A Chronicle of Current Events

Journal of the Human Rights Movement in the USSR

Numbers 28–31

Amnesty International Publications

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Published May 1975 by Amnesty International Publications
Printed by the Russell Press, Nottingham, England
ISBN 0-900058 04 8

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Cover: Page from original *samizdat* supplement to *Chronicle 17* (included in the Amnesty International edition of 18), listing some of the persons convicted or arrested for political reasons in 1969 and giving some details.

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Amnesty International Publications
53 Theobald's Road London WC1X 8SP England
1975

RSFSR CRIMINAL CODE

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

Article 70 (main section) **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 [verbal] 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.

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.

Article 227 **Infringement of the Person and Rights of Citizens under the Pretext of Performing Religious Rites.** Organizing or leading a group whose activities are carried on under the pretext of teaching religious doctrine and performing religious rites which entail harming the health of citizens or any other infringement of the person or rights of individuals, either prompting citizens to refuse to participate in social activity or fulfil their civil obligations, and likewise enticing minors into this group, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding 5 years or by exile for a similar term with or without confiscation of property.

The active participation in the activity of a group specified in paragraph one of the present article, or systematic propaganda directed at the commission of acts defined therein, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding 3 years, or by exile for the same term, or by corrective labour for a term not exceeding one year.

Note: If the acts of persons indicated in paragraph two of this article, and the persons themselves, do not represent a great social danger, measures of social pressure may be applied to them.

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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 of *A Chronicle of Current Events* 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, and 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 almost entirely of accounts of such violations.

Although the Constitution of the USSR (article 125) guarantees "freedom of the press", the Soviet state officially reserves for itself and for officially-approved organizations the right to decide what may or may not appear in print. Since 1930 publishing has been a virtual monopoly of the Soviet state, and printing has been a complete monopoly. In the past decade and a half many Soviet citizens whose writings have not been published through official channels have reproduced their work in *samizdat* form. These *samizdat* ("self-published") writings circulate from hand to hand, often being re-typed on the chain-letter principle.

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. When any piece of information has not been thoroughly verified, this is openly acknowledged. When mistakes in reporting occur, these mistakes are retrospectively drawn to the attention of the readers. Furthermore the *Chronicle* frequently reproduces without any editorial comment official documents such as governmental edicts, bills of indictment, protocols of searches, investigation officials' reports, etc.

In February 1971, starting with number 16, Amnesty International began publishing English translations of the *Chronicles* as they appeared. Publication of the *Chronicles* ceased temporarily after issue number 27, dated 15 October 1972, as a result of a KGB operation known as Case 24 which was aimed at the journal's suppression. The *Chronicle* reappeared in the spring of 1974 when numbers 28-31, covering the period from October 1972 to May 1974, were distributed in Moscow.

This book is a translation of copies of the original typewritten texts of these numbers. Only footnotes and the words in square brackets have been added to the text itself. Other material, such as the table of contents, glossary, page on the RSFSR criminal code, the photographs, map of the Soviet Union, names index, bibliographical note and material on the outside and inside of the cover have been added by Amnesty International to help the general reader. None of this material appeared in the original texts.

Footnotes have been kept to a minimum, partly because the Russian text already refers readers to earlier issues, and partly because the names index gathers together all references to a particular person. Unlike in earlier translations, Ukrainian names are here given in transliteration from the Russian, not 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, in resuming publication of the *Chronicle*, continues to regard it 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 1975

GLOSSARY

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 for State Security
MOOP	–	Ministry for the Preservation of Public Order. Renamed MVD in 1966
MVD	–	Ministry of Internal Affairs
RSFSR	–	Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic
SSR	–	Soviet Socialist Republic, of which there are 15 in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR)
UVD	–	Administration for Internal Affairs

ВЫСТУПЛЕНИЯ В ЗАЩИТУ ПРАВ ЧЕЛОВЕКА В СОВЕТСКОМ СОЮЗЕ

ПРОДОЛЖАЮТСЯ

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, их получать и распространять информацию и идеи любыми средствами и независимо от государственных границ".

Всеобщая декларация прав человека, ст.19.

Выпуск 30 — 31 декабря 1973 г.

СОДЕРЖАНИЕ: Суд над П.ЯКИРОМ и В.КРАСИНЫМ - Суд над Юрием ШИХАНОВИЧЕМ - Процесс БОЛОНКИНА - БАЛАКИРЕВА - Суд над А.ФЕЛЬДМАНОМ - Процесс В.ЛИСОВОГО, Е.ПРОНЮКА, И.СЕМАНЮКА - Следствие по делу Г.СУПЕРФИНА - В тюрьмах и лагерях - В психиатрических больницах - События в Литве - Материалы о САХАРОВЕ - Выступления советских евреев - Неопубликованный Указ Президиума Верховного Совета СССР - Краткие сообщения - Новости Самиздата - По материалам советской прессы.

Год издания шестой

Original *samizdat* title-page of *Chronicle* Number 30

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 through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19.

Number 28 — **31 December 1972**

Contents:

The Death of Yury Galanskov. A Chronicle of Case No. 24. The Trial of Dandaron. Repressions in the Ukraine. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Answers a Letter from 273 Jews. The Directives on Urgent Hospitalization. News in Brief.

Fifth Year of Publication

To the Readers of the Chronicle

This issue contains material more than a year old, and that fact has naturally had an influence on its selection and on the length at which it is presented. The reason for the break in the *Chronicle*'s publication was the KGB's repeated and unequivocal threats to respond to each new issue of the *Chronicle* with new arrests–arrests of people suspected by the KGB of publishing or distributing new or past issues (cf the material on "Case Number 24" in this issue and the next issue). People faced with the terrible necessity of making decisions which will affect not only themselves are placed in an ethical situation the nature of which requires no comment. But to remain silent would mean to facilitate–even though indirectly and passively– the use of a "tactic of hostages" which is incompatible with justice, morality and human dignity. Therefore the *Chronicle* is resuming publication and will strive to preserve both the principles and the style of previous issues.

Left: Yury Galanskov, drawn by fellow-prisoner Yury Ivanov in 1969
Below: Bidya Dandaron

THE DEATH OF YURY GALANSKOV

On 2 November in the Mordovian camp complex (in institution ZhKh 385-3) Yury Timofeyevich Galanskov died at the age of 33.

Yury Galanskov was born in 1939 in Moscow, into a family of workers. Beginning in 1959 he took part in readings by young poets in Mayakovsky Square. His poems were published in the typescript anthology *Sintaksis*, edited by A. Ginzburg. He was very active in writing on public affairs (expressing a humanistic, social-legal, and pacifist trend) and in 1966 published the anthology *Phoenix-66*.

On 19 January 1967 Yury Galanskov was arrested. At the trial which ensued, in January 1968, he was sentenced to 7 years in strict regime camps (A. Ginzburg, A. Dobrovolsky, and V. Lashkova were convicted at the same trial–see *Chronicle* number 1).*

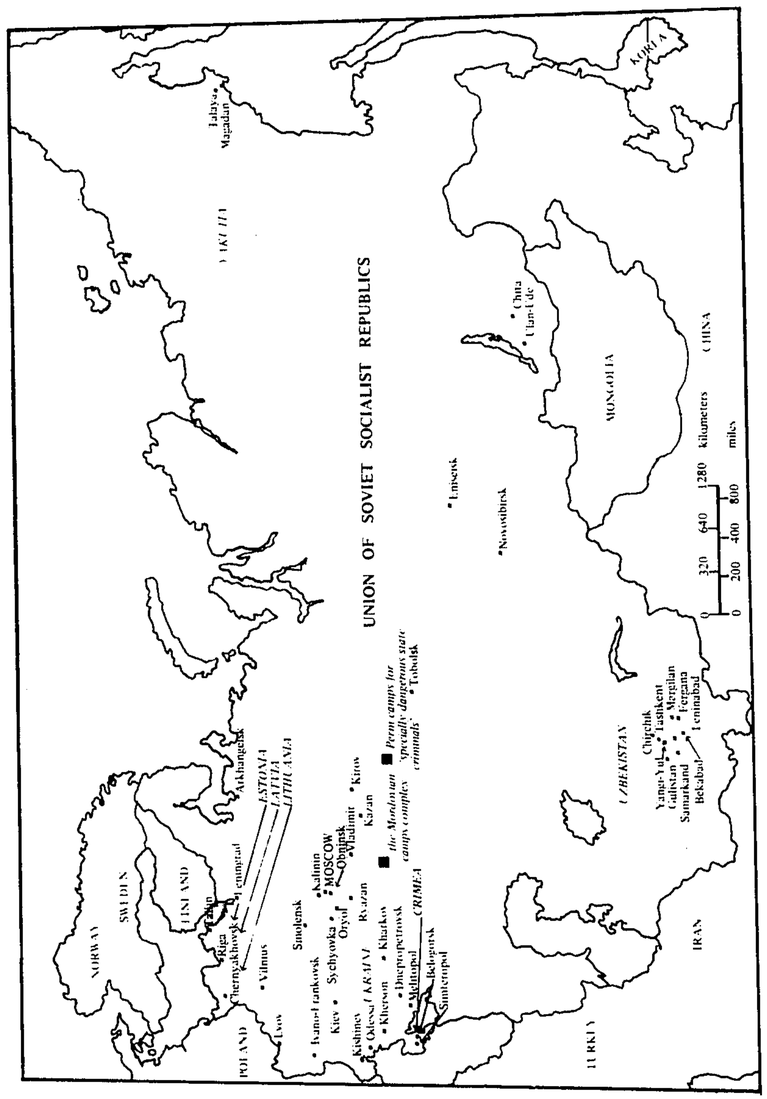
Since the summer of 1968 Galanskov had been serving his sentence in camp 17a of the Mordovian complex. He actively participated in actions of political prisoners for their rights, and took part in hunger strikes.

The serious case of ulcers which had troubled Galanskov even before his arrest made his life in camp enormously more difficult. Medical care was given him only irregularly and was ineffective.

Galanskov's relatives and friends and also his camp-mates appealed repeatedly to the authorities, asking that he be given adequate medical care. In particular, they asked that he be put on a special diet and given a complete examination at the central hospital of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Leningrad. These requests were not granted.

In the autumn of 1972, because of his worsening health, Galanskov was sent as a matter of routine to the Dubrovlag hospital compound in the settlement of Barashevo. After an operation he developed peritonitis. As his condition became increasingly critical, the camp administration began to call in physicians, first from the district hospital, then from Saransk, and finally, apparently from Moscow. But it was too late.

* See also Pavel Litinov's large compilation, *The Trial of the Four*, London and New York 1972, and *Poet and Man: In Memory of Yury Galanskov*, As Brynes Forlag (Universitetsgt. 20. Oslo 1, Norway), 1973.



At the beginning of November the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs urgently summoned Galanskov's mother and sister to Mordovia. When they arrived, Yury Galanskov was already dead.

Permission was given to place a cross on his grave and to inscribe his name.

A funeral service was held on 11 November in the Nikolskaya Church in Moscow (on the Preobrazhenka). Several dozen people attended, including those who had been Galanskov's friends both inside and outside of prison. No actions on the part of the KGB were observed.

* * *

The *Chronicle* has received the following obituary:

> Yury Timofeyevich Galanskov died on 2 November of this year. Our hearts are overflowing with grief and anger. But it is not an ordinary kind of grief or an ordinary kind of anger, since this was not simply a death: it was a death with all the signs of political murder. Yury Galanskov was not assassinated, nor was he thrown out of a window or poisoned. His murder was prepared gradually, step by step. He was killed by constant persecutions, by an unjust verdict, by the slander of provocateurs, by the harshness of the camp regime. And then he died on the operating table under the indifferent knife of a surgeon from the Mordovian Camp Hospital.
>
> Yury Galanskov was a man of firm character, with an original cast of mind, always pre-occupied with new ideas. But perhaps his strongest trait was a heightened awareness of civil conscience. Before his arrest he took part in the pacifist demonstrations, demanded creative freedom for the intelligentsia, and was one of the editors of the Moscow journal *Phoenix*. He inspired many people by his personal example. His courageous behaviour during his investigation and trial engaged the attention and sympathy of the most different kinds of people. The letters from intellectuals in defence of Galanskov and his comrades, with hundreds of signatures, are well known. The voice of his civil conscience could be stifled neither by prison bars, not by the multiple barbed-wire fences of labour camps, nor by the towers manned by sub-machinegunners. In spite of the illness which caused him so much suffering, Yury Galanskov strove for recognition of the rights of political prisoners, for creative and political freedom for inmates and for free citizens. He dedicated himself entirely to this cause. He strove to achieve his aims by means of hunger strikes, appeals, and his own example. And this was terrifying to the inert, thick-skinned and soulless organism of tyranny. For these qualities he was valued by all the prisoners. All those who met him in the camp compounds always responded to his ready sympathy, his kindness and his desire to help everyone in trouble, and they trusted him.
>
> We honour the memory of our friend Yu. T. Galanskov, who remains for us an example of conscience and a sense of duty. We will multiply our ranks and carry on his cause!

We call upon all citizens of Russia and the whole world to honour his memory with a minute of silence. Let this minute become a kind of oath of fidelity to our common hopes and aspirations. It is time to awaken from criminal indifference and realize that only by acting all together can we achieve freedom for all the peoples of Russia alike.

The vivid memory of Yury Galanskov will remain with us forever!

Political prisoners of the Ural
and Mordovian camps.

* * *

The *Chronicle* has also received the following texts:

Dear Ekaterina Alekseyevna, Timofei Sergeyevich, and Lena!

We well understand that the grief of those who have lost a son and a brother is immeasurable; that no words, even those of the most sincere sympathy, can lessen it. And still we want to tell you that we, Yury's friends, share this profound grief with you. We want to tell you that you can take pride in your son and brother, as sooner or later all Russia will take pride in him. He was one of the few who, even in the hour of most difficult trials, affirm people's faith in the triumph of justice. His whole life is for us an example of struggle for the victory of good over evil. We, Yury's friends, will forever preserve in our hearts the memory of your son and brother as one of those people who should serve as a model....

Ekaterina Alekseyevna, Timofei Sergeyevich and Lena! Allow us once more to express our deepest condolences for your loss.

Yu. I. Fyodorov, S.A. Malchevsky, M. Ya. Makarenko, Suslensky, N. N. Borozdin-Braun, Shimon Grilyus, Mendelevich, Abankin, M. Sado, L. Lukyanenko, R. Lapp, S. M. Ponomaryov, A. Jastrauskas, I. Cherdyntsev, V. Chamovskikh, Pokrovsky, V. Kolomin, E. S. Prishlyak, O. I. Zaidenfeld (Frolov), Uzlov, Tolstousov, A. K. Chekhovskoi, N. V. Bondar, V. Platonov.

* * *

Statement to USSR Procurator-General R. A. Rudenko from V. K. Pavlenkov and G. V. Gavrilov,* political prisoners in corrective-labour colony 389/35.

*On Pavlenkov see especially *Chronicle* numbers 10-15, 23, 32 and on Gavrilov numbers 10-12, 15, 23, 32.

In March of this year a statement was sent to you, signed by seven political prisoners of corrective labour colony 385/17. We, now located in colony 389/35, were among the signatories. The statement protested against the anti-humanitarian conditions established in corrective-labour establishments of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, which transform healthy people into sick ones, and can bring the sick to premature death. We protested against the poor and low-grade food, against the lack of special diets for sick prisoners to meet their nutritional requirements, against the prohibition on receiving the needed quantity of food and medicines from home (especially in the case of the sick). We protested against the fact that, for all practical purposes, the legal provision for the early release of seriously-ill prisoners is not applied. We wrote that as a result of this, and in the absence of appropriate medical care, several people who had been sentenced only to a specific term of imprisonment were in fact condemned to gradual death. In the first place we related all the above to our fellow prisoner, Yu. T. Galanskov, who was seriously ill and who was slowly expiring before our eyes. Despite his illness he was receiving neither the necessary diet, nor qualified medical care, nor was he being excused from work. He frequently did not sleep for several nights in a row because of his terrible pain; for several days on end he ate nothing, did not have the necessary medication, and so forth. The colony's administration deprived him of the chance to buy food products in the canteen with his pittance of five rubles per month, and also to receive the single food parcel allowed him each year by law; and by its humiliating and provocative actions it forced him into hunger strikes.

Now that we have learned of Yu. T. Galanskov's death, we cannot but return to the subject of our protests in the above-mentioned statement which we addressed to you—especially as you ignored that statement, and in fact nothing was done about it.

As a result, Yu. T. Galanskov is dead. He has perished behind barbed wire. The Fundamental Principles of USSR Corrective-Labour Legislation stipulate that the execution of punishment must not engender physical suffering in prisoners. But is not poor and low-grade food, which produces illness in healthy people and is directly contra-indicated for the sick, in itself enough to ensure physical suffering? Do not frequent administrative punishments, often arbitrary, contrived, and involving reductions in prisoners' rations (for example, deprivation of canteen privileges or parcels, or confinement in the punishment cells, where one is fed every other day and at a reduced level), have the same effect? Is not the lack of necessary medical care, and often of medicines as well, a state of affairs which inevitably guarantees physical suffering for the sick? And, finally: are not all these conditions enough to ensure the execution, on at least some prisoners, of death sentences which have not been sanctioned by a court? Is not all this a crime before the law, before justice, before humanity?

We do not think that you personally, or any of the individuals invested with full power and responsibility for the maintenance of prisoners in the USSR, deliberately wished the death of Yu. T. Galanskov or of any other prisoner. But the conditions of prisoners' confinement in our country today are such that they produce physical suffering and premature deaths.

For the fact that conditions of precisely this sort have become established, you are personally responsible.

We demand:

1. A special investigation of the circumstances leading to the death of political prisoner of Colony 385/17, Yu. T. Galanskov.
2. An investigation of the reasons why the statement from seven political prisoners of Colony 385/17, who warned in good time of the possible fatal outcome of Yu. T. Galanskov's illness under the existing camp conditions, was not acted on (the reference number given to the statement by your office is 17/485-68), and the punishment of the guilty parties.
3. Changes in the conditions of prisoners' confinement in the corrective-labour establishments of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, so as to make them conform with the humanitarian principles prescribed by law.

20 November 1972

A CHRONICLE OF CASE NUMBER 24

The KGB attached to the USSR Council of Ministers is continuing to occupy itself with what is called Case Number 24, which first attracted attention in mid-January 1972 through a series of searches and arrests in Moscow, Kiev, Vilnius, and other cities (cf *Chronicle* 24). By now it has become clear that Case 24 is basically an investigation of the circumstances surrounding the publication and distribution of the *Chronicle of Current Events.*

The *Chronicle* now reports on those incidents in November and December 1972 which are known to it and which were associated with Case 24.

* * *

On 4 November Irina Yakir, daughter of Pyotr Yakir, was allowed to visit her father in Lefortovo Prison. Investigators Kislykh and Volodin were present during the meeting.

According to P. Yakir, he has changed his attitude toward the democratic movement and his own activity. His active cooperation with the investigators has become clear. According to what Yakir said, the material presented to him by the investigators has convinced him of the tendentious character and objectively harmful position of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and of the presence therein of factual inaccuracies and even direct distortions. He also declared that each future issue of the *Chronicle* would make his and Krasin's eventual prison terms longer, and that as each *Chronicle* appeared new arrests would result. The investigators confirmed the latter statement, pointing out that those arrested would not necessarily be those directly participating in the publication of the new issue.

* * *

On 13 November the KGB conducted a search at Yakir's apartment. Among the items seized was issue number 27 of the *Chronicle*. The search was followed by the interrogation of Yakir's wife, Valentina Savenkova, and his son-in-law Yuly Kim.

* * *

In mid-December P. I. Aleksandrovsky, the investigator handling the case of Victor Krasin, went to Eniseisk (Krasnoyarsk Territory), to which town Krasin's wife Nadezhda Emelkina was exiled (see *Chronicle* numbers 20, 23). Aleksandrovsky interrogated Emelkina several times, but so far as is known she gave no depositions. A telephone conversation took place between Emelkina and Krasin, who is being held in Lefortovo Prison. At the request of her husband, Emelkina revealed hiding places in the Taiga which contained materials of interest to the investigators.

* * *

On 29 December Adele Naidenovich* was summoned for interrogation by the KGB in connection with Case 24. She was asked general questions about Yakir and Krasin. It was stated that the trial in the Yakir case would also involve the *Chronicle of Current Events.* KGB Major Istomin, who handled the interrogation, accused the *Chronicle* of distorting facts and pointed to inaccuracies in some of its news items.

On the following day, after a brief interrogation as to the relations between Yakir and Naidenovich's husband Vladimir Osipov, editor of the journal *Veche [Popular Assembly]*, there was a confrontation between her and Yakir. In addition to Istomin, Yakir's investigator Major Kislykh was present at the confrontation. Yakir confirmed his testimony that Naidenovich had brought him several texts to be sent abroad. Naidenovich denied this.

Naidenovich has compiled a record of her impressions of the interrogation and confrontation under the title "Latest News about Pyotr Yakir".†

* * *

In mid December D. Markov from Obninsk also had a confrontation with Yakir. Yakir testified that Markov had retyped and circulated issues of the *Chronicle.* In earlier interrogations Markov had denied this, but during the confrontation he confirmed the testimony of Yakir.

*See *Chronicle* 24.

†Published in English and French in *Human Rights in USSR* and *Les Droits de l'Homme en URSS* 28 Place Flagey, B-1050 Brussels, No. 9, 1973 (the former magazine is a translated edition of the latter).

THE CASES OF LYUBARSKY AND POPOV

The case of K. A. Lyubarsky was heard from 26 to 30 October 1972 in Noginsk, Moscow region, at an assizes session of the Moscow regional court. He was charged with disseminating libellous anti-Soviet fabrications with the aim of undermining and weakening Soviet authority (article 70 of the RSFSR criminal code).

The judge was Makarova, chairman of the Moscow regional court, the state prosecutor was Zalegin, deputy procurator of the Moscow region, and the defence counsel was L. A. Yudovich.

Kronid Arkadevich Lyubarsky, candidate of physical and mathematical sciences [cf Ph. D.] astronomer, author of two books and 35 articles in scientific journals, was fulfilling commissions for a program of research on Mars with the aid of automated interplanetary space laboratories.

On 15 January 1972 his home was searched in connection with Case 24. The search was conducted by Major Kislykh of the All-Union KGB. In late February or early March his case was separated and transferred to the KGB administration for Moscow and the Moscow region. It was investigated under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Yu. B. Smirnov, chief of the administration's investigations department, and investigators V. N. Sorokin and N. A. Smirnov.

In the course of the pre-trial investigation Lyubarsky acknowledged that he had given *samizdat* material to his acquaintances to read. He also testified that he had received a considerable part of the literature from Telesin (who left the USSR in 1970).*

On 26 March 1972 Lyubarsky handed the investigators a statement in which he said that familiarity with *samizdat* material might mislead an unprepared reader and hence do damage to the state, and he declared that he was giving up *samizdat* activity.

Several confrontations were arranged between Lyubarsky and V. G. Popov, his pupil and long-time acquaintance. At these confrontations Lyubarsky persuaded Popov to confirm that he (Popov) had received literature from him. Before this the investigators had shown Lyubarsky materials relating to Popov. Lyubarsky was misled with respect to certain works which had supposedly been confiscated from Popov during a search. The investigators told Lyubarsky that a case against Popov had been prepared, but that he would not be arrested if he gave truthful testimony, in which matter Lyubarsky could help him. Popov, however, while remaining at liberty, did not fully confirm Lyubarsky's testimony, and he was arrested in July 1972.

It has also become known that the investigators informed Lyubarsky of a statement supposedly written by V. N. Chalidze in which the latter said he was discontinuing his activities in defence of human rights.

The indictment contained 54 items. It charged that for several years Lyubarsky kept, reproduced and disseminated anti-Soviet literature. He was also charged with anti-Soviet agitation in oral form. (it was stated that he had recounted the contents of certain criminal works to Popov, I. Kristi, and G. Podyapolsky.) It was further

*On Julius Telesin see *Chronicles* 6-8, 14. See also his forward to P. Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia.*

stated that Shikhanovich, as well as Telesin, had given Lyubarsky literature, including *Chronicles* 12-22. The defendant acknowledged that he had reproduced and disseminated *samizdat* materials, but did not plead guilty under article 70 of the RSFSR criminal code and categorically denied any anti-Soviet intent in his acts. Lyubarsky declared that he had never testified that he had received literature from Shikhanovich. It was from Esenin-Volpin that he had received the literature whose transmittal had been attributed to Shikhanovich, but he had not mentioned Esenin-Volpin earlier because of ethical considerations. (A. Esenin-Volpin had left the USSR shortly before the trial.) Lyubarsky acknowledged the hostility and bias of Avtorkhanov's book *The Technology of Power [Tekhnologiya vlasti]*, and a certain bias in Grossman's book *Forever Flowing [Vse techet]*, but pointed out the usefulness of these books because they were filled with facts and because of the artistic merits of the latter. He categorically denied the criminality of the *Chronicles,* of the journal *Social Problems [Obshchestvennye problemy]*,* of the documents of the Human Rights Committee, of A. Marchenko's *My Testimony [Moi pokazaniya]*, of A. D. Sakharov's *Thoughts on Progress [Razmyshleniya o progresse]*, of the letters of the Initiative Group, and of other open letters. He requested the summoning to court of the authors (and of representatives of groups of authors) of some of these documents: Sakharov, Podyapolsky, Chalidze, T. Velikanova.

This request was refused by the court.

Lyubarsky pointed out that in 37 items of the indictment, he had found a lack of conformity between the charge and the documents in the case. Thus the indictment referred to his having testified to the transmittal of incriminating literature to specific persons. He had in fact testified that the persons named in the list of his visitors shown him by the investigators might have read the literature, since it was lying about openly.

Concerning the statement he had written in the course of the pre-trial investigation (see above), Lyubarksy testified that its chief purpose was to protect his young friends against arrest and punishment.

The following witnesses were questioned at the trial: Melnik (see *Chronicle* 24 [and 26]), Popov, Novikov, Vladimirsky, Vetkovsky, Smirnov, and Salova (the wife of Lyubarsky).

Melnik testified that he had received from Lyubarsky microfilms of Avtorkhanov's book and Grossman's book *Forever Flowing.* Lyubarsky confirmed this.

Popov testified that, carrying out Lyubarsky's instructions, he had delivered literature and had gathered information (for example, on Zemtsov's appellate hearing in Leningrad†). He knew the contents of many works from Lyubarsky's description. Once he saw Shikhanovich and Lyubarsky exchange literature, and assumed it was *samizdat*. Many of his opinions were acquired from Lyubarsky. He now realized that the actions of Lyubarsky and his friends were anti-Soviet in tendency and harmful to the state system. He believed that Lyubarsky, too, had understood this. He stated that Lyubarsky pinned hopes on the advent to power of the intelligentsia.

*A *samizdat* journal edited by Valery Chalidze, published in Moscow from 1969 to 1972. Various items from it were published in *Dokumenty Komiteta prav cheloveka (Proceedings of the Moscow Human Rights Committee)*, International League for the Rights of Man (777 UN Plaza, New York, N. Y. 10017), 1972.

†See *Chronicle* 14.

Above: Front row from left, Yuri Iofe (father of Olga Iofe), Pyotr Yakir, Olga Iofe, Ivan Rudakov, Nadezhda Shatunovskaya (Olga's mother), Vladimir Lapin. Back row from left, Lyudmila Kardasevich, Irina Yakir, Andrei Dubrov.

Left: Irina Yakir. *Right:* Yuli Kim, with his child.

Below left: Sergei Kovalyov. *Below right:* Tatyana Mikhailovna Velikanova. *Below center:* Tatyana Khodorovich.

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1. Alexander Lavut
2. Anatoly Yakobson
3. Irina Kaplun
4. Yury Maltsev
5. Semyon Gluzman
6. Andrei Tverdokhlebov
7. Vyacheslav Bakhmin
8. Lyudmila Kusheva
9. Pyotr Starchik
10. Kronid Lyubarsky
11. Vaclav Sevruk
12. Leonid Plyushch

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Vladimirsky testified that, *inter alia*, he had read Grossman's *Forever Flowing* and one issue of the *Chronicle* at Lyubarksy's apartment. He described Lyubarsky as a serious scientist with a broad range of interests, and a kind and unselfish man.

Vetkovsky had received from Lyubarsky an issue of *Social Problems* and from Popov a bundle of literature including *The Transformation of Bolshevism [Transformatsiya bolshevizma]*, * *Stalin's Heirs [Nasledniki Stalina]* † and *Chronicle* 19. He passed on the bundle to Smirnov, and when it was returned, he destroyed it. Smirnov** testified that he had passed on the literature he had received to Melnik and had then returned it to Vetkovsky.

Zalegin, the state prosecutor, fully supported the indictment, and demanded as punishment 5 years' deprivation of freedom and 2 years of exile.

L. A. Yudovich, Lyubarsky's defence counsel, noted that for many counts of the indictment the fact of dissemination was not proved. He also asked that the item of the indictment charging oral dissemination of anti-Soviet information be dismissed as not confirmed by the testimony of the witnesses Kristi and Podyapolsky. After demonstrating the absence of anti-Soviet intent in Lyubarsky's acts, defence counsel requested that the indictment be reclassified under article 190-1. He asked that the punishment be of such a kind as to permit Lyubarsky to continue his scientific work.

In his final plea †† Lyubarsky, briefly dwelling on the unproven nature of several facts alleged by the prosecution, once again emphasized that Shikhanovich had nothing to do with the literature confiscated from him (Lyubarsky).

Then, taking issue with the procurator's speech, Lyubarsky noted the inaccuracy of the criteria applied in settling the question as to the degree of criminality of one work or another. "In particular, the degree of criminality depends upon geography. For example, Akhmatova's *Requiem* and *Stalin's Heirs* were confiscated from me. They were not incriminating in my case. But in Odessa [the possession of] *Requiem* incriminated Reiza Palatnik*** and in Leningrad *Stalin's Heirs* incriminated Melnik–in the case of *Stalin's Heirs* not only the same poem but the same copy of it."

"....And things change with time....During the search of my home they seized Raskolnikov's letter to Stalin, which used to be an ultra-criminal item but which is recognized now as a highly patriotic document."

Lyubarsky considered that the only possible way to evaluate actions was to examine the motives for them. Pointing out that the prosecution had not tried to examine his motives, the defendant categorically denied the intention, attributed to him, of undermining and weakening Soviet authority.

Lyubarsky said that he was amply familiar with Soviet achievements in many fields, and that he had made his own contribution to those achievements. ("While I was in the investigation prison I read an article in *Pravda* about the results of studying Mars by means of the space vehicles Mars-2 and Mars-3. I was able to take pride in the fact that although I had been imprisoned, I was still working...."). However, serious shortcomings

*This anonymous *samizdat* book has not reached the West, but a summary of it appears in *Chronicle* 8. See Reddaway *Uncensored Russia*, pages 362-63.
† A well-known poem of 1961 by Yevgenvy Yevtushenko.
**Probably the V. Smirnov who was a witness at Melnik's trial. See *Chronicle* 26.
††See the text of this long speech in *Almanakh Samizdata*, Amsterdam, 1974, number 1, pages 39-50
*** On Miss Palatnik see *Chronicles* 17,18, 20-24.

also existed. Lyubarsky mentioned economic difficulties, the isolation of Soviet science, the fact that even the phrase "cult of personality" has disappeared from the pages of the press, that censorship restrictions had become unjustifiably severe, and that the number of politically motivated trials had increased. He said that the events in Czechoslovakia had played an especially important role in generating awareness of these problems by himself and many others. Lyubarsky came to *samizdat* because he had failed to find answers to many questions in the press.

> You can look at *samizdat* in various ways, but however you look at it, it exists... It has already become a social phenomenon. I have looked through foreign academic dictionaries and discovered that a new word from the Russian –"samizdat" – has found its way into many of them ... It seems to me that this is no cause for rejoicing, especially if you bear in mind that the Russian language gave to the world another word 10 years ago: "sputnik".

Lyubarsky further took issue with the procurator, who had said that the scientific technical intelligentsia does not produce material values. In this connection Lyubarsky referred to the program of the Communist Party, which stated that science had become a direct productive force. He said that for the scientific worker, it was natural to strive to find out things for himself.

> ...For me and the people of my generation this idea... was all the simpler, all the more natural, in that we had been reared in a special era. In an era when cybernetics was a pseudo-science, when genetics was declared to have fascist tendencies, when probability theory was an idealistic vagary. That was the era when "the essence of all philosophy" was contained in chapter four of the *Short History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)*, when all economic theory was covered in Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism* and nowhere else –God forbid! And so, that kind of upbringing bore its fruits. So I will never take anyone at his word. Not later, and not now.

The sentence: 5 years in strict regime camps.

In effect, the trial was held behind closed doors. Those who wanted to attend it were removed from the courthouse by force. A large padlock was hung on the door. This is referred to in a telegram sent by 10 citizens who wanted to attend the trial (T. Velikanova, A. Sakharov, T. Khodorovich, M. Landa, Zolina, S. Myuge, E. Bonner, Shaburov, O. Iofe, and Margolin) to USSR Procurator-General Rudenko (copy to UN Secretary General Waldheim), demanding his prompt intervention.

* * *

Vladimir Georgievich Popov was tried on 22 November in the suburb of Babushkin at an assizes session of the Moscow City Court. The judge was Bogdanov, the procurator Funtov, and the defence counsel Shveisky.

V. Popov, born in 1946, is a member of the staff of the Polytechnical Museum. In mid-February a search was made at his home. From then until his arrest on 11 July he was repeatedly interrogated. The investigators were interested in Lyubarsky, Melnik (arrested in Leningrad on 17 January 1972 –see *Chronicle* 24), V. Vetkovsky, and

E. Orlovsky (see *Chronicle* 24).

After his arrest (in July 1972) Popov began to give detailed testimony.

At his trial Popov pleaded guilty on all counts and stated that he repented of what he had done.

The witnesses who testified at the trial were G. Ivanova, V. Vetkovsky, Smirnov, Yu. Melnik and K. Lyubarsky. The court heard a reading of a deposition by Pogosbekov (who could not appear in court as he was serving in the army), a former student at Kharkov University whom Popov had met in Kharkov and Baku. During the pre-trial investigation he had confirmed the allegation of Popov's circulation of *samizdat* literature. His deposition abounded in evaluations of Popov's activity and views as having an anti-Soviet tendency. As early as 1970 Pogosbekov had informed the KGB of Popov's "anti-Soviet activity". Popov confirmed without reservation Pogosbekov's deposition.

During the questioning Popov reproached the witnesses Vetkovsky, Smirnov, Melnik and Lyubarsky for insincerity. He accused Lyubarsky of having tried to mislead the investigators. In particular, Lyubarsky had stated that Popov had received a special issue of *Posev** from him, whereas Popov maintained that he had received it from Shikhanovich.†

Supplementing his testimony, Popov stressed the role of Lyubarsky in the formation of his own views. He declared that now he realized their anti-Soviet, subversive character. Popov once again emphasized that he had received *Posev* from Shikhanovich and not from Lyubarsky.

The procurator, supporting the indictment, nonetheless asked that the defendant be sentenced to 3 years' deprivation of freedom, to be suspended "in view of his complete repentance". Defence counsel, agreeing with the procurator, also asked for a suspended sentence.

In his final plea Popov promised not only to break with *samizdat* activity but to do all he could to counter such activity among the young people he knew. Moreover, he indicated to the court the necessity of taking strict measures against Lyubarsky, Shikhanovich and Orlovsky, as they had exercised an influence on young people. Popov called on witnesses Vetkovsky and Smirnov to change their views, "otherwise a severe fate will be in store for them".

The court found Popov guilty of committing a crime under article 70 of the RSFSR criminal code. The text of the verdict noted as an established fact that Popov had received *Posev* from Shikhanovich. *A Chronicle of Current Events* was among the *samizdat* material incriminating Popov and mentioned in the verdict.

The sentence: 3 years, suspended, with a probationary period of 5 years (in accordance with article 44 of the RSFSR criminal code).

* * *

*A Russian émigré journal published in Germany.
†On Yury Shikhanovich see *Chronicles* Nos. 2, 5, 9, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 32.

THE TRIAL OF PYOTR STARCHIK

The trial of Pyotr Petrovich Starchik (see *Chronicle* 25) was held on 14 December 1972 in the Moscow City Court.

Starchik was born in 1939 and is married (two children, aged seven and one-and-a half). He finished two years of study in the psychology department of Moscow University and worked as a laboratory assistant at the Psychology Institute of the USSR Academy of Pedgogical Sciences. He was arrested in the spring of 1972.

The judge was Bogdanov, the people's assessors were Sarayeva and Travkina, the procurator was Ermakov and the defence counsel was Rausov, who had previously defended R. Fin [see *Chronicles* 18,22]. (Rausov was appointed by the Collegium of Barristers. The barrister Ariya, who had been retained by Starchik's wife to handle the case, withdrew after signing article 201, owing to the absence of enough material on which to base a speech for the defence). The trial was open, although the day before the judge had said that it would be closed, and it was not clear whether the accused's wife would be allowed to attend. Starchik was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR criminal code.

Starchik was accused of the massive dissemination of (many hundreds of) anti-Soviet leaflets which contained an appeal for the overthrow of the "dictatorship of the Party" and carried a "five-pointed swastika" as an emblem, and of having executed inscriptions of similar content in public places. The search at his home had turned up "anti-Soviet literature" (mention was made of Djilas's *The New Class*, Amalrik's *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?*, and 41 copies of the "libellous journal *Chronicle*", including 14 copies of number 19). Lyakhov,*a friend of Starchik's from student days who had been interrogated as a pre-trial witness, confirmed in court that he had received some kind of literature from Starchik (he did not specify the titles; his home had also been searched), but he knew nothing about the inscriptions or the leaflets. There were also two female witnesses – art school students who on 15 April 1972 had seen a person resembling Starchik leave a bundle of leaflets in the Dzerzhinskaya metro station. They had delivered the leaflets to a police station without reading them.

Starchik himself was not present at the trial: a commission of psycniatrists (the third one – two preceding ones had reported ambiguous conclusions) had ruled him non-responsible. Its report, as also that of an expert commission of criminologists, was not read aloud at the trial; no experts were present in court.

After a brief presentation of the indictment the procurator proposed that Starchik be exempted from criminal liability and sent to a special psychiatric hospital for treatment. Defence counsel stated that he would not be able to defend his client if he were ruled to be accountable, as the charges had been proven. (Literally: "Since Starchik's anti-Soviet attitudes have been completely proved, there exists every ground for trying him under article 70.") He supported the request that Starchik be sent to a hospital (without specifying which type).

In its decision (special psychiatric hospital) the court repeated the indictment, indicated the diagnosis (sluggish schizophrenia), and in part indicated the reasons why he had been sent for psychiatric examination: "he would lie naked on the floor"

*Spelt Lakhov in *Chronicles* 25 and 26, with the first names Vasily Ivanovich.

(Starchik did yoga exercises), his religious beliefs, and the rudeness of his attitude towards the investigators (he said that in 10 years the investigators would be sitting in his place, and then refused to testify).

"BUDDHA'S SMILE"
(A New Case Concerning Ritual Sacrifices)*

B. D. Dandaron, a research officer of the Buryat Institute of Social Sciences (BION) of the Siberian Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was tried in the People's Court of the October District of the city of Ulan-Ude, in a proceedings which lasted from 18 to 25 December 1972. Dandaron was indicted under article 227, part I, of the RSFSR criminal code ("infringement of the person and rights of citizens under the pretext of performing religious rites"), and under article 147, part III("fraud; i.e. acquiring the personal property of citizens, or acquiring rights to property, by means of deception or an abuse of trust – which act does substantial damage to the injured party, or is committed by an especially dangerous recidivist"). The composition of the court was as follows: chairman, I. Kh. Dyomin; people's assessors, D. S. Dymbrylova and A. D. Merkel; procurator, A. F. Baïborodin; defence counsel, N. Ya. Nimirinskaya.†

There was a very brief report about this case in *Chronicle* 27. Further details are as follows.

B. D. Dandaron, an outstanding authority on Buddhism, born in 1914, was imprisoned in 1937 under article 58 of the criminal code then in force. In 1947 he was again sentenced. After serving almost 20 years he was fully exculpated in 1956.

At his recent trial Dandaron was charged with organizing and directing a "secret Buddhist sect" in 1971-72. In particular, Dandaron and eight of his "pupils" were charged with conducting Buddhist religious rites in private homes (in the cities of Leningrad, Tartu and Ulan-Ude and in [the village of] Kizhinga), rites accompanied by "bloody sacrifices" and "ritual copulation" which testified to the "sexual mysticism" of members of the "sect." In the formulations of the indictment there also figured "attempts to murder or beat former members of the sect who had wanted to break with it," and "contacts with foreign countries and international Zionism." More than 80 witnesses were due to appear at the trial. Buddhologists in Moscow, Leningrad, Vilnius and Tartu were subjected to detentions, searches and interrogations. In particular, E. V. Burobina, an investigator of the procurator's office of the Cheremushki District of Moscow (on the basis of a warrant from the investigations administration of the procurator's office of the Buryat ASSR) conducted a search at the home of one of the most prominent specialists on Sanskrit and Buddhist philosophy, O. F. Volkova, a member of the staff at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

*A collection of documents on this case has been compiled and edited (with two photographs of Dandaron) by Elena Semeka, *Delo Dandarona*, Edizioni Aurora, Florence 1974. Two of these documents have been translated with commentary in *Religion in Communist Lands*, Center for the Study of Religion and Communism (Keston College, Heathfield Road, Keston, Kent), 1973, Numbers 4-5, pages 3, 43-47.
†Nelli Yakovlevna Nimirinskaya, a resident of Voroshilovgrad in the Ukraine, also defended in the cases of V. Khaustov and V. Nekipelov. See *Chronicle* 32.

Several Tibetan canonical texts, works of Buddhist art, and two copies of the Bible were confiscated from Volkova. Subsequently Volkova, as well as the well-known scholars A. M. Pyatigorsky and Yu. M. Parfionovich (Moscow) and L. E. Mäll (Tartu), was subjected to interrogations in connection with "the case of the Buddhist sect". Volkova sent N. V. Podgorny [Chairman of the Supreme Soviet] and R. A. Rudenko, [Procurator General of the USSR] a protest statement against this "crude and ignorant act" in which she noted that the whole history of Buddhism has never involved bloody sacrifices, and that the concept of a "religious group" does not exist in Buddhism. She demanded the return of the articles confiscated from her, and requested the intervention of the addressees in this whole "case" instigated by the Buryat procurator's office.

Evidently the publicity attracted by this contrived operation prompted the Buryat procurator's office to soft-pedal the case, at least to some extent. Thus all the things taken from Volkova at the time her home was searched, were returned to her. And the procurator's office explained the "essence of the matter" to Pyatigorsky and Parfionovich in writing, declaring that there were no claims against them personally, in contradistinction to Dandaron, who in these "explanations" was described as a man "twice convicted for anti-Soviet activity". Later, at the trial, in response to defence counsel's protest that such a description was unlawful, Procurator Baiborodin stated that "in the days of Khrushchev, anybody and everybody was exculpated".

Four of those arrested with Dandaron (Yu. K. Lavrov, A. I. Zheleznov, D. Butkus and V. M. Montlevich) were ruled to be non-responsible by an expert commission of psychiatrists (F. P. Babakova, V. M. Vyeselova and V.S. Smirnov) from City Hospital Number One in Ulan-Ude, which recommended that they be sent to psychiatric hospitals of the special type. In all these cases a diagnosis of schizophrenia (with variations from "sluggish" to "paranoid") followed after such remarks as: "orients himself correctly in his milieu", "no pathological changes found in the central nervous system", "emotionally stable", "not sufficiently disturbed by his personal fate", "memory and intellect correspond to acquired knowledge and experience obtained", "a tendency to philosophize" and "answers questions formally". The most marked differences in the reports concerned the degree of readiness to answer questions, the descriptions ranging from "in a reserved way" to "willingly".

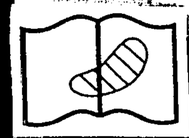
Four other accused persons, V. N. Pupyshev, N. S. Munkina, D. D. Bayartuyeva and O. V. Albedil, were released from custody after they had been handed almost identical orders about the dropping of criminal proceedings (signed by investigator Major I. Khamayev and approved by B. Tsydenzhapov, deputy procurator of the Buryat ASSR and state councillor of justice, third class) in which it was stated that they had been

> active participants in the Buddhist sect headed by Dandaron....have participated in rites....at which Dandaron preached and instilled in his "pupils" an unquestioning and monstrous obedience to himself as "guru", idolized himself and preached a cult of violence, sexual mysticism and the necessity for the physical suppression and annihilation of everything which interfered with the Buddhist faith, and at which he infringed upon the rights, honour, dignity and personal

property of his pupils....The commission of these crimes entails criminal liability under article 227, part 2, of the RSFSR criminal code. However, taking into account the fact that Zheleznov, Montlevich, Butkus and Lavrov, the chief participants in the crimes....have by decision of the People's Court been sent to psychiatric hospitals of the closed type, it serves no purpose to institute criminal proceedings against (name), since his behaviour can be corrected by measures of social pressure.

