A Chronicle of Current Events

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Issue No. 24 **5 March 1972** [Moscow]

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Amnesty International Publications
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[This is a rather literal translation of copies of the typewritten Russian original, which was edited anonymously in Moscow and began to circulate there in *samizdat* in the first week of April 1972. *Only* the words in square brackets have been added by the translators.]

The Movement in Defence of Human Rights in the USSR
Continues

A Chronicle of Current Events

[illegible]

Issue No. 24 5 March 1972 Moscow

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[illegible]

FIFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

The Movement in Defence of Human Rights in the USSR
Continues

A Chronicle of Current Events

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19

Issue No. 24 **5 March 1972** [Moscow]

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FIFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

The Case of Vladimir Bukovsky

On 5 January the Moscow City Court passed sentence on Vladimir Bukovsky (see *Chronicle* No. 23[1]).

For Soviet readers the only official source of information on the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky was an article by A. Yurov and L. Kolesov, "Biography of villainy", published in the newspaper *Evening Moscow* on 6 January. To describe the article it is enough to say that it does not even give the sentence in full—the points specifying confinement in prison and the imposition of costs are omitted. Another example: the article states that Bukovsky, on the path which led him to criminality, had been sentenced by a People's Court to three years' imprisonment for violating public order, but it does not mention that this "violation of public order" was the demonstration organised by Bukovsky in protest against the arrest of Yu. Galanskov, V. Lashkova and others.

The sentence passed on Bukovsky provoked numerous protests, both in this country and abroad.

On 6 January the International Union of Resistance Fighters of the First and Second World Wars, which comprises about 80 organisations in thirteen countries and numbers 500,000 members, some of whom were inmates of Hitler's camps, sent the USSR Procurator-General a telegram of protest demanding a re-trial of V. Bukovsky's case and the presence at the hearing of international observers.

Telegrams received by Nina Ivanovna Bukovskaya, V. Bukovsky's mother, included some from India and Australia. A telegram from Bombay says: "Indian writers and intellectuals are shocked by the savage cruelty of the sentence passed on your courageous son V. Bukovsky. We have addressed a protest against the sentence to President Podgorny and to Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. We support you and Vladimir. A group of Indian writers." A telegram from Sidney reads: "The members of the Australian association

[1. Recent issues of the *Chronicle* have been published in full in Russian only in the journal *Volnoye slovo. Samizdat. Izbrannoye*, which is edited in Frankfurt. No. 1 of this journal contains *Chronicle* 21, No. 2 contains *Chronicle* 22, and so on.]

Cultural Freedom give you their unqualified support in your demands for the restoration of justice as regards your son. We express our sympathies and await the coming appeal with interest. President of the Association."

The newspaper *The Times* [31 January] published a letter from more than 30 eminent English public figures: Members of Parliament, lawyers, scholars, writers and so on.[2] The authors of the letter state that Bukovsky's actions did not fall under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code. After examining violations of procedural norms committed during the investigation and trial, they write: "Enough information has become available for the International Commission of Jurists to condemn severely the procedure at the trial".[3] The letter also expresses the hope that the appeal court "will show more judicial objectivity than was shown by the court of first instance".

Letters in defence of V. Bukovsky have also appeared in *samizdat*: "Who has slandered whom (my attitude to the case of V. Bukovsky)" by M. N. Landa, and "On the article 'Biography of villainy'" by S. and T. Khodorovich.[4]

On 3 [mis-typing for 8?] January N. I. Bukovskaya sent the USSR Procurator-General a complaint about V. G. Lubentsova, the Judge at the Moscow City Court. The complaint points out, among other things, that the court had not summoned any of the witnesses whom V. Bukovsky and his defence counsel had requested it to summon; and that the court had not questioned, for example, the foreign correspondents who had been questioned during the pre-trial investigation but had given unsuitable testimony. N. I. Bukovskaya states that she has received a legally certified copy of a letter from Sebreghts to the USSR Procurator-General and to the editors of the newspaper *Izvestia*. The letter is dated 19 April 1971.[5] It turns out that on returning to Belgium from Moscow,

[2. Among them Lord Gardiner, Arthur Koestler, Iris Murdoch, Harold Pinter and Tony Smythe. Another letter in Bukovsky's defence, signed by 36 psychiatrists, appeared in *The Times* on 30 March.]

[3. The ICJ's protest against "the persistent repression of freedom of speech in the Soviet Union" was widely reported on 12 January, e.g. in *The Guardian*.]

[4. See text in *Possev* 4, 1972, pp. 5-7. On Mrs. T. Khodorovich see *Chronicle* 19.]

[5. See a condensed text in *Possev* 5, 1971, p.24.]

Sebreghts made a statement repudiating all the testimony he had given under questioning by the KGB, since this testimony had been extracted from him, as he puts it, under "physical and psychological duress". N. I. Bukovskaya writes: "At his trial my son categorically denied handing any materials whatsoever to Sebreghts and demanded, together with his defence counsel Shveisky, that Chalidze and Volpin, who had been present at the meeting, should be questioned as witnesses. This, however, was refused. And so my son was convicted on this count of the indictment solely on the basis of testimony given—under duress—by Sebreghts during the pre-trial investigation. But for some reason the letter from Sebreghts repudiating this testimony did not figure in my son's case".

A. S. Volpin, in a statement to the Russian Supreme Court of 8 January, expressed surprise that he had not been summoned by the court as a witness and asserted that he, Volpin, was the only person who could be held responsible for one of the documents mentioned in the charge against Bukovsky, since he was the author of the document.

V. N. Chalidze, in a statement of the same date, asked the appeal court to take the following facts into account: (1) Sebreghts, when giving his testimony, was not well-versed in Soviet law; (2) he had not been questioned by the court; (3) Sebreghts had not been personally confronted by Bukovsky; (4) Sebreghts had often contradicted himself in his testimony.[6]

S. P. Pisarev,[7] in a letter of 13 January addressed to the Russian Supreme Court, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the USSR Minister of Justice and Academician Sakharov, listed the numerous violations of legality in Bukovsky's case, and asked for the guilty people to be punished and for the proceedings against Bukovsky to be terminated at the appeal hearing on the grounds that he had no case to answer.

On 18 January Academician A. D. Sakharov made the following appeal to the General Secretary of the Central

[6. Chaldize treats these matters at length in his absorbing compilation of May 1971, "A Foreigner came to visit me", *Volnoye slovo* No. 2, 1972, pp. 55-101.]

[7. See P. Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*, London and New York, 1972, pp. 232-33.]

Committee and the USSR Procurator-General: "I ask you to use your influence and authority to have the sentence passed on Vladimir Bukovsky set aside and Bukovsky himself released . . . It is in the interests of the healthy elements in the leadership of the country and among our people that this unjust sentence should be set aside, and in a broader context that this country, which has endured so much suffering and degradation, should undergo a moral regeneration. For only the moral health of the people is a true guarantee of the viability of the country in creative labour and in the face of coming trials.

"Restore legality and justice!"

On 23 February 1972 the Russian Supreme Court considered the appeal in the case of V. K. Bukovsky.

The hearing took place under the chairmanship of Judge Gavrilin; the Procurator was Vorobyov, and defence counsel was Shveisky.

A petition from V. K. Bukovsky was submitted to the court, in which he asked to be allowed to attend the hearing to explain certain matters relating to the case. Defence counsel Shveisky supported this petition. It was rejected by the court.

Defence counsel V. Ya. Shveisky asked for his client to be acquitted.

Procurator Vorobyov, in his address, dwelt hardly at all on the individual counts of the indictment; his address was brief and of a general nature.

The verdict of the court was to leave the sentence unaltered.

On 25 February V. Bukovsky was despatched to Vladimir prison.[8]

A detailed transcript of the trial of V. Bukovsky has appeared in *samizdat*.[9] In the preface the compilers of the transcript write: ". . . The responsibility for the fact that this is not a verbatim transcript lies not with the compilers, who have done everything in their power to reconstruct

[8. On 4 May the *Daily Telegraph*, London, reported that 20 of his friends had just appealed to Amnesty International for aid in putting an end to deliberately cruel treatment of him and his relatives, and in obtaining his release.]

[9. Published in *Russkaya mysl*, Paris, 2 March 1972 (not 9 March, as printed in note 74 to *Chronicle* 23), and in *Volnoye slovo* No. 3, and in *Survey* No. 83, London, in English.]

the truth, but with those who denied the friends of the accused entry to the court-room . . . and the opportunity to take notes openly or to use portable recording apparatus."

Since then the compilers of the Transcript have noticed that it contains three inaccuracies, which they wish to bring to the attention of readers of the *Chronicle*. First, the Transcript said that issue No. 17 of the *Chronicle* had been confiscated from Sebreghts, i.e. the same issue as that confiscated when Bukovsky was arrested at his flat on 29 March 1971. In fact, according to the records of the interrogation of Bukovsky and Sebreghts, issue No. 18 of the *Chronicle* was confiscated from Sebreghts and No. 17 from Bukovsky. Secondly, in the last paragraph of the verdict, before the sentence "Bukovsky V. K. is guilty of committing a crime under article 70", the compilers of the Transcript omitted the following sentence: "The court finds it proven that Bukovsky pursued the aim of undermining and weakening Soviet authority". Thirdly, Nikitinsky's first names are Arnold Iosifovich, not Arnold Eduardovich.

Searches and Arrests in January

On 14 January a number of searches were carried out in Moscow. The order for the searches was signed by Major Fochenkov, Senior KGB Investigator for especially important cases [see *Chronicle* 21]. They were sanctioned by Malyarov, USSR Deputy Procurator-General. Searches were carried out at the homes of P. Yakir (in connection with Leningrad case No. 38), A. I. [Abram] Ginzburg, A. N. Osipova (Naidenovich), Yu. Shikhanovich, S. Genkin, Yu. Kim and R. Mukhamedyarov (in connection with Moscow case No. 24).[10] In addition, by decision of the Procuracy of the Russian Republic, a search was carried out at the home of E. Rudenko; according to the

[10. On Yakir, Shikhanovich and Kim see entries in Reddaway, *op.cit.* On Osipova, Shikhanovich and Mukhamedyarov (see also No. 15) see elsewhere in this issue. Genkin is a mathematician who signed five documents in P. Litvinov, *The Trial of the Four*, London and New York, 1972.]

warrant it was in connection with "the case of S. Myuge" [see *Chronicles* 22 and 23].

The order for searches in connection with case No. 24 stated that proceedings had been instituted in relation to a crime covered by article 70, para. 1, of the Russian Criminal Code. *Samizdat* literature, typewriters, rolls of film and personal correspondence were confiscated during the searches.

On 15 January another search was carried out in connection with case No. 24—this time at the home of K. Lyubarsky, an astronomer,[11] in the village of Chernogolovka in the Moscow Region. On 17 January K. Lyubarsky was summoned by the KGB for questioning, and was arrested on the same day. He has apparently been indicted under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code. The investigation is being conducted by KGB Major Kislykh.

During the following one-and-a-half months all those whose homes had been searched (except Yakir[12]) were summoned by the KGB for questioning, as were their relatives and friends. It has become clear from the interrogations that the matter of principal concern to the investigation is the preparation and circulation of the *Chronicle of Current Events*.[13]

* * *

[11. Kronid A. Lyubarsky is the author of numerous articles in scientific journals on meteors, planets, space biology, etc., and of three books: *Essays on Astrobiology* (1962), *Cosmic Biology and Medicine* (1968), and *The Planets of the Earth Group-Mars* (1969). He has also translated into Russian the books *Galaxies* by Fred Hoyle and *The Search for Planet X* by Tony Simon.]

