A Chronicle of Current Events

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Issue No. 27 **15 October 1972** [Moscow]

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Amnesty International Publications
March 1973

[This is a rather literal translation of a copy of the typewritten Russian original, which was edited anonymously in Moscow. It began to circulate there in *samizdat* on about 9 November 1972. The Russian text has appeared in full in *Volnoye slovo. Samizdat. Izbrannoye*, Frankfurt, No 6, 1972, extracts have appeared in Italian in *Russia Cristiana* No. 127, and a German edition (minus the section "*Samizdat* News") has been published by Amnesty in Germany (2000 Hamburg 52, Beselerstr. 8). It should be noted that *Chronicle* 27 is the first issue not to be dated roughly two months later than the previous one. The fact that the interval in this case is over three months suggests a more irregular appearance pattern for the future, or even that the *Chronicle* might cease to appear, at least for a time.

Only the words in square brackets have been added by the translators.]

The Movement in Defence of Human Rights in the USSR
Continues

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"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

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FIFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

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FIFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Repressions in the Ukraine[1]

From June to September 1972 trials took place in the Ukraine of participants in the national and democratic movement. The prosecution's case was based chiefly on *samizdat*, and occasionally on verbal utterances. The article of indictment was article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 70 of the Russian Code). The investigation had commenced in January-March 1972 (see *Chronicle* Nos. 24, 25).

Two of the arrested persons, engineer L. Seleznenko and poet Mykola Kholodny,[2] were released before trial after they had published statements of repentance in the press. Kholodny's letter to the editor of *Literary Ukraine* (7 July 1972) contains not merely his repentance but also the names of the people through whom he fell "under the pernicious influence of bourgeois propaganda and . . . the writings of so-called *samizdat*".

After the publication of his statement in the paper *Robitnycha hazeta* on 8 July L. Seleznenko was immediately released and reinstated in his job at the Institute of Oil Chemistry [in Kiev].

* * *

Trials in the Ukraine [—*Kiev*]

[a)] In June the trial took place of the 40-year-old

[1. A useful new background essay, mostly devoted to this subject, has appeared in *Ethnic Pressures in the Soviet Union*, Conflict Studies No. 30, Institution for the Study of Conflict, London. The essay, by Dr. Victor Swoboda, is called "The Western Republics". Also notable is the stepped-up Soviet campaign against moderate Ukrainian nationalism abroad. See, e.g., L. Topolchuk's book *Za falshyvym mandatom: Yak Lebed poshyv u durni S. Banderu*. Kiev, 1972, and Yu. Rymarenko and V. Cherednychenko's article, "Ukrainsky burzhuazny natsionalizm—znaryaddya anty-komunizmu" in *Kommunist Ukrainy*, No. 10, 1972. Notable among western reactions to repressions in the Ukraine was a long letter of protest in *The Times*, 3 February 1972, from 11 prominent writers, artists and intellectuals, including Y. Menuhin, J. B. Priestley and A. J. Ayer.]

[2. On these two see No. 26, note 34, and No. 25, note 9, respectively.]

Oleksandr Serhiyenko (see *Chronicle* No. 24[3]), a teacher of drawing in a school, who after his dismissal from the school had worked as an artist and restorer. The judge was Yu. I. Matsko.[4] By court decree the trial was held in closed session: not even Serhiyenko's mother and wife were admitted to the courtroom. During the first two months of Serhiyenko's detention in an investigation cell attempts were made to extort a public repentance from him, but to no avail.

At the trial of Serhiyenko three counts were held against him.

1. Proof-correction of 33 pages of text from the book *Internationalism or Russification?* by Ivan Dzyuba (the book is 500 pages long). Serhiyenko was not acquainted with the author of the book. He had found the work interesting and made notes *for his own use* as he read it. The court classified his markings as editorial corrections and Serhiyenko was charged with complicity in the creation of an anti-Soviet book. The court regarded this episode as the main point of the indictment.

2. Oral statements critical of the "international assistance given to Czechoslovakia". These were not confirmed by the testimony of witnesses.

3. Statements regarding the right of the Ukraine to self-determination.

The defence demonstrated the groundlessness of all the points of the indictment (the absence of any "agitation and propaganda", the contradictory nature of the witnesses' testimony in some cases and the complete absence of testimony in others) and requested that the accused be released or the classification of the offence altered from article 62 to article 187 [-1] of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code).

The sentence was 7 years of strict-regime camps and 3 years' exile. An appeal court upheld the verdict of the regional court.

* * *

[3. In the Russian copy which reached the west his name was typed wrongly as Vasyl Heorhiyenko. See p. 123 of Amnesty edition.]

[4. Presided at two other Ukrainian political trials. See *Chronicles* 8 and 23.]

[b] *The trial of Ivan Ermilovich Kovalenko*, a 54-year-old teacher arrested in January (see *Chronicle* No. 24[5]), took place on 10-13 July. The judge was Matsko. A charge was brought under article 62 para. 1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code.

The court held the following episodes against Kovalenko:

1. The confiscation from him on 12 January of the works: *Internationalism or Russification?* by I. Dzyuba; *Woe from Wit* by V. Chornovil (a document concerning the trials of 1965);[6] and publicist writings by V. Moroz[7] —all of these were regarded as anti-Soviet.

2. Statements criticizing the "international assistance" rendered to Czechoslovakia (uttered in the staffroom at the school where he worked).

The trial was held in camera, Kovalenko's wife, who was summoned as a witness on the second or third day of the trial, was not allowed to remain in the courtroom after giving evidence.

The sentence: 5 years of strict-regime camps.

* * *

(c) *The trial of Zinoviy Antonyuk*, born 1933, was held on 8-15 August. The judge was Dyshel, the Procurator Popchenko; the charge was one under article 62 para. 1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. The trial was officially open: 10-15 employees from the establishment where Antonyuk worked were brought to it by car. However, hardly any of Antonyuk's friends managed to gain entrance to the courtroom. Amongst the witnesses who appeared in court were Z. Franko, L. Seleznenko, M. Kholodny, Lobko and A. Povodid. According to the evidence of Seleznenko and Kholodny, Z. Antonyuk had obtained and passed on to others (sometimes the witnesses themselves had been involved in these incidents) the journal *Ukrainian Herald* (*UH*),[8] the articles "Bolshevism and the Spirituality of

[5. Where is first name is wrongly given as Fedir.]

[6. Published in English as *The Chornovil Papers*, 1968.]

[7. See, in English, his brilliant essay in Michael Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, London, 1971, and other writings and materials in V. Moroz, *Among the Snows*, Ukrainian Information Service, London, 1971.]

[8. Issues 1-4 and 6 have been published in Ukrainian as books, with names indexes, by, jointly, P.I.U.F. (3, rue du Sabot, Paris 6) and Smoloskyp (P.O. Box 6066, Patterson Station, Baltimore, Maryland 21231).]

the People" by Dontsov,[9] "Instead of a Final Speech" by V. Moroz,[10] and others. According to evidence given by Z. Franko, Antonyuk had photographed issue No. 3 of the *UH* and had the film conveyed to Czechoslovakia via A. Kocurova. Antonyuk denied having transmitted the film.

Regarding witness Lobko,[11] who gave evidence in favour of Antonyuk, the court made a separate decision that proceedings be instituted against him for his sharply-worded speech which it considered "contempt of court".

Witness Anna Povodid, a staff-member of the institute[12] where Z. Antonyuk worked, refused to confirm that Z. Antonyuk had given her *samizdat* literature to read. She stated that he had merely given her some unimportant scrap of paper to read in the corridor and that she had returned it to him there and then.

Z. Antonyuk wrote a letter asking the court to take into account the fact that he had acted without conscious malice, had not indulged in the circulation of material, and did not regard the literature confiscated from him as anti-Soviet. The court ignored Antonyuk's letter and passed a sentence of 7 years of strict-regime camps and 3 years' exile.

* * *

[d] *The trial of Vasyl Stus* (arrested in January 1972, see *Chronicle* No. 24) took place from 31 August to 7 September in the Kiev regional court. The judge was Dyshel.

It was reported in *Chronicle* No. 26 that the investigation was initially carried out under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code.

V. Stus is 34 and a poet and literary critic. He graduated from a teachers' training college and served in the army. Until 1965 he worked in the [Shevchenko] Institute of

[9. Dmytro Dontsov, born 1883, a publicist and theoretician of Ukrainian nationalism. In 1947 he moved to Canada.]

[10. This remarkable speech, included in *Ukrainian Herald* No. 6, appears in English in *Survey*, London, No. 82, 1972, and in Italian in *Russia Cristiana*, Milan, No. 124, 1972.]

[11. Probably Vasyl F. Lobko, Kiev engineer and former officer. See his correspondence with Maxim Rylsky of 1960-64 about the Ukrainian language in *Suchasnist*, Karlsplatz 8/III, 8 Munich 2, No. 2, 1970.]

[12. The Institute of Oil Chemistry, according to *UH* No. 6, which calls Antonyuk a Master of Chemical Science. *Chronicle* 24 was thus wrong to call him a philologist.]

Literature. He was preparing to defend his thesis but after speaking out against arrests in the Ukraine in the autumn of 1965 he was expelled. In recent years he had been working outside his professional field as an engineer in an information department and as a labourer on the construction of the [Kiev] underground railway. From 1965 his articles and poems ceased to be published.

The prosecution's case relied to a large extent on the testimony of L. Seleznenko and M. Kholodny.

At his trial the following points were held against Stus:

1. The rough draft of an article about the poet P. Tychyna [1891-1967], which had been neither published nor circulated (during a search of Stus's home a letter from Stanislav Telnyuk,[13] a specialist on Tychyna whom Stus had consulted while working on his article, was confiscated. Telnyuk had been summoned as a witness in Stus's case. In court he commented favourably on Stus's work). A staff-member at the Institute of Linguistics, Nasiruk, was called upon to assess Stus's article (although as a specialist on I. Franko he had never studied Tychyna); his review was unfavourable. The court ignored Telnyuk's opinion. A book by Telnyuk about Tychyna is lying unpublished in a Moscow publishing-house: Deputy Chairman of the Ukrainian Writers' Union Vasyl Kozachenko declared, "Let S. Telnyuk first settle his accounts with the KGB, then we'll publish him". Telnyuk is also being interrogated as a witness in the in the cases of Nadiya Svitlychna, Ivan Dzyuba, Yevhen Sverstyuk and Ivan Svitlychny.

2. A letter which Stus had sent to the government criticizing the state of affairs in which young writers of the Ukraine are not being published.[14] This letter, which was confiscated during a search, was held against Stus as being anti-Soviet.

3. The fact that while staying in the "Morshino" sanatorium Stus had told two jokes judged to be anti-Soviet (confirmed by the evidence of witnesses).

[13. A poet born in 1935, Telnyuk worked on the *Literary Ukraine* from 1962-66, and in 1970 was secretary of the Ukrainian Writers' Union's Commission on Literary Criticism and Theory. See his biography, also Tychyna's, in *Pismennyki rad, Ukrainy*, Kiev, 1970.]