Résumé: "Criminal proceedings against..... to be dropped, and the case materials to be transferred for consideration by a comrades' court at his place of employment." All four were dismissed from their jobs (no comrades' court was needed) as having forfeited the moral right to be teachers, on the basis of article 254, paragraph 3, of the RSFSR Code of Labour Law. Also dismissed from their jobs as relatives of Dandaron, although not parties to the "case", were D. S. Munkina, B. S. Munkina and D. G. Bayartuyev, director of a school in Kizhinga and an Honoured Teacher of the RSFSR. M. F. Albedil, the wife of O. V. Albedil, was expelled from graduate school at Leningrad University. The court, in a separate ruling, resolved to send a letter to the Leningrad City Committee of the Party about the bad state of ideological work in Leningrad, where the majority of those tried had completed their higher education.

Both the investigation and the trial abounded in violations of the law. Thus it was discovered that Dandaron's "rejection" of defence counsel, supplied with his signature, had been forged. Another item which turned out to have been forged was a letter, which figured in the trial, from a former secretary of the Kizhinga district committee of the party, Bato-Dalai Dugarov, who had left the party and wanted to become a Buddhist lama. According to the letter, these acts were allegedly performed under the influence of Dandaron. (Frightened and confused by the exhausting interrogations, which lasted from 9 am until 3 am the next morning, Dugarov testified during the investigation that he had been influenced by Dandaron. But at the trial he firmly retracted this testimony.) Defence counsel Nimirinskaya managed to exercise her right to private consultation with the defendant, after signing article 201, only after several protests and declaring her intention to file a protest with the Procurator-General of the USSR. The witness Mäll ("unsuitable" to the prosecution) was not summoned to the trial at the right time; and when he nonetheless arrived in Ulan-Ude, KGB agents headed by Major Khamayev tried to keep him out of the courtroom. After testifying, Mäll was detained and taken to the procurator's office, where it was again demanded that he give testimony on the Dandaron case. When he refused, he was asked to "testify as a witness" in his own "case" (which had been separated). The aforementioned prosecutor Baiborodin was at the same time chief investigator for the Dandaron case. Defence counsel's request that Baiborodin be excluded as prosecutor was refused. At the trial. Baiborodin stated that the abnormality and malignity of the defendants was evident from the fact that "all intelligent people are leaving Buryatia," and yet these people stayed here. Defence counsel's demand that the court issue a ruling on such utterances by the prosecutor was likewise rejected. When the court retired to chambers for consultation, MVD Colonel Akhmedzyanov came in and remained there until the end of the consultation. Frequent telephone calls from the chambers were heard.



In the course of the trial almost all the charges were, in effect, withdrawn. The text of the report of experts in "scientific atheism and artistic matters", presented by K. M. Gerasimova, head of the Buddhology Section of BION, and by A. D. Dugar-Nimayev, Dandaron's immediate superior, contained absurd fabrications about the "sexual mysticism" of the Buddhist religion and to the effect that "Buddhism is violence, and it includes fanatical sects." Gerasimova was not at the trial, and Dugar-Nimayev refused to answer defence counsel's questions, claiming he was not competent in matters of Buddhism. The witness Pyotr Dambadarzhayev, who was brought to the court from a hospital where he was being treated for alcoholism, was caught in a lie by Mäll, who had allegedly beaten him up and tried to kill him for his "break with the sect". Dambadarzhayev changed his testimony as he went along, and ultimately tied himself in knots. The chief witness, Badmayeva, a graduate student at the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who prior to the trial had been questioned many hours a day for 21 days in a row, was in hysterics at the trial. A couple named Petrov, who likewise had been questioned repeatedly and for a long time, refused to confirm that their 16-year-old son had attended prayer meetings and under the influence of Dandaron, had been converted to Buddhism, so that the charge of exercising "a corrupting influence on youth" also feel by the wayside. The Supreme Lama of Buryatia, Pandit Khambo Lama, refused to support the charges of sectarianism brought against Dandaron, and refuted them, giving exhaustive (although not "scientifically-atheistic") explanations of the nature of Buddhist rituals. In her four-hour speech defence counsel Nimirinskaya completely proved the innocence of her client.

Thus one is struck by an amazing similarity between the "Dandaron case" and the famous Beilis case" and also the "Multan case of blood sacrifices"* described by V. G. Korolenko (which thanks to his intervention ended with a finding of "not guilty" for the accused outsiders). But one is also struck by a difference: the verdict of guilty. We now quote this verdict, preserving the peculiarities of style: Proofs of guilt:

1) All the members of the group would assemble for prayers and religious rites as confirmed by Dandaron and all his pupils.

2) An underground fund was set up. Dandaron first appointed Badmayeva as treasurer, then Lavrov. This was confirmed by Dandaron, Badmayeva, Aranov, Pupyshev and others.

3) From the conclusion of the scientifically-atheistic expert commission it is evident that Buddhism is characterized by the worship, honouring, and idolizing of the guru, and by bringing gifts to him.

Dandaron did not deny that he was a guru; and the witnesses Repka, Albedil, the Petrovs, and many others confirmed that they revered him as one reveres a spiritual teacher. This is borne out by reproductions of a photograph of Dandaron in the garb of a lama....(This refers to a photograph taken by a correspondent of the Novosti Press Agency at his own request "for ethnographic purposes".)†

*In the 19th century Finnish-speaking Votyak villagers from Stary Multan were tried on a charge of human sacrifice, but acquitted. Mendel Beilis, a Kiev Jew, was tried and acquitted on a charge of human sacrifice in 1913.

†This photograph is published in E. Semeka's booklet and reproduced on page 8.

As a result, B. D. Dandaron was found guilty of committing crimes as stipulated in article 227, part I, and article 147 part III, and sentenced (on the basis of the second of these articles) to 5 years' deprivation of freedom.*

REPRESSIONS IN THE UKRAINE

On 13 November 1972, in the Kiev regional court, the case of Nikolai Grigorevich Plakhotnyuk, a physician aged 36, was heard *in absentia.* Plakhotnyuk was arrested on 14 January 1972 at the apartment of D. Shumuk. In the summer an expert examination was conducted at the Serbsky Institute, resulting in the following diagnosis: "schizophrenia with persecution mania; periodically non-responsible". According to testimony given during the investigation by Anna Kocurova, a student from Czechoslavakia, she received a photocopy of the *Ukrainian Herald [Ukrainsky vestnik]* † from Plakhotnyuk and sent it abroad. The witnesses Z. Franko, M. Stefanyuk (a girl student at the conservatory), Varka (a woman from the same village as Plakhotnyuk) and a certain building-trades student, testified that Plakhotnyuk and given them the *Ukrainian Herald* and other *samizdat* materials. (A copy of the *Ukrainian Herald* which had been in the possession of Stefanyuk mysteriously disappeared from her apartment early in 1971.)

The court ordered that Plakhotnyuk be sent for compulsory treatment to a special psychiatric hospital, and that, on his restoration to health, he be tried as mentally responsible (a juridical innovation apparently born out of the subtleties of the aforementioned diagnosis). Before the trial the barrister Karpenko had only one meeting with his client, after which visits were prohibited: it was stated that Plakhotnyuk was delirious and hallucinating.

* * *

Boris Kovgar, aged 47, a journalist and member of the Communist Party, has three sons aged eight, 11 and 14. Recently he has been head of the Collections Section of the Kiev Museum of Architecture and Folk Life.

Kovgar was arrested on 20 or 25 March 1972. In September he was tried *in absentia* by the Kiev regional court. The court's ruling was the same as in the Plakhotnyuk case: he was ruled to be mentally ill and sent for compulsory treatment, with a trial to follow (after "restoration of his health").

B. Kovgar had been a secret agent of the KGB since 1967. He was assigned to shadow Honoured Artist I. M. Gonchar, a painter; L. Yashchenko, director of the Gomin amateur choir; A. Sergiyenko, a restorer of art works; and M. Kholodny, a poet.

On 13 February 1972 an open letter from Kovgar to the KGB investigator for whom he worked was circulated. In the letter Kovgar told the whole story, divulging the

*Dandaron died in a forced labour camp at Vydrino, near Lake Baikal on 26 October 1974 apparently after being subjected to maltreatment. See the interview about him given by Dr.A. M. Pyatigorsky in *The Observer*, London, 1 December 1974.

† Seven of the first eight issues of this *samizdat* journal have so far, been published in Ukrainian in book form under the joint imprint of P.I.U.F. (3 rue du Sabot, Paris 6) and Smoloskyp (PO Box 6066, Patterson Sta., Baltimore, Maryland 21231, USA). Plakhotnyuk is mentioned in several issues, also in *Chronicles* 24, 27, 30 and 32.

psychology of his collaboration with the KGB and exposing the technology of shadowing people.

* * *

In June 1972 Vasily Romanyuk, a priest of the village of Kosmach in Ivano-Frankovsk region, was sentenced to 10 years of camps and 5 years of exile under article 62, part 2, of the Ukrainian criminal code (which corresponds to article 70, part 2, of the RSFSR criminal code).

Romanyuk had been among those who protested against the sentence given to V. Moroz after his trial in November 1970 (see *Chronicle* 17 [and 25]).

* * *

The case of the psychiatrist Semyon Gluzman and the 18-year-old typist Lyubov Serednyak was tried by the Kiev regional court between 12 and 19 October 1972.

Gluzman (his arrest was reported in *Chronicle* 25) was charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code (article 70 of the RSFSR code), and Serednyak (arrested 14 January 1972) was charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian code (article 190-1 of the RSFSR code). The presiding judge was Dyshel and the procurator was Korotkova (an assistant of the regional procurator for supervision of the KGB).

The charges against Gluzman were based only on the testimony of witnesses: nothing was confiscated during the search made at his home. The file contained only photocopies of materials taken from the KGB archives which, according to the witnesses, Gluzman had either shown them or mentioned to them. The file also included a photocopy of an article on the Czechoslovak question which was attributed, without supporting proofs, to Academician A. D. Sakharov. (This article was mentioned by one witness.) Another witness, a female colleague of Gluzman's, stated that in answer to a question as to why he had been working in Zhitomir rather than Kiev, Gluzman had answered: "because I am a Jew". The court found this sufficient grounds to charge him with Zionist propaganda. Gluzman was also charged with the "ideological corruption" of L. Serednyak and I. Golts, who had earlier been convicted in Lutsk (see *Chronicle* 27). At the trial Golts testified against Gluzman. Gluzman's father and his college-mate V. Biryukovich were called as witnesses. Witnesses who testified about Serednyak included his mother, her aunt, neighbours, two classmates and others.

The trial was held in an empty courtroom. It was only on the last day, when the defendants' relatives were allowed in, that the courtroom was filled with police operations men who come in through the service entrance.

The sentence: 7 years of strict regime camps and 3 years of exile for Gluzman; one year of ordinary regime camps for Serednyak.

There is an opinion current that one of the real reasons for Gluzman's conviction was the KGB's suspicion that he is one of the authors of a document known as "An *In Absentia* Psychiatric Report on the Case of P. G. Grigorenko".*

*On 15 November 1972 A. Sakharov appealed to the world's psychiatrists to intercede for Gluzman, stating his belief that he "was sentenced for his professional integrity" (text in *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR*, number 1, 1973). On 20 November 1974, in a second such appeal, he said that no doubts remained as to Gluzman's authorship of the report. In November 1974 the writer Victor Nekrasov also appealed for

In October 1972 Irina Mikhailovna Senik, a nurse at a tuberculosis dispensary, was arrested in Ivano-Frankovsk.* The arrest was apparently due to the fact that a search at the home of Chornovil (see *Chronicle* 24) turned up some poems which Senik had written, chiefly in camp and prison. Senik had been released in 1954, after serving a 10 year sentence. While in camp she contracted spinal tuberculosis.

* * *

On 10 December the 36 year-old physician and epidemiologist Lydia Guk (a widow with a son aged six) was arrested in Skadovsk, Kherson region. In March a search had been made at her home, after which she wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the party in which she expressed her indignation at violations of the Constitution. She was subsequently expelled from the party; and in May proceedings were instituted against her under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian criminal code (article 190-1 of the RSFSR code). Article 208 of the Ukrainian code (article 210 of the RSFSR code) was added in the course of the investigation, which was carried out under the direction of the Kiev administration of the KGB. The Kherson regional court returned the case of L. Guk for further investigation.

* * *

Chronicle 27 reported the arrest on 8 July of E. Lisovoi† and V. Pronyuk, scholars on the staff of the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. (Not long before his arrest, Pronyuk was transferred to the position of bibliographer because of his "unreliability".) After their arrest, both Lisovoi and Pronyuk were dismissed as being "unsuitable for the job". In connection with their case a search was made at the home of Vasily Byshovets, a philologist and scholar at the same institute.

EXTRA-JUDICIAL PERSECUTION

Kiev. Sergei Kudrya and Svetlana Klushchenko (in *Chronicle 27* she was mistakenly called Kirichenko), friends of Lisovoi and Pronyuk, have been dismissed from the Institute of Philosophy. Pronyuk's wife, Galina Ditkovskaya, has been dismissed from the Institute of Lanuarges. She had recently defended a doctoral *kandidatskaya* dissertation there, but it had not yet been accepted by the Higher Certification Commission.

support for Gluzman, a close friend of his. In response to Sakharov's first appeal, some 200 British psychiatrists signed telegrams of support and concern to Sakharov. See also the letter of the eminent German psychiatrist Dr W. von Baeyer in the *British Medical Journal*, November 1974, and Gluzman's statement about his month-strike in *A Chronicle of Human Rights*, number 10, 1974.

*In March 1973 Senik, born in 1924 and art specialist by profession, was sentenced to 6 years in strict regime camps plus 3 years of exile for alleged "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". In 1974 she was in the women's compound of camp number 3 in Mordovia. Several issues of the *Ukrainian Herald* contain references to her.

†Yevhen Lisovy in Ukrainian becomes Evgeny Lisovoi in Russian.

Doctor *(kandidat)* of Historical Sciences Elena Apanovich (in *Chronicle* 27 she was mistakenly called Ananovich) has been dismissed from the Institute of History.

Aleksei Stavitsky has been dismissed from the Institute of Literature and expelled from the party.

The following have been dismissed from the Institute of Art History, Folklore, and Ethnography: Vasily Nikitich Skripka, Doctor *(kandidat)* of Science, author of several monographs, transferred to a position as a bibliographer in 1971 because of his article "Stylistic Traits of Ukrainian Songs"; and Tamara Girnik (author of an undefended dissertation, "Ancient and Contemporary Rituals") – apparently for her connections with L. I. Yashchenko, director of the Gomin Choir.*

Fyodor Pavlovich Shevchenko (see *Chronicle 27*), director of the Istitute of Archeology and a corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, was dismissed from his post, having been charged with "nationalism and Zionism". His works were removed from the publishing plans of the publishing-house *Scientific Thought [Naukova dumka]*. In particular, Shevchenko was incriminated for having written a favourable review of Bilik's book, *The Sword of Ares [Mech Areya]*. Doctor of Science Mikhail Braichevsky, author of an unpublished article entitled "Unification or Annexation!" (1966), was dismissed from the same institute.

The director of the institute where Z. Antonyuk and L. Seleznenko worked (see *Chronicles* 24,27) has been dismissed and the secretary of the Party Committee was pressured into retiring. The director and the secretary were given severe party reprimands by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Party for failing adequately to combat bourgeois nationalism and Zionism. (Two staff members at the institute intended to emigrate to Israel.)

Twenty-two staff scientists have been dismissed from the Institute of Botany.

Nadezhda Dmitrievna Kovalenko, a 45 year-old teacher of literature and member of the school party bureau, has been dismissed from the Lesya Ukrainka High School. The reason was her having organized an evening program at the school in which the writer S. P. Plachinda participated. In 1969 Plachinda was removed from his position as editor of the Molod Publishing House for his book, *Neopalimaya kupina* (sketches of Ukrainian cultural figures). The book has now been removed from libraries.

In September 1972 an editor, Mushketnik, and head of the book-review section, V. Subotovich, were dismissed from the editorial board of the journal *Dnipro* for having used, in an article on the 50th Anniversary of the USSR, inflated statistics from a book by P. Shelest, former first secretary of the Ukrainian Party.

In April 1972 Sergei Baltivets, a 16 year-old student at Republic Art School Number One, was twice taken out of school for interrogation at the KGB office, where investigator Tsymakh tried to get him to testify that in the studio of the artists Lyudmila Semykina he had heard Raketsky† read his "anti-Soviet" poems. The investigator

*For the suppression of Leopold Yashchenko and his choir see *Ukrainian Herald* numbers 1, 3, 4 and, especially, 6.

†Evidently the young journalist sentenced to 5 years in June 1972. See *Chronicle* 26 (where his name is mis-spelt Rakityansky) and 27. On Semykina see number 5.

demanded that Sergei copy out several poems (for a handwriting comparison). Sergei refused. On 21 May he was detained by the police at the monument to Shevchenko, where he was listening to Ukrainian songs. (On the events at the Shevchenko Monument see *Chronicle* 26.) He was then subjected to interrogation at the Lenin District Police Station. After successfully completing his eighth year at the art school, Baltivets was failed in the entrance examinations for the ninth year.

Lvov. A commission of the Central Committee [of the Communist Party] has been functioning at the Institute of Social Sciences of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. This commission suggested to 14 "unreliable" scholars that they resign "of their own volition". They were threatened, if they did not resign, with dismissal "because of staff reductions", although the majority of them had not completed the term of employment for which they were selected on a competitive basis. The threat was carried out. Among those dismissed were Doctor *[kandidat]* of Philological Science Grigory Antonovich Nudga (folklorist and author of many articles and the book *Meditations [Dumy]* 1969); and Doctor *[kandidat]* of Philological Science Roman Fedorovich Kirchev (forlklorist and researcher on Ukrainian-Polish cultural ties). Both were preparing to defend their higher doctoral dissertations.

Doctor *[kandidat]* of Historical Sciences Nikolai Dashkevich, who had previously been imprisoned for several years on political charges, was dismissed from the Museum of Ethnography and Handicrafts "because of staff reductions".

In September 1971 the teacher and linguist Vasily Gorbachuk was dismissed from the **Kirovograd** Pedagogical Institute.

In **Cherkassy** V. I. Zakharchenko was expelled from the Writers' Union "for anti-social behaviour incompatible with membership in the writers' organization" (see the newspaper *Literaturnaya Ukraina,* 20 and 24 October 1972). In 1970, in the course of a search at Zakharchenko's home (Zakharchenko lived then in the Donbas), one of his own manuscripts was seized, together with articles by V. Moroz. Also Zakharchenko tried to get into the trial of his acquaintance V. Stus [see *Chronicle 27*].

* * *

The *Chronicle* now has additional information on certain arrests and trials in the Ukraine in 1971-72.

The Shumuk Case. Danilo Lavrentevich Shumuk was born in February 1914 in the village of Boremcha in Volynia. At the age of 17 or 18 he became a member of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine. When he was 19 he was arrested by Polish authorities and received his first sentence: 8 years in prison. In 1939 he returned to his homeland. In 1941 he joined the Red Army. After breaking out of an encirclement, he organized a partisan detachment in his home area of the Ukraine. In the course of joint military actions, his detachment merged with the UPA [Ukrainian Insurgent Army].* In view of his differences of principle with the leadership of the UPA, Shumuk refused to take part in its actions and taught economic geography in military training courses.

*A Ukrainian guerrilla force which resisted both the German occupation authorities and Soviet rule in the Western Ukraine. Founded in 1942, it was finally suppressed in 1950.

After the arrival of the Soviet Army he was again arrested.

Although Shumuk had not been actively involved with the UPA, he was sentenced to 20 years. He served his term in the Norilsk camp complex. In June 1953 he was one of the organizers of the Norilsk uprising, for which he was sentenced to death. In 1956 he was amnestied and returned to his native region. He soon had to move to the Dnepropetrovsk region. There he was arrested for the third time. On 5 May 1958 he was sentenced to 10 years in strict regime camps under article 54-10 of the Ukrainian criminal code (= article 58-10 of the RSFSR code). He served this term in Mordovia. Because of his "memoirs", which were found during a camp search, he was kept for a long time in a special punishment barracks.

After his release he settled in Boguslav in Kiev region and worked as a watchman at a Pioneer camp. He continued work on his manuscript entitled "My Past Remembered".

In January 1972 D. L. Shumuk was arrested (see *Chronicle* 25). He was tried by the Kiev Regional Court (not the Lvov Court, as was mistakenly reported in *Chronicle* 27) on 5-7 July. He was sentenced to 10 years in special regime camps plus 5 years of exile.

The witnesses in the case included: Pavel Kulik (he had served time with Shumuk in Mordovia; a search at his home had turned up a manuscript of "My Past Remembered"); Grunya Lishak (Kulik's wife), who had been dismissed from her job at a school and expelled from the party for "amorality"; Galina Khomenko (a physician who had treated Shumuk); her brother (chief of the supply section at the Pioneer camp where Shumuk had worked as a watchman); Oros, an engineer from the Western Ukraine (he had served time with Shumuk in 1945-46, and after release from camp had seen Shumuk once; he did not appear in court, but his deposition was read aloud); and Kavetsky (a comrade of Shumuk's in the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine who had served time with him in a Polish prison).

The appellate court let the sentence stand. In early October Shumuk was sent to the Mordovian camp complex (st. Potma, Pos. Sosnovka, p/ya ZhKh 385/1-6).

On 10 October Shumuk sent a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. After giving an account of his biography and his case, he concluded: "... I ask the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to free me from my Soviet citizenship. It will be easier for me to die...in harsh imprisonment outside the Ukraine if I am not a citizen of the USSR."

* * *

Additional Information on the Case of Strokata Reznikov and Prityka. The *Chronicle* has learned details of the trial of Nina Antonovna Strokata, Aleksei Sergeyevich Reznikov, and Aleksei Prityka, which was held in Odessa between 4 and 18 May 1972 (see *Chronicle* 25). Since the chief grounds for the indictment were the "bourgeois nationalist attitudes" of Strokata, who had "fallen under the influence" of her husband,

the "spy and recidivist" (the procurator's expression) Svyatoslav Karavansky, the trial was conducted, ostentatiously, in the Ukrainian language. Nonetheless, all the questions addressed by Strokata and Reznikov to the witnesses with respect to the situation of Ukrainians and other nationalities in the USSR, were barred by the court as "having no bearing on the case". One example was the following question posed by Strokata: "Does the witness remember that before 1941, in Odessa, there were schools with instruction in the Ukrainian, Armenian and Jewish [Yiddish] languages? Since I am convinced that schools with instruction in the native language should be opened throughout the Soviet Union, am I not to be considered on that basis a Jewish nationalist?" The witness Parkhomenko (editor of the Balta District newspaper *Narodnaya tribuna [Tribune of the People]*), when asked by Strokata whether he used the expression "Ukrainian patriotism", answered: "There is no such patriotism; there is Soviet patriotism." And he and his deputy Tsyng gave the following "incriminating" testimony: Reznikov, after hearing a rendition of the "Internationale" at an amateur concert, said that this song "sounds good in the Ukrainian language".

The defendants' friends and acquaintances were not allowed into the courthouse. At this, two unidentified ladies spoke up, calling them "traitors" and "followers of Bandera" ("they wanted national independence"), and swore in foul language. These two ladies then proceeded to attend the trial.

The defendant Prityka was so consistent in his repentance that he shifted to a pure form of Russian speech. This gave the procurator an occasion to remark in Ukrainian: "Now it's you who are avoiding your native tongue." Prityka was sentenced to 2½ years in labour camps (not 2 years, as was reported in *Chronicle 25*). Reznikov and Strokata pleaded not guilty. They were sentenced, respectively, to 5½ (not 5, as reported in *Chronicle 25*) and 4 years in strict-regime camps.

The present address of Reznikov is: Permskaya obl., Chusovskoi r-n, p. Kuchino, uchr. 389/36. That of Strokata is: Mordovskaya ASSR, Tengushevsky r-n, s. Barashevo, uchr. 385/3.

The Case of I. A. Gel.* Arrested in January 1972 (*Chronicle* 24), sentenced in August to 5 years of special regime, 5 years of strict regime, and 5 years of exile (*Chronicle* 27).

Ivan Andreyevich Gel was born in 1938 in the village of Klitsko in Lvov region. In 1954 he finished at a school for young workers, then went to work at the Lvov Tractor Plant. In 1956-59 he served in the Soviet Army. After his demobilization, he worked at the Lvov Electrovacuum Plant. In 1965, he was sentenced to 3 years in strict regime camps for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". In November 1970 Gel sent to the Ukrainian Supreme Court a statement protesting against the sentence given to V. Moroz. He has an eight-year-old child.

* * *

*Spelt Hel if transliterated from Ukrainian

The Case of Stefaniya Shabatura. (See *Chronicle* 27; article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code, 5 years in camps and 3 years of exile.) A designer of fabrics. Born in 1938. Married. Shabatura's Gobelin-type tapestries have been repeatedly exhibited, most recently in 1971. Her work has been highly praised by the local press (and is mentioned in Volume 6 of the *History of Ukrainian Art*). In 1970, together with a group of Lvov writers and artists, Shabatura requested admission to the trial of Moroz. In her indictment it was stated that Shabatura's father, who died during the Great Patriotic War [World War II], was a deserter, and that this had determined the views of his daughter. It is known that during the war Shabatura received a pension as the daughter of a soldier killed in the war.

* * *

The Case of the Kalynetses. Irina Stasiv-Kalynets (*Chronicles* 24, 27; article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code, 6 years of camp and 3 years of exile) was born in 1940. She is the wife of the poet Igor Kalynets. Their daughter, Dzvinka Kalynets, is 12 years old. Irina Stasiv is a poetess. Her verses for children have been published in the regional and republic press. Upon graduation from Lvov University she worked as a teacher, then gave lectures on Ukrainian language and literature in the Preparatory Department of the Lvov Polytechnical Institute. In September 1970 she was dismissed from this job.

In the autumn of 1970 she and her husband sent a petition to the Ukrainian Procurator's Office asking that they be allowed to attend the trial of Moroz. Soon after Stasiv's trial, her husband Igor Kalynets was arrested. On 13 November 1972, the Lvov Regional Court sentenced him to 6 years of camp and 3 years of exile.

At both trials their acquaintance, the poet Chubai, gave testimony on the "anti-Soviet agitation" conducted by the Kalynetses.

* * *

CORRECTIONS TO *CHRONICLE* 27

Nikolai Kovalenko was mistakenly called Ivan.

Lisovoi did not send his letter to the KGB.

M. Kholodny's letter was published in *Literaturnaya Ukraina* on 7 June 1972, not 7 July.

THE PRESIDIUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET ANSWERS A LETTER FROM 273 JEWS

The *Chronicle* has the texts of two "information bulletins" circulated in Moscow in late December. A condensed summary of the first "information bulletin" is given below [after the background information]. The text of the second is given in full.

* * *

A letter asking that the Jews convicted for demanding emigration to Israel be amnestied in connection with the 50th anniversary of the USSR, was sent to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 11 December 1972. The letter was signed by 273 Jews from nine cities. No answer to it was received.

On 18 December, the day of the opening session of the Supreme Soviet, Jews from various cities tried to assemble in the reception room of the Presidium and get clarification on the Presidium's position.

On the morning of 18 December, in Moscow, 10 persons were subjected to preventive arrest: Lev Libov, Vladimir Prestin, Boris Ainbinder, Victor Polsky, Valery Krizhak, Mikhail Babel, Yury Vasserman, Grigory Volokh, Lev Gendin and Anatoly Novikov. Natan Faingold, of Moscow was arrested at the Leningrad airport.

Forty-nine Jews had assembled at 11 am in the reception room of the Presidium. At 3 pm they were arrested and taken to the sobering-up station at the Voikovskaya Metro Station. At 9.00pm those from Moscow who were women were released with orders to report to their district police stations the next day. The others arrested, including 13 Muscovites, were driven off, but it was not known where to. Officials at the sobering-up station stated unofficially that those who were from other cities had been sent back to their places of residence. On 19 December all 13 Muscovites were sentenced by the People's Court of the Kiev district to 15 days of detention. What had happened to those from Leningrad, Riga and Kiev became known only on 22 December, as the local authorities refused to give any information. Two persons from Kharkov, [Iona] Kolchinsky and [Konstantin] Skoblinsky were taken to Kharkov, where they were sentenced to 15 days of detention.

On 22 December it was learned that out of the 11 persons from Leningrad, one woman with an infant in arms had been released after four days of detention. Another woman, who suffered a heart attack while in jail, was released on the 10th day. The others, including six women, were sentenced to 15 days of detention. Most of the Leningrad detainees were relatives of convicted persons. They included Eva Butman, Julia Mogilever, Julia Dymshits and Mikhail Goldfeld.*

All seven of those from Riga were sentenced to 15 days of detention. One of them, Regina Braun, was in her seventh month of pregnancy. In addition to them, [Vladimir] Gelfandbein and Mikhail Kuzinets of Riga were also sentenced to 15 days.

The Kievans Yury Soroko, Alexander Feldman and Zinovy Melamed, who were given 15 days, were confined in a punishment cell. Yu. Soroko has bronchial asthma,

*Relatives of Gilel Butman, Vladimir Mogilever, Mark Dymshits and Anatoly Goldfeld. On their trials see *Chronicles* 17 and 20.

A. Feldman has a stomach ulcer, and Z. Melamed's mother was near death at the time.

Irma Berenshtein, aged 56, and Victoria Poltinnikova, from Novosibirsk, were both sentenced to 6 months of corrective labour [without confinement].

On 19 December not one of the nine Muscovite women released previously reported to a police station. On 20 December policemen came to their homes and took away those they found at home. Each of them was fined 20 rubles.

On 19 December, at the Moscow office of the OVIR[Visa Office], three Jews declared a hunger strike by way of protest. They were arrested. The man in this group was given 10 days detention; the women were fined 30 rubles.

During these days the police demanded of Jews who wished to leave the USSR that they sign an undertaking not to leave their city. In Kharkov OVIR Chief Davydov told the Jews that they did not have the right to leave the city – such were his instructions from the government.

* * *

INFORMATION BULLETIN

"As has already been reported, 62 Jews from seven cities in the USSR were arrested in Moscow on 18 December 1972, the day of the opening session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and three days before the start of the ceremonies devoted to the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. Of the 62, 11 were arrested in the morning at their homes, the others in the Presidium building and on the street.

"Many violations of the law and of human dignity were committed in the course of the arrests, the convictions, and the confinements in jail.

1. After gaining entry to the aprtments of the Jews by deception or force, the agents of the KGB and MVD, employing a lie, stated that they were inviting the person in question to a talk at the district police station. They also presented false summonses. Thus V. Polsky was served with a summons signed by a police chief and dated 18 December 1972 but bearing a postmark dated 17 October 1972 (!).

"None of the persons subjected to preventive arrest was taken to a district police station. Instead, all were taken to the station number 22 and then to jail.

2. Since no explanation was given for the confinement, the Jews demanded to see the procurator. Their demand to meet the procurator was refused and no reason was given. "You can lodge protests after you are released." This was the answer from the head of the jail in Egorevsk, who thus violated the article of the Code of Criminal Procedure which stipulates that persons can be detained for more than 72 hours only with the permission of the procurator.

3. In violation of paragraph 15 of the regulations governing confinement in investigation prisons, the Jews were denied their right to file written complaints with administrative and public organizations. The head of the jail in Egorevsk replied, "Yes, we are violating the regulations, but those are our orders."

When they Jews protested by pounding on the doors, they were dragged forcibly to individual isolation cells by the prison guards.

4. According to article 90 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, a person who has been detained must be released if no charges are brought within 10 days. The Jews were held in the jail for 13 days with no charges being brought. The head of the jail in Volokolamsk acknowledged that this was a violation of the law, but said that he had orders which for him were more important than the law. On the 11th day the Jews in the Volokolamsk jail demanded their immediate release since no charges had been brought. In response to this they were confined in punishment cells and isolation cells. Crude force was used, and arms were dislocated. The isolation cells measured one meter square and had a bench 30 centimeters wide. After spending two hours in isolation cells, three persons – Libov, Volokh and Gendin – were transferred to punishment cells, where they remained until their release (two and a half days). Krizhak was put in a solitary cell; Ainbinder spent 10 hours in an isolation cell, and was then transferred to a solitary cell. Neither the punishment cells nor the solitary cells had mattresses, blankets or pillows; and it was cold sleeping in them. While Volokh was in his punishment cell, his hand was badly hurt. When they heard this, Libov and Gendin (who were in adjoining cells) pounded on the door, demanding a doctor. As a result, all three were handcuffed with their hands behind their backs, and kept that way for three hours.

5. When the Jews were released from jail, the authorities refused to give them any documents showing they had been arrested and confined. This was a clumsy attempt by the authorities to make it impossible for the Jews to file complaints about their arrests and demand that the reasons for them be explained. (But protocols of personal searches are available.)

6. Although some of those arrested had gastric disorders, the administration of the prison in Volokolamsk deprived them of their right to purchase supplementary food items to the extent of 10 rubles, reducing that sum fivefold. The commandant stated that he had instructions not to issue the food they demanded (cheese, eggs).

7. The representatives of authority did not conceal their hatred toward the arrested Jews. Thus the KGB lieutenant who at station number 22.had been named as Novikov, while accompanying the Jews from Volokolamsk to Moscow, said that he would gladly have shot all seven of them if he had not been afraid of being held liable. Another MVD officer told Gendin in the prison: "I'd like to hang you myself." Such expressions would have done credit to any concentration camp of the World War II period.

THE CONDITIONS OF CONFINEMENT FOR THOSE SENTENCED TO 15 DAYS IMPRISONMENT

Moscow (the Matrosskaya Tishina Prison)

The cells were in an unsanitary condition: bedbugs, fresh paint giving off an acrid odour, no ventilation. Toilet articles – soap, tooth powder, etc – were not issued for a week. In this connection the administration referred to the "regulations on conditions of confinement ",but refused to show them.

Regimen of confinement: no exercise periods, no bed linens, warm food every other day, no parcels of warm clothing. Effectively no medical care given to sick persons (except to [Ida] Nudel).

Sometimes the prisoners were given old medication unfit for use, which provoked allergies after being taken. Even before the hearing the prison administration knew that we would be sentenced to detention, and had, in advance, prepared dinner for the new arrivals, according to a statement by Major Polyakov.

Leningrad (the Prison on Kalyayevskaya street)

Those sentenced to 15 days detention first had their fingerprints taken. They slept on the floor without beds and without quilted jackets. Food every other day; no medical care, although some of them were sick: Julia Mogilever had flu, a temperature of 39 [102 Fahrenheit] and an attack of a liver ailment; Moisei Goldfeld, 60 years old, had heart attacks.

On 23 and 24 December a hunger strike was held in protest against the sentences handed out at the Leningrad trial [of Jews exactly two years earlier].

Riga (the Detention Cells at Dubulty Station, 25 kilometers from Riga)

Regina Braun, in her eighth month of preganancy, was kept the entire 15 days on the floor, without a bed. Margarita Shpilberg spent three days in solitary confinement. Efim Fridman fasted 13 days as a protest against his illegal arrest.

Kiev (Lukyanovskaya Prison)

The arrested Jews the entire 15 days in punishment cells, in violation of the regulations on confinement, together with criminals who came and went. They slept on the floor as there were no benches or cots. Yury Soroko had flu and asthma, but received no medical care. No exercise periods. They were taken out once a day to clean the toilets.

In **Kharkov** K. Skoblinsky, who had fallen ill and had a high temperature, was denied medical care and medication.

This is an incomplete list of the violations of the regulations on confinement, and the ill-treatment of Jews who are being persecuted for their expressed desire to go to Israel and who are striving to exercise, in conformity with the law, their right to repatriation.

THE CURRENT "DIRECTIVES ON THE URGENT HOSPITALIZATION OF MENTALLY-ILL PERSONS REPRESENTING A SOCIAL DANGER"

Excerpts from the directives approved on 9 August 1971 by N. Zhogin, Deputy Procurator-General of the USSR, and on 10 August by M. Uskov, Deputy USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, and confirmed on 26 August 1971 by A. Serenko, Deputy USSR Minister of Public Health; printed at the print shop of the USSR Ministry of Public Health, L-74417 dated 2 September 1971, Order number 1722, 1,000 copies; as a consequence of which the analogous directives dated 10 October 1961* have ceased to have legal force.

...1. Where there is manifest danger from a mentally-ill person to those around him or to himself, organs of public health have the right, without the agreement of the patient's relatives, his guardians, or other persons around him, to confine him (by way of urgent medical care) in a psychiatric hospital.

2. The evidence necessary for urgent hospitalization is the social danger of the patient due to the following peculiarities of his sick state (there follows a list of six points – *Chronicle*). The above-listed sick states, which involve undoubted danger for the patient himself and society, may be accompanied by outwardly correct behaviour and dissimulation. In this connection extreme care is essential in evaluating the mental state of such persons, so that, without the dropping of a strict attitude concerning the evidence necessary for urgent hospitalization, at the same time, by means of prompt hospitalization, the possibility of the commission of socially-dangerous acts by the mentally-ill persons can be avoided.

3. Affective reactions and anti-social forms of behaviour in persons not afflicted with mental illness but manifesting only such psychic deviations as psychopathic character traits or neurotic reactions, can not serve as evidence for urgent hospitalization....In those cases where the socially dangerous behaviour of the person provokes suspicion of the presence in him of a mental disurbance, but the latter is not obvious, such a person is not subject to urgent hospitalization.....

4...In cases of urgent hospitalization the physician ordering the confinement must set forth in detail the medical and social evidence which indicates the need for urgent hospitalization, and in conclusion must give his place of employment, his position, name, and the time of giving the order.

5. Local organs of internal affairs (police) are obliged to assist medical workers who ask for their help in the urgent hospitalization of mentally ill persons representing a social danger in case of: a) the possibility of the latter displaying resistance, aggression, or other acts threatening the life or health of medical personnel, or when they attempt to escape from them; b) resistance on the part of relatives, guardians or others to the hospitalization of the sick person.

*See full English text in *Survey*, London, number 81, Autumn 1971, pages 114-17; full Russian text in J. Saarma, *Kohtupsuhhiaatria* (Estonian for *Forensic Psychiatry*), Tallinn, Valgus Publishing House, 1970, pages 286-7.

6. At the psychiatric institution the hospitalized patient must, within one day, be examined by a special commission consisting of three psychiatrists, which considers the question of the correctness of his hospitalization and determines whether it is necessary for him to remain any longer in the hospital. No later than one day after examination of the patient by the commission, his nearest relatives are notified of his hospitalization.

7. Persons who have been hospitalized.....must (at least once a month) be re-examined by a commission..... to decide whether further confinement in the hospital is necessary.....

NEWS IN BRIEF

On 15 October Victor Fainberg, who is confined in the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital, ended his hunger strike [see *Chronicle* 27]. Fainberg had declared a hunger strike on 28 September, protesting against the transfer of "politicals" from his hospital on Arsenalnaya Street to the special hospitals in Oryol and Dnepropetrovsk. He eventually obtained a promise from the administration to discontinue the transfers.

* * *

The mathematician Leonid Plyushch, a member of the Initiative Group arrested on 15 January 1972 in Kiev, has been ruled mentally ill by a commission of forensic psychiatrists.

* * *

On 30 November 1972 the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian Republic sentenced Stasis Stanislavovich Jakas (born 1941) to 2 years in strict regime camps.

Jakas was indicted under article 199 of the Lithuanian criminal code (=article 190-1 of the RSFSR code). He was charged with keeping and circulating *A Chronicle of Current Events*, other *samizdat* materials (Avtorkhanov's *Technology of Power*, Yakir's letter to the journal *Kommunist*, and others), and *Archives of Lithuania [Vietuvos Archivas]*– a book about the 1940 elections to the Seim [Lithuanian parliament] published under the Germans; and with ties to Yakir. The Jakas case, like the Sevruk case (see *Chronicles 24-26*), is a Vilnius metastasis of Case 24. S. S. Jakas is confined in a camp in the settlement of Proviništis* (Lithuania).

* * *

Yakov Leibovich Khantsis, a resident of Kishinev, was arrested in the summer of 1970 outside the Netherlands Embassy in Moscow, where he had gone to get permission to emigrate to Israel. On 17 August he was sentenced by the Krasnopresnensky Court in Moscow under article 206 of the RSFSR criminal code to 2½ years in hard regime camps. He served his term in Vyatlag (institution K-231). On 18 April 1971 he was conditionally released and sent on probation as a worker to Omutninsk in the Kirov region. He wrote letters to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet demanding that he and his family be

*A back transliteration, which has not been confirmed as correct. The camp may in fact be the one at Pravieniškiai, where J. Zdebskis (*Chronicles* 21-24, 27) was imprisoned.

allowed to go to Israel. In the spring of 1972 he was again arrested, and in the autumn he was sentenced to 2 years in strict regime camps under article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code.

The address of his place of confinement is: Kirovskaya obl., p/ya OR 216/10. While in confinement Khantsis is known to have been subjected to beatings and persecution on the part of the guards.*

* * *

On 10 December, the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 240 prisoners in Camp VS 389/36 declared a two-day hunger strike. The prisoners demanded of the Supreme Soviet that it introduce the status of "political prisoners" and revoke illegal restrictions on reading materials. Textbooks dealing with foreign languages and other subjects are not allowed in the camp. The reason given by the administration for this prohibition is: "You are not authorized to have these books, as you are not students."

* * *

In the [same] Perm camp (institution 389/36) 25 year sentences are being served by Yury Gutsalo (worker, aged 40), Grigory Girchik (artist, aged 41), Nikolai Nikolayenko (worker, aged 43)†, and Vasily Pirus (aged 40); 15 year sentences by Lev Lukyanenko (jurist, aged 39), Mikhail Lutsik (aged 40), Andrei Turik and Victor Kurchik; and a 7 year sentence by Nik. Kots (teacher at an agricultural school, aged 35).**Previously certain persons convicted at the "Jewish" trials were transferred to this camp (see *Chronicle* 27).††

* * *

*For the 1972 indictment and other details in this case see *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR*, numbers 1-3, also *Chronicle* 32.
†According to the *samizdat* "Register of People Convicted in the 1960's" (item 70) Nikolayenko was sentenced in 1969 by the Chernigov Regional Court to 5 years for "anti-Soviet agitation". As 25 year sentences have not been imposed since 1960 it would therefore appear likely that the *Chronicle* has made a mistake. On Nikolayenko see also *samizdat* document number 70 in *Cahiers du Samizdat*, number 17, March 1974 (a translation of AS 1526 in the Samizdat Archive series).
**For more details on Pirus see item 42 in the prisoner list in *Ukrainian Herald* number 4, which reports that he was arrested in 1948 (he would therefore be due for release in 1973, unless re-sentenced while in captivity); on Lukyanenko see *Chronicles* 11 and 30; on Lutsik see *Chronicles* 11 and 24; Kurchik may be the Nikolai Kurchik described in *Chronicle* 25; and on Kots see item 82 in the "Register" (cf previous footnote) and item 33 in the prisoner list in *Ukrainian Herald* number 3.
††I.e. the two items on page 311 of the Amnesty International edition.

P. M. Litvinov, convicted for participating in the demonstration in Moscow's Red Square on 25 August 1968 in protest against the sending of Soviet forces into Czechoslovakia (see *Chronicles* 3-4), was released on 11 November 1972 upon completion of his term of exile (5 years). On 11 October 1972, a month before Litvinov's release, his home in the village of Usugli in Chita region was subjected to a search, the warrant for which was signed by the investigator Aleksandrovsky, who is in charge of the case of Victor Krasin (see *Chronicle* 27 and this issue). The basement and the environs were carefully checked with a mine-detector. Several *samizdat* poetry anthologies and some parodies of V. Kochetov and S. Smirnov were confiscated.

* * *

Early in 1972 a soldier from one of the military units stationed near Moscow, one Yakovlev (born 1953; called up in Smolensk region) was confined in the Kashchenko Psychiatric Hospital for criticizing army procedures and compulsory military service. For about a month and a half Yakovlev, without receiving any treatment, was held in a ward with patients, after which he was discharged from the army as mentally ill.

* * *

Previously, prisoners in corrective-labour colonies and prisons could get books, making payment on delivery from the bookshops, including certain second-hand shops ("Books by Mail"). In November 1972 the director of the shop "Bukinist" (on Leninsky Prospekt in Moscow), in answer to a routine request of this kind, stated that in future the bookshop would not mail any books to addresses "of institutions", In this connection she referred to oral instructions.