[12. Yakir was arrested on 21 June. See a statement written in anticipation of arrest in *The Times*, 23 June.]

[13. *The Times* and the *New York Times* reported on 4 February that dissenting circles believed a high-level political decision to have been taken on 30 December, ordering the suppression of the *Chronicle* and of other *samizdat* journals like *Veche* and the *Ukrainian Herald*. On 6 May at least 16 flats were searched in Moscow, mostly in connection with case No. 24, those of Yakir, Shikhanovich, Anatoly Yakobson, G. Podyapolsky, Irina Kaplun, Irina Kristi, N. P. Lisovskaya, Vladimir Gershovich, V. Batshev, V. Gusarov, L. Pinsky, Valentina Makotinskaya, Vladimir Albrekht, Andrei Dubrov, Olga Iofe and Miss E. Armand. Despite this, *Chronicle* 25, dated 20 May, began to circulate in Moscow on about 21 June.]

Searches in connection with case No. 24 were carried out on 14 January at the homes of G. Yablonsky (see *Chronicle* No. 2) and Rybakov in Novosibirsk. Again the order for the searches was signed by Major Fochenkov. After the searches several persons were summoned for questioning.

* * *

A number of searches in connection with case No. 24 were also carried out in Vilnius on 14 January, one of them at the home of Vatslav Sevruk (see *Chronicle* No. 15).[14] After the search he was arrested. During the following few days about 100 people were summoned for questioning.

* * *

On 15 January searches in connection with case No. 24 were carried out at the homes of E. Orlovsky, Yu. Melnik and P. M. Goryachyov in Leningrad.[15] Items confiscated from P. M. Goryachyov, a former political prisoner, included all his manuscripts about his camp experiences. In Yu. Melnik's flat a radio telex receiver was discovered; he was arrested on 17 January. For the first three days, in the words of the investigator, he behaved like Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya [the heroine of Margarita Aliger's narrative poem *Zoya*, who is captured, tortured and hanged by the Germans]: he took the entire responsibility upon himself. But then he began to name names and tell everything he knew.

* * *

Another search in connection with case No. 24 was carried out on 14 January at the home of K. Olitskaya in the town of Uman (Ukraine). Her memoirs about the civil war, the Central Rada and the early years of Soviet

[14. See also No. 22 and, on his arrest, *The Times*, 1 February.]

[15. On Goryachyov see Reddaway, p. 213, and on Orlovsky see *Chronicle* 16. A Reuter dispatch of 20 June reported that on 19 June Yury Melnik was sentenced in Leningrad to three years for "anti-Soviet agitation", to which he pleaded guilty.]

authority in the Ukraine[16] were confiscated from Katerina Olitskaya.

* * *

Arrests in the Ukraine

In Kiev and Lvov between 11 and 14 January a number of searches were carried out and nineteen persons arrested, eleven in Kiev and eight in Lvov. Those arrested in Kiev were:

1. Ivan Svitlychny, a literary scholar [aged 42]. The search was in connection with the case of Jaroslav Dobosch, a Belgian citizen, about whom the newspaper *Evening Kiev*[17] published an article on 11 February (see below). *Samizdat* literature was confiscated. Immediately after the search Svitlychny was taken away, and three days later his wife was officially informed of his arrest. The investigation is being conducted by KGB investigator Major Goryachyov. The writer Ivan Dzyuba (for his expulsion from the Writers' Union see this issue of the *Chronicle*), who was visiting Svitlychny at the time, was taken to his home, which was also searched. On each of the following three days Dzyuba was questioned.
2. Vasyl Stus, aged 32, a poet and critic, who has had a book of poetry published abroad. In 1965 he took part in protests, for which he was expelled from graduate school.
3. Yevhen Sverstyuk, aged 32, a literary scholar; for signing protest letters he was dismissed from his job and not allowed to defend his Master's dissertation. He is the author of many critical articles which have been published in *samizdat*, one of them on O. Honchar's novel *The Cathedral*. At the time of the search on 14 January he was ill, and he was arrested a few days later in the village of Boyarka. During the search literary articles were confiscated.
4. Zynoviy Antonyuk, a philologist. A copy of the *Chronicle* and other materials were confiscated.

[16. Possibly a companion volume to her memoirs *Moi vospominaniya* (Possev-Verlag, 1971), which recount her experiences as a Socialist Revolutionary in the 1920's and 1930's, mostly in camps.]

[17. Also *Pravda Ukrainy* of the same date.]

5. Fedir Kovalenko, a teacher from the village of Boyarka.
6. Leonid Seleznenko, a chemist.
7. Lyubov Serednyak, aged nineteen, a typist. During the search novels by Solzhenitsyn and [Vasily] Grossman were confiscated.
8. Vasyl Heorhiyenko.
9. Mykola Plakhotnyuk [a young doctor].
10. Danylo Shumuk [spent 27 years in prisons prior to 1967].
11. Leonid Plyushch, a mathematician and a member of the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR [see Reddaway, p.157]. His home was searched on 14 January in connection with case No. 24. *Samizdat* materials and his own manuscripts were confiscated. On 17 January his wife was told that he was being indicted under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 70 of the Russian Code).

A Statement on the arrest of Plyushch issued by the Action Group says:

"On 14 January 1972 Leonid Ivanovich Plyushch, who has been a member of the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights since its formation, was arrested in Kiev. The search which culminated in his arrest was carried out by KGB officers under the command of Lt.-Col. Tolkach . . .

". . . L. Plyushch was born in 1939. At the beginning of the war he lost his father, who was killed at the front. After contracting osseous tuberculosis he was bed-ridden for five years, and will be an invalid for the rest of his life. He graduated from secondary school with distinction and then entered Odessa University to study physics and mathematics. For a year he worked as a village teacher. In 1962 he completed his education at the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty of Kiev University. Until 1968 he was employed at the Cybernetics Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Plyushch has published three works on his speciality (bio- and psychocybernetics).

"For signing a collective letter in defence of Galanskov and Ginzburg he was dismissed. Academician Glushkov, the Director of the Institute, said at the time of Plyushch: 'He is behaving like Dubcek!'

"In search of a livelihood Plyushch, the father of two children, applied to more than twenty enterprises and

institutions of various sorts and was ready to accept practically any work, but everywhere he was turned away.

"The Employment Commission attached to the Executive Committee assigned Plyushch to the post of boilerman in a military establishment, but there too he was rejected on the grounds that he was an invalid. Eventually he found a job as a book-binder, but was dismissed for signing an Appeal to the UN as a member of the Action Group. He remained without work until the day of his arrest.

"The investigation of his case is veiled in secrecy. One of the people who were summoned as witnesses in the case was told by the investigator: 'Plyushch is just as crazy as Grigorenko'.

"We declare that the arrest of Plyushch is a continuation of the lawless persecution of the Action Group. His public activities in the cause of the defence of human rights in our country have never involved anything criminal.

"FREEDOM FOR LEONID PLYUSHCH!"

* * *

Among those arrested in Lvov were: Vyacheslav Chornovil, who has served a three-year sentence under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code); Iryna Stasiv, a poetess [aged 31, wife of the poet Ihor Kalynets]; Ivan Hel, who has previously served a sentence under article 62 of the Ukrainian Code (equivalent to article 70); Mykhaylo Osadchy, formerly an official of the Lvov Regional Committee of the Komsomol, who has also served a term of imprisonment under article 62 of the Ukrainian Code. (The *Chronicle* has no information on the other persons arrested.)

Many of those arrested are well-known for their statements in defence of human rights and of the national culture.[18]

[18. See the writings and photographs of many of them, and information about them, in: Reddaway, Chap. 14; V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*; M. Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*; the quarterly journal *The Ukrainian Review*, London; the booklet *The January 1972 Arrests in the Ukraine*, Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 1294, Woodhaven Sta., Woodhaven, N.Y. 11421, U.S.A.; and *Ukrainsky visnyk* (*Ukrainian Herald*) Nos. 1-4, published jointly, as books, by P.I.U.F. (3, rue du Sabot, Paris 6) and Smoloskyp (P.O. Box 6066, Patterson Sta., Baltimore, Md. 21231, U.S.A.)]

On 11 February the newspaper *Evening Kiev* published an article claiming that the Belgian subject Jaroslav Dobosch [aged 24], who had been arrested by the KGB [on 4 January], had come to the USSR to carry out an assignment for the foreign anti-Soviet centre of the Bandera-ites[19] of the OUN [Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists], and that in connection with his case criminal proceedings had been started against I. O. Svitlichny, V. M. Chornovil, Ye. O. Sverstyuk and others.[20]

In February further searches were carried out, at the homes of Z. Antonyuk, I. Dzyuba, Zynoviya Franko (grand-daughter of [the writer] Ivan Franko), N. Svitlychna, I. Svitlychny and Ye. Sverstyuk.[21]

In the middle of February, after several days' detention and interrogation, Zynoviya Franko was released. On 2 March Z. Franko published an open letter to the editors of the [Kiev] newspaper *Radyanska Ukraina*,[22] from which the following excerpts are taken:

"The foreign press and radio stations have recently been strenuously fanning the flames of the subject—which they themselves invented—of the persecution in the Soviet Ukraine of cultural figures. But recent events (I have in mind the arrest of the Belgian subject J. Dobosch) have opened my eyes . . . My guilt resulted from an incorrect and distorted understanding of the shortcomings and difficulties of our life . . . Through my friends and relations

[19. Stepan Bandera (1909-59) was a Ukrainian nationalist leader, assassinated by the KGB in Munich.]

[20. On 2 June Dobosch gave a press-conference in Kiev, attended only by Soviet journalists. On 3 June all the Ukrainian papers carried an identical account of it (by TASS), which was summarized in the western press on 8 June. Dobosch took the same line as *Evening Kiev* of 11 February and incriminated Svitlychny, Franko, Seleznenko, Anna Kocurova and Stefaniya Hulyk. A few hours later he was expelled from the U.S.S.R. and flown out.]

[21. Later, on 18 April, Dzyuba, who suffers from tuberculosis, was arrested, as was Svitlychna (Svitlychny's sister) on 19 May.]

[22. Later she made a broadcast of similar content in Ukrainian on Kiev Radio. Both this and her open letter were published in *Visti z Ukrainy* (*News from the Ukraine*), a weekly published in Kiev for circulation almost exclusively to Ukrainians living abroad, on 4 May and 9 March respectively.]

abroad I established contact with wealthy foreigners of Ukrainian descent who visited the Ukraine as tourists. I gave certain of them such information of a political nature as I had . . . In my political blindness I failed to notice that I had begun to hand over information to disguised representatives of hostile foreign nationalist centres, which are connected with the intelligence services of the imperialist powers. Such a man was Jaroslav Dobosch, who was caught red-handed . . . I fully realise my guilt and utterly condemn all my actions which have caused harm to my fatherland . . . I understand everything now. May they also understand who hold dear the Soviet motherland, who have not lost the sense of pride of Soviet man and who wish no place in the camp of internal emigrés."

The Hunger Strike of Fainberg and Borisov

In the Leningrad psychiatric prison-hospital the plight of Victor Fainberg and Vladimir Borisov, who declared a second hunger strike on 26 December 1971 (see *Chronicle* No. 23), has sharply deteriorated. On 3 January Fainberg began to be given injections of aminazin [like chlorpromazine]; he attempted to commit suicide, whereupon an observation post was set up in his cell and manned round the clock. Despite forcible feeding he lost twelve kilograms in weight, and since he in any case suffers from thyrotoxicosis this has seriously aggravated his state of health. He is not receiving the medical attention he needs. Books and writing requisites have been taken away from him, and he is not allowed to be visited by his relatives or to correspond with them. Fainberg and Borisov have been totally isolated from each other. Borisov too has begun to be given injections of aminazin, and he has also been deprived of books, visits and correspondence. After the appeal to world public opinion signed by Fainberg and Borisov [see *Chronicle* 19] had reached the West, the regime for all the patients in the hospital took a turn for the worse.

