation of democracy.' But it is not a question of conversations, but of the kinds of violations of rights which, according to the Universal Declaration

of Human Rights, are an international matter. Therefore, demanding freedom of belief and a general political amnesty in the U S S R and in other socialist countries is not only the right but also the duty of honest people throughout the world.

* * *

A letter from Jewish activists to the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the C P S U (15 February 1976, 21 signatures).

. . . the existing situation contrasts sharply with recent declarations about freedom of emigration by Soviet officials . . .

The following things must be done to eliminate situations like this:

1. Guarantee in practice the preservation of civil rights for individuals who are petitioning to emigrate.
2. Cease, in peace-time, calling up for military service individuals who have submitted documents for emigration.
3. Abolish secrecy in the procedure of examining a case for emigration. Conduct the analysis of a case in accordance with published legal norms, with the participation of the individual petitioning to emigrate, and on the basis of a realistic concept of secrecy, for example, that accepted in European countries.

In each case of refusal a concrete term for the duration of the prohibition on emigrating must be indicated.

* * *

V. F. Livchak: 'Help me to see my daughter' (23 February 1976).

For more than four years I have been trying to obtain a meeting with my only daughter, Marina Dolgoplosk, who lives in Israel . . .

My four-year epic is a scandalous mockery. It is a mockery against morality and humanity, against international obligations, and, in particular, against the Final Act on Security signed last year in Helsinki.

Having exhausted every possibility of achieving justice and my rights in the U S S R, I appeal to the world public, to the world press, and to all people on earth who will not see any threat to the interests of the state in the efforts of a seventy-year-old woman to see her daughter and granddaughter.

* * *

Viktor Gridasov: Declaration to the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the U S S R, to A. D. Sakharov (12 December 1975).
The author (a resident of Magadan) reports that for three years now he has been unable to obtain permission to renounce his Soviet citizenship. On 27 November 1975 he was given a warning under the Decree of 25 December 1972 (*Chronicle* 30, 32). Letters sent to him by the American consul have not been reaching their destination.

* * *

A. M. Zinchenko: Declaration to N. V. Podgorny (22 December 1975).
The author, an engineer from Kharkov (*Chronicle* 34) has been trying to obtain permission to emigrate since June 1974. The authorities demanded from him a written rejection of Soviet citizenship and a payment of 500 roubles for each adult member of his family as a condition of accepting his declaration of intention to emigrate. At the present time he has not received permission.

* * *

The writer and journalist **Igor Dudinsky** (Moscow) has circulated a statement in which he expresses his indignation at a search of his flat which took place in his absence on 29 December 1975. At the search K G B officials (the investigator was Dobychin) confiscated Dudinsky's literary archive and materials which he had brought back from his two-year exile in the Kolyma area (1972-4), including materials on the economy and culture of Magadan region and on the former network of Magadan camps.

Samizdat News

A. D. Sakharov: Peace, Progress and Human Rights
(1 December 1975, 15 pp.)

The text of a lecture prepared for the Nobel Prize ceremony (and read by Elena Bonner on 11 December in Oslo).

Peace, progress and human rights — these three aims are inseparably linked, and we cannot achieve one of them by any means while we neglect the others. This is the most important thought that I want to express in this lecture . . . In this way I defend the thesis of the primary and decisive meaning of civil and political rights in the formation of the fate of humanity. This point of view differs substantially from widely held Marxist, and also technocratic concepts, according to which it is material factors and social and economic factors which have decisive importance.

* * *

A. Marchenko and M. Tarusevich: A Third Way is Available[80]
(August 1975-January 1976, 30 pp.)

Another of the 'unofficial assessments of the present situation from inside the Soviet Union'. The work is addressed basically to the Western public and is an analysis of the internal and external policy of the Soviet state throughout the

whole period of its existence. The authors show that 'it is not law, nor love of peace, nor humanity, nor ethical principles which guide the internal and external policy of the U S S R. The C P S U takes into account only one argument — power'. Therefore the authors consider the path of agreements and compromises by which the West seeks deliverance from the threat of atomic war with the U S S R to be not only ineffective, but dangerous. They think that, apart from war and endless compromise, there is a 'third way' — moral opposition to violence. 'This position is suitable both for individual people and for associations, and for whole states. The task of the governments and the public of these states consists in not limiting their moral opposition to declarations, but in ensuring that it determines their political actions and that it is reliably defended from suppression by force of arms.'