[14. Very possibly his letter of 10 December 1971. See text in *Suchasnist*, No. 6, 1972. See material about Stus in P. Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia* and Browne, *op. cit.*]

4. The fact that an anthology of poetry by Stus had appeared in Belgium.[15] Witness L. Seleznenko testified that he had been the one who transmitted the anthology abroad, moreover without the author's consent. However, even this episode was held against Stus.

The court's verdict: 5 years of strict-regime camps and 3 years' exile.

* * *

[e] *Volodymyr Raketsky*, age 25.[16] Expelled from Kiev University in his third year because when he submitted some application it transpired that he had concealed the fact that he was the son of a man who had been suppressed [under Stalin], and moreover because he had been accused of having nationalist sympathies. Prior to his arrest he had worked as a staff correspondent on the paper *Moloda gvardiya* [*Young Guard*]. The judge was Matsko. Among other things the court held against Raketsky stories and poems (by himself and other writers) confiscated during a search and classified as anti-Soviet. The sentence: 5 years of strict-regime camps.

* * *

[f] *Yury Shukhevych*, born 1933, spent over 20 years in confinement as the son of General Roman Shukhevych (head of the Ukrainian Insurrectionist Army—UPA), who committed suicide in 1945 [in fact 1950]. After his release Yu. Shukhevych lived in exile in the [north Caucasian] town of Nalchik. Married with two children (aged 2 years and 9 months), he worked as an electrician. In February 1972 he was arrested in Nalchik (see *Chronicle* No. 25). From Nalchik he was sent to the KGB in Kiev and then back to Nalchik. Charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code.[17] Sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment (5 in prison and 5 in special-regime camps) and 5 years'

[15. *Zymovi dereva* (*Winter Trees*), Brussels, 1970. See also a translation of his poem, "In Memory of Alla Horska", in *The Ukrainian Review*, London, No. 2, 1972.]

[16. It would appear that this is the same case as the one which *Chronicle* 26 describes, sketchily, as concerning Vladimir Rakityansky. If this is so, then No. 26 is wrong, Rakityansky is not involved, and note 8 is irrelevant.]

[17. Presumably, in fact, under its Russian equivalent, article 70, as the trial seems to have taken place in Nalchik.]

exile. The arrest of Yu. Shukhevych followed that of N. Strokata, who had just exchanged her flat in Odessa for one in Nalchik and given rooms there to Shukhevych and his family (his family are still living there). It is believed that Yu. Shukhevych's memoirs of his 20-year imprisonment [see Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*] have been confiscated from him.

* * *

Trials in Lvov

[g] *Danylo Lavrentevich Shumuk*, born 1914 (see *Chronicle* No. 25). Trial took place on 5-7 July. Charged under article 62 para. 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (for his memoirs, the first part of which was confiscated from him at the time of his previous imprisonment [see Browne, *op. cit.*], and the second discovered during a search of Svitlychny's home). Shumuk was also charged with having circulated articles by Djilas and Dzyuba and made anti-Soviet statements (both charges brought on the evidence of witnesses), and with having written a letter to Svitlychny, which had been confiscated from the addressee and judged to be a "programmatic document".

Sentenced to 10 years' special-regime camps and 5 years' exile.

* * *

[h] Also tried: *Stefaniya Shabatura*, sentenced under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code to 5 years in camps and 3 years' exile, and the poetess *Irina Stasiv* [-*Kalynets*] (6 years in camps and 3 years' exile).[18] The husband of I. Stasiv, poet Ihor Kalynets, had obtained [permission for] a meeting with her, but a few days later he was arrested also.

* * *

[i] In mid-August *Ivan Hel* was sentenced under article 62 para. 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code to 5 years in special-regime camps, 5 years of strict-regime and 5 years' exile.[19]

* * *

[18. Tried, apparently together, in July. Both had arrived in Mordovian camp ZhKh 385/6 by November. See the Ukrainian paper *Svoboda*, New York, 29 November 1972. On their background see *Chronicles* 24 and 25, especially note 18 to No. 24, and *Ukrainian Herald* No. 6.]

[19. On this 35-year-old locksmith see No. 24 and also, on his 1965-68 imprisonment, V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*.]

[j] *The trial of* [*Mykhaylo*] *Osadchy* (see *Chronicle* No. 24)[20] was held on 4-5 September. Charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. The trial was a closed one. Osadchy was accused of having transmitted his manuscripts abroad. Sentenced to 7 years in strict-regime camps and 3 years' exile.

* * *

[k] In April a military tribunal in Lutsk examined the case of *Ihor Holts*, born 1946, a graduate of Kiev Medical Institute and a lieutenant in the Medical Corps. He was charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code). The indictment mentioned statements and conversations, in particular a toast proposed in honour of Israel's victory in the [Six-Day] War. Sentenced to 3 years in ordinary-regime camps. Summoned as a witness in the case was [Dr.] Semyon Gluzman, who was arrested on 12 May 1972 in Kiev in connection with the case of L. Serednyak.[21]

* * *

Arrests

In Kiev two staff-members of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy Vasyl Lisovy and Yevhen Pronyuk (aged about 30),[22] have been arrested.

[20. Also Reddaway, *op. cit.*, and *Index*, Writers and Scholars International, 35 Bow Street, London, W.C.2, No. 3-4, 1972, where details of the career of this 36-year-old poet and prose-writer are given to introduce an extract from his vivid memoir *The Mote* (*Bilmo*). This concerns his arrest, trial and life in prison in 1965-67, and has appeared abroad in Ukrainian in several editions.]

[21. Semyon (not Samuil, as in No. 25) Gluzman was sentenced to seven years of strict-regime camps and three of exile on 19 October 1972. See a Reuter dispatch from Moscow dated 20 October, and also Academician Sakharov's appeal to the world psychiatric profession to intercede for Gluzman, published in *The Times*, 9 December. Lyubov Serednyak was sentenced at the same time to one year.]

[22. Pronyuk was a witness at the trial of Ya. Hevrych in 1966, and was subsequently demoted—"for links with sentenced people"—from the rank of junior research officer in the institute to that of assistant librarian. See *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 33, 56-57, and *Ukr. inteligentsiya pid sudom KGB*, Munich, 1970. Pronyuk has written various articles, e.g., "From the History of Idealism in Galicia in the Second Half of the 19th Century", published in *Z istoriy filosofiy na Ukrainy*, Kiev, 1967.]

Lisovy had written a letter to the Ukrainian Central Committee and the KGB protesting about the increasing repressions in the Ukraine. The letter describes the state of culture and the economy in the Ukraine and supplies statistical data. About 70 photocopies of the letter had been placed in envelopes addressed to prominent personalities in the USSR, but were not sent out because they were confiscated during a search of Ye. Pronyuk's home.

* * *

Extra-judicial Persecution

In mid-September 1972, by decision of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, a 4 per cent staff reduction was implemented in the various institutions of the Academy. Institute staff to whom nationalist or anti-Soviet attitudes had been ascribed were dismissed, and the directors of some institutions [one line illegible]. Dismissed from the Institute of History: Master of Historical Sciences [Mykola] Braychevsky,[23] Doctor of Historical Sciences Olena Kompan[24] (six months before she was to have retired on a pension), Master of Historical Sciences Olena Apanovych[25] and Master of Historical Sciences Dzyra.[26] Svetlana Kyrychenko has been dismissed from the Institute of Philosophy. The Director of the Institute of Archaeology, corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences F. P.

* * *

[23. Dismissed in 1968 for signing a petition (see Reddaway, *op. cit.*) and author of a *samizdat* article on the 1654 treaty between Russia and the Ukraine. The article was published in Canada in 1971 as a brochure and also in the emigré journal *Novi dni*. In a letter published in *Visty z Ukrainy*, Kiev, 20 April 1972, where his post is given as being at the Institute of Archaeology, he dissociated himself from both publications and stated that he had never been persecuted for his academic views.]

[24. A co-author of *Istoriya robitnychogo klasu URSR* (vol. 1) and *Istoriya selyanstva URSR* (vol. 1), both Kiev, 1967.]

[25. Author of various articles and editor of two works by Braychevsky on the origins of the early Kievan state, published in Kiev in 1963 and 1964.]

[26. Ya. Dzyra wrote his thesis on Shevchenko and has published in the *Ukrainian Historical Journal* since 1963.]

Shevchenko,[27] has been sacked and transferred to another post. Large numbers of employees from other institutes have been dismissed: from the Institutes of Cybernetics, Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnography, and Linguistics.

Literary scholar V. P. Ivanysenko has been expelled from the party, dismissed from his post in the Institute of Literature and expelled from the Ukrainian Writers' Union. The *Information Bulletin of the Board of the UWU* (No. 6-7, 1972) and the paper *Literary Ukraine* report that the decision of the Kiev writers' organization to expel him was carried unanimously at a meeting of the Board of the UWU on 27 June 1972, chaired by Yu. Smolych. Ivanysenko was expelled for "anti-social conduct, actions and behaviour which grossly violate the statutes of the WU".

V. P. Ivanysenko was born in 1927. In 1944-1949 he served in the army. In 1953 he graduated from the Faculty of Philology at Kharkov University, worked as a teacher and defended a thesis on Soviet Ukrainian poetry. Since 1953 many articles and books by him have been published.[28]

* * *

According to some reports, Mykola Hryhorevich Plakhotnyuk, arrested on 13 January (see *Chronicle* No. 24), declared a hunger-strike in protest against the harsh treatment accorded to him while he was under psychiatric examination in the Serbsky Institute and on 9 September was sent back to a KGB isolation prison in Kiev.

Plakhotnyuk was born in 1936 in the village of Tikhii

[27. Born 1914 and a party member. Co-author, with Apanovych, Braychevsky, Dzyra and five others, of *The Historical Views of T. H. Shevchenko*, Kiev, 1964.]

[28. See an official biography of Victor Ivanysenko in *Pismenniki rad. Ukrainy*, Kiev, 1966. This biography was excluded from the edition of 1970, the year when he was first accused of *samizdat* activity. See *Ukrainian Herald* Nos. 3 and 4. For his expulsion see also *Literary Ukraine*, 30 June, and *Suchasnist*, Munich, 1972, No. 9, p. 124. As he is believed to have been a speech-writer for some Ukrainian politicians, perhaps including the party first secretary, P. Shelest, it is interesting to note that his expulsion came only a month after Shelest's removal from the first secretaryship and his sharp demotion.]

Khutor, Kiev Region. After graduating with distinction from a medical-technical college he entered a medical institute; he graduated so well that he was given a job in the institute, but was dismissed a year later for political reasons. Prior to his arrest he worked in a sanatorium at Pushcha Voditsa [Dnepropetrovsk Region].

* * *

The [above-mentioned] letter by M. Kholodny, published on 7 July 1972 in the paper *Literary Ukraine*, elicited replies from the persons libelled by the author of the article: writer Borys Dmytriyevich Antonenko-Davydovich, member of the UWU, Ivan Makarovich Honchar, Honoured Worker in the Arts, and Oksana Yakovlevna Meshko,[29] mother of the convicted Serhiyenko. Their letters were not published and the editor did not reply to them. I. M. Honchar was expelled from the party. Antonenko-Davydovich was summoned for an interview and was promised that his stories, now on ice at the publishers, would be printed only if he published a condemnation of the "activities" of the arrested persons in the press.