On 14 January relatives of Fainberg and Borisov sent a telegram to Petrovsky, USSR Minister of Health, and Shchelokov, Minister of Internal Affairs. They received no reply.

On 21 January the governor of the prison saw Fainberg's relatives for ten minutes. He admitted that a hunger strike was taking place (this was the first official admission of the fact), but said that Fainberg was in good health and that his weight had increased by 150 grams. However, he refused them permission to visit or correspond with Fainberg.

The hunger strike of Fainberg and Borisov in the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital was supported by Sergei Turtov.

On 21 February 1972 V. Fainberg and V. Borisov were transferred to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow for examination. There they continued their hunger strike. On 28 February relatives of Fainberg and Borisov were allowed to visit them. By this time Fainberg's state of health was giving serious cause for alarm. He had lost nineteen kilograms.

On 29 February Fainberg and Borisov ended their hunger strike. It had lasted two months and two days.

Political Prisoners in the Mordovian Camps

Ukrainians:[23] Petro Samofil—his 25-year sentence ends on 21 February 1972. He has passed through the Pechora, Vorkuta and Taishet camps and the strict-regime camp in Spasskoye (Kazakhstan). He is completing his sentence in Mordovia.

Yevhen Pryshlyak—serving a 25-year term.

Mykhaylo Lutsyk—he was arrested by the Germans in 1939 and spent two years and three months in prison. Later he was arrested by the KGB in 1944 and spent the years until 1956 in prison, when he was legally exculpated. In 1957 he was arrested again and given a fifteen-year sentence.

Members of the UPA (Ukrainian Partisan Army) [in fact: UIA (Ukrainian Insurrectionist Army)]: Mykola Habarak, Oleksa Kyselek, Ivan Ilchuk, Vasyl Zhovtovolovsky (sentenced to twenty years), Vasyl Yakubyak, Dmytro Basarab, Dmytro Zalesky (sentences unknown).

[23. On Pryshlyak (born 1913), Lutsyk and Ilchuk (b. 1925) see also M. Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, and the *Ukrainian Herald* No. 4.]

Nikolai Bondar—sentenced to seven years. As a protest against his sentence he carried out a 34-day hunger strike at the end of 1971 [see *Chronicle* 23].

Lithuanians: Petras Paulaitis[24]—he has repeatedly refused to request a pardon.

Jonas Simokaitis[25]—during his trial and the long period spent in transit prisons he has developed spots on the lungs. He is in camp No. 10 (special regime).

Balis Gajauskas—his 25-year sentence ends in May 1973. He has passed through the Balkhash, Dzhezkazgan and Mordovian camps (in Mordovia: camps No. 7, 11 and 17 [see Reddaway, p. 210]) and has also been in Vladimir prison. While in the camps he has learnt more than ten languages.

Jonas Matuzevicius and Vitas Sidoris—serving 25-year sentences.

Estonian: Willi Saarte, born 1942, sentenced for attempting to form an Estonian party with the aim of achieving the independence of Estonia. On 24 November 1970 he was sentenced to four-and-a-half years of strict-regime camps. He is in camp No. 17.

[*Uniate*]: Father Roman Bakhtalovsky[26] was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and five years' exile for anti-Soviet propaganda: manuscripts of sermons for believers were discovered in his possession. On 13 December 1968, his birthday, officials of the KGB burst into his home in Kolomiya [in the Ukrainian region of Ivano-Frankovsk] and carried out a search, in the course of which they confiscated a carefully preserved fragment of the cross of Christ. On completing his sentence, at the age of 70, he was sent into exile.

[*Jews*]: The plight of Jewish prisoners convicted at the recent "Zionist" trials of 1970-71 (see *Chronicle* Nos. 17, 20) in Dubrovlag camp No. 19 has acutely deteriorated, following the visit on 24 November of Major Sorokin of the Political Department. Sorokin called on the prisoners to struggle against "Zionist sects". Victor Boguslavsky was put in the punishment cells on a charge of "sectarianism" for associating normally with other Jews. Sorokin's prompting provoked a lively response from those prisoners who were formerly policemen or torturers under the German occupation. On 28 November prisoners Goldfeld and Yagman sent the Procurator-General a statement on the persecution of Jews and the arbitrary behaviour of the camp administration.

In camp No. 3 the prisoners are persecuted for studying Hebrew. Mogilyover was summoned by Capt. Pichugin, commander of the operations group, and told in an insulting manner that Jews must stop studying Hebrew, since they were Russian Jews.

The serious plight of Silva Zalmanson and the camp administration's arbitrary treatment of Izrail Zalmanson, who has been deprived of visits, are the subjects of a statement by their brother, S. Zalmanson, addressed to Podgorny.[27]

Religious Persecution in Lithuania

The *Chronicle* is in possession of the complete text of the final address of the priest Juozas Zdebskis at his trial on 11 November 1971 (see *Chronicle* Nos. 22 & 23), which the Judge did not allow him to deliver.

On 30 November 1971 134 priests from the Panevezys diocese appealed to A. N. Kosygin and the Lithuanian Council of Ministers to return the bishop of Panevezys, J. Steponavicius, from exile.

[24. See his portrait, drawn by Yury Ivanov in Mordovia's special-regime camp, No. 10, in *Possev* 2, 1971, p. 5. Paulaitis (b. 1904) studied in Rome, gained a doctorate, was active in the underground, first against the Nazis (1940-44), then against the Soviets (1944-46. Sentenced to 25 years, he was amnestied in 1956, but then sent back to complete his term in 1957 for nationalist activity among the students of the Polytechnic Institute in Kaunas. But when it was found that the students had intended to refound the "Union of Fighters for Freedom in Lithuania", seven of them got sentences of up to ten years and Paulaitis one of 25, soon commuted to 15. This term will expire on 12 April 1973. [See *Possev* 7, 1972, p.4.]

[25. Perhaps a mis-print for Vitautas Simokaitis (see *Chronicles* 17-19)?]

[26. See more details in *Ukrainian Herald* No. 1, *Ukrainsky Visnyk* Vyp. I-II, P.I.U.F.—Smoloskyp (see note 18), pp. 60, 62, and the *samizdat* "Register", prisoner 93, in *Possev*: *9-y spets. vypusk*, Oct. 1971, p. 51, where his first names are given, probably correctly, as Daniil Romanovich.]

[27. See text, dated 22 November 1971, in *News Bulletin on Soviet Jewry*, No. 207. For the negative reply see *Jews in the USSR—Latest Information*, London, No. 5, 11 February.]

On 9 December 1971, Lignubaris, a priest from the town of Akmene, visited a patient in Akmene hospital who was seriously ill. When the head doctor noticed the priest he abused him and drove him out of the hospital. On 28 December the priest Lignubaris was summoned by the Executive Committee of the District Soviet and fined 50 roubles by administrative order for visiting the man in hospital.

In December 1971 1,344 Catholics in the Raseiniai District appealed to N. V. Podgorny to release the priest Prosperas Bubnys, who was sentenced on 12 November to one year's imprisonment for the religious instruction of children (see *Chronicle* 23). The sentence was confirmed by the Lithuanian Supreme Court on 9 December.

On 13 January 1972 the People's Court in the town of Akmene sentenced Kleona Biciuciaite (aged over 60, residing in the town of Zagare) to one year's imprisonment for preparing children for confirmation. Biciuciaite was taken into custody in the court room.

* * *

In January 1972 17,054 Lithuanian Catholics addressed a memorandum to L. I. Brezhnev. Listing instances of the infringement of the rights of believers (the exile of Bishops J. Steponavicius and V. Sladkevicius, the conviction of the priests J. Zdebskis and P. Bubnys, the dismissal of the teacher O. Briliene, who is a believer, by the Vilkaviskis District Education Department, the destruction of churches in the parishes of Batakai, Gaure, Sangruda and elsewhere), the authors of the memorandum request the Soviet government to protect their freedom of conscience, which is guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR: "We are not satisfied by the fine words we read in the press and hear on the radio, and we therefore expect the government to take such measures as will help us, as Catholics, to feel that we enjoy the same rights as all Soviet citizens".

In an appendix to the memorandum the representatives of the Catholics of Lithuania point out that "only an insignificant fraction of the believers of Lithuania have affixed their signatures to the memorandum, since the

organs of the police and the KGB took a whole series of measures to prevent the collection of signatures. Several people taking part in the collection of signatures were detained in the towns of Kapsukas, Sakiai, Islauza and Kapciamiestis. One of them was even taken to the police station in handcuffs. The lists of signatures found in their possession were confiscated . . . If in future the state bodies persist in the attiude towards complaints by the believers of Lithuania which they have taken until now, we shall be compelled to appeal to international authorities: to the Pope, the head of our church, or to the United Nations Organisation as an authoritative body for the defence of human rights . . ."

In February 1972 representatives of the Catholics of Lithuania appealed to UN Secretary General K. Waldheim. The authors of the appeal inform Mr. Waldheim of their fruitless appeals of 1971 to Soviet bodies to defend their rights, and ask him to forward their memorandum to L. I. Brezhnev.[28]

Document of the World Federation for Mental Health

This resolution was passed at a meeting of the Executive Board of the World Federation for Mental Health.[29]

Hong Kong, 25 November 1971

There are many definitions of mental health but one

[28. The appeals to Brezhnev and Waldheim received considerable publicity, e.g. in agency dispatches from Moscow of 27 March and in *Le Monde*, Paris, 29 March. The texts have appeared in full in Italian in *Russia Cristiana*, via Martinengo 16, 20139 Milan, No. 123, pp. 64-66. On 30 April the Lithuanian Bishops were forced by the authorities to issue a circular letter criticizing "irresponsible people" who collected signatures on unspecified "irresponsible documents." See *Possev* 7, 1972, p.2.]

[29. The original wording (accurately translated by the *Chronicle*) is given here. It was the WFMH to which Mrs. Z. M. Grigorenko appealed in February 1971, asking for its urgent intercession to save the life of her husband. See *Chronicle* 18, note 1. The appeal has now been published in full in English in the *International Socialist Review*, New York, June 1972. The WFMH's address is: c/o Dept. of Psychiatry, University of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica.]

thing they all have in common is the recognition of each man's freedom of opinion which is based on freedom of conscience—that is, his right to hold, and to affirm his personal moral values. Freedom of opinion has been attained only relatively recently in some countries of the world; in others, it still has to be asserted, and in all countries it has to be vigilantly defended because deprivation of this freedom is both an affront to human dignity and a severe form of mental cruelty. Respect for freedom of opinion has been incorporated in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In recent years, there have been numerous public allegations concerning the current mis-use of psychiatric diagnoses, psychiatric "treatment" and enforced confinement in psychiatric institutions of persons whose only "symptoms" have been the avowal of opinions disapproved by their society. These accusations have been directed in particular—though not exclusively—against the alleged incarceration of political dissenters in prison mental hospitals in the U.S.S.R.

The World Federation for Mental Health resolutely opposes any such abuse of psychiatric procedures and calls on its Member Associations throughout the world promptly to investigate all such allegations, and to defend the individual's freedom of opinion where it appears to be threatened. The Federation also calls on the mental health professionals and the Governments of countries where there are no voluntary Mental Health Associations to investigate all charges of the mis-use of psychiatric procedures for political ends, and to demonstrate convincingly to the world that such practices are not condoned in principle nor allowed to continue where they are shown to have occurred.