* * *

G. Polyakov: 'Reading Solzhenitsyn' (12 pp.)

A critical analysis of the national-religious and socio-political ideas contained in the 'Letter to the Leaders of the Soviet Union' (and partly also in the book *The Calf Butted the Oak*) and in the articles of Solzhenitsyn and Shafarevich in the anthology *From Under the Rubble*. The author takes exception to views which hold that a nationalistic world-view is an indubitably fruitful motive force in history: to the attribution of certain qualities to whole peoples and associations (and not to their concrete representatives). Polyakov also has 'doubts about the argument concerning the possible advantages (to Russia) of an authoritarian system'. He does not think that authoritarianism can be clearly distinguished from totalitarianism.

The author perceives in these views of Solzhenitsyn and those who think like him unavoidable contradictions with the 'moral position' and the 'logic of the rejection of tyranny' depicted in Solzhenitsyn's fictional works and in *The Gulag Archipelago*. He thinks that the basic reason for the contradictions is 'the theoretical premise common to almost all Soviet dissidents: the firm conviction that a change in the existing system must be only a peaceful, evolutionary and reformist one', the non-acceptance of 'all the revolutions in history'.

'We do not know what awaits our country in the future, but it would be extremely unjust to the Russian people (and also to the other peoples of Russia) to consider it capable only of "senseless and merciless mutiny". And it would be even more erroneous to yield out of fear of such a mutiny to a dictatorship whose true face, in essence still unchanged, has been exposed by A. Solzhenitsyn better than by anyone else.'

* * *

L. A. Gendin: 'Revenge'
(Kishinev-Moscow, November 1974-January 1975, 20 pp.)

The author is an active participant in the movement for emigration to Israel. For six years he has been unable to receive permission to emigrate. During the past two years he has spent 112 days behind prison bars.

In his autobiographical story he describes his journey to Kishinev to gather information about the situation of Jewish 'refuseniks', his arrest, and his escape from his guards.

* * *

A. Khorugvin: 'A Voice Crying in the Wilderness: What is to be Done?'
(29 January 1975, 2 pp.)

A description of a gathering of Moscow poets on 28 January 1975, and mainly of a speech by Alexei Markov: 'This came down to the fact that editors and those standing behind their backs (in the Soviet Union one cannot speak openly about the existence of party censorship) had usurped all spiritual power into their own hands.'

News in Brief

Odessa: On 12 March 1976 the trial of **Vyacheslav Igrunov** (*Chronicle* 38) began. Everyone who wished to was able to be present in the court-room.

Plyushch at liberty. On 10 January 1976 Leonid Plyushch, his wife Tatyana Zhitnikova and their two children left the U S S R.

Plyushch was released from guard only on 10 January at the border station of Chop. They continued to give him triftazin until the very last moment. Only Plyushch's mother and sister were allowed to travel to Chop, his sister, moreover, only after a categoric demand by Zhitnikova.

Right up to 10 January Zhitnikova did not know where and when her husband would be released from hospital.

In Vienna Plyushch was examined by psychiatrists who had gone there specially and who found that he was in good mental health, but in a state of extreme nervous exhaustion. The Plyushch family has settled in France.

L. Plyushch's fate has been recounted in *Chronicles* number 23 to 38.

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A Press Conference

On 9 January 1976 **A. D. Sakharov, V. F. Turchin** and **Yu. F. Orlov** held a press conference at which they handed correspondents the declaration 'In Defence of Sergei Kovalyov' (see the section 'Letters and Statements'), the

declaration of V. Turchin and Yu. Orlov 'On the Interview of the Deputy-Minister of Justice of the U S S R with the Journal *New Times*', and A. Amalrik's article 'Are there Political Prisoners in the U S S R?' (see the section 'Polemics with Sukharev').

Opening the press conference, A. Sakharov said: 'In reports about the declaration "In Defence of Sergei Kovalyov" we would like due attention to be paid to those who have signed it, to their position, and to the possible consequences for them. The latter point indicates the non-triviality of such documents in our country, and distinguishes them very forcefully from similar statements in other countries.'

Yu. Orlov mentioned the wide geographical range of the places where the people who had signed the declaration lived, and said that they represented 'all ideological, political and religious viewpoints . . . There has not been such a number of signatures for a long time'.