* * *

A search was carried out at the home of an officer of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Library, Victoria Tsymbal.

* * *

Persecution of Ukrainian Jews

Baby Yar, 7 September. A group of Kiev Jews attempted to lay a wreath and flowers on the grave-stone at Baby Yar in memory of the eleven Israeli sportsmen murdered in Munich. Participants in the ceremony of mourning were met by rows of policemen and KGB men in civilian clothes (amongst them KGB "operatives" Smirnov and Bryukhanov from the Kiev regional department—already well known to many Jews—and others who have often taken part in various police actions against Jews, in particular at the Kiev synagogue). As well as police and KGB cars

[29. On these three see various issues of the *Ukrainian Herald*. On Antonenko-Davydovich see also *Chronicle* 17, and, on the sculptor Honchar, Reddaway, *op. cit.*]

there were several belonging to the regional party committee. Persons who approached the memorial with flowers or refused to "disperse" were detained. In all 27 people were detained; five of them were fined 25 rubles and eleven sentenced to fifteen days' administrative arrest on the basis of false testimony by witnesses, and a different "corpus delicti" was invented for each person. Arrested were: Yury Soroko, Basya Soroko (his wife), Simkha Remennik, Zinovy Melamed, Mark Yampolsky, Yury Tartakovsky, Dmitry Dobrenko, Vladimir Vernikov, Vsevolod Rukhman, David Miretsky and Yan Monastyrsky.[30]

Following an objection by the Procurator responsible for ensuring legality in places of confinement, B. Soroko was released one day before the expiry of her term in view of the fact that she and Yu. Soroko have a child who is a minor. All the arrested persons were freed at different times and in different places so as to prevent the possibility of their [illegible]. The police tried to disperse their friends and relatives when they gathered outside the prison. Yu. Soroko and Z. Melamed were driven straight from prison to the offices of the Kiev regional KGB, where a KGB officer called Davydenko "chatted" with them in threatening tones. He declared that "circumstances had changed", that the KGB had now "had its hands untied", and that the next time their term of imprisonment would be far longer (Yu. Soroko and M. Yampolsky had been held under arrest for 15 days in February-March 1972 for visiting the Kiev synagogue).[31]

* * *

On 16 September 1972 there was a general conference of the secretaries of the various party organizations in the city of Kiev. A new procedure was announced for the completion of documents by persons emigrating to capitalist countries. References now require the signatures of the director and secretary of the party organization and of the chairman of the trade union committee: their deputies do not have the right to sign. The secretaries

[30. On the whole episode see also *News Bulletin on Soviet Jewry*, POB 23062, Tel Aviv, Vol. III, No. 1.]

[31. Yampolsky (who left the USSR in late 1972) was arrested on February 26, Soroko on March 4. See *NBSJ*, Vol. II, No. 213, p. 2, also the reference in *Chronicle* 24, p. 147.]

and party organizers were advised that when a person asked them to supply a reference in order to get an exit visa for permanent residence in a capitalist country, they should warn him that he would be obliged to pay for his higher education whether it had been completed or not. The conference heard a report by regional [in fact: Kiev city] party committee secretary [A. P.] Botvin to the effect that resolutions concerning the Lvov region were being poorly implemented (a reference to some secret resolution regarding ideological work).[32]

* * *

Baby Yar, 29 September. On this day, as the custom has been since 1964, wreaths and flowers were laid on the grave-stone at Baby Yar. The official meeting began later than usual, at 6 p.m. The speaker laid particular stress on Israeli aggression against the Arabs. There was also mention of the multinational Soviet state and the fact that many Soviet people of differing nationalities had perished during the tragedy played out at Baby Yar. The inhabitants of Kiev (several hundred in number) had come to Baby Yar to honour the memory of their dead brothers with garlands and flowers. The pavements were cordoned off by numerous police detachments. The only wreaths permitted to be laid were those with red and black ribbons and inscriptions that were not in Yiddish ("it's not clear what's written on them"); blue and white ribbons (the colours of the Israeli flag) were removed by order of the police. At 7 p.m. police squads began clearing the streets and by 8 o'clock everything was deserted and the flame by the gravestone had been extinguished.[33]

* * *

Searches, Interrogations, Arrests

On 28 September 1972 a search was carried out at the flat of **Yu. A. Shikhanovich.** Before it had been completed Shikhanovich was presented with a warrant for his arrest. He was driven away and the search concluded

[32. See a passing reference to, presumably, this resolution in the Armenian paper, *Kommunist*, Erevan, 4 October 1972.]
[33. See a more detailed account in *NBSJ*, Vol. III, No. 1.]

without him, in the presence of his wife. The warrant, issued by the head of the Internal Affairs Department of the KGB Administration for Moscow and Moscow region, stated that "as has been established during the examination of the criminal case relating to Shikhanovich Yu. A. (there had previously been no mention of any such case—*Chronicle*), he has for a number of years systematically harboured, duplicated and disseminated anti-Soviet literature". During the search of Shikhanovich's flat some of his friends arrived, among them A. D. Sakharov, but they were not allowed into the flat or permitted to say goodbye to him.

Yury Alexandrovich Shikhanovich was born in Kiev in 1933 and is a Master of Pedagogical Sciences and a mathematician by profession. In 1968 he was dismissed from the Philological Faculty of Moscow University, where he taught mathematics, after receiving a "public censure" for having signed a protest about the unlawful hospitalization of A. S. Esenin-Volpin (a special course given by Shikhanovich in the Faculty of Mechanics and Mathematics was ended at the same time).[34] After this he worked in a Special Construction Bureau, where as an "unreliable" person he was twice demoted (the search on 28 September was his third). This summer he was forced to leave his job. Prior to his arrest Yu. Shikhanovich worked as a teacher of mathematics at a boarding-school and, most recently, in a trades and technical

[34. On this episode see entries in Reddaway, *op. cit.*, Shikhanovich is the author of the highly regarded book, *An Introduction to Modern Mathematics* (Moscow, 1965), and of numerous articles, including "Examples of the Application of Mathematical Logic to Algebra" (1956), and "Problems of Creating a Machine Language for Geometry" (1960). On him see also *Chronicles* 24-26. In January 1973 Leeds University sent him an invitation to give some lectures at its School of Mathematics, and in November 1972 eighteen recent emigrés from the USSR signed an appeal in his defence. See *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 November, and *Possev*, Frankfurt, 1973, No. 1, p. 13, also No. 2, which carried an article by V. Belotserkovsky about his friendship with Shikhanovich. In a letter to Andropov, dated January 23, Academician Sakharov and his wife Elena Bonner offered to stand surety for Shikhanovich, who had been held incommunicado since his arrest. See a Reuter dispatch from Moscow dated February 11.]

college. During the searches *samizdat* and personal documents were confiscated from him. Yu. A. Shikhanovich has been charged under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code.

On the same day a search was made at the home of **O. Baryshnikova** "in connection with case No. 381". [One line illegible.]

In connection with the same case 381 a search was carried out at the home of **[Boris] Vail** who is serving a term of exile in Tobolsk (see *Chronicle* No. 16). Vail has been transferred to Tobolsk from Uvat, which is [also] in the Tyumen Region. His new address: ul. Ershova 31. Nothing was removed during the search.

* * *

On 12 September 1972 **Victor Krasin** (see *Chronicles* 11, 22) was arrested in Moscow. At the time of his arrest a search was made in connection with case No. 24. Confiscated were [Robert] Conquest's *The Great Terror*, two of the special issues of *Possev* (containing the *Chronicle*), a tape recorder and a transistor radio.

Victor Krasin, born in 1929, is a former inmate of Stalin's camps and an economist by training. Since 1972 he has been a second-category invalid. A member of the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR. In December 1969 he was arrested, convicted of parasitism and exiled to Krasnoyarsk Province. In the autumn of 1971 the sentence was repealed following an objection by the Procurator and Krasin returned to Moscow. Now Victor Krasin has been arrested for the third time.

On 13 September a search was made at the home of Krasin's wife **Nadezhda Emelkina** (see *Chronicle* Nos. 20, 23) who is serving a term of exile in the town of Eniseisk, Krasnoyarsk Province. Floors were taken up in the house. Confiscated were Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*, Solzhenitsyn's *Cancer Ward* and Marchenko's *My Testimony*.

* * *

On 5 September **Roald Gashimovich Mukhamedyarov** was arrested. Born in 1934, he is the author of several open letters and a biographical tale about camp-life which

has circulated in *samizdat*[35] (see *Chronicle* Nos. 14, 15, 24, 25). Mukhamedyarov has two children aged three and six. During a search two issues of the *Chronicle* and personal notes were confiscated.

The investigation into Mukhamedyarov's case is being conducted by Captain Korkach [see Nos. 19-21].

* * *

The following have been arrested in Ulan-Ude [Buryat ASSR]: **B. D. Dandaron,** a Buddhist scholar and research officer at the Buryat Institute of Social Sciences; aged 58, he was convicted as an "enemy of the people" in 1937 and legally exculpated in 1956;[36] **A. I. Zheleznov; Yu. Lavrov** (a student or post-graduate at the [Ulan-Ude] Pedagogical Institute; **V. Montlevich,** an ethnographer and research officer at the Leningrad Museum of Atheism and Religions; **D. Butkus** (a graduate student from Vilnius).[37] Charges have been brought under articles

[35. None of these items has yet reached the west.]

[36. Bidya Dandaron was sentenced in Ulan-Ude, at a trial which lasted from December 18 to 25, to confiscation of his property and to five years in an ordinary-regime camp. The trial is described in detail in an as yet unpublished *samizdat* document, which compares it to the notorious Beilis trial of 1911. Dandaron is the author of various works, e.g., the two-volume *A Description of the Tibetan Manuscripts and Woodcuts in the Buryat Multi-Discipline Research Institute*, Moscow, 1960 and 1965, and a co-compiler of, e.g., *A Short Tibeto-Russian Dictionary*, Moscow, 1963. See also, on his arrest and trial, *The Observer*, London, 22 October, 10 December and 7 January, and the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, Zürich, 14 January.]

[37. These four were, at a trial in Ulan-Ude from 21 to 23 November, ruled to be insane and dispatched for indefinite detention to prison-hospitals. The *samizdat* document mentioned in note 36 includes, as an appendix, extracts from the psychiatric reports on them by doctors F. P. Babanova, V. M. Veselov, and V. S. Smirnov of Ulan-Ude's No. 1 City Hospital. The reports diagnose different forms of schizophrenia. Donatas Ju. Butkus is an officer of the Historico-Ethnographical Museum of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius, and has written an article on the Tibetan medicine practised round Lake Baikal, in *Trudy Leningradsk. khim-farmatsevt. inst-a*, 1968, t. 26; Alexander Zheleznov is a scholar of Ulan-Ude; on Vladimir M. Montlevich and Yury K. Lavrov no further details are yet known.]

142 and 227 of the Russian Criminal Code.[38] They include: having a Buddhist philosophy of life, organizing a religious group, and in addition, hooliganism, speculation in religious ritual objects and having connections with Zionism.