* * *

In late November 1972 Valery Nikolayevich Chalidze, with his wife Vera Slonim, flew to the United States. Chalidze had received a visa in connection with invitations from universities in Washington and New York to deliver a series of lectures on problems of the defence of human rights. Chalidze used his ordinary vacation for his private (this was its official status) trip. His visa was for a one month stay.

He did not have to go through any of the formalities associated with current Soviet instructions on leaving the country for permanent residence abroad. After his arrival in the US Chalidze, in his public utterances and statements (including those on such touchy matters as the relative conditions of Soviet and American prisoners in answer to questions put to him after he had visited a prison in the State of New York), took a markedly loyal position with respect to the Soviet authorities. Nonetheless, in mid-December Chalidze was notified by the Soviet Ambassador in the US that, by a special decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, he was deprived of his Soviet citizenship "for acts incompatible with the title of citizen of the USSR",

Above left: Gyuzel and Andrei Amalrik with Pavel Litvinov (center).
Above right: Human Rights Committee, left to right, Igor Shaferevich, Andrei Sakharov, G. Podyapolsky (*The New York Times* photograph).
Right: Yury Yukhnovets.
Far right: Evgeny Kuzin.

UKRAINIANS
Far left: Nikolai Plakhotnyuk
Left: Evgeny Sverstyuk
Below far left: Vyacheslav Chornovil
Below left: Irina Senik
Below right: Danilo Shumuk

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 through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19.

Number 29 **31 July 1973**

Contents:

"A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR". The Trial of Davydov and Petrov. The Case of Bolonkin, Balakirev and Yukhnovets. Repression in Oryol. Trials in the Ukraine. The Case of Leonid Plyushch. The Trial of Andrei Amalrik. A Chronicle of Case Number 24. Events in Lithuania. Biographies. News in Brief.

Sixth Year of Publication

A CHRONICLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR

The Publication of *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR* has begun.

The first issue, dated November 1972–March 1973, is a brochure of 80 pages. Publisher: Khronika Press, New York, 1973. Editors: Peter Reddaway (London) and Edward Kline (New York). Price: [$3.00].

The title page closely resembles the typewritten issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events*, with the same running title ("The Movement in Defence of Human Rights in the USSR Continues") and the same epigraph–article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. On the title page are listed the most important items in the issue: The Death of Yury Galanskov; The Lyubarsky Trial; The Convictions of Gluzman, Chornovil and Dzyuba; The Confinement of Plyushch in a Psychiatric Hospital; The Arrests of Belogorodskaya and Khaustov; Searches and Interrogations in the Case of *A Chronicle of Current Events;* Hunger Strikes by Political Prisoners; Sakharov's Conversation with the KGB; The Dandaron Trial; Protests against the "Education Tax"; Changes in USSR Copyright Law; Invitations to Bukovsky, Shikhanovich, Yakobson and Levich from Western Universities.

The issue begins with the following statement:

From the Publisher

A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR will inform its readers of events related to Soviet and Western Activities in defence of human rights and social minorities in the USSR, and of means by which Soviet authorities protect or violate human rights and rights of minority groups. Primary attention will be focused on the more typical violations of rights.

A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR, like the *Chronicle of Current Events* published in the USSR, will not take political positions and will not contain editorial judgments on events described. The principal criterion for selection of information will be reliability, which, in the opinion of the publisher, outweighs concern for the publication's impact or exhaustive coverage.

Recognizing the historical and doctrinal connection of the USSR with other Socialist states, the publisher has devoted a section of this journal to events "In Socialist Countries".

A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR is published in separate Russian and English editions.

The publisher welcomes the comments and requests of its readers.

The publisher does not accept support from any government or political organization.

* * *

After the article "The Death of Yury Galanskov," which stands by itself, the issue contains 14 sections, the headings of which are given below, sometimes indicating (in parentheses) subsections and certain items not listed on the title page quoted above.

1. Political Repressions (Trials of V. Popov, K. Lyubarsky, I. Kalynets and I. Shkolnik; Psychiatric Repressions: P. Starchik; Arrests of Savinkin, E. Kuzin, and A. Egorov (Oryol); Investigations in the cases of P. Yakir and V. Krasin, of Yu. Shikhanovich, of A. Bolonkin, Balakirev and Yu. Yukhovets, of the brothers I. and G. Goldshtein from Tbilisi; Extra-judicial Persecutions).
2. Political Prisoners (In Prisons and Camps; in Psychiatric hospitals).
3. The Right to Leave Any Country, Including One's Own, and the Right to Return to One's Country (Emigration of Jews; Repatriation of Soviet Germans; Emigration and Travel Abroad; V. Chalidze's loss of citizenship; items on Zh. Medvedev, I. Golomshtok, V. Rubin, S. Kurdakov, P. Dudnikov, Z. Butkus).
4. Rights of National Minorities.
5. The Right to Manifest One's Religion.
6. Documents of Legal Practice.
7. The Moscow Human Rights Committee.
8. The Defence of Human Rights in the USSR (the demonstration in Pushkin Square on 5 December; a statement by L. Bogoraz on the acts of the authorities persecuting *A Chronicle of Current Events;* A. Solzhenitsyn's Nobel Prize speech; A. Sakharov's statement in defence of S. Gluzman; a letter from A. Sakharov and E. Bonner to Yu. Andropov on the case of Yu. Shikhanovich; a statement from 28 Muscovites "on the public activity of Valery Chalidze"; an open letter to UNESCO from A. Sakharov, I. Shafarevich, G. Podyapolsky, A. Galich, V. Maximov and A. Voronel in connection with the accession of the USSR to the Geneva Convention; a letter to N. Podgorny from 82 Soviet Jews calling for a review of the Leningrad "aeroplane" case; the detention in Moscow, and subsequent deportation from the USSR, of A. Kientzi, M. Celletti, and P. Krosbu, who had distributed leaflets on Revolution Square in Moscow).
9. The Soviet Press on Human Rights.
10. Activities of Organizations Concerned with Human Rights.

11. Western Actions in Defence of Rights in the USSR.
12. In Socialist Countries.
13. Documents of Soviet and International Law (Decrees of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the Reimbursement of State Educational Expenses by Citizens of the USSR Leaving for Permanent Residence Abroad", dated 3 August 1972, and "On the Introduction of Changes and Additions to The Fundmental Principles of Civil Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics" (on copyright), dated 21 February 1973).
14. Bibliography.

There is an index of names.

The second issue of *A Chronicle of Human Rights*: April--May 1973. The size and section headings are the same as in number 1. Price $3.00. Two sentences have been added to the Publisher's Statement: "There will be six issues a year. The next issue will come out in September." The terms for yearly subscriptions are announced. The contents of the issue (listed on the title page):

The Editors of the *Chronicle of Current Events* Issue a Correction; New Prosecution of Amalrik; Prominent Western Authors Speak Out in Defence of Amalrik; I. Svetlichny Sentenced; P; Yakir's Letter to A. Sakharov; Statements in Support of P. Yakir; The Investigation in the case of *A Chronicle of Current Events*; Documents in the Grigorenko Case; A. Temkin Deprived of Parental Rights. The Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR has spoken out in Support of L. Plyushch; American Scholars Defend Yu. Shikhanovich and L. Plyushch; Yu. Shtein's Letter in Defence of V. Gershuni; The Regulations Concerning Taxes Payable for Education Received.

Standing by itself is the following item, which we quote with a few insignificant cuts:

The text of a correction issued, one may conclude, by the editors of the *samizdat* journal *A Chronicle of Current Events,* has been received in the West.... The appearance of this text, transmitted in the name of the editors of the *Chronicle* and published below is the only evidence in seven months that the editorial board still exists.... The statement was transcribed in the West on 25 May from a poorly legible original. It reads:

An error was made in the "News in Brief" section of *Chronicle 14*: a report was included of the death of a prisoner, Baranov.....Baranov, who was confined in a camp for ordinary prisoners ("ordinary", both inside and outside Soviet camps, is the word which designates prisoners sentenced under "non-political" articles of the criminal code–*Chronicle*), had been declared temporarily insane ... He ran out in hospital clothing into the prohibited area and threw himself onto the barbed wire. He received three firearm wounds: one in the chest and two more in, apparently, the legs. The wounds were not fatal–Baranov survived. What happened to him after this is not known.

The *Chronicle* sincerely apologizes to its readers for this unintentional error, which resulted from the extraordinarily complicated conditions of receiving information from penal camps. The *Chronicle* requests that this belated correction be published on the pages of those *independent* organs of the press which

earlier published the erroneous report.

Note: it has become known that the original report is regarded by the investigations administration of the KGB attached to the USSR Council of Ministers as "deliberately false and slanderous " and is one of the key "charges" against the *Chronicle.*

The following are the contents of certain sections of issue number 2.

1. The conviction of N. Svetlichnaya and E. Sverstyuk; the threat of compulsory psychiatric treatment for Yu. Shikhanovich and R. Mukhamedyarov; interrogations and searches in the case of S. Myuge; the persecution of V. and E. Levich.
2. A letter from I. F. Fyodorov (father of the prisoner Yu. Fyodorov) to the Procurator-General of the USSR on the deliberate humiliations imposed on political prisoners and their relatives.

.....

5. A list of those convicted in the trial of the Jehovah's Witnesses sect in Klaipeda [Latvia] in March.

.....

7. An appeal by the Human Rights Committee on behalf of A. Amalrik; I. Shafarevich's report to the committee:"Legislation Concerning Religion in the Soviet Union."

.....

11. Appeals of Western scientists in defence of N. Strokata.

THE TRIAL OF DAVYDOV AND PETROV*

From 10 to 16 July 1973 the collegium of the Leningrad City Court (chairman–Karlov, people's assessor–Dyakov, second assessor–name unknown to the *Chronicle*) heard in open court the case of G. V. Davydov and V. V. Petrov, indicted under article 70, part 1, of the RSFSR criminal code.

Georgy Valentinovich Davydov (born 1941) is a geological engineer (he graduated from the Leningrad Mining Institute). Before his arrest he worked as a senior research assistant at the Leningrad Institute of Geology and Precambrian Geochronology of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He is the father of three children (aged nine, eight and two).

Vyacheslav Valentinovich Petrov (born 1937) has a secondary education and is a bachelor. Before his arrest he was employed as a blue-collar worker in various trades at the "Twenty-Second Congress"Metallurgical Plant.

Davydov was arrested by KGB organs on 22 September 1972 at Moscow airport en route to Leningrad. Confiscated from Davydov at the time of his arrest were several parcels of *samizdat* literature received the day before from A. A. Bolonkin (Bolonkin himself had been arrested on 21 September). V. I. Balakirev was arrested in Moscow on 22 September, and V. A. Shaklein on 28 September.

*This item is a shortened version of an anonymous *samizdat* document published as AS 1820 in the *Samizdat Archive.*

V. V. Petrov, at whose Leningrad flat *samizdat* literature was seized on 22 September, was arrested on 5 February 1973. Before his arrest he had been repeatedly interrogated as a witness in the case of Davydov.

The investigation of the case of Davydov and Petrov was conducted over a period of more than nine months. More than 50 persons were called as witnesses. The investigation was conducted by the Leningrad administration of the KGB (by senior investigator Major Glushkov and investigators Gordeyev, Pospelov, Egerev, et al).

The charge against Davydov specified that in 1971-72, having entered into a criminal conspiracy with the Muscovites Shaklein, Bolonkin and Balakirev, and also with the defendant Petrov, he prepared, distributed, and kept at his home a great deal of *samizdat* literature, including *A Chronicle of Current Events*, the journals *Free Thought [Svobodnaya mysl]*, *The Light of Freedom [Luch svobody]*, and *The Democrat [Demokrat]*, the texts "The program of the Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union [DMSU] and several other *samizdat* journalistic and literary works. Also confiscated at the time of Davydov's arrest were 20 copies of *Free Thought* number 2 which had been printed on a flat-bed press, two chapters of Robert Conquest's book *The Great Terror* printed by the same means, several parts of Bolonkin's work "*A Comparison of the Living Standards of Workers in Tsarist Russia, the USSR, and Advanced Capitalist Countries*", and films with the texts of *Chronicle 25* and the [Frankfurt] journal *Possev [Sowing]* for 1970.

The charges against V. V. Petrov specified that in March 1972, jointly with Davydov, he had mimeographed at his home no less than 40 copies of "The Tactics of the DMSU", and subsequently had kept the stencils and the finished brochures. In the spring of 1972 he had written a work entitled "The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Alliance", described by the investigators as a programmatic document, in which he had set forth methods for combating Soviet authority. Petrov had given this work to Davydov to read and to make critical comments.

In the course of the investigation Davydov did not acknowledge any guilt, but at the trial he acknowledged his guilt completely. Both during the investigation and at the trial Petrov acknowledged partial guilt.

At the trial, confirming the factual aspect of the indictment, Davydov emphasized the very negligible role of Petrov in their joint work. As he had done during the pre-trial investigation, Davydov refused to name the Leningrad source from which he had received literature.

In explaining his position to the court, Petrov said that he could, with certain qualifications, acknowledge only the factual aspect of the case; but he categorically denied the charge that he had aimed at the subversion and weakening of Soviet authority.

At the trial the witness I. Rudoi, a senior engineer at the Leningrad K. Marx Combine, confirmed without qualification all the testimony he had given during the investigation. The indictment was studded with his testimony. He regularly received *samizdat* literature from Davydov, familiarized himself with it, and even paid a fixed sum for reading it.

The witness V. I. Osipov, a student at Leningrad State University, confirmed the fact that he had once received literature from Davydov, noting that this had taken place at his (Osipov's initiative

The witness M. Prima, a member of the party, chief of the scientific-technical department in a factory and a former classmate of Petrov, testified to the latter's anti-Soviet attitude during the period of their acquaintanceship in the late 1950s. He recalled that Petrov had welcomed the Hungarian events of 1956. Petrov stated in reply that he was serving in the army at that time and hence could not have discussed those events with the witness.

Vladimir Andreyevich Shaklein (born 1937, an engineer), who was brought to the courtroom under guard from Moscow, refused to testify as a way of protesting against the inhuman conditions under which prisoners are transported from one place of confinement to another. But at the request of lawyer Goldenberg he agreed to answer several specific questions which might affect Davydov's fate. Shaklein confirmed Davydov's testimony that the two of them had met by chance, stating that the initiative in their subsequent joint *samizdat* activity belonged to him (Shaklein), and that he had drawn Davydov into that activity.

The witness Valery Ivanovich Balakirev (born 1940, former lecturer at the Moscow School of Metallurgy), who was also being held in custody, gave detailed testimony as to his meetings with Davydov, the exchange of literature, and the fact that in Petrov's presence he had taught Davydov how to use the mimeograph. Noting the conspiratorial nature of their activity, he evaluated the "Program of the DMSU" as an anti-Soviet work and confirmed his testimony that Davydov was the source of its appearance among "the Muscovites". Balakirev testified that the documents "Program of the Estonian National Front"* and "Russian Colonialism in Estonia" had been received by him from Davydov for summarization in the *Chronicle*. Balakirev also confirmed his testimony that on instructions from Davydov, he and Bolonkin had jointly mimeographed 45 copies each of two instalments of Conquest's book for distribution in Leningrad.

The witness G. Semyonova (senior research assistant at the Mekhanobr Institute [Research Institute for the Mechanical Concentration of Minerals]), former wife of defendant Petrov, confirmed in court her testimony that in 1964-68 Petrov repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction with the October Revolution, accused the communist leadership of being responsible for the death of his father in the war, and once showed her two *samizdat* works. The witness acknowledged, however, that Petrov most often expressed his dissatisfaction with respect to everyday matters and usually when he was drunk.

The witnesses Margarita Davydova (Davydov's former wife) and Fedulova did not appear in court.

Alexander Aleksandrovich Bolonkin (born 1932, Doctor of Technical Sciences, aircraft engineer, graduate of the Moscow Aviation Institute and the Mechanics and Mathematics Department of Moscow State University, and prior to his arrest a reader [assistant professor] at the Moscow Aviation Technology Institute), was brought to the courtroom under guard on 16 July. In his testimony he emphasized the purely personal

*Summarized in *Chronicle* 25. Two appeals of the Front to the UN, both dated 24 October 1972, are designated AS 1892 in the *Samizdat Archive*.

nature of his meetings with Davydov. He confirmed that he had repeatedly transmitted packets, the contents of which were unknown to him, from the "Muscovites" to Davydov, and from the latter to the "Muscovites": "They asked me to deliver them, and I did, I didn't know what was inside. I am not a KGB agent, and don't search things belonging to others."

Bolonkin disowned the depositions, read aloud in court, given by him under duress during the investigation. ("You will sign anything at all when they blackmail you.") In answer to a question from Davydov concerning the work "A Comparison of the Living Standards of Workers in Tsarist Russia, the USSR, and Advanced Capitalist Countries", Bolonkin explained that the purpose of his work was to select reliable statistics from more than 100 official sources, and that the work contained no broad conclusions drawn from these comparisons. The judge ruled out of order Davydov's query to Bolonkin as the author of 40 other scientific works: "What are the scientific criteria for works of that kind?"

Davydov then made a statement to the court in which he accused the investigators of incompetence in evaluating the *samizdat* literature on the basis of which he was charged. He quoted a certain tsarist censor, who had said: "Give me the Lord's Prayer and I'll find in it a sentence for which the author could be sent to the gallows." Davydov acknowledged his own incompetence in evaluating such literature, but declared that he regarded the investigators as equally incompetent. He recalled investigator Glushkov's admission that he was far from being a specialist in economics, history, philosophy, etc, but that it was easy for him to prove the anti-Soviet tendency of any particular work. And investigator Kondratev generally applied the label anti-Soviet to everything that did not correspond to the latest decrees of the Party and the government, i.e., to the spirit of today's newspaper.

Davydov now disowned his previous testimony as to the anti-Soviet tendency of the literature on the basis of which he was incriminated. Dismissing his counsel, he declared to the court that he could not now acknowiedge guilt under article 70, part I, of the RSFSR criminal code. From now until the end of the trial Davydov conducted his own defence. Resigning his authority, Davydov's counsel Goldenberg asked the court to enter in the record the documents concerning the defendant's state of health submitted by his relatives.

Ponomaryov, the state prosecutor, recited the factual aspects of the case, generally repeating the text of the indictment, and asked for the following sentences: for Davydov, 6 years' imprisonment plus 3 years of exile; for Petrov 4 years' imprisonment plus 3 years of exile.

In his speech in his own defence Davydov once more called the court's attention to the fact that inferences as to the anti-Soviet tendency of the literature which incriminated him had been drawn by the investigators, who had used the unscientific method of arbitrary quotation. So their conclusions could not be considered correct. He also noted that the conspiratorial nature of his *samizdat* activity was a matter of necessity. Davydov opined that his actions could not be classified under article 70, part I, since no *corpus delicti* had been proved to exist.

Petrov's lawyer Kheifets, who in no way contested the conclusions of the investigators, dwelt in detail on the motives which had prompted Petrov to set out on a false

path, sketching a portrait of a failure, a dropout, a man who had not found his place in life. The lawyer mentioned that over the past 10 years Petrov had changed his place of employment 45 times, "trying to find himself". With respect to the fact that Petrov, jointly with Davydov, had mimeographed 40 copies of the "Tactics of the DMSU", Kheifets emphasized that the decisive factor here had been his client's possession of a self-contained flat; and that Davydov himself did not consider Petrov a confederate, and did not trust him, so that he had asked Balakirev, who taught them to use the mimeograph, to use an assumed name in the presence of Petrov. The lawyer mentioned the irresponsibility of proclaiming a mere scrap of paper entitled "The Russian Social–Democratic Labour Alliance" to be a programmatic document for combating Soviet authority, and stressed that there was no proof that Petrov had circulated this rough draft. He asked that Petrov be given the minimal sentence under article 70, part I (6 months' imprisonment).

In his final plea Davydov said that however the court decided, he was not asking for mercy but only wanted the opportunity to help his children materially. Since a penal camp did not provide such an opportunity, he asked the court to sentence him to exile for any period.

Petrov, in his final plea, expressed amazement at the sentence demanded for him by the procurator. He recalled that during the investigation, both the investigator and the procurator had said that his chief and only guilt lay in not giving information. ("If you had sat down on a chair and written out everything, like Rudoi, you would have gone to the trial as a witness.") But somehow he could not and would not take the sin of Judas on his soul. Petrov once again emphasized that he had not distributed anti-Soviet literature in any form, and that he had always expressed his dissatisfaction with the regime openly until 1966, when article 190-1, which prohibits oral expression of dissatisfaction, was published. Since then he had kept quiet. Petrov said that in 1956 he had indeed welcomed the Hungarian events–something for which he had been punished–but that no-one had at that time called him "an anti-Soviet", and a weapon had been entrusted to him with no fear that he would shoot anyone in the back. Petrov asked the court to send him and Davydov "to the same penal camp" so that Davydov–who, as he was convinced, was never "an anti-Soviet"–could protect him against the influence of genuine enemies of Soviet authority. Petrov noted that his friendship with Davydov had by no means grown from the soil of *samizdat* but was based on deep personal sympathy.

The verdict again repeated all the points of the indictment, and the guilt of G. V. Davydov and V. V. Petrov in the commission of especially dangerous anti-state crimes under article 70,part I, of the RSFSR criminal code was considered to have been proved fully. The sentences: for Davydov, 5 years in a strict-regime corrective-labour camp and 2 years of exile; for Petrov, 3 years in a strict-regime corrective-labour camp and 2 years of exile.

A few days after the trial the convicted persons were allowed visits from their relatives. According to available information, both filed appeals with the RSFSR Supreme Court.

THE CASE OF BOLONKIN, BALAKIREV AND YUKHNOVETS

On 11 October 1972 a search, directed by KGB Major E. M. Bykov, was made at the flat of Victor Kuznetsov (municipality of Pushkino, Moscow region). The search was made in the presence of Kuznetsov's wife, Valentina Kuznetsova (Kuznetsov himself was at that time being taken to the Lubyanka for interrogation). A notebook was confiscated in the course of the search.

The interrogation was conducted by investigator A. V. Trofimov. He was interested in whether Kuznetsov was acquainted with Balakirev, Bolonkin and Yukhnovets, who were arrested in August and September. The investigator also tried to get information on an episode involving the dissemination, on the night of 31 May-1 June, in Moscow, of a leaflet signed "The Citizens' Committee" (the so-called Economic Leaflet).* On that same day, following the search, Valentina Kuznetsova was interrogated.

In late November the Kuznetsovs were again called in for interrogation. They were shown protocols of the interrogation of Yury Yukhnovets in which the latter acknowledged his guilt and repented for what he had done. They were also shown a letter from Yukhnovets date 8 or 10 October and addressed to Victor Kuznetsov. In the letter Yukhnovets asked Kuznetsov to acknowledge his guilt and plead guilty. At the interrogations the Kuznetsovs were repeatedly threatened with arrest.

Victor Kuznetsov is a former political prisoner.†

* * *

On 7 December a confrontation between Valentina Kuznetsova and Yukhnovets took place. Yukhnovets testified that Victor Kuznetsov had taken part in preparing the leaflets and had composed the text of one of them. According to Yukhnovets's testimony, Kuznetsov also took the initiative in preparing the leaflets. Yukhnovets also testified that on the night of 31 May-1 June Valentina Kuznetsova, together with him, had disseminated the "Economic Leaflet". Kuznetsova did not confirm the testimony of Yukhnovets.

* * *

As has become known, in addition to Yukhnovets (arrested on 23 August 1972, see *Chronicle* 27) the following were arrested in connection with associated cases in September: Alexander Bolonkin (21 September), Valery Balakirev (22 September), Zarya, Georgy Davydov (22 September), Vladimir Shaklein (28 September), and one other person whose name is not known to the *Chronicle*.

Vyacheslav Petrov was arrested in Leningrad on 5 February. On the trial of Davydov and Petrov see the present issue.

* * *

*See bibliographical details on page 257 of the Amnesty International edition of *Chronicle* 26.
†See *Chronicles* 7-9, 18-22.

Zarya was released from custody in January 1973 and the unknown person in May 1973. In connection with this case Yukhnovets was found non-responsible but competent (i.e., he cannot bear criminal liability for his acts, but he can give testimony), and was released in May 1973.

* * *

On 23 May 1973, in connection with the Balakirev–Bolonkin case, a search was conducted at the home of Vitaly Rubin, Doctor of Historical Sciences and a well-known sinologist.*

INVESTIGATIONS IN ORYOL

At intervals over a period of a month the following were arrested in Oryol: on 3 November , Evgeny Kuzin; in November, Oleg Savinkin; on 8 December, Alexander Egorov.

* * *

Victor Khaustov was arrested in Moscow on 17 January. After his arrest he was confined in the investigation prison in Oryol.

On that same day a search was made at the home of Olga Iofe in connection with the case of Khaustov. After the search she was interrogated.

In the spring of 1967 Victor Khaustov was sentenced to 3 years in camps for taking part, on 22 January 1967, in a demonstration on Moscow's Pushkin Square.† The demonstration was provoked by the arrest of Galanskov, Lashkova, Dobrovolsky, and Radziyevsky.

* * *

It is reported that Khaustov, Kuzin, Savinkin and Egorov are being charged with intending to publish a journal called *The Russian Patriotic Front [Patrioticheskiy front Rossii]*.

* * *

Boris Vail, (see *Chronicle* 16 [also 15, 17-19, 27]) who is in exile, was interrogated on 15 February in Tobolsk. To all appearances the interrogation was connected with the Oryol case. In March a search was conducted at Vail's home.

*On Rubin see *Chronicles* 30 and 32.
†This demonstration was in protest against the arrest a few days earlier of several young Moscow intellectuals and also against the introduction into the criminal code in September 1966 of articles 190-1 and 190-3.

* * *

On 2 March investigator Ilin of the Oryol KGB administration interrogated Olga Iofe's mother, N. Ya. Shatunovskaya, in connection with the Khaustov case. On 3 March he interrogated Olga Iofe.

* * *

In the summer the case of Khaustov was separated from that of Kuzin, Savinkin and Egorov.

* * *

The trial of Kuzin, Savinkin and Egorov was held in Oryol from 2 to 8 July. They were charged under articles 70 and 72 of the RSFSR criminal code. Sentences: Savinkin, 5 years of camps and 2 years exile; Kuzin, 4 years of camps and 2 years exile; Egorov, 3 years of camps.

* * *

On 3 July, after being interrogated by the KGB, Gabriel Superfin was arrested. Soon after his arrest he was taken to the investigation prison in Oryol. Superfin's case is being handled by Khaustov's investigator, Ilin.

TRIALS IN THE UKRAINE

From 11 to 16 March the Kiev Regional Court heard the case of the critic and literary historian Ivan Mikhailovich Dzyuba,* indicted under article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code (article 70 of the RSFSR code). Representatives of the institutions where Dzyuba had worked— the *Biochemical Journal [Biokhimicheskiy zhurnal]* and the Dnipro Publishing House— were present in the courtroom. Also present were the following members of the Writers' Union of the Ukraine: Soldatenko, Rud and Khorunzhy.

Outwardly, the trial was conducted correctly. The defendant was not interrupted when he spoke.

The only charge in the indictment was the writing and distribution of the work *Internationalism or Russification? [Internatsionalizm ili rusifikatsiya?]*. At the trial Dzyuba stated that the work was not intended for publication but had been written in the form of a letter addressed to the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. The letter had been prompted by the first arrest in

*See *Chronicles* 5, 7, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 23-25, 27, 30. Also P. Litvinov, *The Demonstration in Rushkin Square*, London 1969.

the Ukraine in 1964-65, which had shaken him. Thus it was possible that the emotional aspect of the letter was stronger than cool judgement. By virtue of these circumstances he had not striven for equilibrium between the positive and negative aspects but had directed attention to violations of the Constitution and the law. It was possible that he had made mistakes in the economic aspects of the work, as here he was not a specialist. During the first months of the investigation he had been charged with drawing up some platform or other, with which he had no connection. Dzyuba expressed his gratitude to the investigative organs, which had made available to him materials on all aspects of the experts' report on this platform: this had enabled him to refute that charge. He did not want to name the experts, but preferred to let their report remain on their consciences.

Sentence: 5 years in strict-regime camps.

Ivan Dzyuba has active tuberculosis.

* * *

The trial of Evgeny Sverstyuk* (arrested on 14 January 1972) was held from 16 to 24 April. The judge was Dyshel. No one was allowed in the courtroom but the witnesses.

Sverstyuk was indicted under article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code. The items of the indictment were as follows:

1) Making a speech critical of the functioning of a school before educational workers in 1963 (at the time, Sverstyuk was employed as a research officer at the Institute of Psychology).

2) Works of literary criticism published in the West: *Cathedral in the Woods [Sobor u rishtovanni]*, on O. Gonchar's novel, *The Cathedral [Sobor]; Our Kotlyarevsky Laughs [Nash Kotlyarevsky smeyetsya]*, on the jubilee of Kotlyarevsky; *The Last Tear [Poslednyaya sleza]*— a literary analysis of T. Shevchenko's last works.

3) *On the Holiday of Women [Na svyato zhinki]*— thoughts on the fate of women in the history of the Ukraine.

4) Conversations with acquaintances and neighbours. As anti-Soviet, they served as a basis for incriminating Sverstyuk.

Sentence: 7 years in strict-regime camps and 5 years of exile.

* * *

Nadezhda Alekseyevna Svetlichnaya (see *Chronicles* 25-27, [30; Ukrainian form: Svitlychna]) has been sentenced to 4 years in camps with subsequent exile. The Kiev Regional Court tried her case on 23 and 24 March. Svetlichnaya was incriminated for possessing a manuscript by D. Shumuk (see *Chronicles* 27, 28) and other works of Ukrainian *samizdat*.

* * *

*On Sverstyuk see also *Chronicles* 7, 24, 27.

The case of Ivan Alekseyevich Svetlichny was tried by the Kiev Regional Court on 19-27 April. The indictment included charges brought against him in 1965, when after eight months in prison he was released for lack of evidence to support the charges. Also, he was incriminated for having in his possession unpublished works of fiction in the Ukrainian language, and for his own manuscript works of literary criticism.

The witnesses at the trial included Kholodny and Seleznenko.

Sentence: 7 years in strict-regime camps and 5 years in exile.*

THE CASE OF LEONID PLYUSHCH

The case of Leonid Plyushch was tried by the Kiev Regional Court on 25-29 January 1973. The judge was Dyshel.

The case was heard behind closed doors, with the accused not present. According to the *Chronicle*'s information, none of the officially appointed psychiatrists was present in court.

The defence counsel was permitted only one meeting with his client; Plyushch was not permitted access to the case file.

Nine witnesses were questioned at the trial. Among them was the man of letters Ivan Dzyuba, arrested in 1972.

The court ruled that L. Plyushch was mentally ill, and that while in a non-responsible state he had committed especially dangerous crimes coming under article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code.

Plyushch was charged with the following:

1) Possessing several copies of *A Chronicle of Current Events*, the *Ukrainian Herald*, and other *samizdat* materials; and distributing some of them among his acquaintances.

2) Writing seven articles of literary criticism whose content was ruled to be "anti-Soviet", and familiarizing several acquaintances with some of these articles.

3) Signing open letters to the UN as a member of the Initiative Group; membership in the "illegal Initiative Group".

4) "Anti-Soviet agitation"–conversations with one or two of the witnesses.

By order of the court, Plyushch was sent to a special psychiatric hospital for compulsory treatment.

Plyushch's wife and sister were allowed into the courtroom for the reading of the ruling.

Because of the especial secrecy with which Plyushch's case has been conducted, m-the information provided on this case requires confirmation and amplification.

It has been possible to establish the following:

Two psychiatric reports on Plyushch's mental state figure in the court ruling on his case. These reports served as the official basis for sending him for compulsory psychiatric treatment.

It is known that in fact he was subjected *not to two but to three psychiatric examinations. The first* was conducted in March and April of 1972 by psychiatrists from the

*On Svetlichny (Ukrainian form Svitlychny) see *Chronicles* 5, 7, 24-27 and on Kholodny and Seleznenko, numbers 24-27.

Department of Forensic Psychiatry of the Kiev Regional Hospital (Doctor of Medical Sciences Lifshits, Department Head Vinarskaya, and Dr Kravchuk).* This commission found Plyushch mentally responsible, noting that he had a "psychopathic personality", that he "behaved somewhat demonstratively", that he had "exaggerated pretensions", and was a "poseur". This examination was conducted on an out-patient basis under prison conditions at the KGB investigations prison in Kiev.

The first officially recorded examination was conducted by a commission of psychiatrists from the Serbsky Institute headed by the institute's director G. V. Morozov, a corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences.

The commission's conclusion:

> The materials of the case, including the output of manuscripts, and the results of the examination indicate that L. I. Plyushch is suffering from a mental illness–slowly-developing schizophrenia. Since youth he has suffered from a paranoid disturbance characterized by ideas of reformism, disturbance of the affective sphere and an uncritical attitude toward his condition. He represents a social danger. He must be considered non-responsible and sent to a special psychiatric hospital for compulsory treatment.

It is officially stated that the commission reached its conclusion after a month of examination under clinical conditions in the Serbsky Institute. It is suspected that in actuality there was only a two-hour talk in the investigations section of the Lefortovo Prison.

The second officially recognized examination was conducted under the direction of Academician A. V. Snezhnevsky of the Academy of Medical Sciences, and organized by the USSR Ministry of Public Health.

The commission's conclusion:

> Suffers from a chronic mental illness in the form of schizophrenia. A feature of the aforementioned illness was its early onset accompanied by the formation of a paranoid disturbance–elements of fantasizing and naiveté in judgements–all of which determines his behaviour. Recently it has been characterized by the appearance of ideas about developing inventions in the field of psychology. The patient has an *uncritical* attitude toward *the offences committed.* He represents a social danger, and requires treatment in a psychiatric hospital.
>
> Since the time of the first examination his condition has improved....A disturbance in the affective-volitional sphere (apathy, indifference, passivity) has made its appearance; the stable idea of reformism has been transformed into the idea of developing inventions in the field of psychology....The patient should be sent to a psychoneurological hospital for compulsory treatment.

It is officially stated that the conclusion was reached after a clinical examination.... Actually, a few talks with Plyushch were held in the investigations section of the Lefortovo Prison. The last of these was conducted by Academician Snezhnevsky in October 1972.

*On Plyushch see *Chronicles* 1, 5, 8, 11, 14, 24-28, 30.

In March 1973 the Ukrainian Supreme Court reviewed Plyushch's case in an appellate proceedings. The court ruled that Plyushch should be compulsorily confined in a psychiatric hospital of ordinary type.

The Procurator's Office of the Ukraine (in the person of the procurator supervising cases handled by the KGB) filed a protest against the appellate decision of the Ukrainian Supreme Court. She insisted that Plyushch be confined in a special psychiatric hospital because of the extreme social danger of his actions.

In June 1973 the collegium of the Ukrainian Supreme Court considered the protest of the Procurator's Office against the decision of the appellate court, and ruled that the protest was well-founded.

On July 5 the Ukrainian Supreme Court handed down a final decision: "To send Leonid Ivanovich Plyushch for compulsory treatment to a *special* psychiatric hospital in view of the extreme social danger of his anti-Soviet acts."

On 15 July 1973 Plyushch was sent to the special psychiatric hospital in Dnepropetrovsk.

Leonid Ivanovich Plyushch was born in 1939. In 1962 he graduated from Kiev University (Mechanics and Mathematics Department). Until July 1968 he worked as a mathematical engineer at the Cybernetics Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. He published a number of scientific works.

In July 1968 he was dismissed for a letter to *Komsomolskaya pravda* in which he criticized an article published in that newspaper about the trial of Ginzburg and others.

All of Plyushch's attempts to find work ended in failure.

In June 1969 Plyushch became a member of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Civil Rights in the USSR.

He was arrested on 15 January 1972.

Plyushch is married and his two children were born in 1959 and 1965.

THE TRIAL OF ANDREI AMALRIK

Andrei Amalrik* was due to complete his 3 year prison sentence on 21 May 1973.

On 22 May his wife, G. Makudinova, was informed that the Procurator's Office of Magadan had instituted new proceedings under article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code. This was Amalrik's second indictment under article 190-1.

On 22 May G. Podyapolsky, A. Sakharov and I. Shafarevich, members of the Human Rights Committee, issued an appeal in defence of Andrei Amalrik.

According to a report in *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR* (number 2) the news of Amalrik's new arrest provoked a wave of protests in the West.

* * *

* On Amalrik see *Chronicles* 4, 8, 11-20, 22, 23, 30.

Andrei Amalrik was tried on 18 July 1973 in the settlement of Talaya, Magadan region. His lawyer was Shveisky. The sentence: 3 years in strict-regime camps. The sentence was appealed to the RSFSR Supreme Court.

The *Chronicle* has no reliable information on this trial.

A CHRONICLE OF CASE NUMBER 24

The Belogorodskaya Case

Irina Mikhailovna Belogorodskaya was arrested on 3 January 1973 in Moscow. According to her husband Vadim Delone, invesigator Zhuchkov, who was handling the Belogorodskaya case, stated that her arrest was linked to the appearance of number 27 of *A Chronicle of Current Events*, even though the investigators knew that she had not taken part in producing that issue.

Thus the KGB fulfilled the promise it made in November 1972 through the agency of [the arrested] P. Yakir: "If number 27 of the *Chronicle* comes out, a person not necessarily having any connection with it will be arrested" [see number 28].

This was the second arrest for Belogorodskaya, an engineer by profession. The first time she was arrested for distributing a letter in defence of A. Marchenko and sentenced to one year in camps (*Chronicles* 3, 6).

* * *

In late January Vadim Delone was allowed to write a letter to his wife in the Lefortovo Prison. In that letter Delone, who had had numerous talks with investigator Zhuchkov, conveyed to Belogorodskaya recommendations for her behaviour. Despite this Belogorodskaya, it has become known, refused to embark on the giving of testimony.

* * *

According to unverified information, in February Belogorodskaya either met or corresponded with Victor Krasin.

* * *

In the course of the spring, testimony given by Belogorodskaya began to figure in the interrogations of Irina Yakir, Lyudmila Alekseyeva and others. It became known that in this testimony the names of Irina Yakir, Gabriel Superfin, Yury Shikhanovich, Ivan Rudakov, Natalya Kravchenko and Lyudmila Alekseyeva were mentioned in a rather "criminal" context. Confrontations were arranged between Belogorodskaya on the one hand and Kravchenko and Alekseyeva on the other.

Interrogations and Confrontations*

January

Victor Krasin's wife Nadezhda Emelkina, who was exiled to eastern Siberia [*Chronicle* 23],was brought to Moscow early in January to be interrogated about Case number 24.

She was allowed a meeting with her husband. On 20 January there was a confrontation between Emelkina and Pyotr Yakir. At the interrogations Emelkina at first gave details only about her own actions. Subsequently she testified about an association of Irina Yakir and Anatoly Yakobson with the *Chronicle.*

* * *

Yakir's wife, Valentina Savenkova, was interrogated three times. On 18 January she had a meeting with her husband.

* * *

A confrontation was arranged between Krasin and Yury Gendler of Leningrad (see *Chronicles* 3, 4, 5).

Gendler, who was arrested in August 1968, testified during his investigation and at his trial (December 1968) that in the summer of 1968 Krasin had given him *samizdat* materials for distribution in Leningrad.

At an interrogation in June 1972 Gendler denied this testimony, but after the January confrontation he again confirmed it.†

* * *

At about the same time there was a confrontation between Krasin and Father Sergii Zheludkov, a priest.** According to Krasin's testimony, the latter had received from him philosophical and religious books published in the West. Father Sergii Zheludkov refused to testify "for professional reasons".

* * *

Yury Maltsev†† was repeatedly interrogated, after which confrontations were held between him on the one hand and Krasin and Yakir on the other. Krasin and Yakir accused Maltsev of having had contacts with Italian correspondents (Maltsev of having had contacts with Italian correspondents (Maltsev is a specialist on Italy) and of transmitting information and manuscripts to the West. According to Yakir, Maltsev brought

*Of the people who figure in this section, these were founder-members in 1969 of the Initiative (or Action) Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR; Krasin, Yakir, Yakobson, Velikanova, Khodorovich, Kovalyov, Podyapolsky, Lavut and Levitin. On them see Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia,* Chapter 7, and various other issues of the *Chronicle.*

†In late 1973 Gendler emigrated and now lives in New York.

**See *Chronicles* 5, 7, 25-27, 32.

††On Maltsev see *Chronicles* 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 21. In 1974 Maltsev emigrated to Italy.

the "Program of the DMSU" from the Baltic region. According to Krasin, Maltsev read *samizdat* literature at his (Krasin's) home. Maltsev was a "signer" [of appeals etc] (this is the only item of evidence which Maltsev confirmed).

* * *

Andrei Dubrov was interrogated and had a confrontation with Yakir. As has become known, Dubrov gave testimony against, in particular, Evgeny Kushev and the two Kozilo brothers (against the latter proceedings have been instituted).*

* * *

Yuly Kim was interrogated several times in the case of Yakir and Krasin. Kim also had confrontations with them. Kim did not confirm the testimony of Yakir and Krasin.

* * *

February

A search was conducted at the flat of Gyuzel Makudinova, the wife of Andrei Amalrik, who was convicted in 1970. Personal correspondence and money were confiscated during the search. It is assumed that this search was associated with the testimony about her husband given by Yakir and Krasin.

On 12 February Makudinova was interrogated by the KGB about Krasin's testimony.

* * *

On 16 February there were confrontations between Yuly Kim on the one hand and Yakir and Krasin on the other.

* * *

In February the following were also interrogated in connection with Case Number 24: L. Alekseyeva, T. Velikanova, L. Ziman, I. Kaplun, L. Kardasevich, S. Kovalyov, L. Kusheva, P. Litvinov, G. Podyapolsky, G. Superfin, T. Khodorovich, I. Yakir, and A. Yakobson. Some of them were presented with an order "on the taking of specimens of handwriting for graphological analysis", because of the great amount of "handwritten materials figuring in the case".

* * *

Anatoly Yakobson was interrogated about the *Chronicle* and documents of the Initiative Group. He confirmed his participation in the letters of the Initiative Group†

*On Dubrov and Kushev, who emigrated in 1973 and 1974, see *Chronicle* 25 and 27 and 5 and 20 respectively. The initials of the Kozilo brothers are D and S.

†See Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*, pages 150-153. On Yakobson see *Chronicles* 1, 3-6, 8-11, 14, 16, 18, 25, 30.

but did not answer other questions. Specimens of handwriting were taken from him for graphological analysis.

* * *

During an interrogation of Pavel Litvinov investigator Aleksandrovsky reproached him, saying that in advising his acquaintances not to give testimony Litvinov was exerting a bad influence on them and subjecting them to risk; Litvinov was being cruel and "was left with the truth but not with Christ".

Litvinov did not give a deposition.

* * *

Tatyana Velikanova, Tatyana Khodorovich and Sergei Kovalyov refused to cooperate in the investigation, for example in the graphological analysis. They cited the following grounds for their refusal: systematic violations of procedure in the conduct of trials under articles 190-1 and 70; the injustice of the verdicts under these articles, since in no known case had the information disseminated via *samizdat* been proved false, let alone knowingly false; the absence of proof of any intent to undermine state authority in trials under article 70.

During the interrogation of S. Kovalyov, investigator Aleksandrovsky made indirect threats against the members of the Initiative Group.

* * *

Grigory Podyapolsky was twice interrogated about the *Chronicle* and the letters of the Initiative Group. Since he effectively gave no testimony, on the occasion of the second interrogation, at the suggestion of the investigator, an entry was made in the record to the effect that he had refused to cooperate in the investigation.

* * *

In February and March Gabriel Superfin* was repeatedly interrogated. He was suspected of having proof-read Peter Reddaway's book, *Uncensored Russia,* published in London. Threatening arrest, the investigators also demanded that he turn over the "archives" of the *Chronicle.* Statements about Reddaway's book and the archives of the *Chronicle* also figured in Krasin's testimony at a confrontation with Superfin in May.

Superfin did not confirm this testimony.

For purposes of graphological analysis Superfin wrote out texts in the English and Russian languages.

*See this issue, also number 30. Superfin also signed a protest against the Galanskov-Ginzburg trial in 1968.

In February Ilya Gabai was interrogated on the basis of testimony given by Yakir and Krasin. The greater part of this testimony was not confirmed by Gabai.

* * *

A confrontation was held between Yu. Kim and Jakas (see *Chronicle* 28). Jakas had previously been convicted under an article corresponding to article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code and sentenced to 2 years of camps. He had been arrested in the same case as Vaclav Sevruk (the Vilnius offshoot of Case number 24). He was brought from camp for the confrontation. Jakas testified that he had received the *Chronicle* from Kim, and given Kim items for the *Chronicle.* Kim did not confirm this testimony.