The Jewish Movement to Leave for Israel

On 6 February fourteen Jews addressed a letter to President Nixon in which they asked him, bearing in mind his impending visit to Moscow, to use his good offices to obtain permission to emigrate to Israel for

Esther Markish, the 60-year-old widow of the well-known poet Perets Markish, who was shot in 1952.[30]

* * *

A reference issued by the Central Scientific Research Institute for the Cotton Industry to Roman Rutman for submission to OVIR [Department of Visas and Registrations] contained the following statement: "The administration, party committee and trade-union committee of the institute object to Rutman's emigration to Israel, since he is . . . a highly-qualified specialist." After R. Rutman and his family had been refused permission to emigrate by OVIR, with the remark: "You must understand—after all, we don't detain refuse collectors", Rutman ceased work and declared a strike beginning on 21 February, demanding to be allowed to leave for Israel with his family. A few days later he was dismissed.[31]

* * *

At a meeting of the Soviet Executive Committee of the Frunze District in Moscow, Vladimir Slepak, in the presence of the District Procurator, was accused of being a parasite.[32] Slepak is a highly-qualified engineer with

[30. See text in *News Bulletin on Soviet Jewry* (*NBSJ*—see Bibliography in *Chronicle* 22-23), No. 212, which also prints Mrs. Markish's letter to Golda Meir of 6 February. Among the many letters on behalf of Mrs. Markish and her son David, see those in *The Times* (23 June, from 12 eminent writers, including Joseph Brodsky) and the *Daily Telegraph* (4 January, from three journalists). See also accounts in the British press of the hunger-strike by Mrs. David Markish outside the Soviet embassy in London on 11-13 June.]

[31. See Rutman's open letter on this whole episode in *NBSJ* No. 213. Rutman has also signed many Jewish appeals, notably one from nine Moscow scientists to the international scientific community calling for help in emigrating. See extracts in a Reuter dispatch of 12 January.]

[32. This occurred on 23 February and provoked strong protests in the USSR and abroad. On the whole affair see *NBSJ* Nos. 211-214. Later, on 12 May, a Jewish prayer-book signed by 200 British M.P.s was sent to Moscow by air-freight as a confirmation present for Slepak's son Leonid, but confiscated by the Soviet customs. Then the Slepaks' telephone was cut off. In Parliament protests were requested

more than twenty years' service, and the former head of a laboratory. Last September he was forced to leave his job at a scientific research institute as a result of persecution. The cause of the persecution was Slepak's wish to emigrate to Israel. At present he is making a living by giving lessons and consultations, of which the financial authorities have been notified and which Soviet law regards as work of social value.

* * *

Political prisoner G. Z. Shur has written a letter to the USSR Supreme Soviet[33] in which he sheds light on certain details of the Kishinyov trial of the nine (June 1971; see *Chronicle* No. 20). The "Zionist, nationalistic books" *Ariel* and *This is Israel*, which were confiscated from Shur during a search, were judged to be material evidence of his guilt, since they "characterised him as a member of an anti-Soviet organisation". *Ariel* is a survey of culture and the arts, published in Israel in 1965 in Russian, and sent to the USSR by post. The content of the collection is suggested by the titles of the articles which it comprises: "Shakespeare on the Israeli stage", "Israeli methods of investigating cancerous diseases", "Mstislav Rostropovich on tour in Israel" and so forth. *This is Israel* is an advertising brochure published in England by a travel agency, containing mainly illustrations—views of historical monuments and scenery in Israel. Charges against the accused at the Kishinyov trial also mentioned such books as *The Maccabees are My Brothers* by H[oward] Fast (on the national-liberation uprising of the Jews against the Graeco-

from the British government by the secretary of the All-Party Commons Committee for the Release of Soviet Jewry, the Labour M.P. Greville Janner, especially concerning the Soviet breach of the International Telecommunication Convention. He received sympathetic but cautious replies from government spokesmen. See *The Times*, 15 and 16 May, and 8 June.]

[33. This letter, dated 25 Oct. 1971, has reached the West but, it appears, not yet been published, perhaps because it is 3,500 words long. In January Shur suffered severely, in Camp 17.A, in Mordovia, from chest pains and an ulcer. When the authorities refused to hospitalize him a hunger-strike involving 11 Jewish prisoners was staged from 7-18 February. See *NBSJ* No. 212.]

Persian hegemony in the second century B.C.), *Text-book of Jewish History for Schools and Private Study* by S. M. Dubnov (published in Russian in Petrograd, 1918), *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (a pre-revolutionary publication in Russian) and so on.

A *Collection of Prayers, Rituals and Laws of the Jewish People* (a pre-revolutionary publication in Modern Hebrew and Russian) which had been confiscated during the search, was subsequently "destroyed by burning" by officials of the KGB, since it "had no bearing on the case and its content was reactionary" (the certificate of burning is quoted in full in Shur's letter).

Materials from newspaper articles

On 4 February *Kommunist*, the Saratov regional newspaper, published an article by V. Proletkin entitled "In the pillory". The article mentions twenty persons by name. Four of them are merely said to have visited a "black market" in books. Ten of them are said to have duplicated and circulated pornography (eight of them "have been sentenced by the Regional Court to various terms of imprisonment"). The remaining six—V. Strelnikov, a section-head at a toy factory, B. Yampolsky, an artist attached to a cinema, Yu. Boldyrev, a bibliographer at the regional children's library, A. Kattse and M. Belokrys, both musicians, and V. Nulman, a teacher[34]—"tune in to the broadcasts of certain foreign radio stations and even make tape-recordings of them. V. Strelnikov, for example, kept a note-book in which he painstakingly entered the transmission schedules of the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and the BBC. They searched frantically for 'true' works of literature by 'real' Russian writers, turncoats like A. Solzhenitsyn and A. Kuznetsov . . . . To replenish their supplies the '*samizdat* publishers' try to establish contacts in other towns . . . and return with

[34. *NBSJ* No. 213, 24 Feb.–12 March, reports that Vladimir Nulman, aged 30, is a theoretical physicist who left Saratov and took a teaching job at Chernovitsy in the Ukraine (home address: ul. Kotovskogo 5, kv. 2). In September 1971 he was sacked for requesting a reference, and on 30 November his home was searched. In January he applied to leave for Israel with his family.]

copies of the original works, which have been published abroad. Pristine sheets of paper are placed in typewriters without delay . . . they go without sleep, feverishly retyping the manuscripts of works of literature which cast aspersions on the Soviet way of life. . . . One copy for their secret cache, the rest—for circulation. . . .

". . . It is Strelnikov who gives them away. And in the most shameful way: he got blind drunk and lost his briefcase containing anti-Soviet literature. The '*samizdat* publishers' got the wind up. Only Strelnikov remained calm, assuring them fervently that the briefcase would turn up. Aware of his weakness for hard drink, he had left in it a note which would be their salvation: 'The finder is requested to return this briefcase to . . .' And the briefcase was returned to him . . . by the police . . .

"Scared of being called to account, the '*samizdat* publishers' voluntarily handed over their wares to the appropriate authorities. Dozens of anti-Soviet documents . . . were confiscated from their secret cache.

"And that, probably, is all there is to tell about the customers of the now defunct 'do-it-yourself' book market."

* * *

On 17 January *Izvestia* published an article by V. Rogozin and S. Konyushin entitled "The masquerade that failed" (the story of a journey by two American congressmen). The article tells how [James] Scheuer and [Alphonzo] Bell, both American congressmen, "waited for a certain Chalidze, who was to give them slanderous information about Soviet reality, and eventually met him in the foyer of the 'Intourist' hotel".[35]

The *Chronicle* has learned that the congressmen in question, together with their wives, visited Chalidze, who during a preliminary telephone conversation agreed to meet them in the foyer of the 'Intourist' hotel and take them to his home. At the end of their discussion the

[35. The two men were later expelled from the USSR on 12 January, as reported in the world press the next day. See their statements about the reasons in a UPI dispatch of 16 January from Tel-Aviv and a *Washington Post* dispatch of 17 January from London.]

congressmen suggested that Chalidze should avail himself of the opportunity which had arisen, and send letters to friends or documents to foreign legal associations. V. Chalidze declined this suggestion.

As for the comic cops-and-robbers episode about a disguise (see the article), it may be noted that the congressmen were wearing identical white sheep-skin coats, and that the changing of coats was thus apparently due simply to the fact that they had mixed them up.

Extra-judicial Persecution

Moscow. A. Galich, who had previously been expelled from the Union of Soviet Writers (see *Chronicle* No. 23) has also been expelled from the Literary Fund [Litfond] and the Union of Soviet Cinematographers.[36]

* * *

At the end of January 1972 the writer Vladimir Maksimov was summoned by the secretary of the Moscow section of the Writers' Union V. Ilin (a former secret policeman who performs administrative functions in the Union), who tried to persuade him to write a letter of repudiation and penitence to the *Literary Gazette* (like those written on various occasions by G. Serebryakova, A. Tvardovsky, V. Voinovich and V. Shalamov on similar matters) in connection with the publication abroad of his novel *The Seven Days of Creation*. V. Maksimov said that all his thoughts were contained in the novel itself, a manuscript of which was in the possession of the Writers' Union. A few days later Maksimov was called before a medical commission, where psychiatric experts reclassified him as a class 3 invalid (previously he was in class 2). (The report broadcast by Radio Liberty,[37] according to which Maksimov was threatened with being put on trial,

[36. See also *The Times*, 6 March, the *New York Times*, 12 February, where the letter from four of his friends (*Chronicle* 23, p. 93) is translated in full, and *Grani*, Frankfurt, No. 83, 1972, where his photograph and latest poems appear.]

[37. Based on a report in the *Daily Telegraph* -see *Chronicle* 23, note 73.)]

does not correspond to the facts.) Maksimov's latest work is the novel *Quarantine*.[38]

* * *

Kiev. A meeting of the Presidium of the Union of Writers of the Ukraine was held on 2 March 1972. It considered the personal case of I. Dzyuba. Those taking part in the discussion were M. Bazhan, S. Bandura, P. Voronko, L. Dmytrenko, P. Zahrebalny, Yu. Zbanatsky, D. Pavlychko, N. Rybak, V. Kozachenko, I. Le, L. Novychenko and V. Sobko.

On 3 March 1972 *Literaturnaya Ukraina* reported that I. Dzyuba had been expelled from membership of the Ukrainian Union of Writers "for the gross violation of the principles and requirements of the Constitution of the Union of Writers, and for the preparation and circulation of material of an anti-Soviet, anti-communist nature, which expressed nationalistic views and cast libellous aspersions on the Soviet system and on the nationalities policy of the party and the Soviet government." This resolution was passed unanimously by the Presidium.

It is known that the subject under discussion at the meeting of the Presidium was Dzyuba's book *Internationalism or Russification?*, which he wrote in 1965. Two years ago there was a move to expel him from the Writers' Union for this book (see *Chronicle* No. 11), but he was not actually expelled;[39] it can therefore be deduced that his expulsion on 2 March was connected with recent events: the arrests in the Ukraine and the search of Dzyuba's home (see the present issue of the *Chronicle*).

At the end of January, during a second search of I. M. Dzyuba's home, the complete works of V. I. Lenin, with notes in the margins and phrases underlined, were confiscated.