In Moscow, in connection with the arrested Buddhist scholars, a search has been carried out at the home of an officer of the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies, **O. F. Volkova**; confiscated from her were two copies of the Bible in Russian and Church Slavonic, a sculpted figure of Buddha, Buddhist ritual beads and Xerox copies of Buddhist texts she needed for her work.[39] At an interrogation the investigator tried to extort from Volkova a confession of her participation in "bloody Buddhist sacrifices". Also interrogated was Buddhist scholar **A. Pyatigorsky.**[40] In Tartu a search was made at the home **Linart Mäll,** a scholar of Buddhism and lecturer at Tartu University.

On 12 July by decree of the Moscow City Procuracy a search was carried out in Moscow at the home of **N. L. Frolova,** mother-in-law of V. A. Nekipelov. Confiscated were telephone numbers, addresses, a letter and a typewriter belonging to Frolova.

On 13 July searches were made in the town of Kameshkov, Vladimir Region, at the home and work-

* * *

[38. These penalize, respectively, "violation of the laws on the separation of church and state" and "attack on the personality and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites."]

[39. A strongly worded *samizdat* statement by Oktyabrina Volkova, published in *Russkaya mysl*, Paris, 4 January 1973, describes both this search, of October 13, and a second one of October 24. Volkova is a specialist on Indian languages who has published widely. She also signed one of the protests in P. Litvinov, *The Trial of the Four*, London and New York, 1972.]

[40. Alexander M. Pyatigorsky signed two documents in *ibid.* See also Reddaway, *op. cit.* He is an outstanding specialist on Indian languages. On the flourishing—until recently—state of Buddhist and Tibetan studies in the USSR see, e.g., the *Literary Gazette*, 9 December 1970, and the article "Tibetan Studies" in *Aziatskii muzei—Leningr. otdelenie I-ta vostokovedeniya AN SSSR*, Moscow, 1972.]

place (a chemist's shop) of **Nekipelov.** The searches were carried out by an employee of the investigation department for the Vladimir Region, Biryukov, on the order of investigator [Yu. P.] Maloyedov who is in charge of case No. 4030/59-71 in Moscow (the case of S. Myuge, see *Chronicle* No. 25).

* * *

On 4 July, by order of senior Procuracy investigator Maloyedov, a search was made by senior Procuracy investigator Guguchiya of the Abkhaz ASSR [in Georgia], accompanied by senior police lieutenant Tsvikariya, at the home of **Margarita Vladimirovna Orekhnina,** a resident of Kashtak Settlement, Gulripshi District. Confiscated were: books by Solzhenitsyn, poems by Akhmatova, Sologub, Gumilyov, Broniewski, Nezval[41] and others, carbon paper, photographs of Solzhenitsyn and an "Erika" typewriter. **E. [Ernst] Rudenko** [see No. 24] who was there on holiday from Moscow, was subjected to an interrogation in the offices of the local KGB.

* * *

On 27 August **Yu. I. Yukhnovets**[42] underwent a search and was arrested. Born in 1933, he was expelled from the fourth-year course in the Faculty of Journalism at Moscow University in 1958 for a speech he had made in the House of Friendship entitled "What I want to free myself from" (concerning freedom of expression, of the press, etc.). Following this he worked as a lathe operator in the Pravda publishing-house and then, for the last three years, as a loader. The warrant for his arrest was issued

[41. The first three are famous Russian poets, W. Broniewski (1897-1962) is a Pole, and Viteslav Nezval (1900-58) is a Czech.]

[42. Yury Yukhnovets signed three documents of 1968 in Litvinov, *op. cit.* Agency reports from Moscow dated February 21 said that he and four others were soon to be tried for allegedly having printed leaflets about exploitation of the workers (see *Chronicle* 26, p. 257). Two of the four were Balakirev, who has worked at Moscow's Energy Institute, and Georgy S. Bolonkin, aged about 60, who worked at Moscow's Institute of Radio Electronics and Automation.]

by the investigation department of the KGB Administration for Moscow and Moscow Region. The search was carried out by Lieutenant Katalikov, Vladimir Vasilevich Vdovenko, Vladimir Vladimirovich Martynov and senior investigator Trofimov between the hours of 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. Confiscated were: *Chronicle* No. 26, songs by Galich, a copy of *Possev* and a photograph of Dostoyevsky.

* * *

Dzhebar Akimov was arrested at the beginning of September in Tashkent. A charge has been brought under [the Uzbek equivalent to] article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code. Akimov had hung out a flag of mourning on 18 May, the anniversary of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars from the Crimea.

* * *

On 12 June a search was made at the Riga home of poetess **Vizma Belsevica,**[43] a member of the Writers' Union, in connection with the case of Ivan Dzyuba. A representative of the Ukrainian KGB took part in it.

In July 1972 **L. E. Pinsky** and **E. A. Grin** were summoned to the KGB for questioning in connection with the case of Svitlychny.[44]

* * *

On 17 August after a meeting with [foreign] correspondent Jim Peipert **Valery Pushkin** was detained and questioned for four hours at a police-station on a fabricated charge concerning "the disappearance of state valuables".[45]

* * *

[43. See her poems in *Druzhba narodov*, Moscow, 1961, No. 11, and *Literary Russia*, 31 May 1963, and her story in the *Literary Gazette*, 9 August 1967. She has been criticized for the bourgeois lyricism of her poems, and their insufficient realism, in *Lit. Gaz.*, 14 November 1959, and *Kommunist Sov. Latvii*, 1963, No. 5, p. 24.]

[44. On Leonid Pinsky see Reddaway, *op. cit.*, Litvinov, *op. cit.*, and *Chronicle* 25. E. A. Grin is probably the editor who signed a document in Litvinov, *op. cit.*]

[45. On two similar incidents, of August 5, involving Peipert and Moscow Jews, see *NBSJ* II, No. 218, p. 14, and agency reports from Moscow dated August 6. Pushkin later emigrated from the USSR.]

On 10 July a confrontation was arranged between **V. Popov** and K. Lyubarsky, who was arrested in January 1972 (see *Chronicle* No. 24).[46] On the following day V. Popov was arrested.

* * *

At the beginning of July in Vinnitsa [SW Ukraine], **Itskhak Shkolnik,** a worker at an automation equipment plant, was arrested. He has been charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code).[47] The accusation is one of anti-Soviet conversations at his work and with friends. A search was carried out by KGB officers: a manual of Hebrew and a 5-dollar note were confiscated.

* * *

On 19 September in Moscow **31 Jews** who are seeking permission to leave for Israel were arrested. Some of them were arrested at their homes or in the street, others outside the building where a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet was in progress. They had intended to hand in to the deputies a petition protesting against the introduction of an education tax to be levied from persons leaving the USSR to take up permanent residence in capitalist countries. Several of them were freed immediately and the rest were sentenced administratively to penalties ranging from a fine of 20 rubles to 15 days' detention.[48]

* * *

[46. Vladimir Popov is a former student of Lyubarsky. Lyubarsky was sentenced to five years in strict-regime camps on 26 October 1972.]

[47. This charge was changed in late 1972 to the much more serious "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", after Shkolnik and his friend Mikhail Mager had been denounced at a public meeting and an article called "The Poisonous Fangs of Zionism" had appeared in a local paper. The charge was then, in February 1973, reportedly changed again to the even more serious one of espionage. See *NBSJ* II, No. 218, and III, Nos. 1 and 5, and *The Times*, 12 and 13 February.]

[48. For extensive details on this episode see *NBSJ* III, No. 1, Reuter dispatches dated 22 September and 2 October, and the *New York Times*, 25 September. Two of those arrested, Ilya Belau and Alexei Tumerman, were interned for some time in mental hospitals.]

The Events in Lithuania

Some details have become known about the tragic suicide of Romas Kalanta and the events that followed it in Kaunas (see *Chronicle* No. 26). Kalanta died by self-immolation at about 1 p.m. [on May 14] in a city garden next to the Kaunas Musical Theatre and opposite the City Soviet Executive Committee building. Sitting on a bench in the garden, Kalanta wrote something in a notebook, tore out the sheets of paper and laid them on the stone edging of a fountain, poured petrol over himself, scattered what remained of it all around and set himself alight. The youth asked people who rushed up to him to kill him. Soon he fell to the ground, still inside the circle of flames. The story of how Kalanta's friends did not allow anyone to approach him (see *Chronicle* No. 26) has so far not been confirmed. The sheets of paper left by Kalanta were read by many of the people who came up to the spot where the suicide had taken place. The *Chronicle* does not know their precise content. All that is known is that Kalanta protested at the prevailing conditions in Lithuania and asserted that it was better to die than to go on living as before.

The burns received by Kalanta turned out to be so extensive that after he had been taken to hospital he had to be given injections in the soles of his feet. Rumour has it that Kalanta, delirious, repeated again and again: "I shan't tell you anything". It was also rumoured that the KGB maintained a constant guard by his bedside. Kalanta died a few hours later.

His body was taken by relatives to his home on Paperiu Street (Viliampole district). Access to the body was apparently open to all. Many people, especially the young, came to pay their last respects to the deceased.

On 18 May, long before the appointed hour of 4 o'clock in the afternoon, many people who wished to attend the funeral gathered at the house. When the hearse drove off from the house it immediately accelerated sharply, leaving the funeral procession far behind, and the mourners did not reach the cemetery until the burial was over. In the meantime a large crowd had assembled outside Kalanta's home. A call to go to the place of the suicide was taken up, and people started chanting "To

the city garden!" All along the way new people joined in the demonstration; traffic came to a halt and the police did not interfere with the demonstrators. The procession was chanting "Freedom!", "Lithuania!". Conversations sprang up amongst the marchers about the arrest of some of Kalanta's fellow-students who had tried to decorate the place of his self-immolation with flowers. Rumours circulated, evidently false, to the effect that Kalanta's father had been detained. Upon reaching the city gardens the demonstration turned towards the City Executive Committee building. Shouts of "Free the arrested people! They are our comrades!" rang out. The doors and windows of the building were bolted. The demonstrators crossed over into the gardens, where they held a meeting. One appeal made was that they should not cease their daily demonstrations until the arrested persons were freed. "We promise!" the crowd chanted, "Freedom for Lithuania!" Girls laid flowers on the spot of the suicide. The demonstrators sang national songs. From the park the demonstration moved down Freedom Avenue in the direction of the KGB headquarters. Not far from what used to be a cathedral and is now an art gallery the procession was halted by police cordons blocking its path. For some time the row of policemen did not move a step. Now politely, now giving orders, they requested people to disperse. Someone in plain clothes grabbed a girl from the head of the demonstration and tried to drag her towards the KGB building, but the crowd forced him aside. On the cathedral steps brief and spontaneous meetings gathered time and again.

The police began to bear down on the demonstrators and force them into side streets and courtyards. Buses and police vehicles appeared and the police began herding demonstrators into the cars. Only then did real clashes with the police begin and fights break out. Near the cathedral a policeman was seriously injured (or, according to another version, killed) by a stone.

On 18 May the police and state security officials were unable to control the situation. Skirmishes with the police continued until nightfall.