* * *

V. Semendyayev, a participant in the Crimean Tatars' movement was brought from Melitopol for interrogations. Previously he had been interrogated in Melitopol, where the investigators had played for him a tape recording of his telephone conversations with Yakir. In Moscow Semendyayev had a confrontation with Yakir.

* * *

Vladimir Bukovsky was brought from Vladimir Prison to Moscow.

* * *

March

Elena Smorodinova,* a former colleague of Belogorodskaya, was summoned by the KGB for interrogation in the latter's case. It is known that Smorodinova gave extensive testimony.

* * *

Vladimir Rokityansky† was interrogated on the basis of testimony given by Krasin. Krasin had stated that Rokityansky had contacts with foreign correspondents, and gave them copies of the *Chronicle.* Rokityansky did not confirm this.

* * *

*An engineer who signed a letter of protest about the Galanskov-Ginzburg trial in 1968.

†This (not Rakityansky) appears to be the correct spelling. See on him *Chronicle* 6 and the note in number 26, where, however, an error was committed in the copy received. As suggested in number 27 (Amnesty International edition, note 16), the item concerns Raketsky, not Rokityansky.

In late March Andrei Amalrik, who was serving the last months of his camp sentence in Magadan region, was brought to a special KGB prison in Magadan. It appears likely that Amalrik is being questioned about the case of Yakir and Krasin.

* * *

Natalya Kravchenko was interrogated on the basis of testimony given by Irina Belogorodskaya.

* * *

Vladimir Bukovsky was returned to Vladimir Prison.

* * *

Alexander Alshutov was interrogated on the basis of testimony given by Pyotr Yakir.

* * *

On 30 March Alexander Lavut was questioned by investigator Rastorguyev, who described Case Number 24 as a case involving the preparation, possession and distribution of the *Chronicle*. Lavut refused to testify. His grounds: investigations of this sort obstruct the free dissemination of information.

* * *

April

Academician A. D. Sakharov received a letter from Yakir from the Lefortovo Prison.* The letter was delivered by a KGB officer. After assuring Sakharov of his deep respect, Yakir called Sakharov to desist from all types of public statement, since (as Yakir had come to realize) they are harmful to people and are used by anti-Soviet propaganda.

* * *

The interrogations of Irina Yakir continue. They are conducted by investigator Kislykh. "Out of humanitarian considerations" they are conducted in a district police station, so that Irina Yakir can nurse her infant during the breaks. (She has a two-month-old daughter.)

* * *

*See text in *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR*, number 2, 1973.

Confrontations were held between Irina Yakir and Yuly Kim on the one hand and Krasin on the other. At one of them Krasin handed over a letter addressed to Yuly Kim and also intended for his "friends who are free".

Krasin states that recently the "Democratic Movement" has taken a direction dangerous to state authority, and the state has been compelled—and is entitled—to defend itself. The defeat of the "Democratic Movement" should be acknowledged. The cessation of all opposition activity is not sufficient to save people from repressions. The authorities require guarantees, and these guarantees can be assured only by all-round cooperation with the investigation. Krasin calls upon people to overcome the psychological barrier and testify freely, not only about their own activities but also about those of others.

* * *

Andrei Amalrik was returned to his camp.

* * *

A. E. Levitin (Krasnov) was brought from his camp for interrogations on Case number 24.

* * *

May

On 7 May there was a confrontation between Irina Yakir and Pyotr Yakir.

* * *

A confrontation was arranged between Pyotr Yakir and Lyudmila Kardasevich.

* * *

Valentina Savenkova was interrogated, on the basis of testimony from Yakir, Krasin and Emelkina, about 4,000 rubles which were transmitted from abroad.

* * *

Victor Timachev, Yuly Kim, Galina Gabai and Lyudmila Kusheva were interrogated on this same subject. They all refused to confirm the testimony of Yakir, Krasin and Emelkina.

* * *

Nadezhda Emelkina was again brought from the Krasnoyarsk territory. She confirmed her testimony about the money.

* * *

On 28 May there was another confrontation between I. Yakir and V. Krasin. Krasin stated that he had turned over 600 rubles to her for helping political prisoners and their families. I. Yakir refused to answer any questions.

* * *

The case of Irina Belogorodskaya was separated from Case 24 and made into a different proceedings.

* * *

June

Vladimir Dremlyuga* was brought from the Yakutsk camps for interrogation about Case 24.

* * *

The interrogation of Irina Yakir was completed. Frequent interrogations were conducted over a period of two and a half months, sometimes every day.

The interrogations were at first conducted by G. V. Kislykh, then by Istomin from the city of Perm. During this time I. Yakir had several confrontations with P. Yakir and V. Krasin.

At first I. Yakir refused to answer questions. Subsequently she began to confirm testimony which "concerned her personally".

* * *

At confrontations with I. Belogorodskaya, L. Alekseyeva and N. Kravchenko denied Belogorodskaya's testimony about their part in the preparation of the *Chronicle.*

* * *

Lyudmila Alekseyeva† was interrogated on the basis of testimony given by Pyotr Yakir.

* * *

*On him see *Chronicles* 3-5, 8, 10, 15, 17, 19-22, 27. In December 1974 he emigrated from the USSR.
†On Alekseyeva see *Chronicles* 1-3, 6, 8, 21.

The procedure of Yakir, Krasin and their lawyers Yudovich and Shveisky studying the case files (in accordance with article 201 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure) was begun early in June.

* * *

On 18 June the procedure involving the signing of article 201 in the case of Yakir and Krasin was completed.

* * *

EVENTS IN LITHUANIA*

In March and April 1973 the Vilnius KGB began to investigate the activities of voluntary ethnographic and regional studies groups which were studying the history of national culture. The KGB was interested in the organization and functioning of summer amateur expeditions, people's art groups, and in the organization of evening programs and discussions. In particular, it was interested in the Folk Song Club at the Vilnius Trade Unions' Palace of Culture, the Romuva Students' Club at the Vilnius State University (which was closed in 1971), the Rasa festival in Kernave, and the archeological expedition along the Sventoji river.

The following were summoned by the KGB (dates given in parentheses):

1. Birute Andrasiunaite, engineer (28 March).
2. Maryte Bozyte, VGU [Vilnius State University], fourth-year student (28 March).
3. Birute Burauskaite, engineer (2 April).
4. Kazimieras Eigminas, graduate of the VGU department of Lithuanian language (6 April).
5. Elena Eimaityte, graduate of the department of German language (27 March).
6. Reda Jakucionyte, engineer (28 March).
7. Zenonas Jakuciunas, conservatory graduate
8. Veronika Januleviciute, members of a young people's theatre group (28 March).
9. Virginia Jasiukaityte-Asmontiene, VGU, student.
10. Alfonsas Juska, biophysicist (27-28 March).
11. Donate Kaneviciute, mathematician (3 April).
12. Danas Kaukenas, correspondent of the newspaper *Vakarines naujienos [Evening News]* (4 April).
13. Kestusis Labanauskas, employee of the Institute for the Restoration of Monuments (28 March).
14. Rimas Matulis, graduate of the department of English language (28 March).
15. Kazimieras Misius, engineer (27 March).
16. Egidijus Norvaisas, graduate student in physics (27 March).
17. Algimantas Petrauskas, engineer (28 March).
18. Terese Povilaityte, graduate of the department of Lithuanian language (28 March).

* Background material can be found in most *Chronicles* from number 17 onwards.

19. Alfonsas Ramonas, mathematician (27 March).
20. Albinas Simokaitis, lecturer.
21. Edma Stankevicius, student.
22. Jonas Trinkunas, graduate student (28 March).
23. Zita Vanagaite, architect (3 April).

The KGB agents asked questions about meetings with Lithuanians exiled in Siberia and the Urals, about contacts with Lithuanians in Belorussia, and about supplying the latter with Lithuanian books and newspapers. They also asked about studies of monuments of Lithuanian antiquity in East Prussia (the Kaliningrad region).

They were interested in the methods by which young people were attracted to participate in the regional studies activities.

Some persons were accused of attempts to set up contacts with nationalist circles of Armenians, Georgians and Latvians.

The KGB investigators declared that this heightened interest in the past, and its idealization, facilitated the spread of nationalist attitudes. "Why sing only Lithuanian songs?" The charges of nationalism sometimes took on a sharper character. "Why sing partisan songs?" "Why gather materials on partisan battles?" (They had in mind the Lithuanian partisans of the late 1940s–the "Forest Brothers".)

R. Matulis was persuaded to sign an undertaking that he would not take part in organizing gatherings and evening activities which had not been cleared with official organs.

* * *

The following were arrested in Kaunas in late March 1973: Vidmantas Povilonis, engineer; Antanas Sakalauskas, lecturer in the Construction Department [of the Polytechnic Institute]; Sarunas Zukauskas, sixth-year student at the Medical Institute; and [Isidorius] Rudaitis, a physician.

Juozas Rugys was arrested in mid-April. Some printers' type was found.

Viktoras Kruminis, a fourth-year student at the Polytechnical Institute, was expelled from the institute.

V. Povilonis' mother sent a request to the secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, asking that her son be released. In reply the Procurator's Office of the Lithuanian Republic stated that criminal proceedings had been instituted against Povilonis for an especially dangerous crime–participation in an anti-Soviet group and the distribution of anti-Soviet leaflets in February 1972 in Kaunas.

* * *

The *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church [Lietuvos Kataliku Baznycius Kronika]*, on which the *Chronicle* reported in number 27, continues to be published.

The third issue (August 1972) includes the following:

Material on the activity of the KGB at the theological seminary in Kaunas;

The case of the teacher O. Briliene (see *Chronicle* 25);

A letter from Lithuanian believers to the Central Committee of the party dated 16 July 1972 (1,100 signatures);

Reports on the persecution of Bishop Sladkevicius and the priests V. Sauklys, G. Gudanavicius, J. Zubrus, and S. Tamkevicius.

The following is a summary of the contents of the fourth issue (November 1972).

In this number it is reported that priests are being compelled to make statements distorting the real position of Catholics in Lithuania.

Facts are cited testifying to intervention in the internal affairs of the Church. For example, local authorities are examining Church records in order to discover who is receiving the services of the Church. There is an account of a case where the priest V. Stakauskas was not allowed to visit a believer dying in a hospital.

Cases of the defilement of churches and church cemeteries are described.

On 27 August [1972] in Seduva only two priests were allowed to officiate at the confirmation of 3,000 children. During the confirmation one of them died.

When the priest J. Zdebskis (see *Chronicles* 21-24, 27) returned from prison, Rugienis, the commissioner for religious affairs, did not allow him to perform his priestly functions in the Vilkaviskis diocese.

* * *

In March 1973, 16,498 Lithuanian Catholics sent a statement to K. Tumenas, commissioner for religious affairs attached to the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian Republic. They protested against the lack in the republic of the Catholic literature they required. They statement said that whereas the authorities are providing religious literature to Lithuanians abroad, believers in Lithuania itself are deprived of it.

* * *

In March 1973 a statement from Lithuanian schoolchildren and their relatives was sent to the Lithuanian Ministry of Education. Anti-religious pressures on children in schools was the main subject of the statement. It also called attention to the scant treatment of Lithuanian history in Lithuanian schools.

The authors asked the authorities not to obstruct the exercise of freedom of conscience on the part of schoolchildren.

The statement was signed by 14,284 persons, about one-fourth of whom were schoolchildren.

* * *

The following information has to do with a trial in Lithuania in 1971 which was not previously reported in the *Chronicle*.*

*An error: a short account appeared in number 23, where the name was (evidently) mis-spelled Lauce.

THE TRIAL OF JONAS LAUCIUS

Jonas Laucius, principal of High School Number Two in Birzai, was born in 1917. In 1969 he wrote a novel with the title *In the Blast Furnace [Zaizdria].* The novel describes the experience of the Lithuanian people since 1940. It was submitted to the editorial board of the Vaga publishing house. The publishers' readers found it to be "anti-Soviet", "amoral" and "anti-artistic". Needless to say, it was not published. Then Laucius began to mail installments of it to his brother in the USA.

On 16 July 1971 Laucius was arrested.

His case was tried by the Lithuanian Supreme Court in Vilnius on 16-17 December 1971 (judge–Misiunas, procurator–Bakucionis, defence lawyer–Gavronskis)*. At first the accused was indicted under article 63 of the Lithuanian criminal code (corresponding to article 70 of the RSFSR code).

Seven letters sent by Laucius to the USA figured in the pre-trial investigation. At the trial, however, there was mention of only one, allegedly opened by chance because of the dirty envelope and the lack of a return address. Its authorship was established by using the clue of the addressee. The reason why this was necessary was the "anti-Soviet contents" of the letter.

The witnesses at the trial included: a female teacher from Vilnius who in 1969-70 had visited relatives in the USA and chanced to meet J. Laucius' brother who, according to her, told her that his brother was a teacher who had written an anti-Soviet novel; Kazis Ambrasas, a literary critic from the Vaga publishing house; and Laucius' wife and uncle, who had read the novel. Some of Laucius' pupils were questioned during the pre-trial investigation. But they gave good reports about their principal, and were not called at the trial.

At the trial Laucius stated that he had nurtured the subject of his novel for 20 years. He had written it in the hope that a new era would arrive in the USSR which would promise freedom to others besides official writers. "Now," he said, "I realize that I was mistaken; that there is no free literature in the USSR; that writers in the USSR are government employees." In his defence he pointed out that his novel had not been published, unlike works by Solzhenitsyn, Daniel and Sinyavsky. ("So is my guilt, expressed only in intentions, really so great?") He asked that his family not be persecuted.

The procurator asked for a sentence of 5 years' deprivation of freedom. At the request of the defence Laucius' acts were reclassified under article 199 of the Lithuanian criminal code (corresponding to article 190-1 of the RSFSR code), and the court sentenced him to 2 years in camps.

Free access to the court was not allowed; people were let in on the basis of special passes. After testifying, the witnesses were obliged to leave the courtroom.

It was emphatically insisted to Laucius' wife, a teacher with 20 years' experience, that she resign from the school. She was promised a new job if she did. And in fact she was given a job in a library at a salary of 60 rubles a month. Lauciene [Lithuanian form indicating a married woman] has three school-age children.

*These three men have participated in other political trials in Lithuania, those of Kudrika and Telkenis. See *Chronicles* 17, 20.

BIOGRAPHIES

The *Chronicle* opens a new section, "Biographies", with a biography of A. A. Tarasov.*

* * *

Adrian Aleksandrovich Tarasov was born in 1945. He lost his father in early childhood. While attending a special school for French studies he began to correspond with pen-pals in France. His French correspondents invited him to make a tourist trip to France (through Intourist they sent the invitation, tickets and money for expenses). Later he met French tourists and Frenchmen who had come to attend a festival.

On 25 December 1963 he was arrested on a charge of treason.

In March and April 1964 he was given a psychiatric examination in the Serbsky Institute. The conclusion: psychopathy, but mentally responsible for the purposes of criminal proceedings.

Between 7 and 17 September 1964 he was tried by a military tribunal of the MVD under article 64, paragraph "a", of the RSFSR criminal code. He was sentenced to 8 years in strict-regime camps. (This sentence was less than the minimum under this article–10 years–as he was an adolescent when he committed the acts for which he was incriminated; also, the sentence referred to his difficult childhood and psychopathy.)

Tarasov appealed against the tribunal's decision to the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court.

In October 1964 he was again examined at the Serbsky Institute. The conclusion was the same as before.

In January 1965 the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court set aside the tribunal's decision and sent the case back for further investigation.

In spring 1965 he was examined again at the Serbsky Institute. The conclusion: the same as before.

The new trial was held on 7-29 September 1965. The charge under article 64 was withdrawn. Tarasov was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment under article 70 of the RSFSR criminal code. But he pleaded not guilty and filed a new appeal.

In December 1965 he was examined for the fourth time at the Serbsky Institute. The conclusion was the same as before.

In January 1966 his sentence was approved by Military Collegium of the Supreme Court.

In December 1966 Tarasov was released on completion of his term. He was sent to live in Riga.

On 12 January 1967 he was arrested for violating his residence regulations in Moscow, where he had come to visit his mother.

He was again sent to the Serbsky Institute. The conclusion was again the same.

He was sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment.

In July 1967 he was released on completion of his term. He does not remember where he was supposed to go to live. On 13 July 1967 he came to Moscow.

*A similar but longer biography of Tarasov has been written and published by V. Prussakov (see *Chronicles* 1, 12, 14, 25, 26), who emigrated in 1972 and now lives in New York.

On 19 July he was detained by the police, but instead of being sent to a detention cell he was taken to the Gannushkin Psychiatric Hospital.

There he was diagnosed as schizophrenic. Since then he has been in various pschyiatric hospitals.

There have been many opportunities to discharge Tarasov. But he can be released only into the care of his relatives (as he has been ruled mentally incompetent), and his mother lives in Moscow, where he–as one who has served a sentence and been sent to live elsewhere than in Moscow–is not permitted to reside.

NEWS IN BRIEF

I. Kristi, T. Velikanova, O. Iofe, I. Kaplun, L. Kardasevich, Yu. Kiselev, M. Landa, S. Khodorovich, T. Khodorovich and N. Shatunovskaya have sent a letter to R. A. Rudenko Procurator-General of the USSR. The letter concerns a violation of the Decree on Amnesty of 28 December 1972 committed by the Procurator's Office of Moscow City with respect to S. G. Myuge (see *Chronicle* 22).

As Myuge is a war invalid with government decorations, and as article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code, under which he is being investigated, provides for a maximum term of less than 5 years, Myuge's case falls under the decree on amnesty. Despite this, the case has not been quashed.

* * *

Among those interrogated by the Procurator's Office of Moscow City in connection with the "Myuge Case" have been his wife, Kseniya Velikanova, Malva Landa (see *Chronicles* 22, 25), Alexander Galich, Sergei Kovalyov, Naum Korzhavin, N. Shcherbakova, K. Zainutdinov and E. Armand.

* * *

On 10 January 1973 A. Tverdokhlebov sent a letter to the editor-in-chief of *Vechernyaya Moskva [Evening Moscow]*.

The letter tells of the numerous arrests in 1972 under article 70 of the RSFSR criminal code. According to the author, the nature of this article of the criminal code requires a far-reaching discussion of these arrests. There is also a need to define "what may be done and what may not be done" in receiving and imparting information. In his letter Tverdokhlebov lists the names and addresses of eight persons charged under article 70.

* * *

Vyacheslav Chornovil, arrested in January 1972 in Lvov (see Chronicle 24), was tried in February. Chornovil was sentenced under article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code(which corresponds to article 70 of the RSFSR code) to 7 years in camps and 5 years of exile.

In 1967 Chornovil was sentenced to 3 years in camps under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian criminal code (article 190-1 of the RSFSR code).

* * *

Leonid Borodin and Nikolai Ivanov, arrested in 1967 and sentenced in 1968 to 6 years

for membership of the ARSCULP [All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People] ("the Ogurtsov Case" —see *Chronicle* 1), were released in March of this year—Borodin from the Vladimir Prison and Ivanov from Dubrovlag in the Mordovian ASSR.

* * *

In March a confrontation was held between the typist Olga Baryshnikova and Yury Shikhanovich, who was arrested in September 1972. Previously [see *Chronicle* 27] Baryshnikova's home had been searched in connection with the Shikhanovich case.

* * *

On 29 March Vladimir Bukovsky was transferred from the Vladimir Prison to the Perm camp complex in accordance with his sentence. Bukovsky was sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment–2 years in prison and the rest in strict-regime camps–plus 5 years of exile (see *Chronicles* 23, 24).

* * *

Former political prisoner Yury Ivanov (see *Chronicle* 10), released from prison on 6 October 1971, was forcibly sent to the Fourth Psychiatric Hospital in Leningrad in April 1973. Ivanov was sent to the hospital from the waiting room at the Leningrad administration of the KGB, where Moscow KGB officials had suggested to Ivanov that he go to get help in receiving a residence permit. The ambulance was sent for by KGB official Nikandrov.

In June 1973 Ivanov was transferred to the Third Psychiatric Hospital, apparently to a ward for socially-dangerous patients. He was given aminazin injections.

Previously, in the summer of 1972, Ivanov had rejected the suggestion of the investigations section of the Smolensk KGB administration that he refute the item "The Fate of Yury Ivanov" published in *Chronicle* 10.

* * *

In mid-May the police broke up a prayer meeting of Baptists near Kharkov. They detained a former prisoner in the Mordovian camp complex, Boris Zdorovets, who had already served 10 years in camps and in exile.* A search was made at his home.

There is information that Zdorovets is being indicted under the article corresponding to article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code.

* * *

The trial of Vaclav Sevruk (*Chronicles* 24-26), indicted under article 63 of the Lithuanian criminal code, was held in Vilnius in January. In particular, Sevruk was incriminated for having contacts with the *Chronicle of Current Events.* He was arrested on 14 January 1972. The psychiatric commission which examined him at the Serbsky Institute found him non-responsible.

*On Zdorovets see *Chronicles* 1, 7, 30.

Sevruk acknowledged that he had committed a crime while ill, but so far as is known he did not give any testimony. The court ordered that he receive compulsory treatment at a general hospital in Vilnius.

Sevruk was discharged from the hospital on July 9.*

* * *

On 5 March V. Sokirko† was interrogated in connection with Case 24. He was shown V. Krasin's deposition to the effect that the latter had used Sokirko's camera to reproduce printed materials. Sokirko refused to answer questions. Proceedings were instituted against him under article 182 of the RSFSR criminal code (refusal to testify).

In May Sokirko's case was tried by the Moscow City Court. The sentence was the maximum: 6 months of compulsory labour at the place of employment. Soon after the trial he was again called in for questioning on Case 24 and confirmed that Krasin had received a camera from him.

The investigator told Sokirko that he had been tried under article 182 of the criminal code because of the insignificance of the episode with the camera, but that other "recusants" would be tried under more serious articles.

* * *

A. E. Levitin-Krasnov, a writer on religious subjects and a member of the Initiative Group, gained his freedom in late May. He had been arrested in the autumn of 1969. In the summer of 1970 he was released from detention pending his trial. In the spring of 1971 he was tried under article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code and sentenced to 3 years in camps. He served his term in the Smolensk region.

* * *

In June, in connection with the case of Sergei Myuge, a search was made at the country cottage of his mother-in-law, N. A. Velikanova.

* * *

V. A. Nekipelov (born 1928), was arrested on 11 July 1973 in Kameshkovo in the Vladimir region. He has a higher education in two fields: pharmacology and literature. A small selection of his poetry was published in 1964. He has published in magazines and newspapers. At the time of his arrest he was working as head of the Central District Pharmacy in Kameshkovo.

He was indicted under article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code, being incriminated for the poems "A Not Altogether Canonical Ode" and "Tahiti" and for the article "They Want to Try Us—for What?"* Also, he was incriminated for having given to V. Dvortsin one issue of the *Chronicle* (according to the testimony of Dvortsin).

*In autumn 1974 Sevruk emigrated, and now lives in the USA.
†On Victor Sokirko, a Moscow engineer, see *Chronicles* 7 and 13.

Between 5 July 1972 and 11 July 1973 Nekipelov was subjected to six searches at home and at work, including one at the flat of his mother-in-law. The last search resulted in the confiscation of letters, poems, photographs, rough drafts, notebooks, tapes, F. Raskolnikov's letter, a typewriter and the article "They Want to Try Us—for What?"

Nekipelov was the first person to be arrested in connection with the "Myuge Case" (see *Chronicles* 22, 25-27).

* * *

The former political prisoner Boris Shilkrot (see *Chronicles* 17, 22 [also 11, 14, 27, 30]), who was released in the summer of 1972, was again arrested on 25 July 1973 in Luga, Leningrad region. He was indicted under article 198-2 of the RSFSR criminal code (violation of residence regulations).

* * *

On 2 July Roald Mukhamedyarov (see *Chronicles* 14,15,24,25) was ruled mentally non-responsible by the Moscow City Court and sent for compulsory treatment in a psychiatric hospital of the ordinary type. (Address: st. Stolbovaya Moskovskoi obl., psikhbolnitsa 5.)

* * *

In July of this year the poet Naum Korzhavin was expelled from the Union of Soviet Writers' shortly after he had applied for emigration to Israel.† (His application was submitted almost immediately after the interrogation,noted earlier, to which Korzhavin was subjected by the KGB.)

Korzhavin's poems have been published in the Soviet press and in *samizdat*. His play *Once in 1920* was produced at the Stanislavsky Theatre in Moscow.

Korzhavin was arrested several times in the Stalin era.

* * *

In July Vladimir Maksimov was expelled from the Union of Soviet Writers. Maksimov has published two collections of stories in the USSR, and has often published in magazines. In *samizdat* he is known for his novels *The Seven Days of Creation [Syem dney tvorenya]* and *Quarantine [Kvarantin]*.

* * *

A message from Daniel Berrigan to Soviet political prisoners. Daniel Berrigan, a Roman Catholic priest, a member of the nonviolent resistance movement in the USA, and a former political prisoner (Daniel Berrigan, his brother Philip and seven of their friends burned in a public square, as a protest against the war in Vietnam,378 induction

*See summary in *Chronicle* 30, section *Samizdat News*.
†In early 1974 he emigrated to the USA and now lives near Boston.

orders which they had collected), tells of his meeting with a delegation from the Soviet Peace Committee. Berrigan and his friend asked the Soviet delegates questions about the persecution of dissenters in the USSR. When they replied, "....we felt in the air the brimstone odour of betrayal.....One was always conscious of the corruption of language".* This meeting reminded the American militants of the nonviolent resistance of "their Soviet spritual brothers".

> In everyone of thos shifting glances, which met our eyes with such rancour, such moral unwillingness, such a stubborn withholding of the truth, we were able to see your direct and candid look....So we thank the powers of the Soviet state which in sending your opposite numbers, in a most strange and authentic way sent yourselves.

* * *

On 24 June 1973, in connection with Brezhnev's visit to the US, *The New York Times* published a "Statement by American Dissenters". A passage in the letter reads [reverse translation] :

> ... To fight against infringements of civil freedoms in the US but keep silent when civil freedoms are being trampled under foot in the USSR and the countries of the Socialist bloc, to protest against American policy in Indochina but tacitly go along with the Soviet occupation of Czecholslovakia, would not only be immoral but would raise justified doubts as to the sincerity of all our commitments at home.

The statement mentions the names of political prisoners from the Ukraine and Lithuania, of Jews tried in the "Aeroplane Case", of those taking part in activities for civil rights, and of political prisoners in Czechoslovakia.

The statement was drawn up by an initiative committee consisting of 14 persons. It was supported by 273 American intellectuals.

* * *

On 29 December 1972 A. Tverdokhlebov informed the Human Rights Committee that he was resigning from it for reasons that were "strictly personal".

* * *

On 17 December 1972 (after he had been deprived of Soviet citizenship) V. Chalidze announced that he was resigning as a consultant of the Human Rights Committee.

* * *

*Both here and below the original words of Berrigan are given. The meeting took place on 6 March 1973.

A letter entitled "Concerning the Public Activity of V. Chalidze" was circulated on 3 January 1973. In this letter Chalidze's activities as a publicist and a [*samizdat*] publisher, as well as his trip abroad, were viewed as bold legal experiments confronting the authorities with the necessity of blatantly exposing the illegal character of their own actions.

The letter was signed by: A. Tverdokhlebov, I. Kristi, I. Rudakov, I. Kaplun, L. Kardasevich, T. Litvinova, P. Litvinov, V. Timachev, I. Yakir, S. Myuge, M. Landa, K. Velikanova, I. Korneyev, A. Lavut, T. Velikanova, N. Bukovskaya, N. Shatunovskaya and Yu. Gastev. *

* * *

TO THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET ON THE ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

> Since times long past, many people have striven for the abolition of capital punishment, holding that it contravenes moral feelings and cannot be justified by any general social considerations. Capital punishment has now been abolished in many countries.
>
> On the anniversary of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics we call upon the USSR Supreme Soviet to pass a law abolishing capital punishment in our country.
>
> Such a decision would facilitate in particular the further spread of this humanitarian act throughout the world.

This appeal was sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet by a large group of citizens on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the founding of the USSR [December 1972] An "Appeal for Amnesty" was also sent.

The authors of this appeal call upon the legislators especially to provide for "... the release of those convicted for reasons directly or indirectly associated with their beliefs; in particular, those convicted under articles 190-1, 190-2 and 190-3, 70 and 72 of the RSFSR criminal code, and under the analogous articles of the codes of other Union Republics, all those convicted in connection with their religious beliefs, and all those convicted in connection with their attempts to leave the country." Also, ".....to review the decisions, handed down for the same reasons, concerning confinement in special (prison-type) and ordinary psychiatric hospitals."

Each appeal was signed by several dozen persons. Unfortunately, the *Chronicle* does not have a complete list of signatures. Among the signatories were: Academician Sakharov, corresponding member [of the USSR Academy of Sciences] I. Shafarevich, G. Podyapolsky, Academician Leontovich, A. Galich, V. Chalidze, Academician [G. I.] Petrov, T. Velikanova, V. Maksimov and S. Kovalyov. †

*See the text of this letter, also further details about the preceding items, in *A Chronicle of Human Rights*, number 1, 1973, which lists additional, subsequent signatories to the letter: V. Arkhangelsky, L. Vatsura, E. Kosterina, O. Iofe, A. Volpin, L. Kusheva, A. Naidenovich, V. Lashkova, G. Amalrik, L. Alekseyeva.

† For the full texts and full lists of signatories (52 on the first, 51 on the second) see *A Chronicle of Human Rights*, numbers 5-6, 1973.

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7

1 Alexander Sergiyenko
2 Ivan Dzyuba
3 Romas Kalanta
4 Ivan Svetlichny
5 Nadezhda Svetlichnaya
6 Ilya Gabai
7 Irina Stasiv-Kalynets
8 Igor Kalynets

8

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 through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19.

Number 30 **31 December 1973**

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Sixth Year of Publication

Ilya Yankelevich Gabai* is dead. He committed suicide on 20 October by jumping from the balcony of his 11th-floor flat. More than a hundred people gathered at the Nikolskoye Crematorium in Moscow to pay their last respects to him. His ashes have been interred beside his father's grave in Baku.

A teacher and a poet, he was 38 years old. He left behind a wife and two children. One can only conjecture about the cause of his death. But explanations such as the effects of prison, interrogations, searches or the enforced idleness of a talented individual do not accord with one's conception of Gabai.

To all those who knew him Ilya Gabai—an exceptionally compassionate man with an unrelenting sense of personal responsibility—was the embodiment of a *moral presence.* And even his last desperate act contains, probably, a message which it is incumbent upon his friends to understand....

* * *

THE TRIAL OF PYOTR YAKIR AND VICTOR KRASIN

On 27 August 1973 in the Lyublino District People's Court in Moscow judicial proceedings commenced in the case of Yakir and Krasin, indicted for criminal anti-Soviet activity under article 70, paragraph 1, of the RSFSR criminal code. Mironov, deputy chairman of the Moscow City Court, presided as judge. Solonin, an assistant to the procurator-general, served as prosecutor. Yudovich and Shveisky as counsel for the defence.

The court was in session for almost a week without recessing. Representatives of various state and public organizations (the composition of this group changed from day to day) were allowed into the courtroom with special tickets. The defendants' relatives were also permitted to attend the trial. After questioning, witnesses had the right to remain in the courtroom until the end of the trial, but only two or three chose to do so. Friends and acquaintances of the defendants were barred from the courtroom. Guards

with red arm bands told them the courtroom was full and finally asked the group assembled on the street to move away from the court building. Foreign correspondents, too, were not admitted to the trial but were regularly given information about the proceedings.

The materials of the Yakir-Krasin case constituted 150 volumes. There is reason to believe that at the start of the investigation charges were preferred under article 64 [treason]. During the pre-trial investigation more than 200 people were interrogated. The reading of the indictment took four hours. Yakir and Krasin were accused of the following activities: the composition and signing, possession, duplication and circulation of many documents of a potitical nature, of letters of protest, leaflets and *A Chronicle of Current Events*; transmission of these documents to the West through foreign journalists or foreign tourists; procurement and subsequent possession of various documents of the NTS [People's Labour Alliance] and other literature published in the West, categorized in the indictment as anti-Soviet; the receipt of 4,000 rubles from the NTS through a representative of the Italian organization "Europa Civilta"; procurement from foreigners of portable tape-recorders subsequently to be used "for hostile purposes"; statements and an interview given to the foreign press and television.

Both defendants pleaded guilty in full and repented of their actions. Both also acknowleged that they had had designs against Soviet authority.

Of approximately 30 witnesses examined during the trial,* many were not residents of Moscow. One of the witnesses, the psychiatrist Snezhnevsky, stated, among other things, that in his entire 50 years' experience in psychiatric institutions, no healthy individual had ever been confined in a psychiatric hospital.

During the examination of witnesses Judge Mironov tried mainly to corroborate and clarify the points of the indictment and refrained from judgements, leaving this to the prosecution.

In his speech to the court prosecutor, Solonin demanded a penalty of 3 years' imprisonment and 3 years of exile for each of the defendants. In their pleadings counsel for the defence acknowledged that their clients' actions had been categorized correctly. Both attorneys gave detailed accounts of the unlawful persecutions Yakir and Krasin had endured during the period of the cult of [Joseph Stalin's] personality and of the serious ill health from which both suffered.

In conclusion, they asked the court to limit the penalty to the amount of time the defendants had already served.

Yakir, in a brief final plea, requested some form of penalty other than imprisonment. "I want to die elsewhere than behind barbed wire," he said. Krasin, too, asked to have his sentence reduced. On 1 September the verdict was announced. Each man was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile.

After sentencing, the defendants were permitted a brief meeting with their relatives in the courtroom. Yakir and Krasin asked them to thank their lawyers and inform the latter that their services would no longer be needed. Each of the convicted men wrote his own appeal against the sentence.

* One was Anatoly Levitin, who circulated in *samizdat* a verbatim account of his own examination. In the course of this he quoted a statement by Yakir, Bukovsky and himself in which they described in detail their negative attitude to the NTS.

A news conference with Yakir and Krasin, attended by foreign correspondents, was held in the House of Journalists on 5 September. Portions of it were broadcast on television the same day. Both men repented of their criminal deeds which had, objectively speaking, furthered the hostile activities of anti-Soviet organizations abroad. Yakir described reports of psychiatric persecution of dissenters in the Soviet Union as "libellous". Subsequently the news conference was given extensive coverage in the press.

* * *

In an appellate session on 28 September the RSFSR Supreme Court reviewed the decision of the Moscow City Court. Procurator Ilyukhin (acting for [Procurator-General] Rudenko) argued the case for the prosecution. He declared the court's decision valid and presented a medical report on the health of Yakir and Krasin. The main conclusion of the physicians was that further confinement of the accused in custody could seriously endanger their health. For this reason Ilyukhin asked to have Yakir's sentence reduced to one year and 4 months of imprisonment and Krasin's to one year and one month, terms which were roughly equal to the time each had already served in the Lefortovo Prison since his arrest. The procurator asked that the sentence of exile remain in force. The RSFSR Supreme Court concurred with this proposal.

* * *

In mid-October Krasin was exiled to Kalinin, Yakir to Ryazan.

* * *

In late October or early November the RSFSR Supreme Court pardoned Krasin's wife, Nadezhda Emelkina, sentenced in 1971 to 5 years of exile under article 190-3 of the RSFSR criminal code (see *Chronicles* 20, 22, 23). She had been in exile in the town of Eniseisk in Krasnoyarsk territory.

Emelkina gave testimony which was very useful to the investigators conducting Case Number 24 (*Chronicles* 28, 29).

* * *

Early in December the KGB petitioned to have the criminal case against Irina Mikhailovna Belogorodskaya dropped (apparently through the granting of a pardon). During the investigation she had testified against several people (see *Chronicle* 29 and this issue). Belogorodskaya was released from Lefortovo Prison where she had been confined for over 11 months.

* * *

The *Chronicle* lists below the names of people whom it knows were interrogated during the investigation of the Yakir-Krasin-Belogorodskaya case (this list is far from complete: in all, over 200 people were interrogated).

L. Alekseyeva, G. Altunyan (Kharkov), A. Alshutov, V. Albrekht, A. Amalrik, Z. Asanova, T. Bayeva, V. Balakirev, V. Batshev, V. Bakhmin, A. Bolonkin, V. Bukovsky, N. Bukovskaya, T. Velikanova, V. Voinovich, A. Volpin, G. Gabai, I. Gabai, E. Gaidukov (Khabarovsk), Yu. Gendler (Leningrad), S. Genkin, L. I. Ginzburg, G. Gladkova, S. Gluzman (Kiev), Z. M. Grigorenko, V. Delone, M. Dzhemilev, T. Dibtseva (Sochi), V. Dremlyuga, A. Dubrov, R. Dzemilev, N. Emelkina, Father S. Zheludkov, T. Zhitnikova (Kiev), L. Ziman, Yu. Ivanov, I. Kalynets (Lvov), A Kaplan, I Kaplun, L. Kardasevich, Yu. Karyakin, Yu. Kim, S. Kovalyov, V. Kozharinov, D. Kozilo, S. Kozilo, E. Kosterina, N. Kravchenko, Yu. Krasin, I. Kristi, E. Kushev, L. Kusheva, A. Lavut, A. E. Levitin-Krasnov, P. Litvinov, Letinsky (Leningrad), Yu. M. Lotman (Tartu), G. Makudinova, Yu. Maltsev, D. Markov (Obninsk), V. Miloshevich, B. Mikhalevsky, R. Mukhamedyarov, B. Naidorf (Novosibirsk), A. Nenarokov, E. Olitskaya (Uman), B. Orlov, S. Pavlenkova (Gorky), O. Paulson (Smela), L. Pinsky, G. Podyapolsky, V Ponomaryov (Kharkov), V. Rokityansky, I. Rudakov, V. Savenkova, T. Svirepova, V. Sevruk (Vilnius), Semendyayev (Melitopol), L. Serednyak (Kiev), V. Slepak, M. Smolyansky, E. Smorodinova, A. Snezhnevsky, V. Sokirko, S. Soldatov (Tallin), P. Starchik, N. Strokata (Odessa), G. Superfin, L. Ternovsky, V. Timachev, L. Tkachenko, L. Ubozhko, Ustinova, Forsel (Petrozavodsk?), V. Khaustov, T. Khodorovich, V. Chalidze, V. Chornovil (Lvov), N. Ya. Shatunovskaya, Yu. Shikhanovich, B. Shragin, Yu. Yukhnovets, G. Yablonsky, S. Jakas (Vilnius), I. Yakir, A. Yakobson, V. Yanushevich.

Statement by the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR

At the trial of P. Yakir and V. Krasin, and in material published in the Soviet press, there have been insinuations that the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR engages in slander of the Soviet system.

The Initiative Group does not share the position taken by its former members P. Yakir and V. Krasin at their trial and feels obliged to make the following clear:

1) In all documents of the Initiative Group we report only facts. We are convinced of the truth of our reports.

2) The Initiative Group has never sought to discredit the social system or the government of its country. It has protested only against those actions of the authorities which it would consider inadmissible under any system and any government.

3) As a matter of principle the Initiative Group has refrained from making any *political statements* whatever. Now, as in the past, it considers its primary duty to be the defence of human rights in its country.

4) We continue to assert that in a series of instances psychiatry has been used in our country as a way of locking up people whom the authorities find objectionable. No assertions by Academician A. Snezhnevsky of the Academy of

Medical Sciences or Professor R. Nadzharov,* no repentant statements by P. Yakir and V. Krasin, and no court indictments or decisions can alter the appalling reality of this fact.

We direct attention to the fact that while publicly denying the use of psychiatry in the USSR to combat dissent, A. Snezhnevsky and R. Nadzharov are themselves *accomplices* in this crime. Their signatures appear on the forensic psychiatric reports of people convicted for ideological reasons. And on the basis of these reports Soviet courts rule that people be committed to psychiatric hospitals for compulsory treatment....

5) We affirm that during their investigation, trial and news conference P. Yakir and V. Krasin made false statements. It is tragic that these lies also affect the fate and reputation of all the political prisoners in the camps, prisons and psychiatric hospitals of the USSR.

6) We emphasize that a news conference given by people convicted of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" is an unprecedented phenomenon in our country. Other such people suffer severe punishments merely for trying to get information about the conditions of their detention to the world outside.

7) We protest against the use of investigation methods which break people down and force them to discredit themselves, their actions and those of their comrades. We draw attention to the impermissible conditions that prevail during investigations: the prolonged periods of confinement in investigation prisons, the banning of visits and correspondence (except when this benefits the investigators) and the lack of any right to legal counsel.† All this renders the person under investigation utterly defenceless against abuses by the investigation agencies.

8) We are alarmed by the resumption in our country of fierce campaigns of denunciation in which the accusers have no qualms about acknowledging that they have not read the works they are infuriated by. We are all the more alarmed to find members of our intelligentsia—scientists, writers, artists—participating in this campaign.

We also consider it our duty to express the deep respect we have for the noble and courageous stands taken by Academician A. Sakharov and the writer A. Solzhenitsyn.

9) The Initiative Group intends to continue in the future to make individual and collective efforts to promote universally acknowledged freedoms, such as the freedom to express and disseminate opinions, and, for example, the freedom not to be subjected to fraudulent charges by courts.

The Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR:
T. Velikanova, S. Kovalyov, A. Levitin-Krasnov, G. Podyapolsky,
T. Khodorovich.
September 1973.

*The reference is to the former's assertion at the Yakir-Krasin trial (see above) and to an interview by Nadzharov summarized later in this issue.
†Counsel may be engaged only after the investigation has been completed.

THE TRIAL OF YURY SHIKHANOVICH

On 28 September 1972 Yury Shikhanovich was arrested after a search of his flat. Two searches had been conducted there prior to this, one on 14 January (related to Case 24) and the other on 6 May (related to the case of K. A. Lyubarsky). Biographical data and a report of Shikhanovich's arrest appeared in *Chronicle* 27.

Lieutenant Colonel V. K. Galkin and Balashov conducted the Shikhanovich case. The homes of the following people were searched in connection with this case: Olga Baryshnikova, a Moscow typist, Boris Vail, an exile in Tobolsk (see *Chronicle* 16), and a certain Mikhailov. Shikhanovich's name had been mentioned repeatedly at the trials of Lyubarsky and Popov (see *Chronicle* 28).

During the investigation Shikhanovich pleaded not guilty and denied that the documents with which he was incriminated were slanderous in nature or had the aim of undermining or weakening Soviet authority. He testified that at his request O. Baryshnikova had typed several *samizdat* works and, in a confrontation with her, asked her to corroborate this. Apart from this, he gave no depositions about other people.

By mid-winter the questions about Shikhanovich put to his acquaintances during their interrogations had taken on a decidedly "medical" overtone.

From 22 May to 28 June Shikhanovich underwent psychiatric examination in the Serbsky Institute. A psychiatric commission composed of Morozov, Lunts, Zharikov and Tabakova declared him non-responsible. The diagnosis: extreme psychopathic personality of the schizoid type; possible presence of a sluggish schizophrenic process.

The investigation was concluded on 28 June and the case materials reached the court on 5 July, but up to 11 November officials of the Moscow City Court asserted they had not yet received them.

In a statement made shortly before the trial Shikhanovich indicated that he did not intend to engage in the activities with which he had been charged, and planned on his release to occupy himself only with teaching or editing work.

On 3 October E. Bonner, T. Velikanova, S. Kovalyov and A. Sakharov sent a letter to L. N. Smirnov, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court. They pointed out that over a year had elapsed since Shikhanovich's arrest and over three months since the conclusion of the investigation, whereas the law stipulated that a case should be examined in court no later than 33 days after conclusion of an investigation. Given their long-standing friendship with Shikhanovich, the authors declared that they considered the psychiatric diagnosis unfounded. They demanded an open trial with the participation of the defendant.

In Shikhanovich's absence the Moscow City Court examined his case on 26 November. (Ryazhsky presided as judge in the case; Ermakov served as prosecutor; Reznikova as counsel for the defence.) Fokin of the Serbsky Institute presented a psychiatric report. Shikhanovich was indicted for the possession, reproduction and circulation of anti-Soviet literature.

The following charges are known to have figured in the trial:

—reproduction and circulation of *A Chronicle of Current Events* (testimony by Belogorodskaya and Tsfasman).

—distribution of the 18th issue of the *Chronicle* (testimony by Yukhnovets).