V. Turchin: 'We think that Kovalyov's case now has . . . in a certain sense . . . a key significance, because his trial has touched on and raised those questions which disturb us and which ought to disturb the public'. Turchin mentioned the severity of the sentence — the maximum term under that article — 'despite the total absence of any kind of evidence of libel'.

* * *

Riga. In February 1976, after more than one postponement, **G. B. Pinson** was granted a non-routine meeting with her son Boris Penson (*Chronicle* 38), in the premises of a Riga prison.

On 28 February she left the U S S R.

* * *

Odessa. On 10 February 1976 an examination of the appeal in the case of **Leonid Tymchuk** (*Chronicle* 38) took place. The sentence, one year of corrective labour at his place of work, was upheld.

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Sverdlovsk. In November 1975 **Alexander Avakov,** a student of the mechanics and mathematical faculty of the University, was arrested. He has been charged under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. Interrogations are being conducted in Sverdlovsk and Moscow. In the opinion of his friends, Avakov is a Marxist who considers Soviet reality a manifestion of revisionism.

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Leningrad. Yury Vasilievich Tsaryov (aged 28), a worker at the Gorky factory, has been arrested for preparing leaflets. An investigation is being conducted under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

* * *

Moscow. Eduard Samoilov, arrested in May 1975 (*Chronicle* 37), has been pronounced not responsible in the Serbsky Institute. It is not known whether there has been a trial. The investigators: Repnev, Khvostov, Chapaikin.

* * *

Kiev. At the beginning of February 1976 the writer **Mykola Rudenko,** a member of the Soviet group of Amnesty International (*Chronicle* 36), was told to enter a psychiatric hospital for examination.

Rudenko, who was seriously wounded in the spine in the war, had applied for a military pension and had to go before a medical commission. During this he was sent to a psychiatrist, who stated: 'The patient is well-orientated, polite and open to normal contact. His judgements are consistent and logical, his reasoning is not impaired, his temperament is equable. There are no disorders of memory. He makes no complaints.' Nonetheless, the psychiatrist concluded that: 'the patient needs more thorough psychiatric examination', because 'he thinks he is a famous writer' and 'he has not experienced a psychiatric trauma as a result of his expulsion from the Writers' Union' (!).

* * *

Leningrad. On 26 December 1975 a search was conducted in the flat of the philologist **Ilya Davidovich Levin** (aged 27). Before it commenced a statement was made that the search was being conducted with the aim of confiscating arms, drugs, poisons and anti-Soviet literature. The search lasted ten hours. Among the things confiscated was *The Master and Margarita* ('Possev' edition).

On 27 January Levin was refused permission to emigrate to Israel without any reasons being given.

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Yakutsk. P. E. Bashkirov has received from the Yakutsk procuracy a reply (dated 3 February 1976) to his complaint about an illegal search and interrogations (*Chronicle* 38). The procuracy denies everything: '. . . No search was held in your flat, and the book referred to was voluntarily handed to the authorities by your wife A. L. Gabysheva, with whom a conversation, not an interrogation, was held.'

On 24 February Gabysheva herself wrote a complaint to the procuracy.

* * *

Tarusa — Sosnovka. N. A. Strokata (*Chronicles* 25, 28), who was released from imprisonment in December 1975 (*Chronicle* 38), has been registered in Tarusa, Kaluga region. In January she was placed under open police supervision. At the beginning of February she was allowed to go to Mordovia for a meeting with her husband, S. Karavansky (*Chronicle* 18), who is in camp 1 (special regime). They were granted a twenty-four hour meeting — their first long meeting for ten years. P. Starchik accompanied Strokata from Moscow

to the meeting. In the village of Sosnovka, where camp 1 is situated, Starchik was told to go away immediately, with threats of a '15-day sentence'. On the way to the station the people accompanying him — a major and 'someone in civilian clothes' — said: 'Tell your Bonners that after the congress they'll be in for it. And tell them not to come here; if they do, the forest is dark and they might not return.'

* * *

Moscow. On the evening of 20 February 1976 **Andrei Amalrik** was detained in Moscow and taken to Kaluga. There he was detained all night by police, and then taken to a district centre in Kaluga region, the town of Borovsk (the village where Amalrik is registered is in Borovsk district). In Borovsk the procurator demanded that he get himself work. After this they set him free, and he returned to Moscow without hindrance.