On 19 May demonstrators began to gather at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Clashes with the police

occurred. From approximately 7 p.m. military units were brought in to break up the demonstration for good. They beat the demonstrators, and also any people who happened to be in the streets, with rubber truncheons. According to rough estimates, about 400 people were detained. Prison cells were filled to overflowing and, in some, men and women were confined together. Also used to accommodate the detainees was the notorious Ninth Fort, a museum on the outskirts of Kaunas which was a Gestapo torture-chamber during the war.

Most of the detainees were released a few hours later after being questioned. Many were beaten up before their release. Some were freed after several days, while others were given 15 days' imprisonment (see *Chronicle* No. 26). As it turned out, the demonstration had been photographed. Some of the people called in for questioning in the summer and autumn were confronted with photographs as proof of their participation in the demonstration. So far it is not known whether anyone has been arrested as the instigator of the demonstration.

The city gardens near the Musical Theatre were patrolled for a long time afterwards. It appears that detectives are still on duty there even now.

On 5 October the paper *Soviet Lithuania* reported that the Lithuanian Supreme Court in Vilnius had heard the case of eight people arrested during the disorders of 18 May in Kaunas (an article by P. Jankauskas and L. Marcinkevicius entitled "Disturbers of Public Order Punished"). The defendants were charged under article 199-3 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-3 of the Russian Code). Two were charged in addition under articles 255 para. 2 and 99 para. 1 of the Lithuanian Code (hooliganism and damage to state property). All the defendants were found guilty.

Vitautas Kalade, age 25, a stagehand, was sentenced to three years of hard-regime camps; Antanas Kacinskas, age 24, to three years of strict-regime camps; Virginia Urbonaviciute, age 18, to one year of correctional labour [at her place of work]; Rimas Bauzis, age 18, workers Kazis Grinkevicius, age 24, and Vitautas Zmuila, age 23, comprehensive school students Jonas Prapuolenaitis,

21, and Jonas Macijauskas, 19, to terms ranging from 18 months to three years of camps.[49]

* * *

In the Spring of 1972 a *Chronicle of the Catholic Church* [in Lithuanian] began to appear in Lithuania. The first issue contains a detailed account of the trials of priests J. Zdebskis and P. Bubnys, and of the trial of the parishioner K. Biciucaite. Information is provided about the extra-judicial persecution of priests and believers; letters and statements by Lithuanian Catholics addressed to the authorities are published or their contents described in detail. Most of the facts reported in this issue have already appeared in past issues of the *Chronicle* (see Nos. 21-26). By October three issues of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church* had been published.[50]

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[49. The judge was M. Ignotas, and the defence lawyers were G. Gavronskis, P. Kudaba, V. Zabela, A. Sarka, and A. Urbasevicius. See also *New York Times* and Reuter dispatches from Moscow dated 25 September and 3 October, and a Reuter dispatch of 4 January about an official report of a further trial in which R. Truskauskas, aged 17, got ten years for allegedly taking part both in the demonstrations and in a group rape. For a Soviet eye-witness account of Kalanta's death see *Possev* 2, 1973, p. 18.]

[50. The first two of these have reached the west, each over 10,000 words in length. No. 1 covers the period from the late summer of 1971 to January 1972, and No. 2 from January to May 1972. No. 2 is remarkable for its detailed, systematic coverage—district by district throughout Lithuania —of the church's opposition to persecution. See a summary in *Baltic Events* No. 1, 1973, and an excellent interpretative article in *Religion in Communist Lands*, No. 1, 1973, by K. Matchett. Details of these two publications are given in the Bibliography in this issue, sections III.b and III.c.]

The Persecution of the Crimean Tatars[51]

Documents concerning the movement of the Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland and their persecution by the authorities:[52]

1. An appeal to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers and the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU (copy to "the Public"). The authors adduce extensive material relating to the persecution of the Crimean Tatar people by the authorities, and demand: their organized return to their native land ("our people already have some experience of unorganized return") and the restoration of the Crimean Autonomous Republic; the complete rehabilitation and restoration of the rights of all activists in the movement to return to the Crimea; cessation of the slanderous campaign against the Crimean Tatars; and the institution of criminal proceedings and the punishment of all those guilty of persecution, repression and slander. The appeal starts with the text of the Resolution on the Creation of the Crimean ASSR signed by M. Kalinin, V. Lenin and A. Enukidze.

2. An appeal by Crimean Tatar youth (with 33 signatures) addressed to the government, party and public of the USSR (copy to the editors of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*), in which hopes for the satisfaction of the same demands (which both the 50th anniversay of Soviet power and then the centenary of the birth of Lenin had not seen

[51. See Ann Sheehy's thorough analysis, "The Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans", in B. Whitaker, ed., *The Fourth World*, London, 1972, also her essay, "The Central Asian Republics", in *Ethnic Pressures in the Soviet Union* (see note 1). The essay provides the ethnic context in which most of the Crimean Tatars live. A notable recent move by the authorities to intimidate the Tatars was the holding of a short trial of four of them before a military tribunal in Simferopol. For crimes allegedly committed in 1942-44 in service of the Germans death sentences were imposed. See *Pravda* and a *New York Times* dispatch, both dated 12 July 1972.]

[52. The first and third of these have reached the west but not as yet been published. See also a UPI dispatch dated August 16 from Moscow, which summarizes what may be the same documents, signed by 20,000 and 18,000 people and dispatched in mid-June to the authorities.]

satisfied) are linked with the [then] forthcoming 50th anniversary of the USSR.

3. A document entitled *Chronicle* [and dated July 1972] which cites a great many instances of discrimination and repressions with regard to Crimean Tatars. Some of the facts are confirmed by documents.

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On 12 October 1972 *Reshat Dzhemilev*[53] was arrested. R. Dzhemilev was born on 12 October 1931 in the village of Uluz-Uzen in the Alushta District of the Crimean ASSR. He is a construction engineer. Every year since 1965 the Crimean Tatars had been sending him to Moscow as a representative of his people. He was one of the twenty Crimean Tatars who on 21 July 1965 [mis-typing for 1967] were received by the Chairman of the KGB, Andropov, the Secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Georgadze, the Procurator-General of the USSR, Rudenko, and the Minister of Public Order, Shchelokov. On 2 September 1967 he was arrested as an organizer of the mass demonstrations and rallies in Tashkent on that day and on 27 August. On 13 December of the same year the Tashkent City Court sentenced him to one year of corrective labour.

* * *

In the Prisons and Camps[53a]

Some inmates of Vladimir No. 2 Prison (address: 600020, Vladimir, uchrezhdeniye OD-1/ST-2) convicted under articles of the Criminal Code relating to "especially dangerous state crimes" are:

Anatoly Avakov, article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code, five years, sentenced at the beginning of 1970 in

[53. Born 1932 and a signatory of many Tatar appeals. See entries on him in Reddaway, *op. cit.* A recent protest letter of his, about a search of his flat on 12 July 1972, has reached the west but not yet been published.]

[53a. On 26 February 1973 a report, "The Forced Labour Camps in the USSR Today", by Peter Reddaway, was presented to the press in Brussells by the International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR. See press reports of 27 February, also details of the report in section III.a of the Bibliography in this issue.]

Komsomolsk-na-Amure for posting "anti-Soviet" letters to Soviet newspapers and to Nixon, and writing comments on ballot-papers [see No. 18].

Bakhrov, a priest of the TOC (Truly Orthodox Church). Previously served a term of many years in the Mordovian camps and Vladimir Prison, from which he was released in 1967. Re-sentenced under article 70 para. 2 of the Code to ten years, six of them to be served in prison. Has been kept under special regime since July 1972.

Yakov Berg (now *Khaimovich*, he has changed his name in prison), article 70 of the Code, sentenced by Moscow City Court in 1967 in the same case as Vyacheslav Aidov (see *Chronicle* Nos. 14, 15)[54] for preparing leaflets for printing, and for building a duplicating machine. Sent to [Vladimir] prison at the end of 1969 (see *Chronicle* Nos. 11, 18, 25).

Yury Belov, convicted for the second time in 1968 while in exile after a three-year term of imprisonment in the Mordovian camps; sentenced under article 70 para. 2 of the Russian Criminal Code to ten years of strict-regime camps. A court of second instance reduced the term to one of five years. Was in Vladimir Prison from April 1970 until recently, when he was ruled to be of unsound mind and sent to the Special Psychiatric Hospital in Sychyovka, Smolensk Region. The Head Doctor of the hospital, Lyamkin, has stated that they will treat Belov until he changes his opinions (see *Chronicle* Nos. 9, 18 [and 26]).

Leonid Borodin, history teacher and school headmaster, sentenced in 1968 in the ASCULP case [All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People] (see *Chronicle* Nos. 1, 17, 19, 22) under articles 70 and 72 of the Russian Criminal Code to six years. Has been in Vladimir Prison since November 1970. Term of imprisonment expires in February 1973.

Vladimir Bukovsky, article 70 of the Russian Criminal

[54. Texts in the fifth and sixth Special Issues of *Possev*, Nov. 1970 and March 1971. On Berg see also Petrov-Agatov's vivid portrait in *Grani* 84, 1972, pp. 58-59.]

Code, seven years, two of which to be served in prison (see *Chronicle* Nos. 19, 20-26).[55]

Boris Bykov, sentenced in Alma-Ata under the article of the Kazakh Criminal Code equivalent to article 70 of the Russian Code, six years. Has been in Vladimir Prison since November 1970 (see *Chronicle* No. 18).

Bogdan Vtsuta, article 64 of the Russian Criminal Code (betrayal of the fatherland), 15 years. Arrested in 1969 when he tried to cross into Afghanistan while serving in the frontier forces. Has been in [Vladimir] prison since the beginning of 1971.

Oleg Vorobyov, article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code, six years, three of which in prison (see *Chronicle* Nos. 16-18, 21).

Vladimir Anastasevich Gavrilyuk, convicted in 1969 under the article relating to "betrayal of the fatherland", for crimes committed in the Ukraine during the war years. Term: 15 years. Sent to a camp in August 1972.

Demchishin, convicted for having served in the UPA (Bandera's Ukrainian Insurrectionist Army) during the war. Term: 15 years, commenced in 1969.

Boris Zalivako, a priest, sentenced in 1969 to eight years for crossing the Soviet-Czechoslovak frontier. Has been in the prison since the Spring of 1971 (see *Chronicle* No. 17 [and 23]).

Juozas Zelenkevicius, a herdsman sentenced in 1969 for having served in the Lithuanian troops which collaborated with the Germans in wartime. Term: 15 years, five of which in prison [see No. 25].

Svyatoslav Karavansky, a philologist, article 70 para. 2 of the Russian Criminal Code (see *Chronicle* Nos. 15, 18). Held under special-regime.

[55. In December 1972 the University of Leiden invited Bukovsky to come to Holland to study, and offered him a scholarship. See text in *Russkaya mysl*, Paris, 28 December 1972. And on 8 December three foreigners demonstrated on Moscow's Revolution Square, handing out leaflets in Bukovsky's defence. They were Mario Celletti of Italy, Peter Krosbû of Norway and André Kientzi of France. Detained at once, they were expelled two days later. See an AP dispatch from Moscow of December 11, a Reuter dispatch of December 13, a big attack on the demonstrators in the *Literary Gazette*, December 13, p. 9, and *Possev* Nos. 1 and 2 (which reprints the *Lit. gaz.* article), 1973.]