* * *

Moscow. On 4 February 1972 A. T. Tsvetkov, editor-in-chief of the physics and mathematics department of the Nauka publishing-house, and his deputy V. B. Orlov (who is also deputy secretary of the party bureau of the department), sent for Yu. A. Shikhanovich and asked him a number of questions: "Is it true that your home has been searched?", "What did they find?", "What are your beliefs?". When Shikhanovich refused to answer this last question, he was told that his name would be removed from the title page of the book *The Mathematics of Metamathematics* by Rasyovaya and Sikorsky, which is due to be published this year and which had been edited by Shikhanovich; and that in future the department would prefer not to work with him at all.

Moscow. On 14 February 1972 the physics and mathematics section of the Academic Board of the All-Union Institute for Scientific and Technical Information [VINITI], on the recommendation of the editorial board of the research journal *Physics*, did not re-elect A. Tverdokhlebov for a further term as a junior research officer: there were four votes in favour, seven against, and three spoiled papers. The only reason for this action was Tverdokhlebov's public activities (he is a member of the Committee for Human Rights); no adverse comments were made about his work.

* * *

Over a period of several months police officers from Moscow's 24th precinct repeatedly burst into the flat of Adel Osipova (*née* Naidenovich), wife of Vladimir Osipov, the editor of the [*samizdat*] journal *Veche*, and summoned her to the police station, threatening to arrest her for "parasitism". On one occasion her identity card was actually taken away for three weeks.

On 1 November two policemen and a man in plain-clothes, while standing beside the bed of A. Osipova's semi-paralysed mother, began threatening to arrest A. Osipova and her husband for producing the journal *Veche*, as a result of which the mother suffered a number of strokes and eventually died.

[38. On 31 May the Italian press, e.g. *Il Messagero*, reported on a press-conference given in Rome by Yury Glazov, who called on world public opinion to protest at the persecution of Maksimov. He also reported that 33 European writers and cultural figures, including Günter Grass, F. Fellini, Iris Murdoch and I. Silone, had sent a telegram to Brezhnev in Maksimov's defence. See also the *Daily Telegraph*, 13 June, and *Russkaya mysl*, 15 June.]

[39. The second English edition (London, 1970) has a long postscript on this episode.]

On 10 January A. Osipova sent a letter of protest to Andropov, the Chairman of the KGB. Part of the letter reads: ". . . Fewer social evils are eliminated by your successes in the struggle against them than are caused by the immorality of driving a woman out of her home to work . . .".[40]

* * *

On 10 February T. S. Khodorovich (see *Chronicle* No. 19 [and this issue]), junior research officer at the All-Union Research Institute for Electromechanics, applied to be released from her post on personal grounds. A few days later she asked for this application to be returned to her. In reply she was told by A. A. Shuldov, head of the personnel department: ". . . I know that you are a good worker. But we don't want anybody who supports anti-Sovietists working in our collective. So we would have got rid of you before long in any case. That's why we're not giving you your application back. We are, incidentally, within our rights in doing this. . . . Of course, if you were to do your work and not engage in any other activity, it might be hoped that the NTS (Scientific and Technical Council—*eds.*) would consider the possibility of your continued membership of our organisation. . . ." Later, when T. S. Khodorovich was no longer present, A. A. Shuldov said: ". . . She submitted her application so as to pursue more strongly her shady affairs, and now the NTS will subsidise her. . . ."[41]

News in Brief

Sverdlovsk. Between 10 and 18 November 1971 the Sverdlovsk Regional Court, with E. A. Solomentsev presiding, heard the case of a group of persons arrested in March 1971 and indicted under articles 70 and 72 of the Russian Criminal Code (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and the creation of an anti-Soviet organisation). The investigation was carried out in Sverdlovsk and a number of other cities (including Krasnoyarsk, Khabarovsk and Gorky) by a team of investigators led by Lt.-Col. P. T. Smolikov, Senior Investigator for especially important cases, of the Sverdlovsk Region KGB. Seven of the accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment (from two to five years) in strict-regime corrective-labour camps. One was judged by the court to be of unsound mind and sent for compulsory treatment. His examination in the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry (which took place over a period of about two months in the department of D. R. Lunts, and which diagnosed schizophrenia and persecution mania) was preceded by a one-month in-patient examination in the Sverdlovsk Region forensic-psychiatric unit, which found the subject to be of sound mind and answerable for the actions on which he had been indicted.

The names of the accused, the details of the indictment and the exact conditions under which the trial was held are unknown.

* * *

Moscow. From 12 to 15 January the Moscow Regional Court (Judge Shevtsov presiding) considered the case of V. N. Nikitenkov (see *Chronicle* No. 19 [and 20]), who had been indicted under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code (for letters to the UN Secretary-General and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet). Earlier a diagnostic commission at the Serbsky Institute had found Nikitenkov to be suffering from "mild schizophrenia" and recommended treatment in a hospital of ordinary type. Defence counsel Kamenetsky, while disputing the charge under article 70, raised no objection to the recommendation of the diagnostic commission. The Procurator demanded compulsory treatment in a psychiatric hospital of special type. The verdict of the court satisfied the Procurator's demand. At present V. N. Nikitenkov is in the Kazan special psychiatric hospital.

* * *

[40. See the full text in *Russkaya mysl*, Paris, 11 May 1972.]
[41. A provocative play on the Russian name of the People's Labour Alliance, NTS. The NTS is one of the most vigorous anti-Soviet groups in the West, and effectively controls the publications *Possev* and *Grani*.]

In December 1971 Kim Saifullovich Davletov, senior research officer in the department of dialectical materialism at the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and a member of the Institute's party committee, was arrested. Davletov was engaged in a study of the aesthetics of folk-lore. He had previously worked at the Institute of World Literature, and has been a Master of Philological Science since 1962.

* * *

Ilya Glezer [aged 41], Master of Biological Science, the author of a book on the morphology of the brain [*The Brain in Graphs and Numbers*] which has been published in the USSR, the USA and East Germany, and a visiting lecturer at Moscow University, was arrested on 7 February 1972. Recently he has been unable to find a permanent job and has been forced to work as a consultant. At present Glezer is in Lefortovo prison while his case is under investigation.[42] In the search warrant I. Glezer is accused of writing letters to the government of the USSR and of circulating them. During the search a letter to Podgorny was confiscated, as were some notes which, judging by the entries in the record of the search, deal with the Jewish question.

A month before his arrest Ilya Glezer submitted to OVIR his documents for emigration to Israel.

* * *

On 8 September 1962 Anatoly Radygin[43] was arrested while attempting to cross the border with Turkey by sea, and was later sentenced to ten years under articles 64 (betrayal of the fatherland) and 70 of the Russian Criminal Code.

A. V. Radygin was born in Leningrad in 1934 of a Jewish mother and a Russian father. He is a graduate of the Naval Academy. Within a brief period of time he

[42. In a dispatch of 9 March Reuter reported that 72 Soviet Jews had appealed to the KGB for his release.]

[43. Not Rodygin, as written in earlier *Chronicles* (see Reddaway, pp. 218, 220). See also his poems written in Vladimir prison, *Vestnik RSKhD* No. 101-102, 1971, pp. 231-8.]

served and worked on the Black Sea, in the North and in the [Soviet] Far East. At an early age he began to write poetry, and his work was first published in 1954. Later his verses began to appear regularly on the pages of Leningrad collections, anthologies and newspapers. In 1962 a collection of verses by Radygin, *The Salt of the Ocean*, was published by Sovetsky Pisatel.

Since autumn 1969 Radygin has been held in Vladimir prison (Vladimir-20, *uchrezhdeniye* OD-1/st-2)—"for his predilection for attempting to escape".

In autumn 1971 Radygin took the decision to apply for permission to emigrate to Israel after his release on 8 September 1972. With this aim in mind he assumed his mother's nationality and surname, but he was told by the administration of Vladimir prison that this (the change of name) was impossible. Not even a three-week hunger strike, which Radygin held in October 1971, achieved any result.

* * *

On 5 December 1971 the traditional "one minute's silence" was held in Pushkin Square in Moscow: about 40 or 50 people stood for one minute, silent and bareheaded, around the Pushkin memorial.[44] Because this demonstration has become a tradition (it has taken place each year since 1965), the authorities were also prepared for it; by six o'clock there were far more officials of the KGB and MVD (among them three generals), policemen and vigilantes in the square than demonstrators. About a quarter of an hour before the "minute", the guardians of law and order set about pushing the public away from the memorial. During the "minute" itself three men—Boris Efimov, Yury Shtein (a member of the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights) and Ivan Rudakov[45]—were seized and taken away to Moscow vigilante headquarters in Sovetskaya Square. After brief "interviews" they were released; a KGB official who conducted one of the interviews said: "Next year there will be no demon-

[44. See *Chronicle* 23, note 68.]

[45. On Efimov and Rudakov see Reddaway, *op. cit.* In early 1972 Efimov and Shtein emigrated from the USSR.]

stration on 5 December." Among those who took part in the "one minute's silence" was A. D. Sakharov. P. Yakir was detained by the police on his way to Pushkin Square and released from the police station about two hours later.

The *Chronicle* apologises for the fact that this report was not included in the last issue.

* * *

At the beginning of March fifteen prisoners in a camp of ordinary type (Obukhovo, OS[46]-20/6, Leningradskaya oblast) sewed up their mouths in protest against the conditions of their confinement in the camp. Six of them, without psychiatric examination or trial, were immediately transferred to the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital, while the remainder were locked up in the punishment cells. After this incident the camp commandant was relieved of his post.

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In October 1971 250 prisoners in a camp near Simferopol [Crimea] held a hunger strike. Their reasons are unknown.

* * *

In December 1971 Larissa Iosifovna Bogoraz-Brukhman [wife of Yuly Daniel], who was sentenced for taking part in the Red Square demonstration of 25 August 1968 (see *Chronicle* No. 4), returned to Moscow on completing her sentence (exile).[47]

* * *

On 22 January Alexander Ginzburg was released from Vladimir prison after serving a five-year sentence (including one-and-a-half years in Vladimir prison). He is now

[46. Probably a mis-print, as the standard address code for Leningrad Region is US-20.]

[47. See the important open letters criticizing Soviet penal labour legislation which she wrote there, *Possev: 9-i spets. vypusk*, October 1971, pp. 53-59.]

living in the town of Tarusa in the Kaluga Region [50 m. S of Moscow].

* * *

At the beginning of February Victor Balashov was released from camp No. 10 in Mordovia after serving ten years under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code.

* * *

On 22 February Natalya Gorbanevskaya (for her trial see *Chronicle* No. 15) was released after spending more than two years in prison and in the Kazan special psychiatric hospital.[48]

* * *

In the middle of February the Moscow City Court ended the compulsory treatment of Valeria Novodvorskaya (see *Chronicle* No. 23). She was back home at the end of February.

* * *

On 17 February the period during which Anatoly Marchenko was under police supervision came to an end.

* * *

At the beginning of January Nadezhda Emelkina (see *Chronicle* Nos. 20, 23) arrived in the town of Eniseisk [in C. Siberia]. Her address is: g. Eniseisk Krasnoyarskogo kraya, ul. Lytkina, d. 5, kv. 2. At present she is working as a stoker.

* * *

On 8 January a routine examination of Pyotr Grigorevich Grigorenko took place. The examining commission

[48. Two weeks earlier her book *Red Square at Noon* and D. Weissbort's *Selected Poems by Natalya Gorbanevskaya with a Transcript of her trial and Papers Relating to her Detention in a Prison Psychiatric Hospital* were published in London.]

resolved to extend his term of compulsory treatment.

* * *

At the beginning of 1972 two new special psychiatric hospitals were opened in the USSR—in Blagoveshchensk (Far East) and Kzyl-Orda (Kazakhstan).