* * *

Leningrad. On 2 November 1975 two Leningrad citizens setting off for Moscow were detained at the Moscow station in Leningrad. When their luggage was searched, the following things were confiscated: a letter of congratulation to Sakharov signed by about 20 citizens of Leningrad, some *samizdat* papers, and private letters. After the search the detainees, **Alexander Nikolayevich Zemtsov** and **Alexander Anatolevich Tron,** were set free.

On 14 November they were both given a warning under the Decree of 25 December 1972 (*Chronicles* 30, 32). Moreover, the warning was explained to Tron in the following way: 'If you commit one more anti-social act, we'll put you inside.' Tron and Zemtsov refused to sign the record of the warning.

Earlier A. Zemtsov was given a one-year suspended sentence under article 206 ('hooliganism') for damaging a portrait of Stalin at a photographic exhibition entitled 'Twenty-Five years since Victory' (*Chronicle* 14). In 1972 Zemtsov was a witness at the trial of Yu. Melnik (*Chronicle* 26).

* * *

Moscow. In 1975 a group studying th philosophy of karate (neo-Buddhism, yoga) gathered in one of the sports halls of the 'Trud' stadium. The classes attracted up to 25 people: lecturers, graduate students, theatre people, office workers. After a while the members of the group began to be summoned to the K G B, where they were requested to cease their gatherings. However they were later permitted to continue their classes, on condition that a representative of the K G B was present at them. The group then broke up.

* * *

On 7 February 1976 **A. E. Levitin-Krasnov,** who had been involved in a road accident, was taken to a hospital in Lucerne, Switzerland, in serious condition. The administration of the surgical clinic immediately summoned his wife, **L. I. Zdanovskaya,** who lives in Moscow. However, O V I R refused to give her a visa, demanding confirmation of what had happened from the Soviet ambassador in Berne, and were not satisfied with the confirmation which they already had from the Swiss ambassador in Moscow.

The priests D. Dudko, S. Zheludkov and G. Yakunin, and also L. Regelson, Vad. Borisov, E. Bonner and V. Lashkova wrote a letter to O V I R on 21 February (with copies to Brezhnev, Podgorny and the Swiss ambassador). They asked that L. I. Zdanovskaya's journey to her husband should not be delayed.

On 23 February Zdanovskaya was informed that her case would be examined without waiting for confirmation from the Soviet ambassador.

On 29 February Zdanovskaya left to see her husband.

At the present time A. E. Levitin-Krasnov is recovering.

* * *

Moscow. On 11 February 1976 a session of the secretariat of the Moscow writers' organisation was held. At the session, which took place under the chairmanship of A. Rekemchuk, **Anatoly Tikhonovich Gladilin** was expelled from the Writers' Union 'for an act incompatible with the title of Soviet writer'.

Gladilin's 'act' consisted of asking for a character reference for emigration to Israel. Added to the charges against him were the letters he had signed in defence of Daniel and Sinyavsky and Solzhenitsyn, and the publication in the West in 1972 of his book *Prognosis for Tomorrow.*

It was also recalled that Gladilin had 'participated' in a demonstration in Red Square on 5 March 1966 which did not in fact take place.[91]

* * *

Moscow. The exhibition '150th Anniversary of the Decembrist Uprising' being held in the Historical Museum in Moscow has aroused the dissatisfaction of one visitor, a certain assistant professor at the University of the Friendship of the Peoples and an orientalist. He demanded that the exhibition committee remove Pavel Pestel's Masonic items from the exhibits, because 'Masonism is a branch of Judaism'. He was refused, with the reminder that *Pravda* had spoken approvingly of the exhibition (see 'And the Lofty Striving of Thoughts' by Shatunovsky and Kapustin, 6 December 1975). 'We'll see about that,' said the assistant professor, and went away. A day later there was a phone-call from the Central Committee, and the exhibits referred to were removed.

* * *

Moscow. Officials of the K G B had a talk with **I. A. Shostakovich** (the widow of the composer) about the memoirs of D. D. Shostakovich, which he had dictated to the musicologist **S. Volkov** during the last four years of his life (when he was seriously ill).

They told her that information about the memoirs had appeared in the West and showed her the newspaper *Unita* where the relevant reports were printed

together with photographs of Shostakovich, Volkov and the composer Tishchenko (the composer of a cantata to A. Akhmatova's poem 'Requiem'). On the advice of the K G B, I. A. Shostakovich asked Volkov to give her the memoirs to read before publication. Volkov replied that he did not have a single copy left, but that he would willingly fulfil her request abroad. A week later (at the beginning of March), Volkov received permission to emigrate, for which he had already waited a year.