Dmytro Kvetsko, instructor on a district committee of the Komsomol, sentenced to 15 years, of which five in prison, for participation in the Ukrainian National Front (see *Chronicle* No. 17). Sent to the Mordovian camps in March 1972.

Vasyl Kindrat, a worker, sentenced in 1962 to 10 years for nationalist propaganda.[56] Was in the prison from February 1971 until August 1972, when [illegible line].

Zinoviy Krasivsky, a writer sentenced in the same case as Kvetsko to twelve years, of which five in prison [see Nos. 11, 17, 18, 25]. In December 1971 a "cell case" was brought against him under article 70 para. 2. The charge was one of manufacturing and circulating, orally and in writing, verses of nationalist content, in particular the poem "Apocalypse". After a psychiatric examination in the Serbsky Institute in the Spring of 1972 a commission consisting of A. V. Snezhnevsky, G. V. Morozov, and D. R. Lunts found him of unsound mind. Krasivsky is now in the second hospital block of the prison, awaiting transfer to a Special Psychiatric Hospital. After the war Krasivsky and his family were administratively exiled to Kazakhstan. On his way into exile Krasivsky escaped, returned to his homeland, and was detained and sentenced to five years. On the expiry of his term he was sent into "exile in perpetuity" in Kazakhstan, where he worked in the mines and became an industrial invalid as a result of a head injury received in an accident. With great difficulty he obtained permission to return to his homeland. After graduating from the Philological Faculty of Lvov University he published several bibliographical works. At the time of his arrest in 1967 he had prepared for the press a historical novel about the Zaporozhian Cossacks. Krasivsky has two children; his wife is a music teacher in a school in the town of Morshino, Lvov Region. Her salary is the sole source of income for the family's upkeep,

[56. Not quite accurate, according to the lawyer and prisoner I. O. Kandyba, who wrote in 1966 that the trial of Kindrat and 19 others for forming a "Ukrainian National Committee" took place in Lvov in December 1961. Kindrat, "a young boy, was sentenced to 13 years, whereupon he went mad". See M. Browne, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, p. 69. Kandyba's evidence is supported by *Chronicle* 25's description of Kindrat (mis-spelt there as Kondrata) as mentally ill.]

since existing legislation deprives prisoners of the right to a [disability] pension.

Yakov Kryuchkov, article 64 of the Russian Criminal Code, special-regime. According to the most recent information, found to be of unsound mind.

Vasyl Kulynin, a worker sentenced to six years for his participation in the Ukrainian National Front (see *Chronicle* Nos. 15, 17). Has been in the prison since May 1970.

Yury Lazarev, article 70, six years. Has been in the prison since November 1970. Term expires in May 1973 [see No. 18].

Yaroslav Lesiv, teacher of physical culture, sentenced to six years for participation in the Ukrainian National Front (see *Chronicle* No. 17).

Konstantin Lushch, sentenced to 15 years in the same case as Demchishin. Sent to a camp at the beginning of 1972.

Matiash, sentenced in 1969 under the article about "betrayal of the fatherland", for war crimes; term 15 years, of which five in prison.

Vyacheslav Merkushev, sentenced in 1968 under article 64 for attempting to cross the Soviet-Turkish frontier, where he was serving in the frontier troops. Term: ten years. Sent from a camp to the prison for three years in the Spring of 1971.

Valentyn Moroz, a historian (see *Chronicle* Nos. 14, 17, 18). Nine years, of which six in prison, plus five years' exile. Like all persons convicted for a second time on a charge of anti-Soviet propaganda, he is being held under special-regime. Criminals confined in the same cell as he have constantly taunted him and threatened to assault him. One night in July 1971 [in fact 1972] his cellmates attacked him and inflicted four knife-wounds. Moroz was transferred to the prison hospital in a grave condition.[57]

Igor Ogurtsov, translator and leader of ASCULP [All-

[57. See a Reuter dispatch from Moscow dated 12 September 1972. In October 1972 the Dutch Historical Association (Alexander Numankade 199, Utrecht) sent a series of appeals to the political leaders in Moscow and the Ukraine. Signed by its secretary, C. B. Wels, these called for the release of fellow-historians Moroz, Pyotr Yakir, and Andrei Amalrik.]

Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People], articles 64 and 72 of the Russian Criminal Code, 15 years, of which five in prison, plus five years exile (see *Chronicle* Nos. 1, 19).

Evgeny Pashnin, artist, articles 64 and 15 of the Code; attempt to cross the frontier; eight years. Sentenced in 1968. Sent to the prison for two years in November 1970 [see No. 18].

Valery Petrashko, articles 70 and 72, six years, for participation in an organization consisting of 16 and 17-year-old youths who disseminated leaflets and set fire to several buildings (the law court, the Procuracy, and the private residences of "city fathers") in the satellite town of Krasnoyarsk-45. Sentenced in 1969 (see *Chronicle* 17 [Supplement]). Sent to the prison in the Spring of 1971.

Alexander Petrov (Agatov), a writer, article 70, seven years. Verses and stories by Petrov-Agatov were published in 1967-68 in the journals *Neva* and *Prostor*. His memoirs *Encounters with Convicts* [*Arestantskiye Vstrechi*], which describe his most recent arrest and imprisonment in a camp, are well-known in *samizdat*.[58] It was for getting his memoirs out to freedom that he was sent to the prison in November 1970.

Anatoly Radygin (see *Chronicle* Nos. 18, 22 [,24]).[59] Term expired on 12 September 1972.

Gunar Rode (see *Chronicle* Nos. 18, 22 [,25]). Will be sent to a camp in January 1973.

Alexander Romanov (see *Chronicle* Nos. 12, 17 [Supplement]). In Vladimir Prison until 1974.

Roman Semenyuk, sentenced in 1950, for participation in the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists], to a term of 25 years, to which three years were added for an escape attempt in 1965. Due to be sent to a camp in 1972 [see Nos. 11, 18].

Ivan Sokulsky (see *Chronicle* Nos. 12, 17 [Supplement]). Has been in the prison since the end of 1971.

[58. Published in *Grani*, Frankfurt, Nos. 82-84 (extracts in *Cahiers du Samizdat*, Brussells, No. 3, 1972). On Petrov see also Reddaway, *op. cit.*, *Vestnik RSKhd* and *Chronicles* 17 and 18.]

[59. Also Petrov-Agatov's portrait of him in *Grani* 84, 1972, p. 63, section "News in Brief" in this issue, and *Vestnik RSKhD*, 91, rue Olivier de Serres, Paris 15, 1972, No. 103, where his photograph appears.]

Yakov Pavlovich Stasyonok from Belorussia. Term: 15 years, of which three in prison. Arrested together with his father in 1969 for the murder of a collective farm chairman in [?] 1969 (by planting a bomb in his home). Article [No. 66 of Russian Code]: terrorism. Several people have already served terms of punishment in connection with this case, but evidently they were wrongfully prosecuted for the murder. The father of Yakov Stasyonok died in camp 3 in the Spring of 1971 at age of 85. Yakov Stasyonok himself was sent from the prison to the camps in March 1971 to serve out his term.

Vladimir Timofeyev, betrayal of the fatherland, the so-called Potsdam case of 1962 (?) when several Soviet soldiers attempted an escape from a prison to the West. Term: 12 years.

Vladimir Titov, article 70 (for a statement renouncing his citizenship). Term: five years (?). Sent to the prison from the camps at the same time as Zalivako.

Leonid Trepov, "betrayal of the fatherland" (a sailor, attempted to escape in Malta). Term: 12 years (from June 1967). In the prison since 1971 and until 1974 (see *Chronicle* No. 8 [?—not the copy which reached the West]).

Fabyshevsky, a Ukrainian, who served as a policeman under the Germans. Term: 15 years. Prison period specified in the sentence.

Semyon Tselyuk, Bandera-ite. Served nine years, freed under an amnesty in 1955. Now sentenced to 15 years, but previous nine taken into account. 2½ years remain.

Igor Iosifovich Yurkevich (see *Chronicle* Nos. 14, 15, 17). Due for release in May 1973.

* * *

Six inmates of Vladimir Prison went on a hunger strike from 26 June to 6 July. They were: *V. Bukovsky*, *Ya. Berg*, *V. Petrashko*, *V. Kulynin* and *R. Dragunas* [one name omitted here in error]; they were protesting at being confined in a cell designed for four peope.

* * *

Political prisoner *Mikhail Ignatevich Kukobaka*, born in 1936, a native of Bobruisk, spent some time in confine-

ment in the hospital wing of Vladimir Prison. Kukobaka was employed as an unskilled worker in a radio factory in Aleksandrov [near Vladimir]. He was arrested on 14 April 1970 and proceedings were brought under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code. Material cited during the investigation included entries in Kukobaka's diary, a draft of a letter by him addressed to Brezhnev, and the testimony of workers to the effect that Kukobaka had spoken of the lack of freedom of speech and the press in the USSR. He was also accused of having made statements criticizing the occupation of Czechoslovakia.

A commission from the Serbsky Institute ruled that Kukobaka was of unsound mind (diagnosis: schizophrenia) and the court sent him for compulsory treatment.

* * *

In one of the Mordovian special-regime camps *Petras Paulaitis* [see No. 24], born in 1904, is serving a term of punishment. He studied in Rome and is a Doctor of Philosophy. During the German occupation of Lithuania Paulaitis was teaching Latin to the eighth class in a Jurbarkas grammar-school, where he also directed the pupils' underground activities. On 16 February 1942 (Lithuanian Independence Day) his pupils hoisted the Lithuanian flag on the local Gestapo building. Wherever the young conspirators came across the "new" name of the town—Georgenburg—they altered it back to the old one of Jurbarkas.

With the arrival of Soviet troops in Lithuania in 1944, 26 of Paulaitis's pupils joined the Union of Struggle for the Freedom of Lithuania. Paulaitis himself edited the Union's newspaper *To Freedom*.

In 1946 a military tribunal sentenced him to 25 years' imprisonment. In 1956 Paulaitis was released following a review of his case. He returned to Kaunas and worked as a stoker at a cannery. He refused to condemn Lithuanian bourgeois nationalism—this was the condition on which he was promised that he would be allowed to teach. In 1957 he was re-arrested, charged with conducting subversive activities amongst students of Kaunas Polytechnic Institute, and, with the sanction of the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Voroshilov, sent to serve the

remainder of his term. In 1958 criminal proceedings were instituted against him yet again for his connection (in 1957) with students who aimed to refound the Union of Struggle for the Freedom of Lithuania. On 12 April 1958 the Lithuanian Supreme Court sentenced seven students to various terms from one to ten years, and Paulaitis was again given 25 years. In connection with the reform of the Criminal Code the term was then reduced to one of 15 years. Paulaitis is due for release on 12 April 1973. He will be 69 years old; 25 of those years will have been spent in camps and six in underground activities, including four during the German occupation.