* * *

Jak Leiwand of Tallinn, born 1949, is being held in the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital. In August 1971 he attempted to cross the [Finnish] frontier near Vyborg.

* * *

In March 1971 a meeting between Yu[ry] Vudka, who is serving a sentence in Mordovia [see Nos. 12, 14, 18, 22], and his wife A. Gurevich was terminated because Vudka and his wife were conversing with each other in their native language (Yiddish). A. Gurevich immediately sent a complaint to the Procurator of the Russian Republic. In December 1971 V. Chalidze also sent the Procurator a letter on the same subject. As yet there has been no reply.[49]

* * *

At the end of 1971 Pavel Ivanovich Igoshin [see the Supplement to No. 17] was transferred from his camp to "chemical construction" (i.e. to the construction site of a large chemicals plant, where prisoners live as free men and perform compulsory labour until the expiry of their sentences). Igoshin was arrested in May 1969 and sentenced to four years under articles 130, 180 and 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code. On several previous occasions he had been refused a transfer to "chemical construction".

* * *

On 19 February a group of Jews who had gathered, as always on a Saturday, in front of the Kiev synagogue, were for no reason at all seized by men in plain clothes and

[49. Vudka and his brother Valery have taken part in several hunger strikes in recent months, as reported in *NBSJ*.]

taken to the police station. Four of those detained—Natan Remennik, Lina Umanskaya, Vitaly Zyryanov and Solomon Feldman—were sentenced to fifteen days' imprisonment. A similar "operation" was also carried out on the following Saturday.

* * *

A group of Jews from the Baltic Republic have sent a letter to the Board of the USSR Union of Writers on the subject of F. Ya. Kolar's book *Zionism and Anti-Semitism* (Progress, 1971), and another letter to the Moscow Regional Procurator on I[van] Shevtsov's book *Love and Hate* (Voenizdat). The letters demonstrate the reactionary and anti-Semitic [*chernosotenny*] nature of the books (passages are quoted and a number of propositions in the former book are analysed). The authors of the first letter demand that the *Literary Gazette* publish their reply to Kolar, while the authors of the second letter request the institution of criminal proceedings against Shevtsov under article 74 (incitement to hatred on the grounds of race or nationality).

* * *

One of the speakers at a trade-union meeting at the Pskov [150 m. SW of Leningrad] Medical Institute in December 1971 stated that shortly before the meeting he had had a private conversation with G. Pavlovsky, a lecturer, who had expressed extremely harmful views. A few days later Pavlovsky and his wife were summoned by the local KGB; after an interview-cum-interrogation Pavlovsky was made to give an undertaking not to acquire, hand on or possess *samizdat*, and to dissuade others from doing so.

* * *

Information on the family of Leonid Plyushch (see this issue of the *Chronicle*):

Wife: Tatyana Ilinichna Zhitnikova.

Children: Dima—born 5 July 1959; Oles—born 1 July 1965.

Address: Kiev K-147, ul. Entuziastov 33, kv. 36.

Plyushch is in the investigation prison of the Ukrainian KGB: Kiev-3, AYa-207.

Our Middle-Eastern Friends (a survey of the Soviet press), Moscow, 1972. A "collection of quotations" dealing with events in the Middle East, the Middle-Eastern policy of the Soviet Union and its treatment in the Soviet press. The 220 quotations (mainly from Soviet periodicals of 1967-71), arranged in chronological order, are accompanied by a very small number of foot-notes provided by the compilers (which are of a purely informatory nature), and a few epigraphs from the Book of Isaiah (Old Testament) and *Antiquities of Judaea* by Joseph Flavius. In their brief introduction the compilers of the collection indicate that their principal objective is to provide the reader of today's newspapers—who has a poor recollection of yesterday's and practically none at all of those of the day before—with a view of the history of recent decades which, while it may not be completely accurate, will at least be reasonably sober and thoughtful. To facilitate the comparison of quotations, the survey is provided with indexes by subject and name, as well as an index of the sources from which the quotations are taken.

* * *

Confrontation with Oneself. Moscow, 1972. A review of the annotated collection of quotations *Our Middle-Eastern Friends* summarized above. After a brief exposition of the history of the Jewish question in the USSR and the development of the attitude towards it on the part of the authorities and of the press, the reviewer points out that the survey is incomplete, as its compilers have consciously concentrated their attention only on certain aspects of Soviet-Jewish and Soviet-Arab relations. To the credit of the collection the reviewer notes that "the compilers . . . do not try . . . to persuade the reader that [the press] 'used to tell the truth, but now it tells lies', or the like. A liar *never* deserves to be trusted, even when he makes a slip in his lying and happens to let through a particle of the truth. One does not need to study logic in order to understand that lies can be used to prove anything. And if a man calls the same object white one

moment and black the next, in response to orders from his superiors, then he is *always* a liar—irrespective of what colour the object is in reality: red, blue, grey, white, black or green".

* * *

Vladimir Osipov:[50] *The Secret of Freedom*, December 1971-January 1972. A brief essay. The author bitterly asks "our godless intelligentsia 'why do we need freedom of opinion?' " ("Are we not free to prostitute ourselves, to denounce and rob others? Take a walk around our cities and villages on your day off. Everyone is drunk. Everyone is free . . . General slovenliness. Freedom . . .") and sees the "secret of freedom" in the fact that "each person incorporates into the idea of freedom the concept of FREEDOM FOR HIMSELF" ("'Ban this or that party'—chant some freedom-lovers in the democratic countries . . ."). He goes on to say: "Freedom of opinion must be given to all. Believers and atheists, nationalists and democrats, Zionists and anti-Semites, conservatives and communists—all must have the right to express their point of view. I do not say this out of a love for freedom. I personally find the freedom of certain opinions disgusting. But it must exist IN THE NAME OF LIFE . . . One might agree that the freedom to govern is the preserve of the few. But the freedom to think and to dissent belongs to all".

* * *

By the same author: "Cowards don't play hockey", 7 January 1972 ([Russian Orthodox] Christmas Day). A brief essay. The author compares the "masculine" concept of courage, which is reflected in the ironical title of the essay (following the thought processes of the author, who recalls the dog-eat-dog life he led in a camp, one might also describe this concept as the "criminal [*blatnoi*] concept"), with the genuine courage of those who possess freedom of thought and who, for the sake of that freedom, are ready to endure deprivations—including

[50. See the long interview which Osipov (aged 34) gave to the *Baltimore Sun* (5 June 1972), mostly about himself and his journal *Veche*, and also his article of 1970, "Three Attitudes to one's Homeland", in *Vestnik* 103, Paris, 1972.]

"deprivation of freedom": "We are so used to Stalinism that we are afraid of a change. Afraid to straighten our backs, to draw ourselves up to our full height. Suppose we can't manage to stand on our feet? We feel more secure on all fours.

"The Action Group, the Committee for Human Rights, open letters, [*samizdat*] journals—finally, thank God, we're beginning to overcome our fear. We are inspired by the courage of Grigorenko, Ogurtsov, Bukovsky. The courage of real men. Cowards do not speak out for the truth."

* * *

O. Altayev: "The dual consciousness of the Russian intelligentsia".[51] The author is irritated by the disappearance from the psychological profile of the contemporary Russian intelligentsia of "aristocratic asceticism and a sense of guilt before the people"; by its acquisition of "philistine" and "bourgeois" characteristics, in particular its dyed-in-the-wool atheism, its denial of the religious foundations of morality, its proclivity for liberal illusions and its readiness to live in symbiosis with the authorities, who are the object of its criticism. All these qualities of the intelligentsia, which the author is none the less inclined to consider "the principal historical motive force of our society", are leading, in his opinion, to the next historical disaster.

* * *

Anonymous: "An attempt to understand the point of O. Altayev's essay 'The dual consciousness of the Russian intelligentsia'". In the opinion of the author of this review, O. Altayev (see the foregoing item), basing himself on "premises which nobody can understand", ascribes to the intelligentsia "a disproportionately great, nay, satanic significance", and also "raises the significance and uniqueness of his own psychological portraits to the level of an absolute", whereas the intelligentsia of today (all educated persons) is in fact "a part of the people, and works, and plays an important role in overall production".

* * *

[51. Clearly a variant of Altayev's article "The Dual Consciousness of the Intelligentsia and Pseudo-culture", published in *Vestnik RSKhD*, No. 97, 1970, pp. 8-32.]

A. Moskovit: "Practical Metaphysics", 400 pages. An exposition of a philosophical system in which the ideas of Kant and Schopenhauer play an important part. The system of postulates put forward by the author (of which the basic ones are: "Man is the will to achieve freedom" and "The feelings of pleasure and displeasure are symptoms of the expansion or contraction of the boundaries of freedom") is appended by the author to an analysis of human passions and an analysis of historical and political events from ancient times to the present.

* * *

A. Solzhenitsyn: "Autobiography". (First published in the *Year-Book of the Nobel Foundation* for 1971,[52] Stockholm). Alexander Isayevich Solzhenitsyn was born in Kislovodsk [N. Caucasus] on 11 December 1918. In 1914 his father, a Moscow student of philology, volunteered for military service; he spent the entire war as an artillery officer at the German front, and died in summer 1918, six months before the birth of his son. A. S. was brought up by his mother, a short-hand typist. In 1936 he graduated from secondary school in Rostov-on-Don. "Even as a child I felt spontaneously drawn towards writing, and I wrote plenty of the usual childish nonsense . . ." A few days before the outbreak of war (in 1941) he graduated from Rostov University in physics and mathematics (since 1939 he had also been an external student at IFLI [Moscow's Institute of Philosophy, Literature and History]). In 1941-42 he served in the army as a driver of horse-drawn vehicles, after which he took a short course at an artillery training school; from November 1942 until his arrest (in February 1945) he fought in the front lines as commander of an artillery reconnaissance battery. He was arrested in Eastern Prussia (where [his novel] *August 1914* is mainly set) for "disrespectful references to Stalin" in letters to a friend (these "references" mentioned the Best Friend [of the People] under a pseudonym, but still this was sufficient for an expert censor to denounce him) and for "drafts of short stories and debates". In July 1945 he was sentenced by decision of the Special Board to eight

[52. Also in L. Labedz, ed., *Solzhenitsyn: A Documentary Record*, Penguin Books, 1972, pp. 24-27.]

years in the camps. He served the first part of his term in camps of general type (*The Tenderfoot and the Tramp*), the middle part in a *sharashka*—i.e. a scientific research institute staffed by prisoners (*The First Circle*) and the last part in a special camp for political prisoners in Ekibastuz (*One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*). He spent an extra month in the camp, and then from 5 March 1953 until June 1956 he served his sentence of "eternal exile" in Kok-Terek (Southern Kazakhstan). At the end of 1953 he was at death's door (from a recurrence of cancer, which he had contracted in the camps and which had never been completely cured), but in the course of 1954 he made a virtually complete recovery in a Tashkent hospital (*Cancer Ward, Right Hand*).

". . . Throughout my years of exile I taught mathematics and physics in the village school, and as my life was unrelievedly lonely I wrote prose in secret (in the camp I could only write poetry, since everything had to be committed to memory). I managed to preserve it and bring it back with me from exile to the European part of the country, where I continued as before—overtly I taught, covertly I wrote, at first in the Vladimir Region (*Matryona's Homestead*) and later in Ryazan [100 m. SE of Moscow].