–transmission of a "Possev" edition of the *Chronicle* to Popov (testimony by Popov). (See also *Chronicle* 28).
–circulation of S. Alliluyeva's memoirs (testimony by I. Rudakov).
–circulation of S. Telegin's article "What Ought One to Do?" ["Kak byt?] (according to the prosecution, testimony by V. Khaustov).
–reproduction of the following works: "From the Russian Diaspora" ["Iz Russkoi Diaspory"], "Trade in Living Commodity" ["Torgovlya zhivym Tovarom"], "Trapeznikov's Self-Denunciation" ["Trapeznikov razoblachayet sebya"], a book entitled *The Jews in the USSR after World War II [Yevrei v USSR posle 2 Mirovoi voiny]* (alleged testimony by O. Baryshnikova).
–circulation of the work "Light After Midnight" ["Svet posle polunochi"] (alleged testimony by I. Kristi), as well as the circulation (or possession?) of the following works: "What we have Lost over 50 Years" ["Chto my poteryali za 50 let"] and "On the Soviet Democratic Movement" ["O Sovietsom demokraticheskom dvizhenii" (testimony by I Belogorodskaya) and the pamphlet by Kolakovski "What is Socialism?" ["Chto takoe sotsialism"] (alleged testimony by Orlovsky).*

It is reliably known that Baryshnikova, Kristi, and Orlovsky gave no depositions incriminating Shikhanovich. Moreover, it is known that at the trial Yu. Yukhnovets spoke not about the *Chronicle* but "some letters or other in defence of Galanskov".

Four witnesses were summoned to the trial: Baryshnikova, Popov, Rudakov and Yukhnovets. The latter two appeared and testified. Popov was ill but his testimony was read in court. Baryshnikova did not appear.

The court ruled that Shikhanovich's activities subject fell under article 70 of the RSFSR criminal code and issued a decision to have him confined in an ordinary hospital for compulsory treatment. The verdict contained references to testimony by Belogorodskaya, Tsfasman, Popov, Rudakov, Yukhnovets, Yakir and Khaustov. It also cited "testimony" by Baryshnikova, Kristi and Orlovsky.

THE TRIAL OF ALEXANDER BOLONKIN AND VALERY BALAKIREV

Judicial proceedings were held in Moscow from 19-23 November in the case of Balakirev and Bolonkin, who were brought to trial under article 70 of the RSFSR criminal code. The case was examined by the Moscow City Court.

Born in 1940, Valery Ivanovich Balakirev, a lecturer at the Moscow College of Metallurgical Technology, was arrested on 22 September 1972. Alexander Aleksandrovich Bolonkin (born 1932), a Reader at the Moscow Institute of Aeronautical Engineering, a Doctor [doktor] of Technology, and author of about 40 scientific works, was arrested on 21 September 1972.

The case was conducted by the KGB Directorate for Moscow City and the Moscow region. The substance of the charges was that the defendants had prepared (on various types of equipment, including a home-made rotary press) and circulated the following anti-Soviet literature: the journal *The Democrat [Demokrat], A Chronicle of Current Events*, leaflets signed by "The Citizens' Committee" (the "Economic Leaflet")†, a

*For the item by Telegin see *Chronicle* 12 and *Chronicle* 27 which also summarizes "Trapeznikov's Self-Denunciation"; for the Kolakowski item see *Chronicle 10.*
†See *Chronicle* 26, page 257 of Amnesty International edition and *Chronicle* 29 above.

translation of R. Conquest's book *The Great Terror*, a document known under the title "The Program of the Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union" ["Programma Demokraticheskogo Dvizheniya Soviet Kogo Soyuza"] and a number of other works.

During the pre-trial investigations, both Bolonkin and Balakirev had testified about their own activities and those of their acquaintances. However, Bolonkin subsequently withdrew his testimony. The statements by Bolonkin and Balakirev at the trial of Davydov and Petrov (see *Chronicle* 29) reflect rather accurately their respective positions at their own trial.

Alexander Bolonkin pleaded not guilty at the trial and demanded that Academician Sakharov be admitted to the court. Valery Balakirev condemned his previous activity.

About twenty witnesses testified at the trial, including arya and Yukhnovets (who were arrested in this case but subsequently released–on Yukhnovets see *Chronicle* 27).

The verdict: for Bolonkin–4 years in camps and 2 years in exile; for Balakirev–a suspended sentence of 5 years' imprisonment.

THE TRIAL OF ALEXANDER FELDMAN

On 18 October 1973 Alexander Dmitrievich Feldman was arrested in Kiev on a charge of hooliganism.

The following day his flat was searched (by a search party equipped with its own key). Feldman himself was not present at the search, during which the following items were confiscated: notebooks, letters (including some from abroad), a copy of the Hebrew alphabet, part 3 of the work *A History of the Jewish People*, stories by Solzhenitsyn, Nabokov's *Invitation to a Beheading* (apparently a photocopy), and a book by Jabotinsky. Although the search was prompted by "suspicions of a bank robbery", no further mention of the "suspicion" was made, hooliganism being the only charge mentioned in the indictment. The real reason for the arrest appears to have been Feldman's active role in the struggle for the right to emigrate to Israel. For his participation in Jewish demonstrations in Kiev and Moscow Feldman had twice before been punished by 15-day arrests.* His recent arrest occurred in the evening, near his home, where he was returning from synagogue.

Prior to the completion of the investigation, *Vechernyi Kiev [Evening Kiev]* (31 October 1973) published a feature story giving the prosecution's version of the case (in which references were made to a cake Feldman had knocked out of some girl's hand, two badly beaten men who tried to defend her, etc.).

On 23 November the case was examined by the Darnitsky District Court in Kiev (judge–Ermakova; prosecutor–Kalyuzhny; counsel for the defence–Ezhov).

The authorities had clearly gone to great lengths to conceal the site of the trial. Not only Feldman's relatives, but also his lawyer had great difficulty locating the building designated for the hearing. It was held as an assizes session in the canteen of a factory, and no outsiders were allowed in. Feldman's father, brothers, and friends turned out to be "outsiders".

*See *Chronicles* 26 and 27.

A. Feldman was indicted for committing acts of hooliganism: insulting and shoving a girl, knocking a cake out of her hands, and ripping the clothes of the two men who tried to defend her.

Three witnesses and the injured party were summoned to appear at the trial. Feldman identified the two witnesses with whom he had allegedly started a fight as KGB agents who had been trailing him unrelentingly on the day of his arrest and for the past several months. The third witness–Khryapa, Deputy Chief of the Criminal Investigation Department–had been present during the pre-trial investigation of Feldman's case.

At the start of the trial, Feldman challenged the composition of the court on the grounds that, as the KGB had inspired the case against him, and the court could not be unaware of this, the court members would be implicated in a violation of the law. After deliberating, the court overruled this challenge.

A. Feldman petitioned the court: (1) to allow his relatives and friends to attend the trial; and (2) to disqualify the witnesses, since they had no legal right to act as such. His lawyer supported these petitions and demanded to see the witnesses' identity papers. When it turned out that they had none with them, he objected to their testifying until the passports could be produced. The court overruled his objection, stating that the case file contained biographical particulars of the witnesses.

Cited below are some of the questions asked of the "injured party" and her replies:

Where was V. Telyatova going when the incident with the cake occurred?

To the post office, the injured party said, where she had a date to meet someone.

The name of the man she was to meet?

A fellow named Slavik whom she had met at the beach, Telyatova said. She didn't know his last name.

Was the injured party going out for the evening with a cake?

Judge:"The question is irrelevant."

Where was V. Telyatova employed?

She had worked at Kindergarten number 505.

And now...?

At this point the judge interrupted the defence, insisting that his questions had no bearing on the case.

In his speech to the court the prosecutor demanded a sentence of 4 years' imprisonment in an intensified-regime camp. The counsel for the defence demonstrated that no crime had been committed.

The verdict: 3½ years' imprisonment in camps with an intensified regime. The case was appealed to the Kiev regional court.

THE TRIAL OF VASILY LISOVOI, EVGENY PRONYUK AND IVAN SEMANYUK

In November 1973 judicial proceedings were held in Kiev in the case of Lisovoi and Pronyuk (see *Chronicles* 27 and 28) and Semanyuk, brought to trial under article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code (cf article 70 of the RSFSR code). The case was examined by the Kiev Regional Court.

V. Lisovoi, Doctor *(Kandidat)* of Philosophical Sciences, was a scientific associate of the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and a member of the

party. He is married and has two children (one an infant). E. Pronyuk was also a scientific associates of the Institute of Philosophy. He was denied the right to defend his dissertation because some *samizdat* material had been confiscated from his office; subsequently, he was transferred to a job as a bibliographer. Nothing is known about I. Semanyuk except that he attended a series of lectures by V. Lisovoi.

Pronyuk, the first to be arrested, was detained on the street. His brief case was found to contain numerous typed copies of a letter to the Central Committee and to "prominent people in the Soviet Union"–academicians, writers, state officials, etc. In it V. Lisovoi and E. Pronyuk, the authors of the letter, pointed out to the officials of the Central Committee that a great number of people in the Ukraine had recently been tried unlawfully for their political convictions.

After Pronyuk's arrest, V. Lisovoi wrote a statement acknowledging his share of responsibility for the letter that had been confiscated. After this he was dismissed from the nstitute and shortly thereafter arrested. Also his pregnant wife was dismissed from her job. When I. Semanyuk learned of the arrests of V. Lisovoi and E. Pronyuk, he wrote a letter of protest to official bodies. He, in turn, had his flat searched and was arrested.

At the trial, the case of V. Lisovoi, E. Pronyuk and I. Semanyuk was treated as one concerning a group. They were charged with the preparation, possession, and circulation of "A Letter to the Central Committee," an "anti-Soviet" document "intended to undermine the Soviet Government". They were also charged with taking part in the preparation of two issues of *The Ukrainian Herald* [The Ukrainian Herald].

I. Semanyuk pleaded guilty at the trial and promised to "devote all his efforts and knowledge to the service of the Motherland, which had reared him, provided him with an education", etc.

V. Lisovoi and E. Pronyuk pleaded not guilty. E. Pronyuk concluded his final statement to the court by citing the Latin maxim: "Better the world perish, than justice."

The verdicts: V. Lisovoi–7 years in strict-regime camps and 3 years of exile; E. Pronyuk-7 years in strict-regime camps and 5 years of exile; I. Semanyuk–4 years in strict-regime camps.

ARRESTS, SEARCHES, INTERROGATIONS

Investigation of the Superfin Case

As previously reported *(Chronicle* 28), Gabriel Gavriilovich Superfin was arrested on 3 July 1973, his home was searched and the following items confiscated: notebooks, books in foreign languages including detective stories by Agatha Christie and a literary work to which Superfin had devoted years of effort. Ilin, an investigator of the KGB Directorate for Oryol and the Oryol region, was present at the search. Then a search was conducted in the flat of Superfin's sister, who was summoned for the search from an oral examination on her doctoral thesis.

Shortly after Superfin's arrest M. Slonim's flat was searched. Superfin's friend V. [Vadim] Borisov was summoned for interrogation by Ilin, who was assisted by Colonel Syshchikov.

On 24 August the flat of Vladimir Dolgy was searched. Immediately before that Dolgy was handed a note from Superfin who asked him to turn over to the investigation a copy of E. Kuznetsov's *Diaries [Dnyevniki]*. Superfin had testified that at his request Dolgy

had typed three copies of the *Diaries*, one of which the latter kept, while Superfin passed another to Elena Bonner. No trace of the *Diaries* was found during the search. In the interrogation that followed, Dolgy did not corroborate Superfin's testimony. On 11 September V. Dolgy was summoned for questioning to Oryol, where he was interrogated from 12 to 20 September and on the last day brought face to face with Superfin. The chief issue remained that of the *Diaries*. During the confrontation, as in his interrogations, V. Dolgy did not corroborate Superfin's testimony.

In conjunction with the Superfin case, Evgeny Barabanov's home was searched on 24 August. After 27 August Barabanov was interrogated several times by Ilin.

A statement by Barabanov dated 15 September is circulating. In it he expresses indignation at current violations of freedom of speech and conscience. He reminds people of the traditional practice by which uncensored works of Russian literature have reached Russia via the West, citing as examples the works of Khomyakov, Leo Tolstoy and Valdimir Soloviev. He declared that he had sent to the West *A Chronicle of Current Events*, the *Diaries* of Kuznetsov, prison poems by Andreyev and Radygin,* unpublished poems by Akhmatova, Mandelstam, Pasternak and Tsvetayeva, as well as other works, because he believed it was essential to preserve free Russian culture.

In September E. Bonner issued a statement in support of Barabanov, saying that she, too, had transmitted *samizdat* works to the West.*

On 14 November E. Bonner was summoned to the KGB concerning a letter she and A. Sakharov had written to Yu. V. Andropov [the KGB's chairman], requesting that V. Khaustov be released on their surety until his trial (see *Chronicle* 29). KGB officer, S. I. Sokolov termed this offer of surety "frivolous", since, as he put it, Bonner herself was "an accomplice" of Khaustov's. Sokolov said that the activities of "dissenters" were harmful, and stated that the authorities were trying to achieve greater democratization and did not wish to become more repressive, but the activities of "dissidents", and particularly statements by Sakharov, impeded them.

In late November and December investigator Syshchikov of the Oryol KGB directorate repeatedly interrogated Bonner, primarily about E. Kuznetsov's *Diaries*. The interrogations pertained to what Syshchikov called "The Superfin-Khaustov-Bonner Case". Bonner refused to answer his questions. At the same time Bonner issued a statement to the press acknowledging that she had transmitted E. Kuznetsov's *Diaries* to the West and did not consider this a violation of the law.

It is known that after publication of his *Diaries* [in Paris] Kuznetsov spent about two months in the Saransk Investigations Prison. No information is available on the questions put to him during his interrogations. Other people interrogated about the *Diaries* were given to understand that Kuznetsov had "confessed everything", was faced with the threat of execution (under what article of the criminal code was not specified), and that the implementation of this threat hinged on the degree of candour of *their* testimony.

During the autumn T. Velikanova, Yu. Kim and I. Yakir were also questioned about the Superfin case. An analysis of all the interrogations in the case made it clear that Superfin was giving detailed depositions, particularly about *A Chronicle of Current Events*.

* * *

* On Radygin see, especially, *Chronicles* 24 and 27.

Sergei Kuzmich Pirogov, who was released in 1964 after serving an 8 years sentence under article 58 of the RSFSR criminal code (a case involving criticism of Soviet reality from a Marxist standpoint), was arrested in Arkhangelsk in July 1973.

On 11, 12 and 13 July the Arkhangelsk directorate of the MVD searched his flat as well as the flat and *dacha* of his mother, N. G. Pirogova. Shortly afterwards, the KGB repeated the searches and confiscated the following items: two issues of *Veche*,* works by A. D. Sakharov, some poems about Stalin, books, photographs, photographic film, writing pads containing notes, two radios, a typewriter , and other material. According to the search warrant presented by the MVD officers, the grounds for the search was Pirogov's suspected involvement in the suicide of a man unknown to him, Vadim† Sokolov, a lecturer at the Arkhangelsk Institute for Fishing Technology who committed suicide in February 1973 by hanging himself in the woods. One of Pirogov's acquaintances had found in the jacket pocket of the deceased a notebook with critical comments the latter had made about the defective nature of social and economic relations in the USSR. Pirogov wrote about his find to V. Sokolov's sister. In reply, the latter criticized the deceased's moral character and the type of life he had led—criticisms that elicited a sharp rebuke from Pirogov in a second letter to her. Both of Pirogov's letters were turned over to the office of the procurator in Arkhangelsk.

There is reason to believe that Sokolov's suicide was merely a pretext for searching Pirogov's home. Apparently he had been shadowed for about six months prior to this.

Initially, MVD investigator Chilikidi conducted the investigation of Pirogov's case, which is now in the hands of KGB investigators Nikolai Nikolayevich Belyeyev and Gennady Grigorevich Romashenko. Charges against Pirogov have been preferred under article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code. The case has involved interrogations of many witnesses in Arkhangelsk, Moscow, Kaunas, Vilnius and Leningrad. In July 1973 the home of one of these people, I. Abramovich (of Moscow), was searched.

Since 11 November S. Pirogov has been confined in the Serbsky Institute in Moscow for in-patient examination by psychiatrists. The investigation of his case, which was extended until 14 December, has apparently been prolonged again.

* * *

There are unconfirmed reports that Vylegzhanin, Zaritsky and Lifshits were arrested in Kiev early in November 1973.** They have been charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code.

* * *

Lev Aleksandrovich Ladyzhensky was arrested in Riga on 6 December and indicted under the article corresponding to article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code.††

*On this Russian nationalist *samizdat* journal see *Chronicles* 18, 26, 32.
†Corrected from "Vladimir" in accordance with correction in *Chronicle* 32.
**Confirmed in *Chronicle* 32, which gives details of a number of related searches. On 22 November 1973 the paper *Russkaya mysl*, Paris, reported the arrests and gave the first names as, respectively, Vladimir, Alexander, Yury.
††See more details in *Chronicle* 32. In October 1974 he was sentenced to 3 years in strict-regime camps, plus 3 in exile.

A doctor [*kandidat*] of physical and mathematical sciences, L. Ladyzhensky is the head of a laboratory at the Riga Scientific Research Institute for the Fishing Industry.

* * *

In August the KGB searched the [Moscow] flats of Tatiana Velikanova (in regard to the Superfin Case) and of Vyacheslav Bakhmin and Andrei Tverdokhlebov (in regard to case number 24).*

* * *

Elena Semeka's apartment in Moscow was searched in mid-October. According to the warrant, the search was prompted by suspicions that her husband, Mikhail Pankratov, had forged certain documents.† The search party, however, seemed primarily interested in *samizdat.*

* * *

Early in November, Anatoly Marchenko's home (in the town of Tarusa, Kaluga Region) was searched. According to the warrant presented by the KGB officers, the search related to case number 24.

* * *

In August the flat of Tatiana Zhitnikova, wife of Leonid Plyushch, was searched in Kiev in connection with V. Nekipelov's case (see *Chronicle* 27).

IN THE PRISONS AND CAMPS

Alexander Fedorovich Sergienko, sentenced by the Kiev regional court under article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code to 7 years in strict-regime camps and 3 years of exile (see *Chronicles* 25, 27), has been confined in the Perm camps (in institution VS-389/36) since December 1972. One of the main counts of the indictment stated that "in his own hand he edited the first 33 pages of the printed text of I. Dzyuba's *Internationalism or Russification? [Internatsionalizm ili Russifikatsiya?]*.

On 15 March 1973, in accordance with a camp disciplinary penalty, A. Sergienko was confined in cell-type premises (PKT). The maximum term of 6 months was imposed at once and with no prior warning.

On 28 December 1973, by decision of the Kuchino town court, A. Sergienko was transferred to Vladimir Prison for three years. The commandant of the camp explained that"....the transfer to prison is a disciplinary educational measure, not a penalty for crimes committed."

*On Bakhmin see *Chronicles* 11, 14-16.
†This couple emigrated to the US in 1974.

Above left: Tobolsk 1972. Left to right, Boris Vail, his wife, Elena Bonner (wife of Andrei Sakharov) and Yury Shikhanovich.

Above right: Four of the Jewish scientists who went on hunger strike 10-24 June 1973. Left to right, Alexander Lunts, Vladimir Roginsky, Alexander Voronel, Mark Azbel.

Right: Evgeny Barabanov.

Below: Group of Jews in Moscow in 1973, wearing Star of David in gesture of defiance. Front row, left to right, Boris Tsitlyonok, Leonid Tsypin, Vladimir Slepak. Far left in third row, Victor Polsky. Far right in same row, Alexander Lunts, behind him Pavel Abramovich. Very back row, left to right, Lev Gendin, a Mr Kogan, Vladimir Prestin, Valery Krizhak.

Sergienko suffers from chronic, generalized pulmonary tuberculosis. Such a severe form of punishment has caused a sharp deterioration in his health. His total *prison* confinement will now amount to 4 years and 5 months (although he was sentenced to 7 years in labour camps): 11 months in an investigations prison; 6 months in a PKT and 3 years in Vladimir Prison.

* * *

The Administrative Staff of Camp Number 36

(Permskaya Oblast, Chusovskoi raion, pos. Kuchino, p/ya VS-389/36).

Commandant: Major V. F. Kotov.
Deputy Commandant in charge of Camp Regime and Operations Section: Major V. Fyodorov.
Deputy Commandant in charge of Political Section: Captain Zhuravlyov.
Chief of Camp Regime and Guard Services: Romanov.
Chief of Special Section: Gnedina.
Chief of Operations Section: Lieutenant Rogachev.
Chief of Medical Section: Petrov.
Camp Physician: Kotova.
Camp Nurse: Makhnutina.
Chiefs of Detachments: Captain Gnedin, First Lieutenant Melyantin, First Lieutenant Belov.
Duty Officers: Captain Kislov, First Lieutenant Rak.

* * *

MEDICAL FACILITIES IN THE PERM CAMPS

There are two physicians in the hospital serving VS-389:* an oculist (Chief of Medical Section) and a therapist. The hospital is inadequately stocked with basic equipment such as syringes or even bed pans, and the one electrocardiograph is not functioning. In some cases, medicine is known to have been administered after the expiration date on the supply. No stores of blood are available for transfusions.

The following are some concrete facts about individuals.

Prisoner Gorbal, who fell ill during confinement in a punishment cell, was not exempted from work after his release from the cell.

Prisoner Antonyuk, who is ill with both hepato-pancreatitis and bone tuberculosis, is not receiving proper treatment and has not in fact been examined by specialists. He was discharged from the hospital twice: first by Sharikov, an official of the operations section of the Perm Directorate of Internal Affairs [UVD] and subsequently by Ruban, a representative of the Kiev KGB.

*It is not clear whether this hospital serves only the two camps for "specially dangerous state criminals" in the Perm Region, numbers VS-389/35 and 36 or other camps in the region as well.

Prisoner Dyak,* who is ill with lymphogranulomatosis, was not treated until six months after his initial examination by a physician.

Only in extreme cases is the presence of incurable illness certified. Lieutenant Colonel T. P. Kuznetsov of the MVD Medical Service, chairman of a visiting medical commission, stated that he had come to the camp not to pardon people because of illness but to force them to work. Ten prisoners, including two who had only one leg, were declared fit for work. The disability certifications that many prisoners had held for years were revoked. Instead of medical questions, Kuznetsov generally asked prisoners: "How many years are you serving? For what?" Replies to such questions provided all the information he needed to make decisions. For example, Kurkis, a Lithuanian prisoner serving the final part of a 25-year term, was stripped of his disability status by the commission. Kurkis had not worked for many years because he suffered from ulcers. After the commission issued its decision, he was assigned to heavy labour—ploughing the "forbidden zone". Perforation of an ulcer occurred on his first day of work. Pimenov, commandant of camp 35, telephoned to Perm to speak to Lieutenant Colonel T. P. Kuznetsov (who is surgeon to the camp). He refused to come and see the man, referring to the bad weather. Kurkis died.

In September 1973 the political prisoners in camps 35 and 36 wrote and sent off a great number of statements appealing to have the circumstances of Kurkis's death investigated. In response, the Perm UVD sent a commission headed by this same Kuznetsov. Nothing resulted from the commission, and the prisoners' protests mounted. The Ministry of Internal Affairs then appointed a new commission in which Kuznetsov served only as a member, the chairman being some woman from Moscow (her name is unknown to the *Chronicle*).

Not one of the prisoners' demands was met.

* * *

THE STAFF OF THE SPECIAL SECTION (for Particularly Dangerous State Criminals) OF THE PERM UVD

Commander: Lieutenant Colonel Mikov.
Operations personnel: Captain Sharikov and Second Lieutenant Terentev.
Chief of the KGB group: Major Afansov.
Guards Service: Commander – Ensign Titov, senior assistant – Ensign Makhnutin.

* * *

The following are confined in the women's camp for political prisoners in Dubrovlag:

Nina Antonovna Strokata (see *Chronicles* 25, 28), 4-year term under article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code (cf article 70 RSFSR code).

*Dyak, Antonyuk, Gorbal. On Dyak see *Chronicles* 11 and 17, on Antonyuk numbers 24 and 27. Nikolai Gorbal is a singing teacher from Ternopol (Ukraine).

Nadezhda Alekseyevna Svetlichnaya, 4-year term plus exile under the same article 62.
Stefaniya Mikhailovna Shabatura, 5-year term plus 3 years of exile under article 62.
Irina Stasiv-Kalynets, 6-year term plus 3 years of exile under article 62.
Their address: Mordovskaya ASSR, Tengushevsky raion, pos. Barashevo p/ya ZhKh 385/3.

During the autumn the Ukrainian women prisoners of camp 3 staged several brief hunger strikes. They demanded in particular that I. Dzyuba visit their camp (apparently, their demand was not addressed to the administration). Shortly before, Dzyuba had published a "repentant" article in a newspaper (see *Chronicle* 29 and this issue).

* * *

In late December 1973 the administration of the camp refused Strokata a meeting with Leonid Tymchuk, the person she had authorized to take care of her affairs (see *Chronicles* 9,23,32), on the grounds that the two were not related. In response, the Ukrainian women prisoners of camp 3 staged two and three-day hunger strikes.

* * *

S. M. Shabatura, an applied artist [carpet-designer], has been persecuted by the administration for her attempts to paint. During searches, her paints were confiscated.

IN THE PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS

On 9 July 1973 the Human Rights Committee in Moscow published an official statement which is quoted here in full:

We have learned that the International Congress of Psychotherapists in Oslo ruled against passing any resolution condemning the use of psychiatric hospitalization as a means of political repression in the USSR and other East European countries. The grounds were that such a resolution would allegedly hinder "the currently most progressive process of rapprochement with the countries of Eastern Europe". This decision was taken in the face of numerous appeals to the congress from individuals and from national and international organizations.

The Committee feels compelled to express its negative attitude to the decision taken by the Congress of Psychotherapists. The numerous cases of the use of psychiatry in our country for political persecution represent blatant acts of barbarism, in the face of which an indulgent attitude is inappropriate whatever the pragmatic considerations.

We welcome the rapprochement of countries with divergent political systems, but we believe that such rapprochement should be contingent on the renunciation by these states of actions which outrage the conscience of mankind, and should not be used to promote mutual indulgence regarding such actions. The United Nations has, in its documents, repeatedly affirmed the principle of international responsibility for guaranteeing the rights of man, and the International Congress of Psychotherapists ought not to undermine this principle. Objectively speaking, its decision only encourages the expanded use of psychiatric repression in our country and is a betrayal of the numerous inmates in the psychiatric prisons.

We appeal to all honourable psychiatrists to strive to have this decision reviewed.

Grigory Podyapolsky, Andrei Sakharov, Igor Shafarevich. [*signed*]

* * *

Leonid Ivanovich Plyusch (see *Chronicles* 24, 26, 29) is still in the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital of the MVD of the Ukrainian Republic. He was sent to the prison hospital on 15 July 1973 and placed in ward 12.

On 22 August, for the first time in the year and a half since his arrest, he was permitted a meeting with his wife. When she questioned him about the food, treatment, and daily routine in the hospital, Plyushch made no reply—he was forbidden to disclose such information.

In October Plyusch was transferred to ward 9, which is reputed to be the "most oppressive". Of the 26 people confined there, many are violently disturbed. The patients are locked in a cell-type ward and allowed out only once a day for an hour of exercise for inspection.

When his wife visited him on 22 October L. Plyushch started to gasp for breath and was seized with convulsions. It was clear that from time to time his hearing lapsed and he lost the ability to speak. Plyushch himself asked to have the visit cut short and he was taken back to his ward.

Plyushch's physician, Lydia Alekseyevna (she refused to give her last name), stated: "I have not yet detected in him any signs of 'philosophical intoxication'. Nonetheless, the patient has shown a tendency to mathematicize psychology and medicine. I am a doctor and I know that mathematics has nothing to do with medicine."

She refused to disclose either the type of medicine or the dosage administered to L. Plyushch and said: "What business is it of yours? We give him whatever he needs."

Shortly thereafter it was learned that L. Plyushch had begun to be forcibly treated with haloperidol. When Plyushch's wife visited him again (after a two-week interval), the convulsions had ceased. He may have been given a drug to counteract them. But his general condition is one of great depression, apathy, sleepiness and defeat.

Earlier—in August and September—Plyushch wrote a lot of long and interesting letters. After the beginning of the treatment he ceased writing almost entirely and was even unable to read.

* * *

N. Plakhotnyuk (see *Chronicles* 24, 27, 28), N. Ruban (number 17), A. Lupynos (number 22), B. Kovgar (number 28) and Chinnov (number 26) are also confined in the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital. All were brought to trial for political reasons.

* * *

The address of the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital is: Dnepropetrovsk, ulitsa Chicerina 101, p/ya YaE 308/RB-9.

* * *

Listed below are the names of some prisoners confined in the Sychyovka Special Psychiatric Hospital, which has a particularly bad reputation. (For more detailed information on this psychiatric prison see *Chronicle* 8).* Unfortunately, information about these prisoners is fragmentary and may not be completely accurate. Most of it was provided by former inmates of the Sychyovka camps which directly adjoin the prison hospital.

Yury Belov (see *Chronicles* 9, 26, 27), transferred from Vladimir Prison.

Mikhail Kukobaka (number 27), a porter from Aleksandrovsk. Arrested in 1970; brought to trial under article 190-1; declared non-responsible after an examination in the Serbsky Institute; diagnosed as schizophrenic.

Boris Davarishvili, about 35 years old. After obtaining a visa to Israel, he went to Moscow, where, in the vicinity of the GUM Department Store, some people instigated a fight with him. He was arrested, convicted of hooliganism (in 1972), and declared non-responsible. Davarishvili's family has emigrated to Israel.

Bzheslavsky: Served with the frontier guards on the Turkish border in 1941. In 1945 he was convicted under article 58-1a for attempting to cross the border and sentenced to be shot, but his sentence was commuted to 10 years imprisonment. Released in 1955, he went to the Turkish Embassy. When he came out he was arrested, tried and ruled non-responsible.

Kitov, a man of about 70 who has been tried several times for his religious beliefs.

Vladimir Titov, about 34 years old, sentenced under article 70 to a 5-year term, was tried again under that same article for a letter he sent from Vladimir Prison. He was ruled non-responsible.

Iosif Mikhailovich Terelya, born 1942 (originally from the Carpathian region). Served 8 years, was convicted again while in Vladimir Prison. Pronounced non-responsible.†

ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF OF THE HOSPITAL

The Commandant of the hospital is Lyamin. A remark of Lyamin's to Yu. Belov was: "We are curing you not of an illness but of your beliefs."

The Chief Physician is Igor Igorevich Kushanovsky.

The Head of the Operations Section is First Lieutenant Gennady Vasilyevich Leonovich.

The Head of the District KGB Division is Major Shestinsky.

Vasily Ivanovich Ermakov, chief physician of a neighbouring camp, has a joint appointment as a department head in the Sychyovka Special Hospital (he is not a psychiatrist). It is said that during a political education session at which 20 prisoners were present, he stated that he "did not feel it necessary to make use of recent medical advances in treating criminals".

The orderlies, as well as the people who do service jobs (so called *khosobsluga*), are recruited from among the common criminals who are serving terms in the camp which

*An error. The article on such institutions in number 8 has only a few lines on Sychyovka.

†On Terelya see *Chronicles* 11, 18,27, where his name is mis-spelled Vareta, Tereza and Terelli. Further information on him is available from a former fellow cell-mate Anatoly Radygin (see numbers 24 and 27) who now lives in the USA. On V. Titov see number 27.

adjoins the Sychyovka Special Psychiatric Hospital.

Eye-witnesses report cases in which orderlies administered vicious beating to patients in the Sychyovka Prison Hospital.

* * *

P. G. Grigorenko (see *Chronicles* 12, 14, 16, 24) is still undergoing *compulsory treatment* in a psychiatric hospital—no longer in a prison hospital, it is true, but one of ordinary type. On 15 January 1973 a medical commission declared that Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko no longer required treatment in a special psychiatric hospital.

By then the 66-year-old Grigorenko had been imprisoned for almost four years, roughly three of which he had spent in solitary confinement in the Chernyakhovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital.

On 29 January however, the court refused to accept the commission's decision. Neither P. Grigorenko nor his relatives were informed of the fact of the court session or of its decision until late in April.

Zinaida Mikhailovna Grigorenko then appealed against this decision by the Chernyakhovsk City Court. The Kaliningrad Regional Court upheld her appeal and sent the case back for further examination. On 10 July 1973 a second commission confirmed the decision of the first. Two days later, on 12 July the Chernyakhovsk City Court ruled that P. G. Grigorenko be transferred, for his compulsory treatment, to an ordinary psychiatric hospital near his place of residence.

The procurator protested against the court's decision, stating that the court had no authority to designate the location of the hospital. On 31 August the Kaliningrad Regional Court convened again, upheld the procurator's objection and deleted this point from its decision.

On 19 September 1973 Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko was transferred to Psychiatric Hospital number 5, at Stolbovaya Station, 100 kilometers from Moscow.

The prison regime had ended. Now Grigorenko is no longer in solitary confinement but in a large ward with 50 mentally disturbed people. He walks a great deal and the more frequent meetings permitted with his relatives are not attended by KGB officials. P. G. Grigorenko is allowed not only to read, but also to write. However, he is not in a position to exercise these rights. He is exhausted, surrounded by mentally disturbed people, and under these conditions he finds it difficult to concentrate. As before, he is living in a mad house.

In October two Western psychiatrists visited P. Grigorenko. Grigorenko declined to have a detailed conversation with them, as no translator whom he could trust was provided.

The physicians who visited Grigorenko informed the press that the administration intended to discharge him in November.*

* * *

Victor Fainberg (see *Chronicles* 24, 27, 28) and Vladimir Borisov (see 24-28) were confined in the Leningrad psychiatric prison for over four years. Their courageous struggle

*In fact, one of them, Dr Carlo Perris of Sweden, said this (*The Times*, London, 19 October), but the other, Dr Denis Leigh of London, denied it a few days later in an interview with *The Guardian*, London. See also *Chronicle* 32.

there, which included prolonged hunger strikes, is well known.

In December 1972 the Central Forensic-Psychiatric Commission came to the conclusion that V. Fainberg could be transferred, for his compulsory treatment, to an ordinary hospital. The court upheld this decision in February 1973, and on 14 February Fainberg was transferred to Psychiatric Hospital Number 5 in Leningrad.

In August 1973 a psychiatric commission examined Fainberg again and decided to terminate his treatment and have him sent home. The court upheld this decision. On 11 November he was released into the care of his parents. On his discharge from the hospital he was issued a disability certificate (invalid of the second group) with the notation "non-responsible and unfit for work". He was not issued with a passport [i.e. the normal city-dweller's identity papers].

In the summer of 1973 Vladimir Borisov, also, was transferred for his compulsory treatment to an ordinary hospital. He was committed to Psychiatric Hospital Number 3 in Leningrad and placed in Section 8, the very section from which he had tried to escape in the summer of 1969. That attempt resulted in his transfer to the special hospital on Arsenalnaya Street. In Hospital Number 3 he was given injections of haloperidol. Zhivotovskaya, head of the section, told Borisov's mother that they were giving him injections "because he has remained the same man that he was before". She added: "We don't have the kinds of bars and alarm system they do at Arsenalnaya Street and Borisov is capable of anything." According to her, before they could terminate Borisov's treatment, they would have to receive an order from Belyayev, the chief psychiatrist of Leningrad (who was on leave at the time).

Borisov declared a hunger strike a week after the injections were started. The same day he was transferred to Psychiatric Hospital Number 2, where all "treatment" was discontinued immediately.

A month and a half later, a commission headed by [N. K.] Svetlanova considered the question of Borisov's final discharge. Among other things, Svetlanova asked Borisov whether he supported the position of Solzhenitsyn. The answer was in the affirmative, and he was not discharged.

* * *

Vladimir Lvovich Gershuni (see *Chronicles* 10, 11, 13, 14, 17), arrested in October 1969 (under article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code), is still confined in the Oryol Special Psychiatric Hospital.

In December 1973 a medical commission concluded that Vladimir Gershuni should be transferred, for his compulsory treatment, to an ordinary psychiatric hospital. According to the information available on 31 December, the court still had not convened [to consider the recommendation].

* * *

A "public appeal" by Sakharov and Podyapolsky, and a work by T. Khodorovich, "Punishment by Madness" ["Nakazaniya bezumvyem"], were sent to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim of the United Nations on 25 June.

The authors of the appeal urge Waldheim to speak out in defence of Vladimir Borisov and Leonid Plyushch, two members of the Initiative Group who have been sentenced to confinement in special psychiatric hospitals:

> World public opinion knows of Borisov's heroic struggle for the right to appear before a court and the prolonged hunger strikes he conducted with Victor Fainberg...
>
> At present we are especially alarmed about the fate of the Kiev mathematician Leonid Plyushch. His case has been characterized by a level of determination to conceal everything which has been unusual even for our country, and which forces one to suppose that the authorities wish to conceal even more serious violations of law. Plyushch's trial was conducted in an empty courtroom, with neither the accused nor his representative present...
>
> Counsel for the defence was permitted only one brief visit with his client. The court, basing its decision on a forensic-psychiatric report which was *not* read out,... committed him to a special psychiatric hospital.

T. Khodorovich's work contains a detailed account of L. Plyushch's "case" and a request to Western lawyers and psychiatrists "to consider impartially the materials" which she "has had the greatest difficulty compiling". The reason for this has been that before the proceedings began Judge Dyshel stated: "The examination of L. Plyushch's case is a state secret and therefore it will take place in closed court."

* * *

Publicity in the West about the psychiatric persecution of "dissenters" was the subject of an interview Professor R. A. Nadzharov* gave to a Tass correspondent, published in *Izvestia* on 10 August:

> It is perfectly obvious that the attempt to exploit, for anti-Soviet purposes, a field like psychiatry—one of the most ticklish branches of medicine—merely underscores the anti-human and profoundly amoral nature of this libellous campaign.
>
> The absurd assertions about the use of Soviet psychiatry to exert some sort of "pressure" on "dissenters" has no relation to reality. Yet the propagandistic hullabaloo they are trying to whip up around this mythical "issue" goes against the interests of psychiatrists struggling to promote people's health, the noble aims of medical science as a whole, and the interests of extending international collaboration and strengthening peace.

EVENTS IN LITHUANIA

On 14 May 1973, the first anniversary of R. Kalanta's self-immolation (see *Chronicles* 26, 27), extra detachments of police armed with rubber truncheons and equipped with

* See *Chronicles* 14, 19. Nadzharov has participated in psychiatric examinations of Zh. Medvedev, V. Fainberg and V. Kuznetsov.

portable two-way radios patrolled Kaunas. Pupils and officials of various institutions, were also designated to help maintain order. There were many people on Freedom Avenue, where Kalanta burned himself to death, and the police did not allow them to stop moving. Various pretexts were used to see to it that pupils from many schools were taken out of town for a few days. In some schools "classes" lasted from 8 am to 10 pm.

Some people attempted to place flowers on R. Kalanta's grave or the site of his self-immolation. They were all detained. The number of detainees is not known.

* * *

The seventh issue of *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church (CLCC)* was published in August 1973. This issue reports on searches and interrogations concerning the collection of signatures on statements (1) about religious literature sent to The Committee on the Affairs of Religions and (2) about discrimination against religious schoolchildren addressed to the Ministry of Enlightenment of the Lithuanian SSR (see *Chronicle* 29).

On 6 April 1973 some sheets of paper containing 40 signatures to statements were taken from the home of Julijus Rudys (in Mieziskiai, Panevezys district) after a house-search had been threatened. Rudys' wife was summoned for interrogation several times. Many of those who had signed the statements were interrogated, as were Rudys' daughter (an 11th-year pupil) and even Rudys' 11-year old son. On 23 May J. Vilutis, Lithuanian Procuracy Investigator for Especially Important Cases conducted a search of Rudys' home. In the course of various interrogations the investigators threatened to arrest Rudys' wife, deprive her of her parental rights, expel her daughter from school, or get the girl given a bad character reference. The investigation tried to obtain testimony about lines of communication to priests, about people who had signed the statements, and about those who had collected the signatures.

On 24 May 1973 the home of Mrs. E. Svireliene (town of Panevezys) was searched, and also her place of work. The following day another search took place at the sanatorium in Druskininkai where she was on holiday. She and her daughter were both interrogated. The investigator threatened to have them dismissed from their jobs and to institute criminal proceedings against them.

Miss V. Grinceviciute (of Kaunas) was searched three times in late March and in April 1973. The search parties were looking for the text of a statement which, the investigation asserted, she had shown to several people. No procurator's warrant was presented for the searches.

On 11 May V. Grinceviciute was searched at home and at work—on this occasion with the sanction of the procurator. J. Vilutis supervised the searches. V. Grinceviciute was interrogated repeatedly about the statements and also about numerous people. During the interrogations she was threatened with criminal proceedings. At all the searches mentioned, religious literature was confiscated.

* * *

CLCC number 7 reports that on 13 May 1973 a group of students from Vilnius University placed flowers at the foot of the statue of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas (settlement of Perloja in Varena district). Three students who were searched and interrogated—Eugenijus Banys, Remigijus Kajeckas and Pranas Grigas—were expelled from the university for "a flagrant violation of discipline".

Sudavicius, pro-rector of the University, regarded their placing of flowers as a disguised commemoration of the anniversary of R. Kalanta's self-immolation.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, to which the injured parties appealed, approved their expulsion. Placing flowers beneath the statue of a "feudal lord and usurper" was considered incompatible with the principles and patriotism of Soviet man.

* * *

On 8 May 1973 K. Tumenas, newly-appointed Commissioner of the Council on the Affairs of Religions, made the acquaintance of the bishops and other influential figures of the Church (*CLCC* 7). After offering them assistance (specifically with the publication of church literature) he singled out several "negative aspects" of the life of the Lithuanian Catholic Church. He termed the *CLCC* a slanderous publication (number 5 was the issue he held up), designed for sending abroad, and said someone would have to answer for it. Another negative aspect he cited was the collection of signatures on statements by believers.

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CLCC number 7 publishes a statement by 540 believers sent to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR in August 1973. The authors attribute the decline of moral standards to the forcible inculcation of atheism. They ask the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to put an end to discrimination against believers, including schoolchildren; to permit unrestricted publication of religious literature and the establishment of social organizations for religious people; and not to limit the number of candidates for the ministry entering theological seminaries.

In a note signed "Representatives of the Catholics of Lithuania" it is explained that the original copy of the statement, with the signatures, will not be handed in to the Supreme Soviet, as people who sign such statements are persecuted by the KGB.

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CLCC number 7 also reported on the following:

Intervention by the authorities in the affairs of the Church in Silale, Alunta, Veisiejai and Ratnycia; violation of parental rights and discrimination against religious schoolchildren in the Ceikiniai parish; and persecution of the priests A. Keina [see *Chronicle* 23], A. Liesis and G. Dovydaitis.

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CLCC number 8 appeared in December 1973. This issue reported that on 20 November 1973 mass searches were conducted in Lithuania in connection with Case 345 (preparation of religious literature and literature which "defames the Soviet system"). It appears that one of the chief objectives of the searches was to track down the publishers of the *CLCC*.

The homes of the following people were searched: Father B. Babrauskas (vicar of the parish in Smilgiai), Father J. Buliauskas (settlement of Krincinas), Miss [Monika] Gavenaite (Kaunas)*, Kacergis (Kapsukas), Father A. Keina (vicar of the Valkininkai Parish), J. Kapustas (Semeliskes), Miss S. Kriauciunaite (Panevezys), Father J. Lauriunas (vicar of the Kabeliai Parish), V. Lapienis (Vilnius)†, Mrs T. Maciukiene (Kaunas), Miss K. Misiunaite (Kaunas), Miss J. Mickeliunaite, Miss O. Norkute (Panevezys), Father [Vladimir] Prokopiv (Vilnius)**, Miss L. Razminaite (Panevezys), Miss Z. Rasminaite (Siauliai), A. Ratkevicius (Pasvalys), A. Reskevicius (Kaunas), Mrs R. Strasiskiene (village of Virsuzpiris), S. Skripkus (Siauliai), Miss O. Tomulinaite (Kaunas), J. Tarnauskas (Kaunas), J. Urbonas (Kaunas), Z. Urbon (Vilnius), Miss N. Cincinaite (Kaunas), A. Jasenas (Vevys), V. Jaugelis (Kaunas)†† and A. Jaugelis (Kaunas).

Petras Pliuira and Povilas Petronis were arrested after being searched. Jonas Stasaitis (settlement of Salininkai, Vilnius district) was arrested on 4 December at an interrogation by the KGB. He, too, had been searched on 20 November. *CLCC* assumes there were many other searches about which there is still no information.

Religious literature (including pre-war publications) and typewriters were confiscated during the searches and, in some cases, issues of *CLCC*. Copies of the holy scriptures (Soviet edition of 1972) were taken from Miss Cincinaite and Mrs Maciukiene. A home-made printing press and matrices for a prayer book were taken from Z. Urbon, wax printing material from V. Jaugelis, and a book-binding machine from A. Jasenas.

Almost all of the people searched were interrogated—many of them repeatedly—about their acquaintances and the sources of the literature confiscated. Some of those interrogated were threatened with arrest.