* * *

Iosif Mishener and *Yakov Mikhailovich Suslensky*, sentenced on 30 October 1970 in Bendery [Moldavia] to terms of six and seven years respectively under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code, have been transferred to the supervision of the Perm Administration for Internal Affairs. Mishener, age 37, is a history teacher, and Suslensky is a teacher of English. Both ex-members of the Communist Party, they wrote two letters to the Central Committee (concerning the execution of Jews in Baghdad and the events in Czechoslovakia). After being dismissed from their jobs, they intended to write to the UNO but their letters were confiscated during a search (see *Chronicle* Nos. 15, 16).

* * *

Also transferred to the Perm Region are: *David Chernoglaz, Butman, Yagman,* [*Yury*] *Vudka, Altman, Dymshits, Khnokh, Mendelevich* and *V. Zalmanson*. Their address: 618263 Permskaya obl., Chusovskoi raion, p/o Kopalno, p/ya UT 389/36.[60]

* * *

[60. See more details of these transfers in *NBSJ* II, No. 218, p. 17, which gives an identical address for Chernoglaz, Vudka, Dymshits, Mendelevich and Zalmanson, but a slightly different one in the same district for the other four: p/o Vsesvyatskaya, p/ya UT 389/35. On these Jewish prisoners see *Chronicles* 17 and 20 and (Vudka) 12 and 14.]

Vladislav Grigorevich Nedobora, now in a camp (Zhyoltye Vody Dnepropetrovskoi obl., YaEh-308/26-3-32) refused to testify in the case of Plyushch. He was then removed from his work as an engineer and transferred to general duties. In reply to a complaint by the wife of Nedobora, the head of the Dnepropetrovsk Regional Administration for Internal Affairs stated: "The transfer was occasioned by production requirements." Nedobora's radiculitis [a nervous disease affecting the nerves of the brain] has become acutely aggravated. The trial of Nedobora in March 1970 was reported in *Chronicle* No. 13 [see also Nos. 17 and 23 and Reddaway, *op. cit.*].

* * *

In the Psychiatric Hospitals[61]

In accordance with instructions from Moscow, political prisoners in the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital are being transferred to other establishments of the same type in towns where they have no relatives (thus restricting the opportunities for meetings and handing in parcels). Transferred to the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital are: biochemist *A. F. Chinnov* (see *Chronicle* No. 26) and a labourer, *Zabolotny*. Transferred to the Sychyovka Special Psychiatric Hospital: writer *B.*

[61. This subject continues (see note 66 to *Chronicle* 25 and note 16 to No. 26) to provoke concern and controversy outside the USSR. In August 1972 the Soviet Minister of Health, Dr. B. V. Petrovsky, when giving a press-conference in Washington, D.C., at the end of a 10-day official visit to U.S. medical institutions, was asked pointed questions by American doctors, but side-stepped them. See *The Jewish Press*, 18 August.

On September 26 the U.S. Senate's Committee on the Judiciary held a hearing of its Sub-committee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act, at which Prof. Alexander Esenin-Volpin gave testimony. In December the verbatim record of the hearing was published by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, under the title *Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Repression in the Soviet Union*. This 257-page book also contains 14 appendices devoted to case-studies of Grigorenko, Gershuni, etc., based on *samizdat* documents in full translation and on the official psychiatric reports. The book was summarized

in a UPI dispatch from Washington dated December 3 and in an article in *Die Welt*, Hamburg, 3 January.

In Britain an article in *The New Scientist* of 2 November, "Psychiatry and the State", by Dr. David Shaw, Dr. Sidney Bloch and Ann Vickers, analyzed official Soviet definitions of schizophrenia, especially as applied to dissenters. Their critical conclusions were supported by a letter to the editor (16 November) from Dr. G. Low-Beer, who also drew attention to the sentencing of Dr. S. Gluzman in Kiev. A symposium of the World Psychiatric Association (WPA) on "Schizophrenia" in London in November produced further letters and reports, e.g., in *The Lancet* of November 11 (letter from Drs. Bloch and Shaw), December 9 (report, also letter by Dr. Harold Merskey) and 30 (letter by David Markham), in *The Times* of November 17 (report in early editions), and *The Guardian* of November 30 (letter by Dr. Low-Beer). Outside the Symposium supporters of the London-based Working Group on the Internment of Dissenters in Mental Hospitals distributed literature to those attending, including the Moscow psychiatrist Professor M. Vartanyan, a vice-president of the WPA, who, in an interview with Pearce Wright carried in *The Times* report, replied. Vartanyan said "he was flabbergasted by the terrors which had been ascribed to some Soviet psychatrists. Things in the papers distributed by the demonstrators could not be taken seriously . . . He said the demonstrators referred to a specific group of patients who needed treatment. He said their delusions were based on political questions. No one would question the condition of a patient suffering from jealousy to the same extent." On January 7 *The Observer* carried a report on David Markham, his friend Vladimir Bukovsky, and the Working Group (Lear Cottage, Coleman's Hatch, Hartfield, Sussex), which has among its members Drs. Bloch, Shaw, Low-Beer, David Clarke and Alec Jenner. On January 17 the BBC's Radio 3 broadcast an hour-long programme, "Protest or Madness?", a shortened version of which was later broadcast to the USSR in Russian. It included documentary material from *samizdat* and discussion of the issue by psychiatrists and a lawyer, and was well reviewed in *The Sunday Times* (Nov. 21), *The Times* (Nov. 27) and *The Guardian* (Nov. 20).

On the continent the French philosopher Gabriel Marcel published in *Le Monde* (translated in the weekly *Tablet*, London, 18 November) a strong attack on Soviet psychiatric malpractice, which he described as "one of the most atrocious denials of human freedom we have seen since the Nazi extermination camps". In January the Group of Geneva Psychiatrists sent a letter to Minister Petrovsky, signed by its President, Dr. A. Favre, and 27 members, which reads: "Moved by the cases of Soviet citizens interned in psychiatric hospitals for their opinions, we hereby solicit your intervention in order that their liberation be made a matter of urgency, and in order that, at the same time, a broadly

Evdokimov (Nos. 10,[62] 26) and engineer *Purtov* (Nos. 23, 24 [where Turtov is a mis-typing], and 26).

Also transferred: political prisoners *N. I. Baranov* (No. 18), *A.V. Kochkin, N. P. Galashov, A. V. Dzibalov* (No. 26 [where his first name appears as Vyacheslav]), *S. M. Stroganov* and *Panteleyev*. The *Chronicle* has no precise information as to where they have been sent.

The following political prisoners have been threatened with being dispatched to Chernyakhovsk, Oryol and other Special Psychiatric Hospitals: *V. Borisov* (see *Chronicle* Nos. 8-11, 14, 18-20, 22-25), *V. Fainberg* (see Nos. 3-5, 8, 9, 18-20, 22-26), *Chernyshov* (No. 18), *Ponomaryov* (Nos. 23, 26), *Komarov* (Nos. 18, 23), *Panov, Zharov* and *Fedotov*.

* * *

It was reported in *Chronicle* Nos. 25-26 that a diagnostic commission in the Serbsky Institute had found *V. Borisov* of sound mind and announced a decision on the permissibility of *V. Fainberg*'s transfer from a special hospital to a hospital of ordinary type. On the basis of the commission's decision the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital petitioned the court to examine Borisov's case. A judicial hearing was arranged for 10 July but the court, at the request of the Procurator, refused to hear the case. Its reason: that according to the relevant instruction "the re-examination of mentally sick persons undergoing compulsory treatment is carried out by the Central Forensic-Psychiatric Diagnostic Commission". And the Serbsky Institute is not the Central Commission. However, in the first place that Institute is the highest psychiatric-diagnostic authority in the country; secondly, the Central Commission is composed in the main of employees from that Institute; and thirdly, there have been analogous instances when a court has not only re-examined a case but has made a favourable decision on the basis of the findings of a diagnostic commission from the Serbsky Institute.

Fainberg's case was sent to the court from the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital on 7 July. But as far as is known it did not come up for judicial consideration. The Central Forensic-Psychiatric Diagnostic Commission has not yet re-examined Borisov or Fainberg in 1972,[63] since they were in the Serbsky Institute in Moscow when the Commission was in session in Leningrad.

From 29-31 July Fainberg declared a hunger strike in protest at the prescription of aminazin injections for the prisoner *Purtov*, for whom such injections were therapeutically contra-indicated. Fainberg had already taken part in several previous hunger strikes, including one of over 70 days in 1971 (see *Chronicle* Nos. 19, 22). Towards the end of this summer Fainberg's health sharply deteriorated and his Basedow's disease [exopthalmic goitre] became acute. On 28 September Fainberg declared another hunger strike in protest at the transfer of political prisoners from Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital to similar hospitals in other towns. At the same time Fainberg

based enquiry be initiated into the whole range of cases of internment on grounds of opinion in the USSR." And the *Vestnik RSKhD*, Paris, No. 104-105, 1972, published the third and last part of the essay by an anonymous Moscow psychiatrist, "Ignorance in the Service of Tyranny", exposing Soviet malpractices "from the inside".
Soviet and Soviet-oriented media have replied to foreign criticism, e.g., the *Literary Gazette* (see section "Materials from Newspaper Articles" below) and Moscow Radio (in Rumanian) on 24 August 1972 (see *Summary of World Broadcasts*, SU/4078/B/1, 29 August) in a programme which quoted Petrovsky, a French criminologist, Georges Fully, and a British psychiatrist, Dr. John Wing, all making admiring remarks about Soviet psychiatry and the Serbsky Institute. In addition, the Institute's director, Dr. G. V. Morozov, published an article, "Soviet Forensic Psychiatry", in the *Anglo-Soviet Journal*, London, and Konstantin K. Platonov, a psychologist who gives consultations at the Institute, defended Morozov and Professor Lunts from the "nonsense" which associated them with "the forcible internment of 'dissenters' in psychiatric hospitals", in an open letter in *Golos rodiny*, Moscow, 1972, No. 75. Finally, TASS in English revealed on 16 November the Soviet goodwill for the WPA by announcing that its General Secretary, Dr. Denis Leigh of London's Maudsley Hospital, and its Treasurer, Professor Linford Rees, had been presented in the Soviet Embassy in London with diplomas as honorary members of the All-Union Society of Neuropathologists and Psychiatrists.]

[62. An error: the Evdokimov in No. 10 is a Moscow official.]

[63. This finally occurred in early December, when the Commission recommended Fainberg's transfer to an ordinary mental hospital, but Borisov's retention, as "there was no guarantee that he would not go back to his former activities". See a UPI dispatch dated 6 December.]

appealed to UN Secretary-General K. Waldheim, in a letter [see a Reuter dispatch of October 6],[64] to defend "persons declared mad as a result of their political convictions and subjected to what are in practice indefinite terms of imprisonment in special prison psychiatric hospitals". The letter describes various methods of pressurizing these prisoners, the situation in the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital, the transportations now under way and the situation in provincial hospitals, where "conditions are far worse than they are here" (i.e. in the Leningrad Hospital). "Arbitrariness there knows no bounds: mentally ill persons and political prisoners are incessantly beaten, inmates are forced to go about wearing nothing but their underclothes, and in some hospitals no books at all are given out. Moreover, they 'treat' everybody there, treat them energetically —with aminazin, electric shocks and insulin . . . Our comrades taken away to Dnepropetrovsk are being held in dreadful conditions. Some of them are in danger of losing their life. The writer *Evdokimov*, for example, suffers from asthma, heart murmur and high blood-pressure; his organism may be unable to withstand 'energetic treatment'."