"All those years, until 1961, not only was I *certain* that I would never see a single line of mine in print during my lifetime, but I could hardly bring myself to give any of my work to anybody to read, fearing that word of this would spread. Finally, at forty-two, I began to find it oppressive to be a writer in secret. Most oppressive of all was the impossibility of trying out my work on sophisticated readers. In 1961, after the 22nd party congress and the speech Tvardovsky made at it, I made up my mind to come out of hiding and submit *One Day* . . . for publication. Coming out into the open like that seemed to me at the time—not without reason—to be fraught with danger; it might have led to the destruction of all my manuscripts and my ruin. But at the time it turned out well: a year later, after long efforts, A. Tvardovsky succeeded in publishing my story. But the printing of my works was stopped almost immediately . . . Even events which we have experienced can hardly ever be evaluated and comprehended immediately after they have taken

place: how much more unpredictable and surprising shall we find the course of future events."

* * *

Yury Glazov: "From the Russian Diaspora". Moscow, 9 October 1971. 22 pages. Reflections on the fate of the Jewish people, on the place of the Jews in the culture and society of the country in which they were born and bred, on the complex, contradictory and agonising problems facing Jews of the "Russian diaspora" when they try to resolve the question of emigration to Israel; on the motives which inhibit them from deciding to leave; on the legitimacy and eventual inevitability of this decision. "By returning to Israel the Jews, as it were, come down from the cross of degradation . . . They return home with warm feelings for those countries where it has been their lot to know much joy and not a little sorrow . . . The descendants of Bar-Kochba and Akiva return to their native land bearing, like bees, the nectar of those cultures in whose bosom they have found themselves living. They re-examine much of what has formed a stumbling-block in their relations with other people. This hard road takes decades . . ."

* * *

Cornelia Mee: "The Internment of Soviet Dissenters in Mental Hospitals".[53] Translated from the English. (The English text was produced for a "Working Group on the Internment of Dissenters in Mental Hospitals"). Moscow, 1972. This report is concise in form but extremely rich in information, being based on materials from the *Chronicle*, the evidence of V. Bukovsky (including his appeal to Western psychiatrists—see *Chronicle* No. 19—which is quoted in full as an appendix), A. Esenin-Volpin, Zh. and R. Medvedev, P. Grigorenko, N. Gorbanevskaya, S. Pisarev, G. Shimanov, M. Naritsa, V. Fainberg and others, and also on material by V. Chalidze and a number of other documents. About fifteen specific "cases" ("medical histories"), which have already been publicised by the

[53. This booklet is distributed by Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.]

Chronicle, are described in greater or lesser detail.

* * *

Vercors: "Hitler won the war". Translated from the French (published in *Le Monde*, 8 February 1972).

"Is it really all starting again?

"Do you remember thirty years on, my fellow-countrymen, our common sense of impotence when the Vichy government arrested our friends or connived at their arrest, dismissed professors and eminent public figures or connived at their dismissal, gagged "intellectuals too fond of philosophising" or connived at their gagging, hunted down thousands of innocent people or connived at their hunting-down? What did we do when every month, every week, every day we heard one piece of news like this after another? We clenched our fists . . . in impotent rage, and that was the extent of our actions . . . With each new crime we merely clenched our fists tighter with the fury of impotence, for we could do nothing to stop it.

"And now it is all starting again. We feel that frightful sense of impotence over what is happening in Prague and throughout Czechoslovakia. Our friends are being persecuted there . . . University professors are being hunted down, starved, deprived of their rights, evicted from their homes, and their children not allowed to go to university . . . And then, finally, they are arrested. People take up arms against them with a malice and cruelty very like the stench of the past.

"And again, to counterbalance all this . . . we can only clench our powerless fists . . . Nothing can be done . . . except what I am doing now—writing these pitiful words of protest . . . I dare not even name names, for fear of calling down new catastrophes on the heads of those I mention. Nothing can be done except compose yet another supplication or protest—and get not even a reply, not even reassurance, not even justification, nothing but black silence permeated with sneering cynicism and contempt.

"For Hitler won the war.

"With each day that passes he arises anew. He lost on earth, but he was victorious in the centuries to come and in the hearts of men. For after Hitler force, if not the gun, and the more or less brutal power of the police, have

reigned everywhere . . . And we can do nothing . . . For Hitler won the war . . .

"And now it is all starting again . . . Now—and how long will it go on?—they are persecuting and imprisoning those whose names I dare not mention."

* * *

Yury Glazov, Yury Shtein, Yury Titov, Alexander Volpin, Vladimir Gershovich: "To the Editor of The Times". Moscow, 5 March 1972.[54] The letter opens with the words: "Quite soon, perhaps, each one of us will be given a visa, mount the steps of an aeroplane and leave the territory of Russia. On the eve of such a turning-point in our lives it is our sacred duty to state our attitude to what is happening". The authors go on to speak of the intensifying political terror in the USSR and of the inactivity and silence of the intelligentsia, and express their "solidarity with the victims of recent oppression", their " deep concern over the possible turn of the wheel of domestic policy", and say that they are leaving "part of their hearts" behind them.

* * *

Pyotr Yakir: "To the honourable Soviet writer Varlam Shalamov". 29 February 1972. Placing a high value on Shalamov's creative work and his moral qualities, the author expresses his sympathy in connection with the circumstances which obliged the author of *Stories of*

[54. Published on 9 March. By June the first four signatories had all left the USSR. See Shtein's appeal to world opinion to resist the new repression in *Peace News*, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1, 23 June; an account of the KGB's destruction of Titov's paintings in a UPI dispatch from Rome of 8 June, an interview with him in *Russkaya mysl*, 29 June, and articles about his work in *Vestnik RSKhD* No. 100 and *Russia Cristiana*, Milan, No. 123, 1972; a press-conference given in Uppsala by Volpin at a conference on the right to leave one's country and return to it, *The Jewish Chronicle*, London, 30 June; articles by Glazov on V. Maksimov in *Russkaya mysl*, 8 and 15 June; and an article on them all in *The Economist*, London, 17 June.]

Kolyma[55] to "sign" a letter to the *Literary Gazette* published there on 15 February. He reproaches Shalamov with "only one thing"—the sentence stating that "the problems dealt with in *Stories of Kolyma* have long since been solved by life".

* * *

V. G.: "An Open letter to the author of the book Fascism under the Blue Star". To the journalist Eliseyev. The addressee had numbered Hermann Goering and Heinrich Himmler among the allies of Zionism, and managed to discover that Otto von Bismarck was of Jewish descent.

* * *

R. I. Raikhlin: "The Reference". An autobiographical story dedicated to the memory of the author's father, who was killed in battle near Moscow in 1941. Goldberg, a successful engineer (the hero of the story), submits an application to emigrate to Israel, whereupon he is expelled from the Komsomol, given a negative reference and dismissed. His wife is visited by "representatives of public opinion" who "hint" that if they emigrate their relatives will suffer: these hints are larded with remarks about "the honour of the collective". The reactions of the hero's former colleagues cover a wide range: from petty Judophobia to the following monologue by engineer Koshkin: "'Go to Israel? Do you think I've gone off my head?' said Vadim, incensed. 'You have to work over there. That doesn't suit me at all. All I can do is read the papers and smoke. Anyone who likes work can go if he wants to!'"

* * *

[55. Published in Russian at regular intervals in recent years by *Novy zhurnal*, New York, and in big collections in French and German. Two stories have also appeared in English in Michael Scammell, ed., *Russia's Other Writers*. For reactions to, and information about, Shalamov's letter see *Possev* 4, 1972, pp. 9-11, and 7, 1972, p. 63.]

Letter from V. Chalidze with 56 attached documents. V. N. Chalidze, in this letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, draws the attention of the Presidium to the insuperable obstacles confronting believers in their desire to open churches. 56 documents are appended to the letter. Most of them (53)[56] deal with the protracted struggle (covering 1968-71) of the Orthodox Christians of Naro-Fominsk [near Moscow] to open a church in the town. Two court cases[57] figured in this campaign: actions were brought against the Council on Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, seeking compensation for material damage, and against the Naro-Fominsk newspaper *Znamya Ilicha*, alleging defamation of character. Neither action was successful. The three-year campaign ended in failure. In Naro-Fominsk, as before, there is not a single functioning church. The remaining three documents are: two letters to Academician Sakharov (one from the Chernigov Region, asking his assistance in the opening of a Roman-Catholic church; the other from Chernigov itself, on the opening of an Orthodox church); and a letter to Brezhnev (from believers in Gorky campaigning for a church to be opened).

* * *

"*Social Problems*, issue No. 14. The collection consists of three sections. The first section ("Documents from legal practice") comprises: 1. A complaint for review [by the Supreme Court] on the case of V. Bukovsky, from Chalidze, Sakharov, Tverdokhlebov and Volpin (see *Chronicle* No. 23). 2. Two complaints for review, compiled by Chalidze, on the case of the priest Adelgeim, who was sentenced in June 1970 to three years' imprisonment by the Tashkent City Court under articles of the Uzbek Criminal Code equivalent to articles 190-1, 218 and 112 of the Russian Code.[58] 3. A statement by Chalidze, Sakharov and Tverdokhlebov on the case of Abelson,

[56. One of these is a petition of 1970 from 1,450 believers of the town.]

[57. The materials of these have been edited by Dr. B. Zuckermann of Jerusalem, who plans to publish them.]

[58. On this case see *Chronicle* 13, *Possev: 4-i spets. vypusk*, June 1970, p. 39, and an analysis in *Vestnik RSKhD* No. 97, pp. 157-63.]

Trifskin and Tessel, who were arrested in Riga in August 1971 on a Judge's warrant and imprisoned for fifteen and ten days. 4. A petition from Chalidze to the USSR Procurator-General, asking for citizens to be allowed to acquaint themselves with documents relating to criminal cases involving them or their relatives.

The second section ("Documents of the Committee for Human Rights")[59] comprises: 1. A message of greeting from members of the Committee for Human Rights to UN Secretary-General U Thant (see *Chronicle* No. 23). 2. The opinions of V. Chalidze and of the Committee for Human Rights on A. Volpin's report "The International Pact on Civil and Political Rights and Soviet law". 3. An appeal to the President of the USSR Supreme Soviet calling for the ratification of the Pacts on Human Rights. 4. A report by V. Chalidze on creative contacts established by the Committee for Human Rights since its formation.

The third section consists of a summary of the contents of issues 9-14 of the journal "Social Problems".

* * *

"*Herald of the Exodus*" No. 3, 1972. The collection includes numerous letters, telegrams, appeals, statements, complaints and applications from Jews in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Vilnius, Kishinyov, Tbilisi, Odessa, Novosibirsk and other cities, which were sent between September 1971 and January 1972 to various Soviet and international organisations and government figures. The authors tell of the obstacles, of every conceivable sort, which the authorities have placed in the path of those who wish to emigrate to Israel, of the unjustified refusals by OVIR to issue exit visas, of dismissals and expulsions carried out without due process of law, of the beatings and extra-judicial persecution to which those wishing to emigrate have been subjected. Prof. A. Lerner, for example, Doctor of Technological Science and an eminent Soviet cyberneticist, was dismissed for wishing to emigrate to Israel

[59. A collection, *Dokumenty Komiteta prav cheloveka*, containing the Committee's documents published in Nos. 8-13 of *Social Problems* and its message to U Thant, was published in June by the International League for the Rights of Man, 777, UN Plaza, New York, N.Y.10017.]

by the Institute of Control Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences, where he had worked for over twenty years, and by the Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology, where he had taught for over ten years. At the same time he was removed from his elected offices: those of chairman of the sub-committee for the applications of automated mechanisms of the USSR National Committee for Automated Control, member of the Cybernetics Board of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member of the Academic Board of the Institute of Control Problems, member of the editorial boards of the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia* and of the journals *Automation and Remote Control* and *Instruments and Control Systems*, and so on. An attempt was also made to remove A. Lerner from the position of deputy chairman of the Committee for the Applications of Automated Mechanisms of the International Federation of Automatic Control, but this was rebuffed by the Federation. The Nauka and Metallurgiya publishing houses deleted books by A. Lerner from their prospectuses, although publication of them had already been announced. References to his work are being removed from all books and articles on control theory currently appearing. Since 1 December 1971 A. Lerner and his wife have no longer been entitled to medical attention under the Academy of Sciences scheme. On the same date his son and daughter were expelled from graduate studies at the Institute of Control Problems. On 23 December 1971 A. Lerner and his family were refused permission to emigrate to Israel.[60]

Alexander Livshits, aged 34, Master of Chemical Sciences and Reader at the Novosibirsk Electro-Technical Institute,[61] was suspended from teaching work the day after he had stated his desire to emigrate to Israel. On 10 November 1971 his father Solomon Livshits was also suspended from teaching work, on the verbal instructions of the Rector of the Novosibirsk Institute of Commerce. Solomon Livshits, aged 63, Master of Economic Science and Reader in the Department of Political Economy at

[60. Much material on Lerner has appeared in *NBSJ* and other Jewish publications, also in *The Observer*, London, 12 December 1971.]