* * *

The following have been dismissed from their jobs: Miss B. Papkeviciute, a doctor [*kandidat*] of pedagogical sciences, Miss D. Gailiusyte, a teacher, and Miss E. Suliauskaite, senior laboratory assistant at Vilnius University. All three were accused of belonging to a Catholic order of nuns.

* * *

CLCC reports that on 19 May 1973, according to an ancient tradition, young believers from the town of Siauliai carried a cross to the Meskuiciai burial mound, known as "The Hill of Crosses." For this, M. Jurevicius, V. Ivanovas and Z. Mistautas were interrogated

*Dismissed from her job as publishers' editor soon after this, on suspicion of being a nun. See *Chronicle* 32.
†See texts of his statements to the authorities in *CLCC* 9 and 11.
**Arrested a few weeks later in Lvov. See *CLCC* 9 and *Chronicle* 32.
††Arrested on 9 April 1974. See *Chronicle* 32.

several times. Subsequently Ivanovas was expelled from music school.

* * *

CLCC 8 also carries reports on the persecution of the priests P. Nykstus, A. Laurinavicius, S. Zvynis and S. Galvydis, and other materials on discrimination against believers.

* * *

The following notice appeared in the newspaper *Kauno Tiesa* on 24 December 1973:

In the Procuracy of the Lithuanian SSR

Investigative agencies of the republic have arrested and instituted criminal proceedings against Petras Pliuira Plumpa, who was living on forged papers, Povilas Petronis, who does not have a permanent residence or occupation, and Jonas Stasaitis, a resident of Salininkai in Vilnius district.* Violating the norms established by law, these people prepared and duplicated works of a reactionary nature which they circulated among the population of the republic.

For these purposes, they used illegally procured duplicating equipment.

The investigation continues.

* * *

On 20 November KGB agents repeatedly resorted to crude threats while interrogating A. Raskinis, doctor [*kandidat*] of technological sciences and associate of the Kaunas Institute for Research on the Physico-Technological Problems of Energetics. They not only threatened to institute criminal proceedings against him for his refusal to give testimony, but to have him dismissed from his job, arrested, and given a long prison term. They also informed him that unless he testified, his wife, too, might lose her job.

It appears that the first steps to implement this threat have already been taken. At the Kaunas branch of Vilnius University, where Raskinis' wife, D. Raskiniene, doctor [*kandidat*] of physical and mathematical sciences, teaches mathematics, an open party meeting was held. Here Raskiniene's dismissal was discussed in the light of the fact that she openly practises her religion and therefore cannot educate students in the correct way.

No final decision was reached at the meeting.

AN INTERVIEW OF A. D. SAKHAROV'S AND MATERIAL ABOUT HIM IN THE SOVIET PRESS AND SAMIZDAT

In an interview with the Swedish correspondent [Olle] Stenholm in mid-June

*See the appeal by Lithuanian priests for these 3, V. Jaugelis and 2 others in *A Chronicle of Human Rights* number 11, 1974.

Academician Sakharov stated:

> In our country socialism has manifested itself in an unprecedented concentration of economic and political power, an exceptional degree of monopolization.

He discussed the profound inequalities in our society, the bureaucratization of the leadership, the anti-democratic policy of imposing a single ideology on all citizens, and the isolation of Soviet society from the rest of the world. He considered illusory the social gains of Soviet society, "a society of maximal unfreedom". To exemplify this point:

> People from the West often tell us that despite the many drawbacks of our system, we do at least have free medical care. For the tax-payer it is not free; it costs him considerably more than medical care in most Western countries but is of a very low quality.

Sakharov said he supported the aim of a gradual democratization of society.

Shortly after this, Tass circulated an article on Sakharov by Yu. Kornilov entitled "A Slander Merchant".

On 16 August Malyarov, Deputy Procurator-General of the USSR, had a talk with Sakharov and gave him a warning. He characterized Sakharov's position as anti-Soviet and subversive. Moreover, he stated that when meeting foreigners Sakharov relayed information that could prove useful to foreign intelligence services. Sakharov categorically denied these charges.

At a press conference in his flat on 21 August Sakharov interpreted the procurator's "warning" as an attempt to forbid any deviation from the prescribed line, based on the elastic concept of "a state's right to self-defence." In reply to questions, Sakharov stated that a détente which did not presuppose the democratization of Soviet society, but was based on terms dictated by the USSR, would be dangerous and would fail to resolve the problems facing the world. Freed of its economic difficulties, which it could not resolve alone, the Soviet Union would be able to build up its strength, and a disarmed world would find itself confronted with a powerful state in which, under the mask of a love of peace, everything would be concealed from the outside world. Détente, he believed, should go hand in hand with a renunciation by the socialist countries of their isolation from the world.

On 24 and 26 August respectively *L'Humanité* and *Volksstimme* published articles condemning Sakharov's position. They were reprinted by *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on 24 and 27 August.

On 28 August the Soviet press began to carry a letter by 40 academicians censuring A. D. Sakharov for his statements "....against the Soviet Union's *policy* of détente ...." They were indignant at his activity which "....discredits the honour and dignity of a Soviet scientist". Among the signatories were: N. G. Basov, M. A. Markov, A. N. Nesmeyanov, A. M. Prokhorov, N. N. Semyonov, I. M. Frank, Yu. B. Khariton, P. A. Cherenkov, V. A. Engelgardt.

During the week that followed, all the cultural unions and the Academy of Sciences took up the call. Moreover, central and local newspapers printed letters each day from individuals. A sample of the headlines given to these materials reflects the nature and tone of the campaign of condemnation: "A Foul Endeavour," "Unseemly Behaviour," "Playing Into the Hands of Reactionary Forces," "At One with the Enemy," "Cut Off From the People," "From the Opposite Pole," "A Rebuff to the Slanderer," "Outraged!" (from *Pravda* in August and September); "The Limit of Degradation" (*Izvestia*, September), "We Angrily Condemn ..." (*Literaturnaya Gazeta*, September).

Although the campaign subsequently abated, it flared up again on 18 September after Galich, Maximov and Sakharov had appealed to the Chilean government on behalf of Pablo Neruda. Their appeal stated: " ... His glorious name is indissolubly linked with the Latin American people's struggle for spiritual and national liberation. The death of this great man would long darken the epoch of Chile's rebirth and consolidation that your government has proclaimed. "

The Soviet press accused Sakharov of supporting Chile's military government. A lead article in the magazine *Kommunist* stated: "What this capitulation leads to is obvious from Sakharov's 'personal message' to the military junta of Chile, in which he panders to the usurpers of power—tyrants of the Chilean people—calling the barbaric regime they have established an epoch of 'rebirth and consolidation'!"

On 8 September Sakharov issued a statement pointing out that the newspaper campaign was deliberately aimed at distorting his position, and that he had been presented almost as an advocate of war. "This is unconscionable exploitation of the anti-war feelings of the nation that suffered most terribly during World War II. " A. D. Sakharov believes that his many interventions against the conducting of nuclear tests in the atmosphere made a contribution to the Moscow Treaty of 1963 which [partially] banned nuclear testing. In conclusion he states: "The newspaper campaign which has involved hundreds of people....greatly distresses me, as it is yet another manifestation of the use of cruel force against the exercise of conscience...." And he added: "...precisely this newspaper campaign, so irrational and cruel in its effects on its participants, is likely to undermine détente."

* * *

On 1 September V. Turchin, Doctor [*doktor*] of Physical-Mathematical Sciences, issued an open letter. Noting that Sakharov's public activity had always been directed towards the defence of human rights and the relaxation of international tension, he said that the newspaper campaign had undermined the international prestige of the Soviet Union.

Early in September I. R. Shafarevich, a member of Moscow's Committee on Human Rights and a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, spoke out in defence of Sakharov. Shafarevich expressed serious fears about Sakharov's fate.

On 7 September L. Chukovskaya published an article entitled "The People's Wrath" ["Gnev Naroda"], in which she wrote: " ... the persecution of *samizdat*, of *A Chronicle of Current Events*, of Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, and hundreds of others cannot be called ideological struggle. It is an attempt once again to silence human voices through the use of prisons and camps." With respect to Sakharov: "He may be violating the chief law of our land; not the one written in the Constitution, but the chief, the unwritten law—the law on the preservation of silence."

In his article "Peace and Violence" (11 September) A. Solzhenitsyn nominated Sakharov as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize V. Maximov, A. Galich and I. Shafarevich put toward the same proposal.

Andrei Sinyavsky supported the nomination of A. D. Sakharov in a letter to *Le Monde* (14 September).

In mid-September Litvinov and Shragin pointed to the hollowness of the accusations hurled at Sakharov. "Hundreds of signatures and vularities," they wrote, "have not made the condemnation of Academician A. D. Sakharov more convincing." The authors state that, given the efficiency of international communications today, the true state of affairs in our country cannot be concealed. The article concluded with a quotation from Sakharov: "In our society respect for human rights has now become an urgent necessity."

In September Roy Medvedev published a work in which he polemicizes with Sakharov's viewpoint on détente. Medvedev believes that in and of itself détente will lead to greater democratization in the USSR.

Zhores Medvedev expressed a similar point of view in British newspapers.

In an interview with a Lebanese correspondent on 11 October Sakharov stated: "This war, which began with Egypt and Syria simultaneously launching large-scale attacks, is a great tragedy for both the Arabs and the Jews. For Israel the issue now, as in the wars of 1949*, 1956 and 1967, is the survival of its state, its right to existence. On the other hand, it seems to me that for the Arabs the war is essentially the end result of an interplay of political forces, domestic and foreign, of questions of prestige, of nationalistic prejudices. I believe that such a distinction exists and is of crucial importance for the evaluation of these events."

On 21 October two people who claimed to represent the ill-famed "Black September" organization called on Sakharov and threatened to destroy him. The visit from Arab terrorists prompted a letter from Solzhenitsyn and an appeal from A. Galich, F. Svetov and V. Maximov. A letter on the subject from S. Kovalyov, T. Velikanova, P. Litvinov and T. Khodorovich stated: "No matter whom Sakharov's visitors may have represented, the destruction they threatened would be possible only through the connivance (or, at least, negligence) of the appropriate state institutions."

According to *A Chronicle of Human Rights* (number 4), "Western interventions in defence of Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn in connection with the campaign against them in the Soviet press have been too numerous to list."

A LETTER FROM POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE PERM CAMPS

We warmly support Academician A. D. Sakharov's struggle for civil rights and freedoms in the USSR. We want to convey our deep respect to this courageous and noble man. Let all those who have signed 'protests' against Sakharov know that with the help of their names it is easier for our jailers to torment and oppress us. We want to use this valuable opportunity to refute before the whole world the lies of the traitor P. Yakir about the absence in the USSR of a democratic movement. Hundreds of political prisoners—active participants in this movement—have not betrayed their

*He must have meant 1948.

democratic convictions. We believe that the cause of democratizing the Soviet system, the cause of Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, Bukovsky and Grigorenko, will prevail."

(Signed): V. Platonov, oriental scholar (7-year term); V. Uzlov, technician (4 years); V. Chesnokov, former serviceman (10 years); M. Sado, oriental scholar (13 years); N. Braun Jr., poet (7 years plus 3 of exile); S. Malchevsky, worker (7 plus 3), Yu. Fyodorov, former police captain (6 years); D. Chernoglaz, agronomist (5); S. Kudirka, former sailor and signalsman (10); J. Silinskas, worker (5); V. Melikyan, engineer and economist (4); Kh. Vasilyan, technician (7); L. Lukyanenko, jurist and former procurator (15); M. Makarenko, artist and restorer, former Director of the Painting Gallery of the Siberian Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences (8); Ya. Suslensky, teacher (7); S. Ponomaryov, teacher (5)*. Vsesvyatskaya Station, Perm Region.

September 1973

FROM SOLZHENITSYN'S INTERVIEW WITH CORRESPONDENTS OF LE MONDE AND ASSOCIATED PRESS (Moscow, 23 August 1973).

"Sakharov is now being denounced as a 'slander-merchant', an ignoramus, a naive dreamer and—above all—an unconstructive critic with a malicious hatred of his country.

One would be hard put to fabricate a more inept series of charges. Every accusation hurled at him is so wide of the mark. People familiar with the articles Sakharov has written over recent years, his ideas on social change, his search for ways to save the planet from destruction, his letters to governmental officials and his friendly urgings, cannot fail to detect the profound grasp he has of the internal processes of Soviet life, the suffering he experiences for his country, the anguish he feels for its mistakes, which are not committed by him, and his generous, conciliatory attitudes, which are acceptable to groups with quite antithetical viewpoints.

ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET JEWS

To protest against the grounds on which they had been forbidden to leave the USSR, seven Moscow scientists met at the home of Alexander Lunts (Moscow, 15 Garibaldi Street, Building 2, Apartment 76) on 10 June 1973 to commence a hunger strike that lasted many days. In denying these people permission to emigrate to Israel the Soviet authorities have cited, as the basis for their decision, the "interests of the State".

*On Platonov see *Chronicles* 1, 25; on Sado 1, 19; on Braun and Malchevsky 9, 17, 23; on Yu. I. Fyodorov 12,.22, 23, 29; on Chernoglaz 15, 17, 20; on Kudirka 20, 32; on Vasilyan 15, 16 (his first name can be transliterated Ovik or Khovik): on Lukyanenko 11,28; on Makarenko 16, 23, 32; on Suslensky 16, 27, 32; on Ponomaryov 10-15, 23. Uzlov belonged to a Marxist group in Sverdlovsk which was arrested in 1970, five members being sentenced (see document 1102 in the *Samizdat* Archive). On Silinskas see document 1137 in this archive, where he is described as a Lithuanian born in 1943 and sentenced in 1970, and also *Chronicle*23. The case of Valter Melikyan (married, 3 children, address 31 Mesrop Mashtots Street, Berd, Armenia) is not yet known about in detail.

The participants of the hunger strike issued a public statement declaring that such a motive was absolutely improper in determining people's fates. The scientists let it be known that they would sooner starve to death, and thereby prove that they belonged only to themselves, than accept the idea that they could be considered state property.

The hunger strike was terminated two weeks later, on 24 June,after numerous scientific organizations, public figures in the West and leaders of Jewish organizations had assured the participants that world public opinion sympathized with them and understood the severity of the problem and their determination. Hence, the hunger strike had served its purpose.

Shortly afterwards, three of the participants–A. Libgover, M. Gitterman and V. Roginsky–received permission to leave the USSR and are now living in Israel. Soviet authorities have continued to withhold permission from the other four–M. Azbel, V. Brailovsky, A. Voronel and A. Lunts.

* * *

An unofficial publication entitled *Jews in the USSR*, dealing with the history, culture and problems of Soviet Jews has appeared periodically since October 1972. A. Voronel and V. Yakhot published the first two issues of the journal, and A. Voronel and M. Gitterman the two succeeding ones (numbers 3 and 4). The problem of Jewish national identity in the USSR is treated in the main section of the journal. The first issue considered the sociological aspect of the problem; the second and third dealt with it from the standpoint of psychology and cultural factors. The fourth issue traced the history of how Soviet Jews have lost their own language. In a section entitled "Legal Questions", the first and third issues discussed the legal position of Jews who wish to resettle in Israel, given the absence of any published laws in the USSR which guarantee them this right. The second issue published data on Soviet citizens–Jews and non-Jews–who have been persecuted for their so-called "parasitic way of life". A section entitled "Who Am I?" features writings, based on personal experience, about the national self-awareness of Jews. One author [Larissa Bogoraz] writes that she regards herself as a fully assimilated Russian from the cultural viewpoint, but experiences her Jewishness in terms of a racial label and a social role. Others feel a keen sense of themselves as members of a national minority in Russia. This same section also features works of fiction depicting the world view of Jews in the USSR. Other sections of the journal are entitled: "History", "Recollections", "Cultural life".

Issues of *Jews in the USSR* appeared on the following dates: number 1–October 1972; number 2–December 1972; number 3–June-July 1973; number 4 – September 1973.

DECREE NUMBER ?? OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET

On 25 December 1972 the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet passed decree number 1707 (or 7707–accounts vary) on measures to prevent the commission of crimes. One of the preventive measures stipulated by the decree is the giving of a warning [*preduprezhedenie*]by state security personnel to people whose activities are verging on the

criminal. (In the text, the term used may be "a restraining order" [*predosterezhenie*].) When a warning has been given, the procuracy is informed. If a person who receives such a warning commits a crime, the record of the warning becomes part of the case material. KGB personnel are empowered to apprehend people who are subject to a warning but fail to respond to a summons. To date, this decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has not been published in the publications available to citizens.

* * *

On 14 August 1973 Ernst Semyonovich Orlovsky* was given a warning by Captain Khukharev of the KGB Directorate for Leningrad region. Another man was present,who refused to give his name. The record of the warning stated that Orlovsky had had in his possession documents banned from circulation in the USSR, which were confiscated during a search of his flat on 15 January 1972 in connection with criminal case number 24 against P. I. Yakir. These documents contained slanderous fabrications selected and masked so as to resemble the truth and thereby mislead public opinion and cast aspersions on the Soviet system. Moreover, a forensic examination had established that L. Kolakowski's libellous work "I Will Tell You What Is Socialism" ["Ya skazhu, chto takoye sotsializm"], which had been confiscated from the arrested Yu. A. Shikhanovich (see *Chronicle* 27 and this issue), had been printed on a typewriter belonging to Orlovsky. In accordance with the decree, citizen Orlovsky was warned that if he persisted in such activities, which jeopardized the state security of the USSR, he might easily slide into the commission of a crime. In that case, Captain Khukharev stated, the record of the warning would be attached to the case materials and would be considered an aggravating circumstance.

Having read the record and signed it, Orlovsky appended to it the following protest: (1) The record referred to a decree which had not been published according to the established procedure, and his request to read the text of it had been refused. (2) The record contained an evaluation of documents confiscated during a search but failed to provide any grounds for that evaluation or, for that matter, indicate the specific documents to which it applied. (3) There was no basis for terming L. Kolakowski's work libellous. (4) His [Orlovsky's] request to be informed about which agency had evaluated the documents and about the procedure through which to contest those evaluations had been refused. (5) His request to be informed on the procedure for protesting against the record's assertions that his activities jeopardized the state security of the USSR had been refused.

* * *

*See *Chronicles* 16, 24, 28 and his letter of 17 September 1973 to the *Literary Gazette* about Amnesty International.

On 18 October 1973 Irina Yakir was summoned to a KGB reception room for a talk with Lieutenant Colonel G. V. Kislykh (P. Yakir's investigator) and Colonel Buranov. The latter asked her to read and sign an official warning which listed all her activities that verged on the criminal, namely: signing various letters of protest, possessing and circulating various anti-Soviet materials, helping to collect materials for *A Chronicle of Current Events*, contacting Western correspondents and transmitting information to the West.

I. Yakir was allowed to read the text of the decree, which lay in a folder labelled "secret". I. Yakir signed the record of the warning but did not accede to the request that she write a statement agreeing to "desist from her activity".

* * *

In response to a summons from the KGB Malva Noyevna Landa reported to the offices of the Lyublino District Party Committee (in Moscow) on 18 December 1973. There, in the presence of an unnamed person, KGB officer Kovalyov showed her the record of a warning. It had been drawn up on the grounds that "libellous documents" typed on her typewriter–*The Technology of Power [Tekhnologiya vlasti]* by Avtorkhanov, an article by V. Moroz, *Chronicles* 19 and 21, and certain other materials–had been confiscated during searches of the flats of Landa herself, Kosovsky (Leningrad), Rubin (Moscow) and others. Other documents cited were those Landa herself had written: "Crime and Punishment" ["Priestupleniye i nakazaniye"] on the trial of L. Plyushch), and an open letter about Bukovsky. These had been published in the West.

Asked by Landa where the decree was published, in accordance with which the war warning had been issued, the KGB officer stated that he did not know. Landa noted on the record that she did not regard the documents and materials it listed as libellous.

* * *

On 18 December 1973 the record of a warning was shown to Yuly Chersanovich Kim. The record listed dubious actions of Kim's that "verged on criminal activity":

1) systematic preparation of *A Chronicle of Current Events*; 2) meetings with foreign correspondents in order to transmit libellous anti-Soviet materials; 3) singing anti-Soviet songs in private homes and giving public performances of them in several towns; 4) knowledge of his wife's, I. Yakir's, anti-Soviet activity.

* * *

It is known that warnings were presented also to I. Kristi, A. Feldman (Kiev) and A. Marchenko.

NEWS IN BRIEF

1) Boris Shilkrot, whose arrest was reported in *Chronicle* 29, has been sentenced to 6 months in a strict-regime camp for violation of residence regulations. In 1969 Shilkrot was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment under article 70 of the RSFSR criminal code (see *Chronicles* 17, 22). He spent the last year and a half of his term in Vladimir Prison and was released on 12 August 1972.

After this he settled in the town of Luga in Leningrad region. As from 7 December 1972 he was placed under official surveillance.

Three violations by Shilkrot of the surveillance regime were recorded. In March 1973 he had spent one night away from home (fined 10 rubles); in April he reported a day later than specified (15 ruble fine); in June he returned home 20 minutes after the curfew hour fixed for him.

He was tried on 17 August 1973. Baranov, Chief of the Surveillance Division, was one of the principal witnesses.

Shilkrot is serving his term in a camp with this address: Kirovskaya Oblast, uchr. 216/1.*

* * *

2) Boris Zdorovets (see *Chronicle* 7), indicted under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian code, which corresponds to article 190-1 of the RSFSR code, has been tried in Kharkov. His arrest was reported in the preceding issue. Zdorovets is an invalid who has lost one of his arms. He came to Kharkov from Siberia, where he had spent 3 years in exile after the Mordovian amps. His wife and three children live near Kharkov (in Merefa, it appears).†

* * *

3) Zhores Medvedev (see *Chronicles* 6, 14, 22) was deprived of his Soviet citizenship on 8 August 1973. Medvedev is a biologist, a specialist in genetics and gerontology, and the author of well-known works on public issues: "The History of the Genetic Debate" ["Istoriya geneticheskoi diskussii"], "International Scientific Collaboration and National Borders" ["Mezhdunarodnoye satrudnichestvo uchenykh i natsionalnye granitsy"], "The Privacy of Correspondence is Protected by Law" ["Tayna perepiski okhranyayetsya zakonom"], "Ten Years After *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*" ["Desyat let posle *Odnago dnya Ivana Denisovicha*"], "A Question of Madness" ["Kto sumasshedshii?] (written jointly with his brother Roy Medvedev). In connection with his scientific work Zhores Medvedev had gone to London in early 1973 with the permission of the Soviet authorities.

* * *

*Here he met Ya. Khantsis (See *Chronicles* 28, 32). In 1974 Shilkrot emigrated to Israel. See 32.

†An error: an appeal of Khartov Baptists dated 5 April 1974 gives the same address for them as was given in previous years: Kharkovskaya oblast, Dergachevskii raion, pos. Olshany, ul Krasnoarmeiskaya 24. The appeal gives the camp address of Zdorovets: Voroshilovgradskaya oblast, g. Perevalsk, p/ya 314/15.

4) Early in August 1973 the writer Andrei Sinyavsky, a former political prisoner [*Chronicles* 4, 20], used the permission granted him to go to France with his family for an extended stay and see to his affairs there. Sinyavsky, known in the West also as Abram Tertz, was arrested in September 1965 and sentenced to 7 years in strict-regime camps. He was released early in June 1971.

* * *

5) In July 1973 Sergei Georgievich Myuge (see *Chronicles* 22, 24), who had been under investigation since October 1971 (article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code), received permission to emigrate. Myuge left the USSR in early September 1973.

* * *

6) In early September 1973 Anatoly Yakobson, together with his family, left the USSR for Israel. Yakobson (see *Chronicles* 4, 8, [11, 25]) is a poet, translator and literary scholar (his book on Blok, *The End of a Tragedy [Konets tragedii]*, recently appeared in the West). In the spring of 1973 he was elected a member of the International Pen Club. His articles on public issues circulated widely in *samizdat*. Yakobson was a member of the Initiative Group.

* * *

7) On 1 September V. Albrekht, V. Arkangelsky, I. Korneyev and A. Tverdokhlebov announced the establishment of "Group 73". The aim of "Group 73" is to find ways to assist people who have been persecuted for their "attempts to secure universally acknowledged rights and freedoms". *

* * *

8) On 28 October 1973 A. Tverdokhlebov wrote to [F.K.] Pruss, commandant of the Special Psychiatric Hospital in Dnepropetrovsk, about his concern for the fate of L. Plyushch. Citing the hospital's regulations on the quantity and contents of food packages permitted, Tverdokhlebov asks whether it is possible to treat people under such conditions. He questions the legality of L. Plyushch's confinement in this special psychiatric hospital.

* * *

9) At the end of November 1973 the RSFSR Supreme Court reviewed, on appeal, the case of Andrei Amalrik (see *Chronicles* 17, 29). The court upheld the verdict of the Magadan Regional Court, but, taking into account Amalrik's poor health, commuted his 3 year sentence in a strict-regime camp to 3 years of exile. Since Amalrik had already served four months in prison, and a day in prison counts for three days of exile, he actually has two years left to serve.

Magadan City is the place designated for his exile.

When Amalrik was released from custody, it was learned that he had declared a hunger strike after his trial, in protest against the verdict, and had maintained it until his release, i.e. for over three months.

* See relevant documents in *A Chronicle of Human Rights*, number 4, 1973.

* * *

10) L. Korenblit, S. Dreizner and V. Boguslavsky, convicted in one of the Leningrad trials (see *Chronicle* 20), have been released.

SAMIZDAT NEWS

The third issue of *Amnesty International* carries an announcement that the editors intend to make it a regular publication.

The *Chronicle* lists below the contents of the first three issues.*

Number 1 (Compiled by A. Tverdokhlebov and V. Arkhangelsky).

From the Editors

Part I

1. Amnesty
2. The Statutes of Amnesty International
3. Resolutions adopted by the 1972 International Council
4. Selected publications by Amnesty:
   a) Report on a Mission of 2-8 August 1972 to Zagreb
   b) Problems Involved in Studying the Practical Experience and Traditions of Amnesty

Part 2

1. On the concept of "a political prisoner" (V. Chalidze's memorandum to the Committee on Human Rights).
2. On the providing of welfare for political prisoners (A. Tverdokhlebov's statement to the United Associations of the Red Cross and Red Crescent).
3. On the abolition of capital punishment:
   a) V. Lapin's statement to the USSR Supreme Soviet
   b) statement by Sakharov et al. to the USSR Supreme Soviet
4. On an Amnesty for Political Prisoners:
   statement by Sakharov et al. to the USSR Supreme Soviet

*The journal *Amnesty International* was published in *samizdat* in Moscow by Soviet citizens sympathetic to the aims of AI. Four issues are known to have appeared, all in 1973. Of these only number 4 has as yet reached the West in (almost) complete form.

Appendices
1. Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners
2. The Optional Protocol
3. Statutes of Amnesty International (in English)

Supplementary Issue [i.e. number 2] (compiled by A. Tverdokhlebov and V. Arkhangelsky)

Part 1
C. Hill, "Some Philosophical Problems About Rights "
V. Arkhangelsky, "The Right to Free Association "

Part 2
On the Freedom to Disseminate Information
On the Providing of Welfare for Prisoners of Conscience

Number 3 (Compiled by A. Tverdokhlebov)

Part 1
Rudolph Jering, "The Struggle for Justice"

Part 2
Amnesty International Newsletter: What Can Amnesty Accomplish?

Part 3
The cases of S. Myuge; V. Khaustov; P. Grigorenko; V. Bukovsky

A. N. Tverdokhlebov. "Letter to Dr Bernard Dixon". The author attempts to call the attention of Western scientific associations to the fate of the well-known Kievan mathematician and dissenter Leonid Plyushch. Tverdokhlebov reproduces a letter from Plyushch's wife, T. Zhitnikova, to the Chief of the Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions [V. E.] Makogov. Given the inhuman conditions of her husband's confinement there, she had asked that he be transferred to another institution.

Commenting on Zhitnikova's letter, Tverdokhlebov observes that "among institutions of its type, the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital has the worst, most terrible reputation".

V. Nekipelov. "They Want to Try us—But for What?" The article opens with an account of the investigation of a case in which S. Myuge, K. Velikanova, M. Landa and the author himself are suspected of circulating libellous literature. Faced with the inevitability of a trial ("after all, a massive wheel like the Moscow City Procuracy cannot work to no effect for over a year")*V. Nekipelov wants to make his attitude to it clear in advance. He states that his friends have not committed any crimes against the established order and have not circulated any false information. To try people for reading and possessing literature, he says, is witch-hunting.

*Nekipelov was arrested on 11 July 1973 (see *Chronicle* 29) and sentenced to 2 years in May 1974 (*Chronicle* 32).

Declaring articles 70 and 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code unconstitutional, Nekipelov refuses to participate in the forthcoming trial. "I ask my friends and relatives to know with certainty," he writes, "that when I am arrested, *I will not give any testimony to the investigation or the court.*" His article concludes with these words' "I believe that Russia will purify itself, will mature, will overcome its fear, and will break its rulers once and for all of their age-old habit of rummaging in people's books and minds!"

Lydia Chukovskaya. "The People's Wrath" ["Gnev naroda"]. The author draws an analogy between the "unanimous" campaign against Academician Sakharov and the writer Solzhenitsyn today and the persecution of Boris Pasternak in 1958-59. Lydia Chukovskaya analyzes the techniques used to incite "the public's wrath," making a clear-cut distinction between the type of people involved in the campaign: members of the intelligentsia and those people commonly referred to as "the man in the street." Chukovskaya addresses herself precisely to the latter group, which makes her work a rather rare phenomenon in *samizdat* writings on public issues.

Semyon Telegin. "What Ought One to Do?" [Kak byt?].* In this article Telegin offers his view of the moral position which the Russian people have adopted in relation to the ideology of the state and the actions of their leaders.

Dmitry Nelidov. "Ideocratic Consciousness and Personality." ["Ideokraticheskoye soznaniye i lichnost"] An analysis of the principles and mechanisms by which Soviet ideology moulds personality. On a formal level, the work is a polemic against the ideas advanced in K. Zhitnikov's article "The Decline of the Democratic Movement" ["Zakat democraticheskogo dvizheniya"]. Nelidov believes that a juxtaposition between the forms of the democratic movement and the state reforms instituted during the period of de-Stalinization exists only on the surface and does not go to the heart of the problem. According to him, the real point is that the democratic movement, by the mere fact of its existence, has disclosed the existence of two types of consciousness: a consciousness formed under ideological pressure (this is what he terms "ideocratic") and another which has to some extent freed itself of this pressure. On this basis the author provides a concrete analysis of the ideology, which is defined as an alienated consciousness, "acquired by the consumer in the form of codified knowledge, emotions and impulses."

Hence, references to "convictions" which, to some degree, are central to K. Zhitnikov's argument) are out of place. One should talk only about what psychiatrists and sociologists call the culture of social adaptation. This culture can be defined as a system of conditioned reflexes trained in a particular way to respond to a corresponding set of ideological signals. The culture becomes practically inseparable from personality, imposing on it a certain pre-formed "social image" —a mannequin with certain stereotyped feelings, thought processes, and behaviour. This superimposition of a "social image" on the personality gives rise to the phenomenon of doublethink—the consequence of a voluntary submission of the self to the proffered mannequin. "It is this penetration of your reason and will by an alien reason and will," the author writes, "your accommodating and pandering to the latter, your rejection of the right to make a moral choice and take responsibility for it, your rejection of your own thoughts and beliefs, which can only be termed a violation of human nature—a de-humanization."

*Evidently the same essay as was listed in *Chronicle* 12. See also *Chronicle* 27 and this issue.

Any form of social protest(call it a democratic movement or something else) can only be discussed in the context of this culture of social adaptation or doublethink which develops in any totalitarian system. The issue here is not one of convictions but of whether a person submits to the unconscious, reflexion-induced compact that penetrates the whole of society or refuses to take part in it. Such a refusal can take the form of an "unexpected", spontaneous protest, some effort to defend human rights, or simply *the act of bearing witness for prisoners of conscience–that for which A Chronicle of Current Events exists.* The norms of doublethink (a schizophrenic splitting of the soul) are challenged by one's own norms of a person, those of psychic integrity. "The whole point of the political protest registered by the democratic movement has been that it has demonstrated another standard of health, one that has proved intolerable for a society which has succumbed to a spiritual epidemic." It has been liberating people from the peculiar ideocratic fear inculcated by totalitarianism.

On the basis of this argument, the author raises two fundamental objections to K. Zhitnikov's analysis. First, despite possible similarities in phraseology, the ideocratic consciousness and any self-aware, willed protest against it have nothing in common. Second, the "movement...deliberately did not put its main stress on the problem of freedom. It formulated and, for the first time, called attention to the issue of law and legal guarantees for the personality. The struggle for a rule of law enabled people to perceive the sovereignty of man in conditions in which his real essence had been placed in jeopardy."

A. Solzhenitsyn. "Peace and violence"

In this article (September 1973) Solzhenitsyn juxtaposes the antithesis "peace-violence" to the narrower, more limited antithesis "peace-war". He says that peace is disrupted by any form of violence–be it war, terrorism, the seizure of a single hostage, guerrilla warfare, gangsterism, or the systematic violence of the state. There are "smooth transitions" and a causal connection between one form of violence and another. Those who fail to see this choose not to; they are unaware of it because life is quieter and more carefree if one overlooks the most menacing and mighty forms of violence; and because it is easier to resist evil when it is less heavily armed and has less popular support; when there is some hope of a victory over it without sacrifices. However, a petty, calculating struggle of this sort against violence is not a genuine struggle for peace, for justice. In our country an unselfish, self-sacrificing struggle for justice against the mighty violence of the state–and thereby a struggle for peace–has been conducted by A. D. Sakharov. Solzhenitsyn nominates him as a candidate for the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize.

"An Unplanned Commentary"

An anonymous pamphlet dealing with the attacks on A. D. Sakharov in the autumn of 1973. The author discusses: the readiness with which the mass of Soviet citizens–people ranging from academicians to carpenters–take part in any form of baiting sanctioned by the authorities; the short-sighted political calculations of governmental figures in the West; and the immorality of Western intellectuals who collaborate with regimes that violate human rights.

A. Marchenko. "An Appeal to Progressive Public Figures and Organizations in Western Europe". On the eve of the Geneva Conference, Marchenko appeals to the community of nations of Western Europe to exert pressure on their governments to demand freedom of cultural exchange and information. He asks them to keep in mind that in our country the suppression of the individual's spiritual and physical freedom has become a national tradition; and he urges them to oppose a collaboration based on such "national traditions and customs." These "customs" reduce any collaboration to a mere fiction.

"TAMIZDAT"* NEWS

This section summarizes Western editions of works and documents in Russian that were not published in the Soviet press for "ideological" reasons.

* * *

A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR number 3 (June-August 1973). (Same format, headings and price as previous issues.) In addition to the editors P. Reddaway and E. Kline listed on the back of the title page, the name of V. N. Chalidze appears for the first time as Editor-in-Chief.

"In this Issue": A review of Pyotr Yakir's activities in defence of human rights (special article); The arrest of Superfin; Conviction of A. Amalrik; The Trial of Yakir and Krasin; Psychiatric Commission declares Shikhanovich non-accountable; Sakharov's talk with Deputy Procurator-General of the USSR; Zh. Medvedev's Soviet citizenship revoked; statement by the Committee on Human Rights of 9 July 1973 about the refusal of the International Congress of Psychotherapists in Oslo to discuss the Soviet authorities' policy of "punitive psychiatry" in order not to "hinder the currently most progressive process of rapprochement with the countries of Eastern Europe"; Senator McGovern and Congressman Ichord speak out in defence of Amalrik and Maximov; A Law on Public Education.

The following is further information on the contents of the sections regularly featured (the figures designate the numbers of the sections–for details see *Chronicle* 29). (1) Conviction of O. Savinkin, A. Egorov and E. Kuzin; arrests of V. Nekipelov and S. Pirogov; Searches of A. Tverdokhlebov, I. Abramovich, V. Dolgy, T. Velikanova, V. Bakhmin, T. Zhitnikova and V. Nekrasov; V. Maximov's letter to the Secretariat of the Moscow Section of the RSFSR Writers' Union; A letter from A. Solzhenitsyn to the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs (2) Transfer of E. Kuznetsov and Yu. Fydorov to an investigations prison; transfer of K. Lyubarsky to a BUR ("barrack of intensified regime"); V. Chalidze's letter to K. Lyubarsky; Illnesses of V. Moroz, Z. Antonyuk, Ya. Khantsis; Pimenov's book *One Political Trial* published in West Germany; Pimenov obtains post in Komi Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Search of B. Vail's home in Tobolsk in connection with the cases of V. Khaustov, E. Kuzin and others; N. Plakhotnyuk sent to the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital; (3) Korzhavin expelled from the USSR

*T*amizdat:* literally "writings published over there", i.e. in the West, in contrast to *samizdat* published in the USSR.

Writers' Union; A. Galich's emigration papers not accepted; A. Sinyavsky and A. Volkonsky leave the USSR; S. Myuge and A. Yakobson obtain permission to emigrate; V. Shneider and E. Vronsky escape to West Germany; P. Siordiya (previously granted asylum in Greece) returns to USSR; V. Yanin escapes to Turkey; L. Goldgur jumps Soviet ship, obtains asylum in Israeli Embassy in Tokyo, arrives in Israel. (6) V. Osipov's letter to the Moscow City Procurator; (11) A. Esenin-Volpin's letter to *The New York Times* in defence of P. Grigorenko; V. Chalidze's letter to A. Mikoyan in defence of G. Superfin; letter from Archbishop Irenei to R. Nixon on religious persecution in the USSR; B. Levin's article in *The Times* on psychiatric abuses in the USSR, etc.

The contents of the next issue are announced: USSR Ratifies the Covenants on Human Rights; Campaign against Sakharov continues in the Soviet press; Recent statements by Sakharov; Turchin, Shafarevich, Galich, Maximov, Solzhenitsyn and Chukovskaya speak out in defence of Sakharov; Interrogations in the Superfin Case; Statements by E. Barabanov; Appeal by P. Litvinov and B. Shragin; Tverdokhlebov, Arkhangelsky, Korneyev and Albrekht establish group to study the problems of aid to prisoners; Western activities in defence of Sakharov and other Soviet intellectuals.

* * *

Eduard Kuznetsov, Diaries (Les Editeurs Réunis, Paris, 1973, 374 pages). The author was one of the principal defendants in the 1970 Leningrad "Aeroplane Case " (see *Chronicle* 17).

The *Diaries (Dnevniki)* describe the author's detention in the Leningrad Investigations Prison (October 1970–May 1971) and in the special regime camp for political prisoners in the Mordovian ASSR (June-November 1971), where he is currently confined. A description of the "Aeroplane Trial" is appended to the book. The *Diaries* also include a number of letters on the trial and the indictment which the author and his fellow-defendants sent to various Soviet and international organizations.

A passage in the preface states: "For the first time in the history of the Soviet system Western governments (not just public opinion) intervened directly and the regime retreated, the sentences of death were commuted. A week in death row, then a return to the "special regime" for 15 years; meanwhile, in accord with the logic of its defeat, the authorities were forced to permit about 50,000 people to leave the USSR–Jews and non-Jews..... Many of us who are indebted to Kuznetsov for our freedom still experience a great fear. He runs the risk of being sent to Vladimir while we cannot bring ourselves to sign our names to the preface of his book. But Edik would be the first to understand this.....He is very painstaking to avoid mentioning any name, any fact, in his diary entries that might compromise someone....."

An afterword from the publishers observes that Kuznetsov's *Diaries* initiate a new series of "first-hand testimonies" on topical problems of the day. "Written while the tracks are still fresh, these 'testimonies' will inevitably bear the marks of subjectivity and strong emotions..... The unifying feature will be their frankness and authenticity.

They will come from people whose testimony has been engraved with sacrifice. 'I believe only those witnesses whose heads were forced to roll,' said Pascal. It is precisely these circumstances which impart a unique quality to this book, parts of which were lost to us during prison searches."

Abram Tertz (Andrei Sinyavsky). A Voice from the Chorus.

Notes, reminiscences and thoughts on Russian literature. Written during the author's confinement in the Mordovian camps from 1966-71. The book consists mainly of Sinyavsky's letters to his wife. (Stenvalley Press, England, 1973).

Alexander Solzhenitsyn. The Gulag Archipelago.

An experiment in literary investigation. Parts 1 and 2 (1918-56), YMCA Press, Paris, 1973.

MATERIAL FROM THE SOVIET PRESS

Early in November 1973 the newspaper *Literaturnaya Ukraina* published a statement by the critic Ivan Dzyuba. An editorial introduction reports that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, taking into account Dzyuba's sincere acknowledgement of guilt, has granted him a pardon.
tried in March 1973, and sentenced to 5 years in camps–see *Chronicle* 29).

The major part of Dzyuba's statement deals with the history of his writing of *Internationalism or Russification?* which he now considers "an attack on the party's nationalities policy". Dzyuba writes that he committed harmful acts by circulating this and certain other works. Facts which Dzyuba became aware of during the investigation have forced him to break with his errors of the past once and for all. In the light of all this, the real issue for him was not that of a particular court sentence but of a life-long choice: "....whether to resign myself to being branded an enemy of my socialist fatherland, or not to allow this...." The author made the latter choice.

While still under pre-trial investigation, Dzyuba began work on a critical analysis of *Internationalism or Russification?* This work is to be an explication of his present views.The author wishes "to oppose the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism in a wholly principled way..." Dzyuba writes that he has understood the necessity of being a citizen of the USSR and a proletarian internationalist. His statement concludes: "I want to fulfil an intention I set myself long ago–to spend a good deal of time working in my field in some industrial enterprise, so that I can experience the atmosphere of a workers' collective, become part of its life."

ACTIVITIES IN DEFENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUE

The "Chronicle" will continue to appear in 1974.

Above: Crimean Tatars trying to gain access to a courtroom in Tashkent in May 1969.
Far right: Reshat Dznemilev
Right: Akhmet Abduramanov
Below right: Yury Osmanov
Below left: Ten Crimean Tatar representatives who went to Moscow in 1969 to see Soviet authorities, pictured in Red Square with Lenin's tomb in the background

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 through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19.

Number 31 **17 May 1974**

Contents:
The trial of Dzheppar Akimov. The trial of Reshat Dzhemilev. The position of the Crimean Tatars in the Crimea. Letters from the Crimea. Documents of the Crimean Tatar movement: Appeals, statements, information sheets. Letter to Kurt Waldheim. Documents from official correspondence.

Seventh Year of Publication

INTRODUCTION

This issue of the *Chronicle*, which appears exactly thirty years after the tragic and shameful night of 17 to 18 May 1944, consists entirely of materials relating to the movement of the Crimean Tatars–a movement unique in our country for its mass character (it embraces definitely more than a half of the adult Crimean Tatar population) and duration (operative since 1956). With the exception of two short addenda which do not require additional commentary (texts number 25 and 26), the texts in this issue have been specially numbered for convenience of cross reference; the issue has been compiled from items made available by representatives of the Crimean Tatar movement.

The beginning of the issue contains texts number 1-9, including several individual appeals to the press, to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and international organizations, which describe in the main the events of the last year and a half. The second, retrospective part (texts number 10-24) summarizes items of the Crimean Tatar movement from 1966 to 1973, which can be roughly divided into two groups. The items of the first group may be called informational; these are accounts of meetings of representatives of the Crimean Tatar people, of activities undertaken by them, and of illegal actions which the movement has been concerned to oppose. The second group consists of collective statements by Crimean Tatars (from dozens of signatures to tens of thousands) to Soviet and international organizations, which set forth and explain the aims of the movement.

The exposition of all items, although necessarily extremely condensed, has pursued the goal not only of the maximum communication of information about concrete facts but also of a maximally precise reproduction (in content and form) of the movement's platform. From the materials of this issue it is evident that this platform, whilst fully maintaining a communist and Soviet basis, as regards its ideas and terminology, has in recent years noticeably broadened to include points of international law (in connection with which the range of addressees has also broadened). At the same time the Crimean Tatar movement has at all stages, as is clear, for example, from the num-

erous materials in earlier issues of the *Chronicle*,* been closely linked with the general thrust of the activities in defence of human rights in the USSR. Activists of the Crimean Tatar movement have repeatedly participated in the work of the Initiative Group and have supported its letters and other declarations in defence of civil rights in the USSR. In turn, the Crimean Tatar movement has enjoyed, and enjoys, the support of all to whom human rights are important. This spirit of active sympathy and solidarity has, perhaps, manifested itself with especial clarity in the life and activities of two people who were imprisoned precisely in connection with their statements in defence of the rights of the Crimean Tatar people: Ilya Yankelevich Gabai, who died tragically last year [see *Chronicle* 30], and Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko, who has already languished for five years in prisons and psychiatric hospitals.