* * *

In 1975 the Military Publishing house issued the book *Orders of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief during the Great Patriotic War, from 25 January 1943 to 3 September 1945*, prepared by the Institute of Military History of the Ministry of Defence and the Military-Scientific Directorate of the General Staff.

The book contains only publicly announced orders on the occasion of the taking of towns or territory. It opens with 'a canonical portrait of Stalin in full dress uniform'.

The imprint data indicate that the book is 'for interdepartmental sale'. On the cover, in place of a price, is printed 'gratis'.

* * *

An Argument with Time, a book by A. I. Solzhenitsyn's former wife **Natalya Reshetovskaya**, was published in 1975 by the Novosti Press Agency's publishing house. Apparently this is the book about whose English translation *Chronicle* has written (issue 37). The book has *no* imprint data (print run, number of Glavlit permit, name of editor, etc.). The book has not been put on general sale.

* * *

London. On 4 February 1976 the *Literary Gazette* published the article 'Meanness', subtitled 'An almost juridicial essay about those who speculate in human tragedy'.

The next day the article was summarized in the British communist newspaper *The Morning Star*.

On 23 February the following note was printed in *The Morning Star*:

Viktor Fainberg — An Apology

In an article under the heading 'Soviet Paper accuses West on Gambling on Human Tragedies' appearing on page 5 of our issue for the 5th day of February 1976 a number of statements about Mr Viktor Fainberg were made.

In that article it was alleged that Mr Viktor Fainberg had been certified as being sick by doctors in the West and that British psychiatrists had found him mentally ill.

We are now satisfied that the above statements are wholly unfounded.

We unreservedly withdraw the statements in question and desire to express our regret to Mr Viktor Fainberg.

We apologise to him and his family for any distress and inconvenience which may have been caused to him.

Addenda and Corrigenda

Chronicle 38

Vladimir Arkhangelsky was given 2½ years, not 3 years' deprivation of freedom.

V. P. Fedorenko's sentence was 15 years' deprivation of freedom; the first five years in prison and the following ten in a special-regime camp.

Roman Gurny was not moved to Vladimir Prison; as before, he is in Perm camp 35.

The two Crimean Tatars who were held on 18 November 1975 in Simferopol in the regional soviet executive committee building were **Servet Mustafayev** and **Mustafa Sofu.**

The police detachment at the **trial of S. Kovalyov** was headed by colonel Rainis, head of external security for Vilnius.

Sergei Soldatov wrote his letter to Andropov in May 1975, while he was being examined at the Serbsky Institute, and not in May 1974.

Vladimir Maramzin left the U S S R on 12 July 1975.

N. Koberidze's interrogation was reported in *Chronicle* 37, not in *Chronicle* 36.

Endnotes: Chronicles 37-39

1. See full text in *Arkhiv Khroniki*, Khronika Press, New York, 1977, no. 2, pp. 89-96.
1a. Corrected from '(Skurlatov)', as indicated in *Chronicle* 38.
2. For references to materials on this case see P. Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*, pp. 457, 459.
3. On A. Tverdokhlebov's arrest see *Chronicle* 36. On S. Kovalyov's arrest see *Chronicles* 34, 35 and 36.
4. The names Valentina Pailodze and V. Rtskhiladze are here corrected from Valeria Pailodze and D. Getskhiladze, as indicated in *Chronicle* 38.
5. *Chronicle* 23 reported that in 1971 Apraksin refused to allow V. Bukovsky to use Kaminskaya's services.
6. Rozhansky was one of the defence lawyers at the 'Riga Trial of the Four'. See *Chronicle* 20.
7. On Reshetnik see *Chronicle* 25.
8. On Gomelsky's case see P. Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*, p. 387.
9. Yudovich had been a counsel for the defence in the trials of K. A. Lyubarsky (*Chronicle* 28) and P. Yakir and V. Krasin (*Chronicle* 30). He was also chosen by G. Superfin's relatives to defend him, but was not allowed to do so by the Moscow Bar (*Chronicle* 32).
10. On Stus see *Chronicles* 24 and 27.
11. On Lisovoi see *Chronicles* 30 and 33.
12. On Chornovil see *Chronicles* 7, 24, 29, 33.
13. On Romanov see *Chronicles* 12 and 17
14. Convicted at the Leningrad trial of persons connected with the 'aeroplane affair' in May 1971.
15. On I. Zalmanson see *Chronicle* 17.
16. For details on these prisoners see the section on Perm camp 35 in *Chronicle* 33.
17. Arrested in 1970 with I. Meshener. See *Chronicle* 16.
18. For details on the trial which sentenced him to five years' imprisonment in a strict-regime labour colony see *Chronicle* 33.
19. See *Chronicles* 33, 34, 36.
20. On both see *Chronicle* 33.
21. On Yagman see *Chronicle* 20.
22. On Makarenko see *Chronicle* 33.
23. On Chernoglaz see *Chronicles* 20 and 33.
24. On Moroz's hunger strike see *Chronicles* 32-33.
25. On Vudka see *Chronicles* 12 and 14.
26. On Abankin see *Chronicle* 33.
27. On Safronov see *Chronicles* 32 and 33.
28. On Shakirov see *Chronicle* 33.
29. On Sergiyenko (Ukrainian form: Serhiyenko) see *Chronicles* 25, 27, 30, 32.
30. On Davydov see *Chronicle* 33.
31. On Gladko see *Chronicles* 9, 11, 33, 35.
32. See *Chronicle* 36.
33. On Gajauskas see *Chronicles* 8 and 24. He was arrested in April 1977.