[61. See materials by and about him in *NBSJ* Nos. 213-215.]

the Institute, was a founder of the Institute and one of its foremost lecturers; he is a veteran of World War II and the holder of many decorations and medals. Soon afterwards he was illegally dismissed. The reason for his dismissal was his refusal publicly to condemn his son Alexander and call him a traitor.

The collection also sets out the content of an interview given on 25 September 1971 by A. I. Ivanov, a section-head in the Administrative Department of the Central Committee of the party [see also No. 22]. In the course of the interview Ivanov made the following statement: ". . . the right to decide the question of whether or not to let the Jews go is exclusively that of the state . . . Your desire to emigrate to Israel imposes no obligation on the organs of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] to let you go. You do not have the right to emigrate to Israel . . . The right to demand and to insist is not one of your rights . . ."

The collection includes several letters protesting at articles by Academician M. Mitin ("Zionism—a variety of chauvinism and racism", *Pravda* 18 December 1971) and G. Deborin ("The social countenance of Zionism", *Izvestia*, 5 January 1972).

Other items[62] in the collection include an incomplete list (43 names) of persons who are serving terms of imprisonment for their desire to live in Israel, together with the biographies of some of them; details of the grave physical condition of Silva Zalmanson and Reiza Palatnik, and of the systematic beatings administered to Valery Kukui by the criminal [i.e. non-political] inmates of his camp; excerpts from letters sent by Reiza Palatnik and Valery Kukui from their camps; and letters in defence of prisoners.

A detailed account is given of the hunger strike held on the days marking the first anniversary of the Leningrad "aeroplane" trial in solidarity with the accused (see *Chronicle* No. 23).

An account is given of the persecution, of every conceivable kind, of the Jewish religion, Jewish culture and Jewish traditions in Trans-Carpathia.

The story of Leonid (Jonah) Kolchinsky (born February 1952) is set out in detail. In reply to his statement requesting an exit visa he was made the object of all sorts of outrages; in spite of his renunciation of Soviet citizenship (September 1970) he was refused permission to emigrate (November 1970) and hastily called up into the army (December 1970). In November 1971, a year after the refusal, serviceman Kolchinsky of the town of Angarsk in the Irkutsk Region requested the Irkutsk OVIR to accept his application to emigrate to Israel. His application was not accepted. When Kolchinsky returned to his unit, a campaign of terror was mounted against him. The soldiers were incited to beat up Kolchinsky by their officers, and threats were made against his life for wishing to emigrate to Israel. Kolchinsky insists that OVIR is obliged to accept his application, since soldiers in the Soviet Army enjoy all civil rights.

[62. On all these see recent issues of *NBSJ*.]

* * *

"Review" No. 2, January 1972

1. *"Where are we going?"* The article describes the "three waves" of arrests in Czechoslovakia beginning in November 1971. Among those arrested were the son of Rudolf Slansky (who was later released—"apparently the Czechoslovak authorities themselves took fright at what they had done"), Jan Sling (the son of another leading figure in the Czechoslovak communist party who was hanged by the Stalinists in 1952) and Irina Buhova, one of the founders of the Slovak communist party and formerly a deputy editor of *Rude Pravo*. For publishing several critical articles on Gomulka in 1968, the journalist Jiri Lederer was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. In all more than 200 people were arrested, including the Italian left-wing journalist Valerio Occheto; *Unita* correspondent F. Zidar was deported (the Italian communist party delivered a strongly-worded protest).

The author of the article links these facts with the "new campaign against dissenters in the USSR", mentions the searches and arrests of mid-January 1972 in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Lvov, and expresses the opinion that the KGB has been given instructions to liquidate the *Chronicle* and the *Ukrainian Herald* at all costs [see note 13]. After a one-page excursion into the history of our country in the post-Stalin period, the author reaches the

conclusion that the activation and unification of all the anti-Stalinist forces in our country is "a matter of top priority and extreme urgency". Despite the obvious vagueness of phrases like this, the influence of the classics [of Marxism-Leninism?] is manifest: "And this must be done not tomorrow, but today. Tomorrow may be too late. Our children will never forgive us if, after all we have lived through, we repeat the mistakes of 1964-65." (The article makes no mention of earlier "mistakes".)

2. "*The scions of Stalin.*" Thus the author of the article characterises [S. P.] Trapeznikov, a section head of the Central Committee *apparat* (in which connection he discusses the merits of Minin, [Yu.] Steklov and [F.] Raskolnikov, slandered as "Trotskyites" by Trapeznikov); Gen. Epishev, head of the Political Directorate of the Soviet Army (in 1951 he was appointed deputy to S. Ignatev, who had taken the place of [V. S.] Abakumov as Minister of State Security), who acted as "consultant" to the Czechoslovak Stalinists on the Slansky trial (after 1953 Epishev was demoted to secretary of a regional party committee, only to be promoted again after [the fall of Khrushchev in] October 1964); Gen. Shtemenko; Golovanov, Chief Marshal of the Air Force, whose "servile memoirs" have appeared in the journal *Oktyabr*; the Red Cavalry Commander Budyonny, who was a member of the military tribunal which sent the Tukhachevsky-Yakir group to the firing-squad; "and of course the entire editorial board of the journal *Oktyabr*, headed by the obscurantist Kochetov".

3. "*Literary chronicle.*" Notes on the following works are given: "Stalinism shall not pass", a collection of three documents by P. Yakir (Open Letters to the journal *Kommunist*, to the captain and crew of the steamer Jonah Yakir and to the 24th party congress); unpublished verse by Aleksei Markov; the novella *The Way to the Stars* (based on life in a camp) by Roald Mukhamedyarov; the novel *New Appointment* by Alexander Bek (after the censorship had rejected it for publication in *Novy mir*, the Novosti press agency offered it for sale in 1965 to Western publishers, all of whom rejected it as "too communist"; nevertheless it has now been published in the West[63]); *Veche* No. 3; *Chronicle* No. 23.

[63. *Novoye naznachenie*, Possev-Verlag, Frankfurt.]

4. "*From the history of samizdat.*" Material on the *Chronicle*, which especially emphasises the fact that the *Chronicle* "carries out no propaganda" and "does not put forward any political programme of its own".

5. *Kaleidoscope.* An account of the expulsion from the Writers' Union of A. Galich (who was accused of "inciting Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel" and who was referred to at the meeting as "comrade Ginzburg"); it is reported that in addition to V[alentin] Katayev (see *Chronicle* No. 23), another three of the nineteen persons present at the meeting (A[gnia] Barto, A[leksei] Arbuzov and A[lexander] Korneichuk) considered that Galich's punishment could be limited to a reprimand.

An account of the expulsion from the Writers' Union of Evgeny Markin, the real reason for which was his poem *The White Buoy* (in *Novy mir* 1971, No. 10), which is abundant in repentant allusions [to his failure to oppose Solzhenitsyn's expulsion from the Writers' Union].

A report of the "one minute's silence" in Pushkin Square on 5 December 1971.

A recommendation to compare the two editions of Vladimir Maksimov's book *Strides towards the Horizon* (published by Pravda in 1966 and by Sovetsky Pisatel in 1967): "and you will understand what our censorship is and what powers it possesses".

An account of how the poet A. N. Markov, a member of the Writers' Union [see No. 20], sent a book of his poetry to a friend in Kharkov two years ago, with the inscription: "Slav blood on Russian tanks. Russia's irredeemable shame. Eternal glory to Czechoslovakia . . .": how the book then "miraculously" fell into the hands of the Kharkov Regional KGB; how V. Ilin "miraculously" reported this at a meeting of the board of the Writers' Union, at which Markov was almost expelled from the Union "for a politically incorrect and dangerous assessment of defensive measures taken by the Soviet government".

* * *

"*Veche No. 4.* 31 January 1972, 238 pp.

The issue contains: the Christmas message of Patriarch Pimen; chapters from the anonymous manuscript *The*

Heritage of Dostoyevsky (ch. 1—"The dominant idea", ch. 12—"The attainment of tranquillity"); a chapter from the book *L'Homme Révolté* by A. Camus on Dostoyevsky and the novel *The Brothers Karamazov* (translated for the journal *Veche*); the continuation of the article "The views of Konstantin Leontev"; the conclusion of the article "General Skobelev as soldier and statesman"; poetry by Valentin Zozha (Sokolov); an essay by A. Rayevsky, "The clothes without the king", on modern music. The criticism and bibliography section includes "Two views of *August 1914*": "Alone with Russia", a rapturous review by V. Alekseyeva, and "The writer Solzhenitsyn and Prof. Serebryakov", a critical article by A. Skuratov. The editors promise a continuation of the discussion.

The "Letters" section opens with a letter from Roald Mukhamedyarov, in which he asks the editors for their attitude towards the national movements within Russia, to religious persecution and to anti-Semitism. In their reply the editors refer to the fact that the use of force in the world was not invented by the Russians, and say that the tolerance of the Russian state can be characterised by its respect for the valour of General Bagration and for the intellect of Loris-Melikov [two 19th century figures, a Georgian and an Armenian who rose high].

An item entitled "A significant duet" sharply criticises the gutter-press character of articles in the [German] journal *Stern* and in the *Literary Gazette* on Solzhenitsyn's family circumstances.[64] It includes an interview given to a correspondent of the *Veche* editorial board by the mother of N. A. Reshetovskaya, Solzhenitsyn's first wife,[65] which is accompanied by a photo-copy of a letter from Solzhenitsyn's aunt—both documents refute the version in the *Literary Gazette*, according to which the aunt was not well received at the home of her nephew at a time when he had not yet achieved fame (1961).

* * *

[64. For a good analysis of this episode see *Possev* 2, 1972, pp. 10-13.]

[65. The *Baltimore Sun* of 9 June summarizes the memoirs of Reshetovskaya herself, as published in *Veche* (probably No. 5).]

Alexander Goltsov and Sergei Ozerov: "The Distribution of the National Income of the USSR." Leningrad, 1971.

This economics work is devoted to ascertaining the real size and distribution of the national income of the USSR, and in particular to the portion expended on defence. Its sources are the published statistical indices of the Central Directorate of Statistics.

The authors reach the conclusion that the national income of the USSR is not 70% of that of the USA (as is officially claimed), but 17-20%, while the portion absorbed by military expenditure is 41-51% of the national income of the USSR, consumer spending accounting for only 21-31%—which is quite unique in the modern world. (In the USA military expenditure absorbs only 10% of the national income, while in other developed countries the percentage is still lower).

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