1. The Trial of Dzheppar Akimov

Tashkent regional court, 21-28 November 1972, article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code, article 191-4 of the Uzbek criminal code, article 203-1 of the Tadzhik criminal code, sentence— 3 years' imprisonment in a camp of ordinary regime. Judge— M.M. Maksumov, assessors— N.A. Korzh and M. Kamilova, prosecutor— Tashkent regional procurator K. Galashko, defence lawyer— S.S. Lukyanov.

Dzheppar (Dzhabar) Akimov was born in 1909 in the village of Tuak near Alushta, A teacher by education, he worked till the war in schools and in the People's Commissariat of Education of the Crimean ASSR, then as an editor in the Crimean State Publishing House and on the paper *Kyzyl Krym.* He became a party member in 1939. At the beginning of the war, in evacuation, he was appointed chief editor of *Kyzyl Krym*. In 1942 Akimov was sent over to the partisans, where he published leaflets in the Tatar language. In May 1944 he was deported to the town of Bekabad in Uzbekistan, where he lived till his arrest. In 1944-1948 Akimov worked as deputy head of the Farkhad railway in the political section, and then until retirement as an economist and planner in various institutions.

Akimov was an active figure in the Crimean Tatar movement , and was expelled for this from the party in 1968. In 1966 he was one of 65 representatives empowered to deliver statements to the 23rd Party Congress (see item 11 in current number), and he repeatedly took part in meetings of representatives of the Crimean Tatars in Central Asia and in Moscow, with all of which, alongside his suspected authorship of several statements, he was charged at his trial.

However, the grounds for instigating proceedings against Akimov were at first different. On 18 May 1972 in Bekabad black cloths were hung out with the text "18 May–the day of the expulsion of the Crimean Tatars from their homeland" (*Chronicle* 27 reported, evidently mistakenly, that Akimov hung out the flags).

*Materials from issues 1-11 are collected together in chapter 12 of P. Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*. Other issues with extensive materials are numbers 12, 13, 18, 19, 27. The largest collection of Crimean Tatar documents in book form *Delo 109*, was published by Herzen Foundation, Amsterdam, 1975. About 100 items appear in the *Samizdat Archive*. The most up to date study is Ann Sheehy, *The Crimean Tatars, the Volga Germans and the Meskhetians*, Minority Rights Group, 36 Craven Street, London W.C.2., 1973, (an earlier version appeared in B. Whitaker ed., *The Fourth World*, London, 1972) . This study has also appeared in German, *Krimtataren und Meschier*, Pogrom, 2 Hamburg 13, Parkallee 18, 1973.

An investigation was started, entrusted to investigator Berezovsky who had already specialized over a long period in affairs of the Crimean Tatar movement. On 19 May in Bekabad several searches were carried out (see item 19 in this number) and two sheets of the appeal "49 years since the Leninist decree on the formation of the Crimean ASSR", marked with corrections in his hand, were confiscated from Akimov. At first he was made to sign a written undertaking that he would not leave the town, and on 29 August he was arrested.

The arrest of Akimov provoked collective letters of protest. One of them, addressed to Podgorny and Rudenko, was headed:"Freedom for our fellow-countryman Dzhabar-Aga". The letter said that the hanging out of a black flag was organized by the KGB in order to have a pretext to conduct searches of Akimov's home and then for his arrest. Emphasizing the communist convictions of Akimov and his military and civic services, the authors wrote: "And such a man...was summoned to the KGB as a witness but did not return home again..We ask you to lookinto the substance of the case, to free at once the innocently and illegally arrested D. A. Akimov...And in order to put an end to all this political terror which is constantly oppressing the people it is necessary to resolve the Crimean Tatar national question without delay."

The case against Akimov was then separated from the affair of the flags, and on 24 October the investigation concluded with his prosecution under article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code and the identical articles of the criminal codes of the Tadzhik and Uzbek republics. He was charged with: four information sheets signed by him—numbers 5, 8, 25 and 108—about the meetings of Crimean Tatar representatives (see items 11, 15, 16 in current number); his own participation in these meetings; the co-authorship of two appeals—the one mentioned above and one in connection with the 50th anniversary of the USSR (item 17 in current number).

In the indictment Berezovsky established the illegal character of these materials with the forceful formula: "The presence of knowingly false fabrications which defame the Soviet political and social system is confirmed by the content of the documents enumerated in the indictment and attached to the case as material evidence." Despite the exhaustive character of this formula, it was also pointed out that two of the information sheets—numbers 5 and 8—had already been ruled to be defamatory at another trial (the case of Bairamov, Bariyev et al., sentenced on 5 September 1972*). Furthermore, one or two quotations were cited from each item. For example, in information sheet number 8 "Akimov and other representatives of initiative groups knowingly make false assertions that...dozens of Crimean Tatars are allegedly languishing in prisons up to the present day"; in the appeal "49 years since the Leninist decree..." "false aspersions are cast on the position of the Crimean Tatars in the USSR, to the effect that their national equality has allegedly been violated...slanderous fabrications are cited about how after the deportation of the Tatars from the Crimea 'there started a nightmarish life in reservations and exile."

Berezovsky proved the co-authorship of Akimov by the confiscation of documents in searches made at the homes of seven other people, by Akimov's personal signature and his correction of two pages, and by the testimonies of several witnesses about the

*An error. As *Chronicle* 9 and other sources report, sentence was pronounced in this trial on 5 August 1969.

participation of Akimov in the discussion of the documents.

The charge of inciting activity made use of statements about the great authority of Akimov amongst the Crimean Tatars. The indictment referred to the court a list of 37 witnesses.

The trial began on 21 November, about which relatives and witnesses were warned only the evening before. The small hall accommodated, not counting police officials, only the wife and brother of Akimov. However, on this occasion a protest (to the Uzbek Procuracy) had an effect; on the second day of the trial the session was transferred to a large hall and the public were admitted. There were significant difficulties with the choice of a defence counsel. The Moscow barristers who had agreed to conduct the case were strictly forbidden to do so by the Collegium of Barristers. In Tashkent a barrister had to be replaced actually on the day of the trial, and because of this the proceedings were twice interrupted and the examination of the case essentially took place on 27 and 28 November, beginning with the interrogation of witnesses. The questions urged the witnesses to give the "necessary" evidence, but the result was often far from this.

In his evidence Akimov, after telling the court his biography, talked about the tragic position of the Crimean Tatars under the system of punitive surveillance and about how even after the 20th Congress of the party [1956] they had remained in the places of special settlement. He declared: "The documents signed by me express the will and aspiration of the Crimean Tatars, their content does not distort Soviet reality, but merely reflects a situation that actually exists concerning the national question.....This movement is legal and inevitable; I therefore consider the charges brought against me to be unfounded and illegal."

The prosecutor K. Galashko contended that the Crimean Tatars were satisfied with their position and that their movement had been provoked only by incitement. He did not discuss the content of the documents with which Akimov was charged.

Defence counsel Lukyanov, without mentioning the motives for Akimov's participation in the movement of the Crimean Tatars and without disputing the assertions about the defamatory character of the documents, insisted that neither the authorship of Akimov nor his participation in the dissemination of documents had been proved at the trial.

In his final address Akimov spoke about the reasons for the emergence of a national movement of Crimean Tatars, about the legality and justice of their appeals to party and Soviet bodies, and declared: "I remain a Communist and a Leninist and remain with my people....."

In the verdict it was maintained that "Akimov is one of the organisers and instigators of the so-called movement for the return of all Tatars to the Crimea". It was ruled to be proven that Akimov had participated "in illegal and anti-social get-togethers" and in the preparation and dissemination of six documents, reference being made to the evidence of witnesses Ablayev, Seidkhalilov, Z. Shugu and others.

It was also written: "The accused Akimov D. A. does not deny that he corrected documents and appealed at a meeting for support of the position of an initiative group and for the signing of information sheets which he himself had signed. In his explanation Akimov D. A. did not regard this activity as involving fabrications which defamed

the Soviet political and social system, and therefore maintained that there was no *corpus delicti*."

Despite the presence of mitigating circumstances (no previous convictions), the court handed down the maximum term of 3 years, "considering that the crime committed was systematic and socially dangerous and resulted in the involvement of other persons".

In some "critical comments on the trial record" which were appended to the record, defence counsel Lukyanov pointed out that the replies to his questions of many witnesses, including some named in the verdict, had not been recorded. These witnesses had said that they had not been present at various meetings and did not know who had composed the information sheets and appeals. According to the "critical comments", certain testimonies in the record had been invented. In the appeal and later, in a complaint to the procurator of the Uzbek republic, Lukyanov asked for the sentence to be revoked and the case closed in view of the failure to prove the charges, as the correction and discussion of previously prepared documents did not signify authorship or co-authorship. The conclusions of the court about authorship were built not on proofs but on suppositions.

Both complaints were unsuccessful.

In December 1973 a group of Crimean Tatar representatives delivered to the Central Committee of the party protests against the imprisonment of Akimov, signed by many Crimean Tatars living in Uzbekistan, and also sent a telegram of protest on his behalf (see item 24 in current number).

A significant place was given to the case of Akimov in a declaration of the Crimean Tatar people (item 22 in current number) which was sent to Soviet bodies and the UN.

2. The Trial of Reshat Dzhemilev *

Tashkent regional court, 12 April 1973, articles 190-1 and 190-3 of the RSFSR criminal code and corresponding articles of the criminal code of the Uzbek republic. Sentence—3 years of camps.

On 12 July 1972 a search was made in the flat of R. Dzhemilev in Tashkent, one of the 17 searches carried out that day in Uzbekistan (see item 19). Reshat and his wife Zera were not summoned home from work, but the keys were demanded from their children (eldest 15 years). When no keys could be found, windows were broken. In the search 47 objects were confiscated: copies of appeals to the government, books and photocopies of books of Soviet publication (excerpts from encyclopaedias, *Essays on the Crimea* by E. Markov and others), and money. The children were forced to sign the search-record.

R. Dzhemilev, in a statement to the USSR Procurator-General demanded that criminal proceedings be instituted against those who had carried out the search, for breaking the law: amongst the things confiscated from him there was nothing prohibited (R. Dzhemilev argues this point in detail); the law permits the involvement of children in investigations only if their parents or teachers are present; and, lastly, having recorded the confiscation of 65 roubles, they had in fact confiscated 178 rubles.

*On Dzhemilev see *Chronicles* 5, 8, 9, 27, 32.

On 12 October 1972 R. Dzhemilev was arrested. The investigation was conducted by B. Berezovsky. Not only Crimean Tatars living in Uzbekistan were questioned about the case, but also inhabitants of many other places: Reshat Osmanov (Krasnodar region), Enver Ametov (Kherson region),* Veli Semidullayev (Zaporozhye region) and others. Berezovsky questioned several people in Moscow, in particular about the participation of Reshat Dzhemilev in the human rights movement (support for the letter of the Initiative Group to the UN in 1969).

The investigation concluded with the bringing of charges, under articles 190-1 and 190-3 of the RSFSR criminal code (and the corresponding articles of the Uzbek code), involving the compilation of documents which defame the Soviet system, and also a breach of public order: participation in a demonstration on 6 June 1969 in Mayakovsky Square (*Chronicle* 8), where Dzhemilev carried a placard which read:"Freedom for General Grigorenko, the friend of the Crimean Tatars".

The trial began on 12 April, this being kept secret from the relatives and friends of the accused. R. Dzhemilev, having refused a barrister, objected to the make up of the court, referring to the biased hearings and unjust sentences of the Tashkent regional court in cases involving Crimean Tatars. The objection was overruled and Dzhemilev refused to give evidence. Many Crimean Tatar witnesses also refused to answer the court's questions.

In July 1973 the Initiative Group of Crimean Tatars in Tashkent issued an appeal which described the activities of Dzhemilev and protested against his conviction. He had taken part in many statements and protests of the Crimean Tatars, and had journied to Moscow several times as a representative of the people. In June 1967 he had been among 20 representatives of the Crimean Tatars received by Andropov, Rudenko, Shchelokov and Georgadze.

The appeal reports that Reshat Dzhemilev openly accused Georgadze of lying on that occasion and demanded an immediate solution of the Crimean Tatar question. In the autumn of 1967 R. Dzhemilev was arrested and charged as one of the organizers of the demonstration by many thousands of people in Tashkent on 27 August, and in December he was sentenced to one year of corrective labour. The appeal characterizes R. Dzhemilev as "one of those activists of the national movement who have understood that the solution of the national question of the Crimean Tatars is inseparably linked with the problem of democracy in the country, and that the tragedy of the Crimean Tatar people is not only a result of the evil deeds of individual personalities like Stalin, Beria and Voroshilov, but a product of the totalitarian system as a whole". In this connection mention is made of R. Dzhemilev's participation in protests against the imprisonment of the demonstrators of 25 August 1968 and of Yakhimovich and Grigorenko, and in appeals to a conference of communist parties, and also of his support for the appeal of the Initiative Group to the UN in May 1969.

The appeal reports the address of Dzhemilev: Krasnoyarskii krai, Emelyanovskii raion, p/o Elita, p/ya 288/7, otryad 3, and urges help for his wife Zera Dzhemileva and her three children aged from five to 15 (her address is Tashkent, ul. Besh-Agach, tupik Shark 15).

*On Osmanov see *Chronicle* 8, on Ametov numbers 8 and 32.

The appeal contains a request that Dzhemilev's statements and articles be duplicated and circulated, as well as photographs of the demonstration of 6 June 1969, and concludes with the words: "The people must know its loyal sons".

3. The Position of the Crimean Tatars in the Crimea

In 1956 the punitive surveillance regime was lifted from the Crimean Tatars. The decree of 5 September 1967, "On citizens of Tatar nationality who used to reside in the Crimea", lifted the restrictions on their choice of a place of residence (and at the same time, by its title, abolished them as a nation). After the decree, as stated in the "Appeal to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party" (item 12 in current number), thousands of families went to the Crimea but only hundreds were able to stay.

According to another document of the national movement "Irrefutable Facts from the Life of the Crimean Tatars in the Period 1967-1973" (henceforth, for brevity, called IF), in 1968-1969 about 900 families settled in the Crimea, of which roughly 250 came through an official labour recruitment campaign which ceased (for the Crimean Tatars) towards the end of 1969. About another 600 families, who had come independently, managed to register their residence, some of them after undergoing one or more deportations. In 1967-1969 the family of Fevzi Poska was expelled from the Crimea five times and the family of Asan Chobanov (nine persons)—twice.

The Crimean Tatar who tries to return to his homeland is met with a blank wall of "form-filling": for his residence permit, his work and his contract for house purchase. How this system works is evident from the personal statements included in the current issue (items 4-8). In IF 53 families are named (almost all in villages), who have not been able to acquire residence permits and work, some ever since 1968. More persistent, especially collective efforts to breach this wall are met with repression on the part of the authorities. According to the document "The All-Nation Demand.." (item 20), since 1968 32 deportations under armed escort have been carried out in the Crimea, involving about 6,000 people, and also a series of trials, in particular "for evading residence registration".

The mass deportations of May-June 1968, which were accompanied by arrests and bodily assaults, were reported in *Chronicle* 7. One such deportation is also described in the statement of Mamedi Chobanov which appears in the current issue (item 6).

On 12 July 1968 12 families were deported to Tashkent from the state farm "Bolshevik" *Chronicle* 5). The family of Fevzi Seidalliyev went from there to Moscow to address complaints to the party's Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet. In Moscow. KGB officials arrested Seidalliyev, and the other members of his family were sent back to Central Asia. Subsequently it was reported to the family from Dnepropetrovsk prison that Seidalliyev had died. The circumstances of his death remain unknown.

In IF there is also a report of the deportation on 30 November 1972 from the village of Beshterek (now the hamlets Donskoye and Spokoinoye) of three families living in houses which they had bought, but the purchase of which had not been registered: Dzhemil Kurtseitov with his wife and two children, Esmer Mezinov with his wife and three children, and Fatime Gubanova with her four children (her husband E.P. Gubanov was in prison).

This action provoked a letter of protest (with 585 signatures) to the first secretary of the Crimean regional committee of the party, Kirichenko, entitled "A Surprise for the Crimean Tatars for Constitution Day". It is also described in the letter of U. Kurtseitova (item 7 in current issue).

A detachment of 52 men carried out the deportation: militia, volunteer police and bailiffs. The letter of protest says that, despite the indignation and entreaties of the inhabitants of the village, "the keepers of the peace continued to fling children, women and belongings into cars". Even the pregnant Kurtseitova, and Gubanova, who was in bed with blood pressure of 280, were subjected to brutal treatment. The latter was given an injection and dragged into a bus. Towards midnight the evicted were brought to the station Partizany (Kherson region), the inhabitants of which sheltered them, and after assembling the next morning in the square, expressed their indignation at the actions of the authorities. Thanks to this, as Kurtseitova reports, on the following day they were all returned home. A representative of the regional party committee, Shabalov, acknowledged the illegality of the action ("it was done by illiterates") and proposed that they should again "apply for the registration of the houses". However, as the fate of Kurtseitova shows, the persecutions did not end with this.

Trial proceedings (from the document "Irrefutable facts.....")

In 1968, not only M. Chobanov, but also F. Izmailov (6 months) and M. Yusupov were convicted. In April 1969—Gomer Bayev (2 years under article 190-1—see *Chronicle* 7), in July—Eldar Shabanov (2 years of banishment from the Crimea under article 196 of the Ukrainian criminal code for evading residence registration, see item 4 in current issue) and Dzhafar Asanov (article 196).

In 1972, on 18 April, Usein Asanov (article 196) was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and on 20 August—Mambet Din Ogly (to one year: he earlier served a year and a half), and in September—Ismail Akhmetov. The last two trials were carried out secretly, without the relatives knowing, in a police building. On 5 October E. P. Gubanov, a Russian married to a Crimean Tatar, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and on 9 October Akhmet Tokhlu was sentenced (article 196, 2 years of banishment from the Crimea, see below—item 5).

The trial of Dzhemil Kurtseitov, Eivaz Mustafayev and Ridvan Charukhov, charged with rowdy assault, is described by Kurtseitov's wife (item 7 in current issue).

IF, like other statements by the Crimean Tatars, reports on anti-Tatar propaganda in the Crimea. In particular, such facts as the following are listed.

In the book *Stars of Unfading Glory* (Krymizdat, 1967) all the Heroes of the Soviet Union from the Crimea are named except for the Heroes who were Crimean Tatars. An exception is made only for Sultan Akhmetan, twice a Hero (it is known, however, that all the efforts to open a memorial museum in his former house in Alupka—see item 15 in current issue, have proved to be in vain).

In July 1972 in Simferopol four Crimean Tatars were convicted who had participated in the atrocities of the occupiers. At the trial, despite the official exculpation of the nation, the state prosecutor Modlenko spoke about the mass treason of the Crimean Tatars and threatened: "Let the traitors remember: they have no Motherland, and let their children remember." This propaganda was effective: the director of a furniture enterprise in Simferopol, Safronov, refused the worker Server Zeidlayev a place in a

hostel with the words: "Your people threw children down wells."

IF reports that the position of Crimean Tatars who have moved from their places of exile to the Southern Ukraine (mainly to the Kherson region), is analogous to the position of their compatriots in the Crimea; for example, 13 families are named who are illegally being refused residence registration and work.

STATEMENTS OF CRIMEAN TATARS FROM THE CRIMEA

4. Complaint of Eldar Shavanov to the Secretary General of the UN.

Shabanov reports that on 2 July 1969 the People's Court of Belogorsk district convicted him under article 196 of the Ukrainian criminal code to banishment from the Crimea for 2 years (this was reported in *Chronicle* 18). Later the same sentence was passed on his wife Zera Shabanova. Attempts to get the sentence revoked had no result. In 1944, when his father died at the front, Shabanov was four years old. On 14 February 1969 Shabanov returned to the Crimea and began his efforts to settle in the Belogorsk (previously Karasubazar) district with a visit to the police, where he was told that he would be registered if he met the sanitary norm of having 13.65 square meters of living space per person. He was unable to buy a house which was on sale in a village, as the chairman of the collective farm would not give the necessary certificate. He bought a house in the town of Belogorsk (48 square meters) and settled there with his wife, mother and child. The notary Levina refused to register the house purchase, demanding that she first receive their residence permit. Shabanov could not overcome this illegal refusal. In answer to his complaints he received, for example, replies like this: "In answer to your letter I hereby explain: given the availability of all the necessary documents the notary's office registers contracts for the sale or purchase of houses. 12 May 1969 Deputy head of the Crimean regional court Panchenko."

On 25 April several Crimean Tatars seeking residence permits, amongst them Shabanov, were arrested. In the Simferopol prison, in breach of the law, he was not allowed to prepare in writing his speech for the trial. Shabanov writes that the charge of evading registration is senseless in relation to a man who is persistently trying to obtain it. "The very fact of the exculpation of my people gives me the full right not only to return to my native land, but also to maximum consideration and substantial advantages, if humanity and justice really exist in our country....".

After describing in detail the actions of Crimean and Belogorsk police chiefs Zhorich, Novikov, Gaidamak and other officials, Shabanov calls these actions a blatant infringement of his elementary human rights.

Shabanov also reports that another 53 families in the Crimea are in a similar position, whilst dozens of other families have been thrown out of the Crimea. He asks the UN Secretary General to empower a commission to investigate the actions of the Crimean authorities in relation to the Crimean Tatars.

5. Statement of Sarie Tokhlu to the UN Secretary General

In January 1972 S. Tokhlu with her husband and 11 children (the eldest is now serving in the army) came to the Crimea and bought a house in the village of Aromatnoye in Belogorsk district. Village soviets and notaries' offices do not register the purchase

of houses by Crimean Tatars. The police, using threats of trials and prison, demand their departure. They are not given work.

"On 9 October my husband Akhmet Tokhlu was convicted under article 196 of the Ukrainian criminal code for evading registration; they also asked, hinting at parasitism, on what means we were living, as he had not worked for more than eight months. My husband was given two years of banishment beyond the boundaries of the Crimean region. Up to that time we had lived on casual earnings from people, by collecting wild fruit and the left-overs from the harvest, and with the help of neighbours," writes the wife of A. Tokhlu.

The Tokhlu couple wrote dozens of applications to many official bodies, right up to the party Central Committee, seeking registration, work and the help provided by law to families with many children. S. Tokhlu has also not received the awards which are customarily given to mothers of many children. She writes:

"I, my husband and our 11 children, nine of whom are minors—we are all outside the law. Not one organ of authority in the USSR protects us. Complete tyranny is exercised over us on the part of the authorities, and there is no-one for us to complain to in the USSR. What will happen to our 11 children? A few families have been registered in the Crimea for show, as in a menagerie, but the rest are tormented like us. Thus, the only course remaining to us has been to turn for help to international organizations and to world public opinion. Protect our human rights: the right to live in our homeland, to have our language and culture, to have work and a crust of bread for our children."

S. Tokhlu asks the UN Secretary General to send a commission to verify the facts of discrimination against Crimean Tatars, and also to urge the Red Cross and other organizations to send material aid for her children. A photograph of the family is attached to the statement.

6. Statement of Mamade Abdurakhmanovich Chobanov * to UN Secretary General Waldheim

(written in September or October 1973)*

Chobanov writes that since the time when he was exiled, aged 20 days, with his parents to the Northern Urals, he has never regained his full rights as a citizen. He recalls the prison conditions of his childhood, the deaths of his father and sister (at age 21) and his mother, who communicated to him her love of her native Crimea. After the 20th Party Congress the Crimean Tatars achieved by means of an 11-year struggle the decree of 1967, and then, in the spring of 1968, Chobanov travelled to the Crimea. Despite the demand for labour (immigrants were being brought from the Ukraine and Russia), he was everywhere refused work and housing. "Lieutenant-Colonel Pazin of the police," writes Chobanov, "stated publicly in the square that the decree had been issued 'not for you, but for the foreign press so that they do not make a big fuss on your behalf'." On 26 June 1968 20 Crimean Tatars, including Chobanov, went to the regional Soviet Executive Committee. The chairman Chemodurov refused to receive them, but they would not leave the waiting-room. A detachment of police, with regional chief Zakharov in charge, twisted their arms and arrested all 20 of them. Ten were sent by

*On Chobanov see *Chronicle* 7.

aeroplane to Central Asia, nine received 15 days in custody, but Chobanov, charged with resisting the police, was convicted with the help of false evidence and sentenced to 3 years. While he was serving this term, his mother and two brothers managed after long suffering to go to the Crimea. In 1971, at the end of his term, Chobanov came to join them and tried for 11 months to obtain the right to live with his family. Then he was again arrested and, a month and a half later, sentenced to a year's imprisonment in strict-regime camps for residence without a permit. The trial took place secretly, without his relatives' knowledge, in a police building. The court rejected his application to summon his relatives and some witnesses to the court.

After serving his second term (during which his 32-year old brother died), Chobanov returned to his family and for 3 months has been unable to obtain an internal passport.

Chobanov asks the UN Secretary General to acquaint as many people as possible with the fate of himself and his people and to send a commission to verify the facts reported by him.

7. Letter of Uris Zairovna Kurtseitova to the Secretary General of the International Human Rights Federation, Michel Blum

On 27 November 1973, in Simferopol, the trial started of Dzhemil Kurtseitov, Eivaz Mustafayev and Ridvan Charukhov, charged under article 206 (rowdy assult). Because one of the victims failed to appear the trial was postponed to 20 December. The results and the course of this trial were still unknown to Kurtseitova at the time she wrote her letter. [see *Chronicle* 32].

She tells of the ordeals of the Kurtseitov family after their return to the Crimea and of the history of the "case of assault".

Dzhemil Kurtseitov was born in Karasubazar in 1938. In 1944 his family was exiled to the town of Pap in Uzbekistan. His father died at the front. His mother was unable to provide for the children and Dzhemil found himself in a children's home. From 1954 he worked as a driver in Dushanbe, then served in the army. After the decree of 1967 the family of D. Kurtseitov decided to move to the Crimea and for this purpose organized a flat exchange. Trusting in the statement of the chief of the residence permit section of the regional police administration that the police would not obstruct the exchange, the family came to the Crimea. But the exchange bureau refused to issue the necessary order and did not disguise that the reason was their nationality. The Kurtseitovs went through every possible bureaucratic process but were unable to overcome this lawlessness and at the end of August 1972 bought a house in the hamlet of Spokoinoye. It now turned out that a sale contract was prohibited for them, as well as a residence permit, inclusion on the military register, and obtaining a job. In addition–and Kurtseitova writes about this with especial grief–her children are not allowed to go to school.

The court of the Simferopol district pronounced judgement on 18 September that the purchase of the house was invalid, and this judgement was later upheld by the regional court.

U. Z. Kurtseitova writes: "People's Judge Mironova demanded that the Crimean Tatars clear out of the Crimea and live in the places to which they had been exiled, or else the most brutal measures would be used against them". The threat was not an

empty one. On 30 November1972 deportations ensued (see item 3 in current issue). Even after the return of the deported and promises from an official of the regional party committee, V. T. Shablayev, the Kurtseitovs were unable to register possession of the house they had bought.

On 27 August the provocation, as Kurtseitova believes, took place which led to the trial. A sheep was stolen from them at night. D. Kurtseitov called Eivaz Mustafayev and Ridvan Charukhov to help him, and the three of them managed after a fight to capture the thieves and hand them over to the police. The following day the police charged them with rowdy assault and declared that the thieves were the victims.

The Kurtseitovs have three children, the youngest being six months. Mustafayev has two and Charukhov four.

Kurtseitova writes that she cannot find any defence in the USSR and, referring to the fact that the authorities have violated not only the Constitution but also articles 3, 9, 10, 13a, 23a and 26a of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, requests the intervention of international organizations.

Her address: Simferopolskii raion, p/o Donskoye, s. Spokoinoye.

8. "If you are a Crimean Tatar...." - letter of Anafi Nafeyev to the editorial boards of Soviet Newspapers and journals and to the USSR Supreme Soviet

(14 October 1973, Dzhankoi).

Nafeyev was born in the village of Yanyseli and now lives in Uzbekistan (town of Gulistan, Engels Street 33), works as a driver, is married, has three children.

Nafeyev writes that unlike many of his countrymen he does not consider the decree of 1967 to be a mere piece of paper calculated to deceive Soviet and foreign public opinion, but regards it as the first step on the path to a solution of the national question.

In September 1973 he travelled with his family to the Crimea and stayed with his cousin, who had come in 1968 under the organi ed recruitment scheme, in the state farm "Lighthouse" in Dzhankoi district. After a visit to the district Soviet executive committee, during which the secretary said to him that the Crimean Tatars could live in the Crimea, Nafeyev went to see the director of the farm, I.B. Novogrebelsky, but the latter demanded to see the executive committee's permission in writing ("I have a family and children too," he said to Nafeyev). Nafeyev recounts the story of the farm's accountant, a Crimean Tatar married to a Russian; Novogrebelsky had referred to this story in order to dissuade Nafeyev from a hopeless enterprise.

For a month Nafeyev haunted the thresholds of soviet and police institutions where he was sometimes redirected to another body but sometimes just openly driven away. A department head in the military registration office (according to the rules, military registration should precede residence registration) said right out: "What nationality are you? A Tatar aren't you?Go back, you bastard, to where you came from."

Although in country localities the village soviets issue residence permits, it is impossible for a Crimean Tatar to register without the permission of the police. Nafeyev was told this by the chairman of the Roskoshinskoye village soviet ("We are warned at every meeting not, by ourselves, to register Crimean Tatars...."). After approaching every office which, according to the published laws, should handle registration, Nafeyev went to the Dzhankoi municipal police station. The chief was receiving people in groups. Along with

Nafeyev another eight people went into the office. For almost all of them a permit was authorized, including for a recidivist criminal. On the application of Nafeyev the chief silently wrote "refused" and kept it, without deigning to answer the question: "On what grounds?". In addition, a Tadzhik who was registered in the Crimea was refused a visa for his wife, who was a Crimean Tatar.

On 8 October Nafeyev addressed a complaint to the chairman of the Dzhankoi district Soviet executive committee, from whom he received the advice to leave the Crimea before the weather turned cold, and to Procurator Shabanov, who again referred him to the police, declaring that the Crimea, as an all-union health resort, was under special residence regulations.

"But I," replied Nafeyev, "have come to you with a complaint about the actions of the police chief and the town executive committee. I have already been living in places of exile for 30 years. How much longer must I serve in order to live in my homeland?" "You can live in exile for 100 years. What does it matter to me?" replied the Procurator.

After describing the end of the conversation, Nafeyev writes: "....I nevertheless believe that I will live in my homeland together with my people...I regret only that up to the present time I have not taken an active enough part in the national movement of the whole people".

9. The trial of Eskander Kurtumerov, Ebazer Khalilov and Riad Ramazanov

Kurtumerov is an engineer, 38 years old, father of two children. On 14 April 1973 a first search was carried out at his flat. Before the search KGB officials took his 10 year old daughter from school and interrogated her on the way to her home. On 15 May a second search took place, and on 17 May Kurtumerov was arrested.

Khalilov is 34 years old. On 25 August after a search he was summoned to an interrogation and arrested.

Ramazanov was arrested on 5 September 1973.

In the case of Kurtumerov the Zaporozhe regional procuracy also carried out searches on 28 June in the town of Genichesk (Kherson region) at the home of Enver Sefarov (the search was conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel Pavel Petrovich Popov) and in Novo-Alekseyevka in Genichesk district at the home of Enver Ametov. Literature was confiscated and, according to certain reports, duplicating machinery (most likely a typewriter).

The trial took place on 28 November 1973 in Zaporozhe. The charges were under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian criminal code (corresponding to article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code). The sentence: 2 years for Kurtumerov, 2½ years for Khalilov, 2½ years for Ramazanov, all in ordinary-regime camps.

The barristers were: for Kurtumerov—Dolzhenko, for Ramazanov—Nelli Leonidovna Kravtsova, and for Khalilov—Vladlena Dmitrievna Koshelnaya (all from the legal services office of Zhovtnevy borough).

The trial was in effect closed. Relatives were not informed about the date of the trial; only after the trial did Koshelnaya phone the wife of Khalilov and ask her to tell the wife of Ramazanov to bring some money. After the trial all three accused had a meeting with their wives.

DOCUMENTS OF THE CRIMEAN TATAR MOVEMENT (1966-1973) *

10. Appeal of the Crimean Tatar people to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (March 1966, 33pages).

GREAT PARTY OF LENIN! MIND, HONOUR AND CONSCIENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR! 23rd CONGRESS OF OUR MOTHERLAND'S PARTY!

...The Crimean Tatar people, the only one suffering from inequality in our country, deprived of its Homeland, its good name and all its constitutional rights, addresses itself to you today.

...Everyone knows that in 1944 the Crimean Tatars, along with other national minorities, were slanderously accused of treason and were all, without exception, exiled from their native soil to Central Asia and the Urals. More than 46.2% of the Crimean Tatars perished in 1944-45. Since then 22 years have passed...Only for us, the Crimean Tatars, everything remains as before. We live even now in the places to which we were forcibly deported...The 20th Party Congress...inspired our people to a wider and more consistent struggle for the restoration of our legal rights. Delegations of Crimean Tatars sat in Moscow for months, trying to get an audience with N. S. Khrushchev. In 1957 a letter with 14,000 signatures of Crimean Tatars, and tens of thousands of individual letters, were sent to the Central Committee of the party...On 17 March 1958 A. I. Mikoyan received our representatives and assured them that the Crimean Tatar question would be resolved and that he personally would report everything to N. S. Khrushchev... The answer to these letters and the result of this reception at the highest level was police reprisals against the Communists who were in Moscow as our representatives...

In the Crimea the unbridled campaign of slander against our people is being strengthened. Throughout the whole country Crimean Tatars are being spoken of, with even greater cynicism than previously, as traitors. It has gone as far as our having been struck off the list of peoples of the USSR and the censor still does not allow the word "Crimean Tatar" to be written. But our people, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and the decisions of the 20th Party Congress, continues to strive for the restoration of justice... Our representatives travelled to Moscow, where they handed over to the preparatory commission for the 22nd Party Congress a new letter with 8,000 signatures. *Our representatives were thrown out of Moscow on precisely the day when the program of the Communist Party was proclaimed at the Congress and when the equality and fraternity of peoples was proclaimed...* Immediately after the October plenum of the party Central Committee (in 1964) our national representatives again travelled to Moscow, and for sixteen months now they have been going daily to the reception rooms of the Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers. During this comparatively short period 24 volumes of letters and documents, with more than 100,000 signatures, have been handed in to the Presidium of the Central Committee. Over this year and a half hundreds of thousands of individual letters have been sent to the Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet. On behalf of the Praesidium of the Central Committee A. I. Mikoyan again, seven years later, received our

*Texts 21, 25 and 16 are reproduced in full, and texts 10-12 and 18 in extracts, but without any editorial treatment at all (the few editorial comments are given as footnotes). The remaining texts have to a greater or lesser extent been summarized. In all cases the length of a text is indicated, the measure being pages of typescript at 1½ spacing. [*Chronicle*'s note]

representatives. He promised to report on the desires of our people to the Presidium...

As can be seen from the above, the question of the fate of our people, a question of great political and state importance, remains unresolved. But as the necessity of finding a solution derives completely from the Leninist principles of our political system, from the decisions of party congresses and from the program of our party, we are obliged to appeal to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party...

Anyone who has the slightest degree of education knows that the Crimea is the national homeland of the Tatars, that the Crimean Tatars are a nation that was formed in the Crimea. The Crimea without the Crimean Tatars! That was the essence of the policy of the tsarist autocracy. The Crimean Tatars clearly realized that tsarism and the bourgeoisie were to blame for their tragic fate. In the Russian people they saw a powerful and true friend, a strong and honest ally in their struggle for liberation...*

Evaluating the international significance of giving autonomy to the indigenous population of the Crimea, V. I. Lenin said in February 1919, during a conversation with the chairman of the Crimean Revolutionary Committee, Yu. Gaven: "The national question demands the most thoughtful and careful consideration. Bear in mind that it is precisely on this question that many of us, us Bolsheviks, most often stray from the correct path... May the small Crimean Republic become one of the torches casting the light of the proletarian revolution towards the east." (The newspaper *Red Crimea* number 93/1011, 23 April 1924)...The young Soviet republic made an historic appeal "To all the Moslems of Russia and the East" (quoted in item 11)...But not even 30 years had passed when in 1944 a number of national minorities, to whom this appeal had been addressed, were forcibly deprived of their homeland and their equal national rights. The revolutionary oath of the party was grossly violated....*Appealing solemnly to the 23rd Party Congress, we ask–on what grounds were Lenin's teachings on the national question and the principles of worker's democracy thus violated?*

1944 was a year of tribulations for the whole Soviet people, but for the deported and dispossessed peoples it was a year of mass destruction. A whole system for the cruel destruction of tens of thousands of people was thought out and implemented.

Tenzile Ibraimova, of 38 Ordzhonikidze St. in the town of Chirchik, writes as follows (we quote the letter word for word): "We were expelled from the village of Adzhiatmak in Fraidorf district on 18 May 1944. The expulsion took place very cruelly; at three o'clock in the morning, when the children were still asleep, some soliders came in and said that we should get ready and be out of the house in five minutes. We were not allowed to take with us either possessions or food. They treated us so roughly that we thought they were taking us to be shot. Once they'd chased us out of the village, they kept us hungry for several days; we were starving, but we were not allowed to go and take anything from our homes. The children were starved and cried continuously. My husband was fighting at the front; I was alone with three children.

"Eventually they loaded us into cars and took us to Evpatoriya. From there they loaded us like cattle into goods wagons, which were crammed to overflowing. After twenty-four days we arrived in Samarkand region, at the station of Zerabulak, and from

*Here follows a detailed and documented account of the role of the Crimean Tatars in the Revolution, in the Civil War, in pre-war cultural and economic development, in the 1941-45 war and in the partisan movement [*Chronicle*'s note].

there they took us off to the Khatychin district to the "Pravda" Collective Farm. They forced us to repair individual tent-type structures. We worked and starved. Many collapsed from hunger. From our village they had taken thirty families, of which five families remained alive, though not all their members. There remained one or two persons in each of these families; the rest had perished of hunger and illnesses.

"My niece, Menube Sheikhislyamova, with eight to ten children, was deported with us; her husband had been in the Soviet Army from the first days of the war and had been killed. And the family of this fallen soldier perished of hunger in exile in Uzbekistan; only one little girl, Pera, remained alive, but she became a cripple, as a result of the horror she had experienced and of hunger.

"Our menfolk were at the front and there was no-one to bury the dead; corpses would would lie for several days among the living.

"Adzhigulsim Adzhimambetova's husband had been captured by the fascists. Three children, a little girl and two boys, remained with her. This family was also starving, just as we were. No one gave either material or moral help. As a result, first of all the little girl died of hunger, then, in one day, both the boys. Their mother could not move from starvation. Then the owner of the house threw the two children's bodies onto the street, onto the side of the irrigation canal. Then some children, Crimean Tatars, dug little graves and buried the poor boys.

"Can one really tell it all? I have such a weight on my heart that it's difficult to remember. Tell me, why did they allow such horrors to happen?

Tenzile Ibrimova, housewife."

...It is difficult to describe in words what happened in the place of "special resettlement". At first the Crimean Tatars did not even have any housing, in the human conception of the word... But still, the most dreadful thing was that we did not have any means of subsistence...*

Let all the conscious participators, instigators and sponsors of this barbarous act meditate upon these facts. And let all writers, historians and academics who have set out to justify this crime against humanity re-evaluate their foul creations. And all those who have announced and still announce that the reservations assigned to our people are a second homeland for us–let them evaluate the cynicism of their mockery of the rights of small peoples...All the means of propaganda–the printed word, the radio, all the outposts of humanities, all oral agitation from university faculties to schools and nurseries, from the lecture-halls of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties to the cultural organizers and group leaders in holiday centers... all the levers operating on people's minds were directed to poisoning the consciousness of the peoples of the USSR with the fumes of chauvinism...

Let us do some summing up...Everything was done in order:

1) to destroy the statehood of the Crimean Tatars;

2) to destroy as many as possible of the Crimean Tatars themselves;

3) first to blacken our people and thus to justify an anti-Leninist act of tyranny, and never to mention the Crimean Tatars, so that the peoples of the Soviet Union and

*Here follow detailed statistics on the number and composition of the exiled and of the mortality rate, statistics which are all included in the later "Historical Data" (item 14 in this issue). [*Chronicle*'s note]

the whole world should forget about the existence of such people;
4) to destroy the culture, art and literature of the Crimean Tatars;
5) to destroy the history of this people;
6) to destroy their language;
7) to destroy their customs;
8) to do all possible to make every Crimean Tatar feel ashamed to call himself a Crimean Tatar;
9) to prove to every representative of this nation that neither he, nor his children, nor his descendents as yet unborn, has any future.

And when it was decided that all this had been acomplished, they announced that the Crimean Tatars were a non-existent nation. They struck us off the lists of peoples of the USSR, combining us with the Kazan and Ufa Tatars, but, to be on the safe side they left in every Crimean Tatar's internal passport a mea little mark by which the police can tell that you are not in fact from Kazan and so won't register you in the Crimea. Now it was possible to clap one's hands and shout from the rooftops about the inevitable and "voluntary" merging together of nations.

But when it seemed that the thing was settled and that there were no Crimean Tatars left, the remains of a once large people, many millions strong, sent its first representatives to Moscow.

In the town of Bekabad in the Tashkent region three Crimean Tatars were, without foundation, accused of hooliganism and sentenced to up to one year's imprisonment for the fact that as representatives of their nationality they had dared to appeal to the supreme party and state organs about their national question.. One of these representatives, Khatidzhe Khairetdinova, had been among those received by the President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade A. I. Mikoyan, and Eskander Dzhemilev had travelled several times to the Central Committee of the party...

In Tashkent a meeting was recently held of the party activists of the republic. When the agenda was exhausted, the floor was unexpectedly given to a secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, R. N. Nishanov. Warning the stenographers not to record his speech, he lashed into the Crimean Tatars as "an obtuse people". "They want to go to the Crimea," said Nishanov, "but no one's waiting for them there. If they want to go away, then let them go home to Kazan." Then he called for drastic measures against those Crimean Tatars who travel to the party Central Committee seeking restoration of their national rights... The provocative onslaught of Nishanov has up till now remained unpunished. Moreover, his "directions" are being implemented in the localities. (This is followed by a list of numerous facts of discrimination against Crimean Tatars and an examination of the arguments of those who oppose their return to the Crimea in view of its over-population, etc.).

Our demands may be reduced to the following.

1) The organized return of our people to its native territory and its orderly settlement in the Crimea.
2) The full restoration of its national and political rights.
3) The return (restoration) to our people of all that was given to it by the great October socialist revolution, by the Leninist party, by Lenin.....

Attempts to grant "cultural-national autonomy", or any solution of the question without return to the native territory, these are efforts to create the appearance of resolving our question, but are in essence an outright departure from the Leninist principle of how to resolve the question (subsequently the decree of 5 September 1967 proclaimed just such a solution. As the Crimean Tatars had "put down new roots", it recommended local organs to further their cultural and national development—see *Chronicle* 2).

We believe that our people will greet the 50th anniversary of Soviet authority in its native land, as an equal amongst equal fraternal peoples.

We sincerely wish the 23rd Congress of our motherland's party success in solving the tasks facing it. We believe that the Congress will be a new landmark in the building of communism in our country.

The Crimean Tatar people has selected the representatives listed below to deliver our present appeal to the 23rd Congress and to receive an answer in return. The term of authority of the representatives will last until the question of the national fate of the Crimean Tatar people has been resolved fully and positively.

The signatures of 65 people follow, including three activists of the movement convicted "for hooliganism" (mentioned above), three "Heroes of the Soviet Union" (one decorated twice), representatives of the intelligentsia, workers, peasants and military servicemen).

11. Information sheet Number 5 about a meeting of representatives of Initiative Groups of the Crimean Tatar people of the Uzbek and Tadzhik Republics on 16 September 1967 in Leninabad (2 pages).

...All the meetings organized in the localities by party, state and KGB organs with the aim of "explaining" the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 5 September 1967 have had the character of blackmail, pressure, deceit and intimidation of members of the Initiative Groups of regions, towns and inhabited areas.

The people have been inundated with slanderous fabrications and deceit. Talking about the humanity of the decree and the lifting of unfounded accusations from the whole people, the comrades who have been "explaining" and "commenting on" the decree, have been throwing all kinds of filth at our people. Thus for example, at a meeting in the Samarkand medical institute, a representative of the Central Committee, Vishnevsky, produced a series of "facts" and "figures" showing the mass "betrayal" of the Crimean Tatar people... The same comrade Vishnevsky stated frankly to comrade Mukhteremov that in the event of his disagreement with the decree he would be expelled from the Party. This is nothing but a provocation in relation not only to individual comrades but also to the entire Crimean Tatar people...