34. On Grigorenko see chapter 6, 'General Grigorenko and his Friends', in Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*.
35. See *Chronicles* 34 and 36.
36. See also *Chronicle* 19.
37. On Father Romanyuk see *Chronicles* 17, 25 and 28.
38. On K. Lyubarsky see *Chronicles* 28, 33 and 36.
39. On G. Butman see *Chronicles* 20, 33 and 36.
40. V. Mzhavanadze was the top communist in Georgia from 1953 to 1972, when he was removed for his deep involvement in corruption. See, e.g., Hedrick Smith, *The Russians*, London, 1976, chapter 3.
41. See *Chronicle* 32.
42. See *L'Humanité*, 25 October 1975. On the Western campaign see J.-J. Marie and T. Mathon, eds., *L'Affaire Plioutchtch*, Seuil, Paris, 1976.
43. Article 125 of the constitution then in force guarantees civil freedoms such as freedom of speech.
44. Published in Russian as a booklet by Khronika Press, New York, 1976.
45. On Lychak, and the following prisoners mentioned below: Valdman, Gorbal, Kalynets, Ogurtsov, Khnokh, Pidgodoretsky, Smirnov, Basarab, Antonyuk, Gluzman, Demidov, Prishlyak, Pronyuk, Svetlichny, Soroka, and Shakhverdyan, see the section on camp 35 in *Chronicle* 33.
46. On these three see *Chronicles* 34, 27 and 33 respectively.
47. Corrected from 'seven years', as indicated in *Chronicle* 39, which reports his early release. *Chronicle* 29 gave his sentence as three years.
48. Corrected from 'Kamil' on the likely assumption that *Chronicle* 33 is correct.
49. Corrected from 'Armenia', as indicated in *Chronicle* 40, which provides more details. See also *Chronicle* 44.
50. Corrected from 'six years'. See note 49.
51. Roman Gurny has been removed from this list, as indicated in *Chronicle* 39.
52. Corrected as indicated in *Chronicle* 39. Originally read (probably through a mis-typing): 'The first five of which he must serve in a prison on special regime.'
53. See full text in *C H R*, 1975, No. 17.
54. See full text in *ibid.*
55. I.e., Soroka considers that Halan's murder was designed to discredit the Ukrainian nationalists led by Stepan Bandera.
56. The names of these two have been corrected from 'Mustafa Osmanov' and 'Server', as indicated in *Chronicle* 39.
57. Corrected from *Chronicle* 36, as indicated in *Chronicle* 39.
58. Full text in possession of Khronika Press.
59. Texts in possession of Khronika Press.
60. See the article 'Soviet Seventh-Day Adventists' by K. Murray in *Religion in Communist Lands*, 1977, No. 2.
61. See full text in *Religious Liberty in the Soviet Union: W C C and U S S R — A Post-Nairobi Documentation*, edited by M. Bourdeaux, H. Hebly and E. Voss, Keston College, 1976.
62. Full text in possession of Keston College. See also note 60.
63. The *Chronicle*'s report contains a few inaccuracies. The late Dr Dicks (d. 1977) was president of the Royal College of Psychiatrists in the late 1960s, and while

he knew Russian and had once worked on a project connected with the U S S R, he did not belong to the Soviet psychiatric society.