The director of a textile enterprise at which Zora Nebisheva, an inhabitant of Fergana, was working, offered to plaster the house she was having built in exchange for a few lines in the paper in which she would publicly renounce any intention to return to her homeland. And such facts are not isolated ones...

In the very first days after the decree our people began a mass exodus to their homeland, and this was inevitable and irreversible... The Crimean Tatar people are, as before, full of strength and energy, they will continue their struggle until the complete solution

*This sentence was quoted in the indictment in the case of D. Akimov (see item 1 of this issue) as a slanderous fabrication [*Chronicle*'s note].

of the national question, and they will help the party and government in bringing this about. Our people deeply believe that they will greet the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the Crimea, as an equal member of the great fraternity of peoples of the USSR.

12. Appeal of the Crimean Tatar people to the 24th Congress of the Party, to the Soviet Press, and to all Communists (March 1971, 5 pages).

The party Central Committee is well acquainted with the existence in the USSR of the movement of the Crimean Tatar people for a return to their homeland in the Crimea and for restoration of the Leninist decree on the Crimea's autonomy. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens are taking part in this movement. The people are sending to Moscow, to the central organs of government, thousands of their representatives as the people's petitioners. They have delivered to the party Central Committee alone hundreds of thousands of individual letters and 163 volumes of different documents on which are collected, in all, more than 3 million signatures. And all to no effect.

The people appealed to the 23rd Congress of the party; an appeal signed by more than 130,000 people (see item 11 above) was handed in to the Presidium of the Congress yet our question was not raised at the Congress.

Our position as a nation is intolerable. Yet we are not after all, asking for anything exceptional for ourselves. We believe that the party will solve this question. It is this deep belief in the party of Lenin that makes us appeal to the 24th Congress of the party, to this great forum of the communists of our country, whose loyal sons we are...

The address adopted at a session of the Council of People's Commissars, "To all working Moslems of Russia and the East"... had enormous significance for the victory and strengthening of the gains of the October Revolution: "Moslems of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, Kirghizians and Sartians of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tatars of Transcaucasia, Chechens and highlanders of the Caucasus! Henceforth...your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural institutions are pronounced free and inviolable. Organize your national life freely and without hindrance. You have a right to this. Know that your rights, like the rights of all the peoples of Russia, are preserved by the full might of the revolution and its organs–the soviets of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies."

18 October 1921 will remain in the memory of the Crimean Tatar people forever. On that unforgettable day the leader of the revolution, the mighty Lenin... signed the decree on the formation of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic...

The Crimean Republic was one of the first fraternal republics to be awarded the lofty decoration of the Order of Lenin for the successes it had achieved.

The years of enemy occupation brought the Crimean Tatar people fascist enslavement, political repression, economic dislocation, ruin, impoverishment, the gallows, the execution of its finest people...

A terrible national tragedy befell the Crimean Tatar people on the night of 17-18 May 1944. At the same time that the bulk of the battle-fit Crimean Tatars were fighting at the front in the Great Fatherland War, their families in the rear–old people, children, women, partisans, members of the government of the Crimean Autonomous Republic, and deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet–all without exception were flung out of their homes, herded into troop trains and taken off to remote regions of the country. In order

to disguise the essence of the barbarous act of deporting the Crimean Tatars from their homeland the enemies of the Leninist national policy and of friendship between peoples viciously ascribed to them the completely unfounded charge of "betrayal" of their homeland...

Fulfilling the decisions of the 20th Party Congress, the Central Committee of the party and the Soviet government adopted the necessary measures to exculpate most of the suppressed nationalities and restore their national autonomy. However, the tyranny performed in relation to the Crimean Tatars has still not been liquidated and their legal rights have not been restored.

The decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 5 September 1967, although it recognizes in legislation the groundlessness of the charge of betrayal ascribed to the people as a whole, does not however satisfy the basic demands of the people. Immediately after its publication all possible measures began to be taken forcibly to anchor and "implant" the Crimean Tatars, and our very existence as an independent people, as a nation , was denied...

The argument that the majority of Crimean Tatars have "put down roots" and do not desire to return to their homeland has been disproved by the tens of thousands of signatures under appeals of the people to the party Central Committee, by the mass exodus of Crimean Tatars, and by the results of an especially conducted partial referendum of the population. Thus, in the Tashkent region alone, out of 18,000 adults polled only nine Crimean Tatars were against a return to the homeland and the restoration of Leninist autonomy, and 11 people refrained from answering these questions. After this, what worth can be attached to talk about the people having put down roots in these parts, about a small group of nationalists stirring up the whole people?

...Our question has turned from one that needs the scrutiny and decision of party and legislative organs into one that involves action by the organs of state security and of internal affairs... One might think that our national movement in some measure "threatens" the security of the country and contradicts the interests of the party and state... Even on cursory appraisal of the documents appended, you, comrade delegates to the 24th Congress, will be convinced that today in the Crimea a terrible crime is being perpetrated against a small Soviet people... And there is so much empty space in the Crimea! We are not asking that anyone should be deported from there. We have lived and shall live in friendship and peace with all peoples.

Today our whole people is again directing its gaze towards the mighty party of Lenin, to the 24th Congress.... Appealing to the great forum of the communists of our country, we ask:

1) That you decide on an organized return of the Crimean Tatars to their native home–the Crimea, having created conditions for their prosperous development as a people and as a nation.

2) That you restore validity to the Leninist decree of 18 October 1921 on the creation of the Crimean Autonomous Republic.

3) That you restore all those expelled from the party for participating in our national movement to its ranks.

4) That you free and exculpate all our representatives convicted for participating in our national movement.

5) You call to account the falsifiers of the history of the Crimean Tatar people.

A positive resolution of the question of the return to the homeland of the small Crimean Tatar people, and the restoration of its equal rights on the territory of its forefathers, will once again demonstrate the party's allegiance to the victorious flag of proletarian internationalism, to the flag of Marxism-Leninism!

13. Statement of the Crimean Tatar people on the Crimean question in connection with the 24th Congress of the Party (1971, 9 pages)

The present-day national movement goes back to the struggle of the Crimean Tatars against tsarist colonialist policies. "Blessed will be the minute",—the statement quotes the *Russian Messenger* for December 1860—"when the Crimea parts company with the native Tatars and is settled by a more approved species!" "This belch of chauvinism was to resound as a triumphant battle-cry 84 years later." Figures are listed on the participation of Crimean Tatars in the Fatherland War and in the partisan movement in the Crimea, with Mokrousov and Martynov in charge, fabricated evidence of betrayal of the Motherland and produced some through provocations, and that this was a treacherous blow to the partison movement and the population of partisan villages. The action of 18 May caught the people unawares, although preparations for a deportation had become know. The majority of the men were at the front and the rest were mobilized into a labour-army (in reality—exiled to labour camps). The deportation of the Crimean Tatars was also planned by the Germans: a speech is quoted by a Soviet prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials and also the book by V. Kral *Crime Against Europe* (Prosveshchenie Publishing House, 1968).

Besides the charge of treason, older history too is falsified to justify the deportation of the Crimean Tatars; here the statement quotes *Essays on the History of the Crimea,* edited by A. Nadinsky:

"The Crimea can in no way be ranked as a colony, for the Crimean land was from ancient times Russian land and the annexation of the Crimea to Russia was not the seizure of foreign land."

The statement talks about the destruction of books, monuments and cemetries, and about changes of name.

"The village Buyuk-Ozenbash (more than 1,000 homesteads) having been a base for the partisan movement, was razed to the ground by the fascist vandals. In 1945 the name 'Happy Village' was conferred on the smouldering ruins. Really, can greater happiness be imagined for a chauvinist black-hundreder [pre-1917 extreme rightwinger]?!" (Earlier examples have been listed of plans by Hitler's ideologue Rosenberg to rename towns in the Crimea according to German forms.)

The statement sums up the national movement by formulating four "truths" which are clear to the supreme organs "which are holding our people in exile".

The deportation of small peoples:

1) "Was a calculated crime by enemies of socialism"...

2) "trampled to shreds the guarantees of the revolution"...

3) "was a convenient means of confiscating national property and personal belongings, and a way of destroying cultural monuments"...

4) and "trampled on principles of international law and the Declaration of Human Rights, and is a very grave crime against humanity, of the sort which has no statute of limitation"...

"These truths", says the statement, "are documented in the 160 volumes of material concerning our struggle"...

"In this way the national movement has created the conditions for the solution of the problem." Three "unnegotiable" demands are put forward:

a) an organized return to the homeland,

b) settlement in a coordinated pattern which will guarantee the nation's existence and sovereignty,

c) the restoration of the Crimean ASSR.

The disorganized return which took place after the decree of 1967 has been meeting a hostile reception from the local authorities. Repeated deportations are being carried out by "brutal methods". The statement also sharply criticizes resettlement under the organized labour recruitment scheme, which "has the aim of deceiving the people, giving it hope, and distracting it from... a fundamental solution".

The statement denies the existence of any objective impediments, e.g. legal or ideological, to the restoration of the pre-war status of the Crimea and warns of the inevitability of "retribution for the seizure of the native land, property and rights of a people".

The statement with appendices (see item 15 in current issue) was signed by 55,000 people and handed in to the party Central Committee.

14. Historical Data Compiled by the Crimean Tatar People from the Materials of a Census conducted by the People Themselves (appendix to the statement which is item 13*, 1971, 6 pages + 5 tables).

The census was conducted amongst those people who before the deportation had lived in nine villages in different parts of the Crimea and supplements a census of 1966 (sent to the 23rd Party Congress) which covered 21 villages. The results of the two censuses are compared in the document.

The document contains five tables and a text divided into three sections.

Section I: The Crimean Tatar people in the Fatherland War. These are some of the reported facts:

At the beginning of the war 11,647 people lived in the nine villages, of which 2,428 were men of call-up age; 1,820 fought in the army, and more than 286 in the resistance and the underground; 1,107 participants in the war perished.

In the village of Kuvush, which was burned down by the Germans, there were 215 people in the resistance. For supporting the resistance, the Germans burned to the ground 80 mountain villages in all.

Table 3 compares the data on the Crimean Tatar people as a whole, obtained on the basis of the materials of the 1966 census, and the data on the nine villages. The evidence of the latter contains no significant differences (i.e. gives no lower figures for the number who participated in the war, in comparison with the data of 1966). For example, it is shown that out of the total population (302,000) before the war there were 95,000 men over 18 years: 53,000 fought in the army and 12,000 in the resist-

*A minor error. In fact an appendix to a separate appeal to the 24th Party Congress by 60,000 people, the text of which is document number 630 in the *Samizdat Archive*. Item 14 is document number 1727 in the *Archive*.

ance and the underground. 30,000 participants in the war perished.

Summing up the conclusions from the data of the census, the document charges that the Soviet people have been deceived by the press and other forms of propaganda which have kept quiet about the part played by Crimean Tatars in the war and about their bravery (40% were decorated with orders and medals, including nine as Heroes of the Soviet Union) and sacrifices.

Section II is headed "The Barbarous Deportation of the Crimean Tatar People in 1944 as a Treacherous and Hostile Action Designed to Undermine the Foundations of Soviet Authority in the National Question".

Such facts as these, in particular, are cited:

238,000 people were deported in all, of which 113,000 were children (under 18) and 93,000 were women.

From the nine villages (census of 1971) 9,494 people were deported, including 5,078 children, 3,280 women, 532 resistance and underground workers, and 347 sick people and invalids.

At the end of the section the systematic nature of the annexation of national territory and of the seizure of the national heritage and possessions is examined.

Section III is called "The Crimean Tatar People in the Vice of the Shameful Regime of Punitive Surveillance".

"The regime of punitive surveillance was a premeditated and hostile action against the deported peoples. It was a regime of starvation and epidemics, and of political, economic and moral repression, which would inevitably lead, and in reality did lead, to high mortality, backwardness in education and degradation of language and culture."

In table 5 data are cited of the mortality rate over a year and a half (May 1944-December 1945). Of the total of 238,000 deported,110,000 (46%) died; in two villages (1971 census) out of 1,647 deported from the village of Urkust, 951 (58%) died; out of 673 deported from the village of Bag, 269 (40%) died.

The concluding part of the document notes that millions of copies of various books are disseminating libels against the Crimean Tatar people and that party and state organs have all the necessary means to bring this to an end.

Demands are formulated for a return home, a coordinated settlement, the restoration of the Crimean ASSR, the withdrawal from circulation of libellous literature and, lastly, for the institution of criminal proceedings against those guilty of creating the regime of punitive surveillance.

15. Information sheet number 108. On the work completed by representatives of the Crimean Tatar people in Moscow from 6 November 1971 to 10 January 1972 (5 pages)

The information sheet reports on the activities of the movement in 1971.

A statement signed by 60,000 people was sent to the 24th Congress (see current issue, item 13*).

The statement had these attachments:

Number 1: Six volumes and two photo-albums of materials from newspapers on the bravery of the Crimean Tatars at the front and on their participation in the

*An error by the *Chronicle*, which has confused item 13 with this separate appeal by 60,000 people. See previous footnote.

resistance movement, with the "Historical Data" document, based on data about the inhabitants of 30 villages (see current issue, item 14).

Number 2: two volumes of materials on persecutions and repression in the places of special settlement.

Number 3: two volumes "On the Persecution of those Crimean Tatars who Returned to their Homeland".

After the Congress the representatives received an assurance from the head of the Central Committee reception room, Tikhomirov, that "the documents are being studied and a reply will follow in the near future". However, since they did not receive a reply, in July 1971 the people sent an all-people inquiry, with 12,000 signatures, demanding an answer to the statement to the 24th Congress.

In October a letter was sent to the Central Committee in connection with the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Crimean ASSR. This jubilee was observed in Fergana, Margelan, Bekabad and other places, by laying flowers at the foot of monuments to V. I. Lenin.

5,200 people signed a statement protesting against the "striking out of the Crimean Tatar people" from the results of the census of 1970, published in 1971.

A collective protest was successful concerning Saginbayev's book *300 Days behind Enemy Lines* [see *Chronicle* 18]: *Book Review [Knizhnoe obozrenie]* severely criticized it.

In March 1971 a "Protest Statement" with 3,000 signatures was issued, concerning Ukrainian and Crimean newspaper articles about a press-conference in Simferopol on the evil acts of fascists in the "Krasny" state farm. In these articles the Crimean Tatar people was portrayed as an accomplice in these crimes.

In November 1971 1,500 Crimean Tatars—relatives and fellow townsmen of the twice-decorated Hero of the Soviet Union and Laureate of a state prize, test pilot Sultan Akhmetan, who died in the execution of his duty—sent the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet a petition to open a memorial museum in his homeland, in Alupka.

Besides this, in 1971 more than 5,000 individual and collective letters from Crimean Tatars were sent to the highest organs.

In January 1972 representatives of the Crimean Tatar people delivered to the party Central Committee a statement entitled "Put an End to Political Terror—to National Discrimination against the Crimean Tatar People" with 6,374 signatures (volume 190 of the movement's documents) and a protest by 350 people about the trial in Tashkent of the Tashkent graduate student Aishe Seitmuratova and the Simferopol teacher Lenur Ibragimov (see *Chronicle* 23) for their active participation in the movement for return to the homeland in the Crimea.

The information sheet was sent to 34 institutions. It was signed by:

Dzhabar Akimov (Bekabad), Enver Gulakhmetov (Margelan), Gulkhane Kolayeva (Melitopol), Ismet Muratov (Namangan), Seidamet Memetov (Margelan), Eidie Muradasylova (Tashkent), Varfis Khairova (Tashkent), Zore Memetova (Margelan).

16. Information sheet number 25 on a meeting of representatives of the Crimean Tatar people from the regions, districts and towns in Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kazakhstan, and also from Krasnodar Territory, Transcaucasia, the Southern Ukraine and the Crimea. (7-8 May 1972, town of Margelan. 3 pages)

"The Crimean Tatar working people,".....considering that "the party cannot fail to resolve.... positively their national question, for the inevitability of its solution is dictated by the principles of Leninist nationalities policy...have for many years been appealing to the supreme party and Soviet organs".

Hundreds of thousands of individual letters are mentioned, many mass appeals are listed–to the 22nd and 23rd Party Congress, and in connection with jubilees. New hopes are placed in the 50th anniversary of the USSR. Three basic demands are formulated (see current issue), and disapproval is expressed regarding the behaviour of "renegades" (a certain "letter of the seventeen" is mentioned).

The information sheet is signed by 57 people: D. Akimov, R. Dzhemilev, A. Ablayev, Z. Fettayeva, S. Memetov, E. Shabanov and others.

17. A letter-appeal by the Crimean Tatar people to the Politburo of the Party Central Committee in connection with the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR (1972, 8 pages).

After mentioning the "great upsurge" and "unprecedented flowering" of economics and culture in the USSR and describing the life of the Crimean Tatars during the existence of the Crimean ASSR, the letter says that "the tragedy of the wholeslae deportation" and the requisition of all property "threw the Crimean Tatar people a long way back.... The policy which has been implemented since the 20th Congress and the decree of 1967 in the spirit of "implanting" the people,... has one single aim: by appearing to show concern for the national development of our people, to divert its attention from the fundamental question of principle–the restoration of its national equality in its national homeland". The "implanting" measures of the authorities are enumerated, also their repressive actions against the authors of individual and collective letters. The restoration of the rights of the suppressed peoples has not spread to the Crimean Tatars, and the decrees of 1956 and 1967 have not revoked their exile status, which was "legitimized" in 1946.

Moreover, by its very formulation the decree of 1967 "On Citizens of Tatar Nationality who used to reside in the Crimea" seeks to "annul" the existence of the Crimean Tatar people and not to allow discussion of the question of the violation of the constitutional rights of this people. Meanwhile "our people, placed in humiliating conditions of national inequality, in the position of a stepson in a large family of equal peoples, nevertheless toils conscientiously in the name of the building of communism". The letter concludes with an assurance that the Crimean Tatar people will be persistant in their struggle for the satisfaction of the three fundemental demands of their national movement (see item 13 in current issue).

18. Inquiry and Demands by the Crimean Tatar People concerning their National Fate, in connection with the 50th anniversary of the USSR, addressed to the Politburo of the Party Central Committee (September 1972, 5 pages)*.

The Crimean Tatar people are guided by the unalterable and never fading character of the Great October Revolution as a part of the world proletarian revolution. They assess in the necessary way the fact that the present leadership of the party has still not taken regard of their will and its lawful aspirations to have restored to it that which originally belongs to them... Terrorization of the people continues in the form of base and cowardly repression of their finest representatives... The national question of the Crimean Tatars becomes a subject of "court examinations" in order to frighten the national movement by such unconstitutional means and to force it to its knees...On the eve of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the USSR... the chauvinist rabble again comes gushing out from every crack, political corpses of the type of Kozlov, Yugov, Vergasov and Martynov, who libel our people... Every mention of the very fact of the creation of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Republic is carefully expunged from every publication... The national movement of the Crimean Tatars arouses in the inspirers of 28 years of discrimination... ferocious hatred...This explains the desire of anti-socialist forces to prevent the question of the national fate of the Crimean Tatars being discussed by the party and public opinion... Sooner or later... the leadership of the party will have to...

1. Investigate and bring to trial the persons who inspired, organized and zealously carried out the deportation and guarding of our people in the special conditions of the punitive surveillance regime, and also their successors.... unmask and crush the imperialist essence of the theoretical concepts of Nadinsky, Shults and Vakhabov...
2. Annul the decrees, laws and normative acts of 1944, 1945, 1946, 1954, 1956 and 1967...,which deny the constitutional rights of the Crimean Tatars and legitimize the seizure of their homeland...
3. Implement...an organized return of the Crimean Tatar people to their native Crimea... facilitate a coordinated settlement in places where the Crimean Tatars have historically resided.... and restore the Crimean ASSR...
4. Draw up and carry out a complex of measures which will guarantee the complete liquidation of the effects of the barbarous deportation in the spheres of economics, culture and education...
5. Review all criminal and party cases and exculpate...people punished for participating in the national movement.

The struggle against the Crimean Tatar nation... has been taken into the international arena...by the falsification of the history of the Crimea,...by the materials of state censuses (in which the national category "Crimean Tatar" is missing altogether...), by the provocative fuss made about the burials in the "Krasny" state farm (this is a reference to the renewal in the Soviet press of charges against the Crimean Tatars of mass betrayal and serving the Germans)...The course of events objectively compels the Crimean Tatar people, for the protection of their vital rights and of their gains from the revolution, fully to exploit their rights as a nation...to appeal to all international organizations...

*The document was handed over with 10,775 signatures on it in December 1972.

from the platform which the USSR, in these organizations, proclaims, and to appeal to the world communist movement.

19. On the Latest Wave of Persecutions (May-July 1972) in the Uzbek SSR: To the Praesidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to Soviet public opinion (3 pages)

This document reports that on 18 May, the day of national mourning of the Crimean Tatar people, a "quarantine" was declared at many cemetries in Uzbekistan and police squads were deployed at them*. In Bekabad Crimean Tatars who came to the cemetery were detained and subjected to humiliating interrogations. Several people (Refide Abkhairova, Kadir Akhtemov and others) were taken into custody for 15 days. On the following day searches were carried out at the flats of Dzhappar Akimov, Ramazan Muratov, Khalil Ibraimov, S. Seitmetov and the brothers Shugu. Copies of letters from the national movement to organs of government were confiscated. A written undertaking not to leave the town was taken from D. Akimov.

On 12 July, 17 searches were carried out in Uzbekistan. Those whose homes were searched in Tashkent were: the engineers Reshat Dzhemilev, Izzet Khairov and Dzhelyal Chelebiyev, graduate student Sabri Umerov and pensioner Mustafa Khaliyev; in Samarkand: the worker Shevki Mukhteremov; in Fergana: Nurfet Murakhas, Fakie Mullayeva, Muksim Osmanov and Seiran Useinov; in Angren: Amet Abduramanov and Lennar Tezikov; in Yangi-Yul: Amza Ablayev; in Margelan: Seidamet Memetov and Settar Abduveliyev; and in the state farm named after the 5th anniversary of the Uzbek SSR: the accountant Amdi Mukhteremov and Ilyas Yurdam. Several searches were carried out when the owners of the homes were not present, and children were forced to sign the search-records. There was no sanction from a procurator for the searches at the homes of Chelebiyev and Umerov.

The statement says that the aim of these actions was to put a stop to the collection of signatures on appeals to the Politburo and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (see items 17 and 18 in current issue). "We demand that you order the administrative organs to cease their attempts to turn the national question into a criminal one."

20. All-Nation Demand for Answers, from the Crimean Tatar People to the Politburo of the Party Central Committee (1973 5 pages)

Previous such documents (1967-1973) reflected the growth and consolidation of the Crimean Tatar national movement and the expansion of activities designed to suppress it. "The seizure of the national homeland" and "the suffocation of the national existence of the Crimean Tatars" are defined by the present document as the actions of the forces of "imperialism and chauvinism", exploiting the organs of Soviet authority for their own ends.

The question is put: "When the party is carrying out a program of peace in the international arena, the Crimean Tatar people ask the party leadership: when will it end for them the conditions of the second world war?"

The national movement has completed an enormous task by placing the national question in front of all the component bodies in the party-state apparatus and elucidating it for them. In the period 1956-1973, 66 all-nation documents, with 4 million signatures from the whole of the adult Crimean Tatar population, were sent to the supreme bodies. The document recalls the promises given at receptions of delegates by Yu. Andropov, A. Mikoyan (1965) and M. Georgadze (1966), there having been 14 receptions in all. But it continues these efforts to help the leadership to implement the line of the 20th Party Congress have been met only with repression: 33 expulsions from the party and about 100 from the Communist Youth League, several thousand house searches, tens of thousands of interrogations and "conversations" in KGB offices, over twenty major "engagements" involving police and troops and the use of water-cannons, smoke bombs and truncheons, eight large-scale round-ups of Crimean Tatar representatives and their deportation from Moscow under armed escort, 32 major deportations under armed escort (involving some 6,000 people in all) from the Crimea, anti-Tatar persecution in the Crimea, more than 50 trials, over 200 defendants convicted. The document talks of the tyranny of the administrative organs which "are becoming a force above the state and violating international law"; "the international vows of the revolution about the rights of the peoples of Russia... which were proclaimed in the appeal of the Council of People's Commissars "To the Moslems of Russia and the East" have been trampled on and replaced by the status of exile" A warning is issued to the leadership of Uzbekistan about its responsibility to the Uzbek people for having turned its national territory into a "reservation for entire peoples".

Further on: "The urge to single out 'great' nations, which, as instruments for implementing nationalities policy, possess the right to dispose of the fate of other peoples, categorized as 'small', is tantamount to the reduction of national relations to a system of national hierarchies in every republic, every zone, every group of states and throughout the whole world, which substitutes for equal rights the right to annexation, and results in the suppression of the small peoples. It is clear to these peoples that such a position on the national question is indivisible and cannot be applied differently in the internal and international arenas... It is clear to the peoples that such a position does not promise them anything good."

The document concludes with a demand to liquidate the exile status; to restore the Crimean ASSR; and to raise at a party congress "the question of the Crimea, the Crimean Tatars and national equality in the USSR".

On 1 December 1973 the document was delivered to the Central Committee with 6,508 signatures (see information sheet number 112); in January 1974 these were supplemented by 300 more signatures (information sheet number 113). (See current issue item 24).

21. Letter to UN Secretary General Mr Waldheim, to the UN Committee "For the Defence of the Civil Rights of Man", to the Soviet Committee for Human Rights, to all the communists of the world, to all progressive people.*

"He who commits an injustice is more unhappy than he who suffers unjustly."
Democritus

* In Moscow such measures were applied only once – at the Novodevichy cemetry on the day N. S. Khrushchev was buried [*Chronicle*'s note].

*The full text is given here, but the text of document number 1881 in the *Samizdat Archive* adds the date: January 1973.

The Crimean Tatars lived in their homeland in the Crimea until 18 May 1944.

In 1783 the Crimean state was seized by the Russian empire.

Of 4 million Crimean Tatars, by 1917 120,000 remained.

In 1921 the Crimea became part of the RSFSR with the rights of an autonomous republic. In 1934 the Crimean Autonomous Republic was awarded the order of Lenin for its economic successes.

In 1941 the Crimea was occupied by Hitler's troops.

In 1942 the native population of the Crimea (the Crimean Tatars) was designated for destruction. The operation of destroying the Crimean Tatars was postponed in view of the unfavourable conditions for the Hitlerites on the war fronts.

In 1944 the Crimea was liberated from the Hitlerites. Soon after liberation the male population of call-up age was mobilized, supposedly to join a field army, but soon found itself in labour camps. And on 18 May 1944 the native population of the Crimea--the Crimean Tatars--was deported to a man from the Crimea. Its property was confiscated.

In the places of forced settlement--reservations--conditions were created for the physical and national dying-out of the people. As early as 1946, by the day of the publication of the decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the document accusing the Crimean Tatars of treason in favour of the Hitlerites during the war years, 46.2% of the whole nation had perished.

In order to conceal these barbarities, unprecedented in their viciousness, a whole group of slanderers calling themselves historians, writers and poets was knocked together at the Crimea Publishing House [Krymizdat] under the overall direction of Pavelenko--such men as I. Kozlov, I. Vergasov, A. Perventsev, Degtyarov, Vulf Polkanov, Krupnyakov, Nadinsky, Chirva [see *Chronicle* 25], V. Vetlina, Yugov, Shevrov, Saginbayev, Vakhabov and so on. A special historical school, devoted to distorting the past and present of the Crimean Tatars, was created.

Hundreds of artistic works and historical essays were published, the total number of published books running to 30 million copies.

The government valued highly the "labour" of the slanderers: A. Perventsev carried off a Stalin prize for his artistic libel *Honour from Youth [Chest smolodu]*.

Out of their total population, which reached 238,000 by 1941, the Crimean Tatars provided 52,500 soliders for the defence of the Homeland; over 40% of these men were awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union. The services of 11 Crimean Tatar soldiers were distinguished with the lofty title of Hero of the Soviet Union. One of them was decorated with this high distinction on two occasions.

Without resorting to listing tens of thousands of facts about evil deeds, it will be sufficient to say that the families of the 11 Heroes of the Soviet Union were deported from the Crimea on 18 May 1944 and are still in exile today. Their property was confiscated.

By the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 5 September 1967 the Crimean Tatars were politically exculpated, but against the wishes of the people the decree pronounced that the Crimean Tatars had "put down roots" in their places of settlement and did not want to return to their Homeland in the Crimea.

In appealing by this letter to progressive humanity, to the UN Committee for the Defence of Civil Rights, and to you personally, Mr K. Waldheim, we are hoping for

and counting on your help in resolving our national question.

Our letters and appeals to the party Central Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers have brought the people nothing but grief and tears.

We enclose these documents:

1. "Incontrovertible Facts about the Life of the Crimean Tatars in the Period 1967 to 1973".
2. The appeal of the Crimean Tatar people to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
3. The appeal of the Crimean Tatar people to the 24th party congress, to the Soviet press and to all communists (attached to this appeal are:
   a) "A Statement of the Crimean Tatar People on the Crimean Question in Connection with the 24th Party Congress", and
   b) "Historical Data").
4. a) The indictment in the criminal case against Dzheppar Akimovich Akimov, and b) the verdict.
5. Information sheet number 25.
6. A protest to the First Secretary of the Crimean Regional Committee of the party.
7. To the Politburo of the party Central Committee: inquiry and demands by the Crimean Tatar people concerning their national fate, in connection with the 50th anniversary of the USSR.

(68 signatures)

22. Halt the Anti-Socialist Activity of the Chauvinists in Soviet Law-Making and in the Theory and Practice of Law.

A document addressed to the Politburo of the party Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Commission for Legislative Proposals, the Constitution Commission, the UN Committee for Human Rights, the USSR Ministry of Justice, the MVD of the USSR, the KGB of the USSR, the Institute of State and Law for the USSR and the Socialist Countries, and the organs of the press (1973, 21 pages).

The beginning of the document analyzes the legislative acts of 1944 to 1967, which directed "the punitive organs onto the path of anti-socialist tyranny". Special attention is paid not only to the "deportation" decree of 1944 and the decree of 1946 which prescribed 20 years' hard labour for violating the regime of the special settlements, but also to the "exculpation" decree of 1967, which was in essence designed to "liquidate" the very concept "Crimean Tatar".

The document reports that the adoption of the decree was preceded by a special session of the Politburo of the party Central Committee on 20 June 1967. The following day representatives of the Crimean Tatars were received by the Central Committee where they were given assurances that the suppression of the whole nation would be recognized as criminal (but that the deportation itself "remained in force"), and that they would be given opportunities to hold information meetings. However, a mass meeting in Tashkent was cruelly broken up and 12 people were tried.

The current position of the Crimean Tatars is characterized as "exile status throughout the whole country" and "a status of genocide". "National equality has been subordinated to the regime of the residence permit and job finding."

The introduction notes the avalanche of judicial and extra-judicial persecutions to which the Crimean Tatars were subjected, following the decree of 1967, in Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, the Crimea and Moscow, and this is followed by the basic part of the text, which is devoted to an analysis of the "ways in which socialist legality is being liquidated", in fact to an analysis of the persecutions mentioned above from the point of view of their divergences from the criminal code, the criminal procedural code, and other legal prescriptions.

These episodes are described as being the most brazenly illegal: the breaking up of meetings, assemblies and national holidays; the beating up of Crimean Tatar representatives in the Central Committee reception room in 1966; the round-ups, arrests and deportations from Moscow under armed escort of 800 representatives in May 1968; the terror in the Crimea; the battle of Chirchik in April 1968 during the festival of Derviza*; the battles in Bekabad, Angren and Andizhan in 1966-1968; the murder by the police of Femi Aliyev in Yangi-Yul; and the murder of Fevzi Seidaliyev in Dnepropetrovsk prison.

In order to pass unjust sentences, arbitrary and illegal amalgamations and separations of cases are practised. For example, the division into three separate cases of those who participated in the laying of wreaths at the foot of Lenin's monument in Andizhan on 21 April 1971 enabled the minor Abduveli Ablyazov to be dealt with in secret. The case of N. Murakhas (see *Chronicles* 14, 17†) was separated and then closed by the Supreme Court of the Uzbek Republic in 1969 "for lack of evidence". But the Fergana regional court convicted him on the same materials in 1970. In January 1968 the Uzbek Procuracy amalgamated the cases of E. M. Memetov of Moscow, Yu. B. Osmanov from Sepukhov, T. Memetov from Margelan, and S.O. Osmanov from Samarkand, none of whom were connected with each other as regards the actions with which they were charged. In violation of the norms about place of trial, the proceedings were held in Tashkent (see *Chronicle* 2).

Significant space is given to an examination of the role of the defence in the trials of Crimean Tatars. Barristers "began to feel instinctively for the correct line of defence" (pointing to the lawfulness of the national movement's demands and insisting on the observation of procedural norms), which, although it does not lead to victory, "lays bare the coercion...and the pretence of justice".

This was followed by administrative pressure: court motions penalizing barristers** and the banning of Moscow barristers from Uzbekistan.

The last three trials—those of Aishe Seitmuratova and Lenur Ibragimov, of D. Akimov, and of R. Dzhemilev (see respectively *Chronicle* 23 and the current issue, items 1 and 2) demonstrate the virtual liquidation of the right to a defence.

In the trial of Yu. B. Osmanov in 1968 his statements to the Procurator General protesting against the violation of legality in his case were used as proof of guilt. A

*On this item and the Moscow item see *Chronicle* 2.
†Where his name is transliterated, probably less correctly, as Marakhaz.
**As with the barrister Kaminskaya at the trial of I. Gabai and M. Dzhemilev (*Chronicle* 12) [*Chronicle*'s note].

similar episode occured in the trial of Gomer Bayev (Simferopol, 1968) [see *Chronicle* 7].

The summary of the analysis asserts that legislation and the conduct of trials, in their relation to the Crimean Tatars, serve to persecute the whole people. "Every trial is an act which furthers the systematic destruction of the people and consolidates the seizure of its national territory, an action which encourages in the punitive organs and the people a sense of the hopelessness of the struggle for national equality." "The Crimean Tatar people demand in the name of the preservation of the dictatorship of the proletariat that the administrative and punitive organs be restrained and placed once and for all within the framework of their competence, under the strictest control of the people and the party."

The statement is rounded off by:

An analysis of memoranda of the NKVD-MOOP of the Uzbek Republic of 8 February 1968 and 15 February 1968 on the death rate of working Crimean Tatars in the special settlements of Uzbekistan.

(the texts of the memoranda are in the current issue, item 26).

The data of the first memorandum (death rate of 8.6%) was used at trials to charge the Crimean Tatars with slander. In the second memorandum the official figure of mortality rose to 17.6%. "Even this figure, which makes the 'harvest' of fascism on Soviet soil over four years pale in comparison...seemed to the punitive organs to give completely reasonable and convincing grounds for a verdict of guilty." Subsequent trials made do without statistics.

There follows an analysis which shows how the indices of mortality in the memoranda have been understated:

1. The number of deportees who arrived in exile between 1 and 8 July 1944 is not mentioned and it is concealed that deportees registered even later, a fact confirmed by the significant increase in the number of families from 1 July 1944 to 1 January 1945.

2. The replenishment of special settlers in Uzbekistan also continued throughout 1945, on account of transfers from special settlements in the Gorky, Yaroslavl and other regions. The fact that replenishment did occur is confirmed by the discrepancy between the number of men who died (2,565) mentioned in memorandum number 373 and the drop in the number of men on the register (287). But the scale of replenishment is concealed. Meanwhile, by the end of the war there were 33,618 Crimean Tatars in the army. After demobilization almost all of them came under the surveillance of the special commandants' offices in Uzbekistan, as did thousands of men from special camps in the north and in Tula (labour-armies). By concealing replenishment the documents have understated the mortality rate.

3. Those who died between 18 May 1944 and 1 July 1945 are not included, i.e. those who died en route and during the early, especially hard days of exile.

4. Some of the mortality has been concealed by not indicating any births in the memorandum.

5. The authors of the memoranda explain the difference between the number who died and the number who dropped off the register by desertions and imprisonments for crimes, but this difference is one of 1,000 for women and 2,700 for

children; meanwhile, according to the memoranda the relative number of women to children was 1:1.4. Thus, either

a) this is direct evidence of one of the means of falsifying the mortality figure, or

b) the regime of punitive surveillance considered children the major criminals.

6. The information for 1 July 1944 is not given according to age and sex. Such information would have unmasked yet another crime—the deportation as traitors of exclusively women, old people and children.

23. Information sheet number 26 on the meeting of representatives of the Crimean Tatar people which took place on 6-7 October 1973 (2 pages).

"Executing the will of the people," says the beginning of the document, "the representatives exchanged information on the current position regarding the national question...and on the current tasks of rendering help to the party in the solution of the question."

The information sheet reports on the documents: "All-Nation Demand for Answers to the Politburo" (see above, item 20) and the appeal "Halt the anti-socialist activity of chauvinists" (see above, item 22); it condemns attempts to get Crimean Tatars who are communists to oppose the national movement (but expresses confidence that they will "remain loyal to their people...to their party duty and conscience"); and it recalls the promise, given by Andropov six years earlier when receiving Crimean Tatar delegates, to review "criminal cases fabricated in order to weaken the national movement".

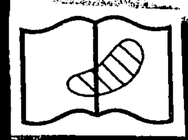
It reports on the situation in the Crimea: "...regional newspapers are running persecution campaigns against the Crimean Tatars who have returned to their homeland, with verbiage about the plunder of the land and water of the Crimea. A number of trials have been concocted for violations of the residence regulations...A special regime has been created for Crimean Tatars—special settlements in their native land."

The representatives discussed the question of rendering assistance to the families of those in prison.

24. Stay of Crimean Tatar delegates in Moscow in December 1973 and January 1974: information sheets numbers 112 and 113.

Thirteen representatives of the Crimean Tatars—12 from Uzbekistan and one from Kherson region—came to Moscow to deliver documents of the national movement to party and state authorities. Information sheet 112 is a report by this group of delegates which lists and briefly describes the documents and reports on the persecutions to which members of the group were subjected. In the course of one week police searched for and arrested eight people in Moscow, amongst them the war veterans Amet Abduramanov, Tair Izmailov, Suleiman Lemanov and Zore Fettayeva (an intelligence officer in the resistance. After the searches and interrogations seven were sent back to Uzbekistan. Shevki Mukhteremov* was detained and searched at Samarkand airport, from where he was due to fly to Moscow. Delegates who avoided being caught delivered the following documents to the party Central Commmittee on 17 December:

**Chronicle* 31 gives this name as Seidamet Memetov, but a correction appears in 32.



1. All-nation Demand for Answers (item 20 in the current issue) with 6,508 signatures. This document constituted the 201st volume of materials of the Crimean Tatar national movement handed in to the party Central Committee.

2. "Halt the Anti-Socialist Activity of Chauvinists in Law-Making and in the Theory and Practice of Law" (item 22)—7,238 signatures, volume 202.

3. Protests against the conviction of D. A. Akimov—in all about 1,600 signatures.

4. Protests against repression of Crimean Tatars in the Crimea and Ukraine—600 signatures.

5. An information sheet on a republican meeting of Crimean Tatar representatives on 8 November 1973.

The first two documents were delivered to other institutions as well, namely the Procuracy and the Ministry of Justice, to which, as acceptance was refused, they were then sent by post. The information sheet itself was also sent to party and state organs and to the places where the Crimean Tatars currently reside.

In January three of the delegates (S. Memetov, A. Abduramanov and Sh. Mukhteremov), who had returned from Moscow, continued their work. Their report, information sheet number 113, says that protests against the coercive acts meted out to Crimean Tatar representatives in December had been delivered to party and state organs or sent by post (protests by the victims and also a collective protest with 680 signatures), as well as supplementary signatures to documents sent earlier.

Documents of the Crimean Tatar movement were also sent to the unions of writers and to the party committees of union and autonomous republics.

Information sheet number 113 was sent to more than 30 addresses.

25. Letter to K. Waldheim

In connection with the fact that in January 1974 a series of documents were sent to the UN (items 4, 5, 6, 20, 21, 22), A. Sakharov, T. Velikanova, S. Kovalyov, A. Levitin-Krasnov, G. Podyapolsky and T. Khodorovich wrote the following letter:

Chirchik, 21 April 1968: Police with water-hoses dispersing a Crimean Tatar crowd which was celebrating the anniversary of Lenin's birth.

To the Secretary General of the UN, Kurt Waldheim

Dear Mr Secretary General,

We have become acquainted with the appeal of the Crimean Tatars which, together with the unanswered complaints to Soviet bodies and several other documents, was recently addressed to the UN by many representatives of this oppressed people.

We call on you to use your influence and all the opportunities available to you to see that the tragic position of the Crimean Tatars is quickly and effectively examined in the relevant commission of the UN.

In no measure does our request mean that we share a view expressed in these documents, namely that the suppression of the national freedoms of the Crimean Tatars is being executed by anti-socialist and imperialist forces who have been allowed to exploit the military and repressive might of a socialist state. We will also not analyze the question of whether the contemporary nationalities policy of the Soviet government corresponds to the political doctrine of V. I. Lenin. But we vouch that the factual picture which is drawn in these documents of crimes, slander, abuse of power and judicial tyranny fully corresponds to what is known to us.

We call on you, Mr General Secretary, to facilitate in every possible way the return to their homeland of the Crimean Tatars, who are being administratively held in exile, despite the unambiguously expressed will of the people.

26. Two documents (from criminal case number 103 of the Procuracy of the Uzbek Republic, volume 17, pages 101-102).

Uzbek SSR Ministry for the Preservation of Public Order
Tashkent City

Number 713-373 8 February 1968

Secret
To the Chairman of the KGB attached to the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR, Lieutenant-General comrade S. I. Kiselyov

Here.

Reference number 3/99 of 29 January 1968

I inform you that the arrival in the Uzbek SSR of specially deported Tatars from the Crimea commenced on 29 May 1944 and basically finished on 8 July 1944. In the archive documents of the 9th section of the KGB and the 4th special section of the MVD of the Uzbek SSR, the first data about the quantity of Crimean Tatars arriving at special settlements refer to 1 July 1944. On this date 35,750 families had arrived, a total of 151,424 persons.

On 1 January 1945 the numbers of specially deported Crimean Tatars in Uzbekistan were 36,568 families, constituting 134,742 persons: 21,619 men, 47,537 women and 65,586 children under 16.

The position on 1 January 1946 was: 34,946 families, constituting 120,129 persons, of which 21,332 were men, 42,071 women and 56,726 children under 16.

In the period from 1 January 1945 to 1 January 1946, 13,183 persons died, of whom 2,562 were men, 4,525 women and 6,096 children under 16. The change in the number of specially deported Crimean Tatars is also to be explained by departures beyond the boundries of the republic, removals from the register, escapes from places of settlement,

and arrests for crimes committed.

First Deputy Minister for the Preservation of Public Order, Uzbek USSR
General, Internal Service, rank III M. Beglov

Received 9 February 1968.

UzSSR MOOP
Tashkent City

Number 713-2026. 15 February 1968

Secret
copy number
Investigations department of the KGB attached to the Council of Ministers, Uzbek SSR.

Here.

Reference number 3/184 of 14 February 1968

There is no analytical data on changes in the composition of the people deported from the Crimea in the period from May-July 1944 to 1 January 1945 in the archive materials of the 9th section of the KGB and the 4th special section of the NKVD of the Uzbek SSR.

One of the reports on the economic and domestic arrangements of the special settlers from the Crimea dated 9 April 1945 mentions that from the moment of deportation of the special settlers from the Crimea to the Uzbek SSR, i.e. from May 1944 up to 1 January 1945, 13,592 persons, constituting 9.1% of them, died.

Head of 1st Special Section of the MOOP of the Uzbek SSR, Colonel Kravchenko
Head of 3rd Department, Stokova

Received 20 February 1968.

Yangi-Yul, Tashkent region, May 1967: Funeral procession of thousands of Crimean Tatars and others after Femi Aldiyev had been shot dead by police. On right looking back is Izzet Khairov.

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The original Russian texts of *Chronicles* 28-31, of which this book is a translation, appeared as a single book without annotations: *Kronika tekushchikh sobytii*, Kronika Press, New York, 1974.

Earlier issues of the *Chronicle* are available in English from two main sources. Numbers 16-27 were published by Amnesty International Publications as individual booklets with annotations and names indexes, all issues except number 16 still being in print (see inside back cover opposite for details). 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.

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Other books and periodicals in which readers can find more details about many of the people mentioned in *Chronicles* 28-31 are listed in the annotated bibliographies in the Amnesty International editions of numbers 22-23 and 27.

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For many religious texts, see *Religion in Communist Lands*, Keston College, Heathfield Road, Keston, Kent, England, bi-monthly. For Jewish texts see *Jews in the Soviet Union*, London W1, England, weekly.

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