64. The original text ('at a meeting of the British section in the Royal College') has been modified to eliminate an inaccuracy.
65. Corrected from 'in August or September', as indicated in *Chronicle* 39.
66. Cf. the 1971 addendum to article 74 of the statutes, published in *Chronicle* 27, p. 337.
67. Corrected from 'three years', as indicated in *Chronicle* 39.
68. A detailed record of this conversation is possessed by Khronika Press.
69. Corrected from 'Dutch'. See the account of Mikheyev's trial in *Chronicle* 21.
70. This book was published in a full version by Khronika Press, 1977.
71. Published in the collection *Samosoznanie*, Khronika Press, 1976.
72. A copy is in the possession of Khronika Press.
73. Members of an Islamic, Tatar movement of the 1910s and 1920s, which had cultural and nationalist aims.
74. See the text of the official verdict in Ermakov's case in *Arkhiv Khroniki* (Supplement to the *Chronicle of Current Events*), number 2, Khronika Press, 1977, pp. 109-112.
75. Document 1818.a. in the Samizdat Archive, dated March 1971. Document 1818 is a letter in English to U Thant, dated 27 April 1971. Dzyuba writes as an Orthodox Christian.
76. The locating of Markosyan in camp 37 poses some questions. In April 1975 he was in Mordovian camp 3 (*Chronicle* 36), and in about January 1976 he was transferred to Mordovian camp 19 (see earlier in this issue and *Chronicle* 40). So if he was also in Perm camp 37, this must have been for a short time between April 1975 and January 1976.
77. See more details on Mikhail Ivankov-Nikolov, born 1921, in Sidney Bloch and Peter Reddaway, *Russia's Political Hospitals*, Gollancz, London, 1977 (U S edition: *Psychiatric Terror: How Soviet Psychiatry is Used to Suppress Dissent*, Basic Books, New York). This book contains systematic data on 210 cases known about as of early 1977.
78. According to L. Plyushch, Maltsev died in 1975.
79. *Chronicle* 41 confirms that this is so, gives more details, corrects 'Bzheslavsky' (*Chronicle* 39) to 'Breslavsky', and corrects further minor inaccuracies. See also Bloch and Reddaway, *op. cit.*
80. See more details in *ibid.*
81. *Chronicle* 41 reports that Bodanin and Uletsky (below) were not in fact charged with political offences.
82. Corrected from 'L. Bossa', as indicated in *Chronicle* 41.
83. Corrected from 'M. Bublik', as indicated in *ibid.*
84. Davarashvili was in fact released in 1974, but immediately tried for his original offence, given four years and released from the camps in 1976. He soon emigrated to Israel.
85. Corrected from 'Kitov', as indicated in *Chronicle* 41. I. Terelya has since reported his death.
86. See more details in Bloch and Reddaway, *op. cit.*
87. See more details in *ibid.*
88. Corrected from 'at the end of 1972', as indicated in *Chronicle* 41.

89. Translated in *Religion in Communist Lands*, 1976, number 2, pp. 41-46.
90. Published in *Kontinent*, Paris, 1976, No. 9.
91. Date corrected from '5 March 1964'. See the report on this episode in Bloch and Reddaway, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

Bibliographical Note

The original Russian texts of *Chronicles* 37-39, of which this book is a translation, appeared as separate booklets without annotations, *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*, Khronika Press, New York, 1975-76.

Earlier issues of the *Chronicle* are available in English from two main sources. Numbers 16-36 and 46 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 40-42 and 43-45 of *A Chronicle of Current Events* will be published in English by Amnesty International Publications as two volumes in 1978. Number 47 and subsequent issues will be published individually as booklets, as soon after they reach the West as possible.

Other books and periodicals in which readers can find more details about many of the people mentioned in the *Chronicles* 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). In French the best source 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; and in Italian: *Russia Christiana*, Via Martinengo 16, 20139 Milan, Italy, 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 Soviet Union*, 31 Percy Street, London, W.1, 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, USA.

R S F S R 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 — R S F S R 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 form 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 rubles.

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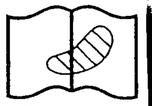
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