* * *

Oleg Georgiyevich Solovyov, a chemical engineer, age 35 or 36, was arrested in March 1969 and charged under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code. He admitted to being the author of manuscripts that were held against him. A forensic-psychiatric commission in Stavropol [N. Caucasus] found him of unsound mind and he was sentenced to compulsory treatment in a Special Psychiatric Hospital. In November 1970 he was sent to Chernyakhovsk —until then he had been held in a psychiatric hospital in Stavropol—and in January 1971 he was moved to Oryol. In July 1972 he was transferred back to the Stavropol hospital, from which he was released on 15 August.

Stanislav Ivanovich Tystsevich, an economist born in 1924, was arrested in April 1967 and charged under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code. He was accused of having written anonymous letters of political content which

[64. The full text of Fainberg's long letter has just reached the west, but not yet been published.]

were sent to various addresses. Tystsevich denied any connection with these letters. A diagnostic commission at the Serbsky Institute, which included D. Lunts, pronounced him of unsound mind. Tystsevich was sent for compulsory treatment to the Kazan Special Psychiatric Hospital; in September 1967 he was transferred to Chernyakhovsk, and in January 1971 from there to Oryol, together with Solovyov. In September 1971 on the basis of a court ruling he was moved to a hospital of ordinary type in Moscow. In March 1972 a diagnostic commission came to the conclusion that Tystsevich needed no further treatment and in June the Moscow City Court released him.

* * *

The *Chronicle* has some information about *the staff of the Leningrad Special Psychiatric Hospital*.[65]

Prokofy Vasilevich Blinov, head of the hospital since 1956. An MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Colonel, Honoured Physician of the RSFSR; formerly doctor to a partisan unit. At [9] Arsenalnaya Street [the prison's address] since 1952.

Changed the two-hour exercise to one hour; permitted patients to be strapped into their beds.

Leopold Nikolayevich Zemskov, head doctor [see *Chronicle* 19]. MVD Major. Master of Medical Sciences, thesis supervisor D. R. Lunts. At the Special Psychiatric Hospital since 1954.

Prescribes injections and psychotropic drugs regardless of the patient's general physical condition (for example, he prescribed aminazin injections for prisoner Purtov despite the objections of the therapeutist).

[65. Extensive documentation on this prison-hospital and its staff has appeared not only in earlier *Chronicles*, especially in relation to Fainberg and Borisov, but also in the recent publication of the U.S. Senate (see note 61), which contains translations of Fainberg's appeal of 1970, Borisov's letters of 1969-71 and V. Chernyshyov's appeal of 1971. See Russian texts in, respectively, *Kaznimye sumasshestviem*, Possev-Verlag, 1971; *Possev* 5, 1971; and *Possev* 9, 1972. Other important materials are the essay by "S Razumny" (i.e., B. Evdokimov) in *Possev* 2, 1971, and *Kaznimye sumasshestviem*, and a record of Fainberg's interview with a psychiatric commission, published so far only in French in *Esprit*, 19 rue Jacob, Paris 6, No. 7-8, 1971 (see also *Chronicle* 19).]

Tamara Anatolevna Klychkova, head of 1st section. MVD first lieutenant and a Master of Medical Sciences. At the Hospital since 1963.

Veronica Mikhailovna Telyakovskaya, head of 2nd section. MVD first lieutenant. At the Hospital since 1962.

Ekaterina Ivanovna Kuznetsova, head of 3rd section. MVD Major, Master of Medical Sciences. At the Hospital since 1958.

Maria Nikolayevna Fyodorova, head of 4th section. MVD Major. At the Hospital since 1952.

Lev Anatolevich Petrov, head of 5th section. MVD Captain. At the Hospital since 1954. Known for the part he personally has played in the physical beating-up of patients.

Faina Viktorovna Ryabova, head of 6th section. MVD Captain, Master of Medical Sciences. At the Hospital since 1956.

Oleg Mikhailovich Sovetov, head of 7th section. MVD first lieutenant. At the Hospital since 1969.

Rimma Ivanovna Sharova, head of 8th section. MVD first lieutenant. At the Hospital since 1955.

Margarita Dmitriyevna Vavilova, head of 10th section. No military rank, Master of Medical Sciences. At the Hospital since 1959.

Evdokiya Ivanovna Ozhimkova, head of 11th (therapeutic) section. MVD Major. At the Hospital since 1952.

* * *

Letters and Statements

In July 1972 a letter in defence of *P. Yakir* (on whose arrest see *Chronicle* No. 26) was sent to the Party's Politbureau and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Amongst other things the letter says: "Pyotr Yakir always felt it his duty to fight against any attempts whatever to revive Stalinism. Only those who equate Stalinism with Soviet authority can accuse Yakir of anti-Sovietism . . . The disinterested desire to participate in the discussion of pressing social problems can only be respected, and everyone has a right to such participation. To deprive people of this right, to arrest them for their protests and criticism is to demonstrate one's might (which no-one is

doubting) but not one's right!" The letter is signed by 51 persons.[66]

* * *

On 30 June 1972 *Andrei Dubrov*[67] appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the UN Human Rights Commission and the editor of *The Times* in a letter which concludes as follows: "I call upon progressive public opinion in the Soviet Union and abroad to come to the defence of this outstanding personality of the democratic movement. We have the strength to prevent a repetition of the horrors of Stalinism and Fascism. Freedom for Pyotr Yakir!"

* * *

On 1 October 1972 a letter by *Vladimir Lapin*[68] was

[66. See also Reuter and UPI reports from Moscow dated 27 July. Among the signatories were V. Slepak, N. Bukovskaya, Z. and A. Grigorenko, A. Sakharov and his wife Elena Bonner. On 30 August a similar appeal was sent to the members of the CPSU Politbureau from 60 western writers and intellectuals. Among them were René Cassin, Noam Chomsky, Arthur Miller, I. F. Stone, Yury Glazov, Mikhail Zand, and the Presidents of the Swedish, Norwegian and German PEN Clubs. See text in *Russkaya mysl*, Paris, 21 September. See also note 57.]

[67. A God-son of A. Levitin, born in 1949, expelled from Moscow's Automobile Mechanics Institute (MAMI) shortly before graduation. Flat searched in May 1972—see *Chronicle* 25. Author of an interesting *samizdat* article on the political control of Soviet students—see Russian text in *Russkaya mysl*, 12 October 1972, French extracts in *Cahiers du Samizdat*, 105 drève du Duc, 1170 Brussels, No. 3, Nov. 1972. On 19 October 1972, he received permission to leave for Israel, but this was then revoked and on 26 October he was forcibly interned in Moscow's "Matrosskaya tishina" mental hospital, as described in an as yet unpublished *samizdat* article. On 9 November he was released. See Reuter, AP and UPI dispatches dated October 23, 24 and 29 and Nov. 9. On February 4 he eventually left the USSR, and a letter of his, written in Vienna, appeared in *Russkaya mysl* on February 15, recounting the popularity of that paper in the USSR (cf. a similar, but anonymous letter published there on January 25).]

[68. A young poet and publicist who has constantly supported the appeals of the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights. See entries in Reddaway, *op. cit.*, also *Chronicles* 17 and 20.]

dispatched to R. Rudenko [Procurator-General of the USSR]. He calls upon the Procuracy and the court to bear in mind, when examining the case of P. I. Yakir, the fate that befell his family and himself in the past, his moral qualities, and his social activities. "People are inclined to remember evil as well as good. 'We cannot forget!' they say of the inhumanity of the fascist camps. 'We cannot forget!' ought to be said of the inhumanity of Stalin's, Beria's and Ezhov's torture-chambers and other such chambers. To forget about them, not to pass judgement on them, and not to condemn them aloud—would this not be giving history the chance to repeat itself?"

* * *

The *Chronicle* reproduces the full text of a statement issued by *Aleksei Tumerman*[69] on 11 October 1972:

The reasons which have prompted me to issue this press-statement are as follows: At the time when I was forcibly confined in a psychiatric hospital [see No. 26] my mother was summoned for a talk with the organs of state security, and she was cynically told that until she had come for the talk I would not be released from the psychiatric hospital.

During the talk my mother was assured that our applications for permission to leave the USSR would be considered in the near future and all our family would receive permission to leave. But our departure would be assured only on condition that I immediately ceased my activities in the movement for human rights in the USSR.

Should I continue these activities I could expect not emigration but arrest.

In connexion with the conditions imposed upon me by the state security organs I feel obliged to make the following statement: I categorically refuse to make any deals of this kind with the KGB or to regard the promised exit permission as payment for "good behaviour". I have never thought of my participation in the Soviet human rights movement as a means of pressurizing the authorities into granting me permission to leave. I consider participation in the Soviet human rights movement my moral duty, the only possible line of conduct for a man with my opinions. For me it is a question not of tactics but of conscience, and I regard deals with one's conscience as unworthy of a free man.

Therefore I state that I shall continue to participate in the human rights movement in the USSR in spite of the fact that I regard the threat by the KGB as a very real one and consequently my arrest as by no means unlikely.

[69. A close friend of V. Bukovsky. See Nos. 19 and 26, also his letter to Yu. Andropov of December 1972 (*Russkaya mysl*, 8 February), in which he describes the further KGB harrassment he has suffered. On 27 February he left the USSR.]

* * *

On 6 September 1972 *V. N. Chalidze* addressed a letter to KGB Chairman Andropov in which he wrote, amongst other things: "I was very distressed to learn that your officials had informed the arrested K. A. Lyubarsky [see elsewhere in this issue] that I had allegedly renounced my own publications. Whose idea could it have been that I had renounced my statements in defence of human rights, renounced the many communications I have sent to the authorities in which I have tried either to assist the competent officials to correct infringements of the law or to help in improving our laws? I hope that an inquiry by you will establish the identity of the fabricator and whether his intentions were evil—which would be no great surprise. But how could Lyubarsky believe this invention, which discredits me? Has his long period of solitary confinement not dulled his perceptive faculties to the point of inadequacy? I must observe, by the way, that it is a dreadful way of dealing with a person—to keep him in total isolation from the outside world and permit him neither meetings nor correspondence. In such conditions a man will begin to believe anything. I do not know if the invention of my renunciation was ill-intentioned, but I do know that it was not without its purpose: communicated to Lyubarsky by investigator Smirnov, it was one of the factors which led him to recant." However important a recantation is in a man's life it cannot, in the opinion of Chalidze, be used to swell the dossier of the person

who has recanted. "And it is utterly inadmissible to use a man's recantation to denounce others. But this is precisely what has happened in the case of Lyubarsky. . . . Your men used a lie to help Lyubarsky to recant. This lie slanders me and I await your inquiry into the incident and a report that the lie has been refuted—for that is my right. A second point: a confusion of the idea of sincere recantation and the idea of assistance in the exposure of crime has been permitted in the tactics of the investigation into Lyubarsky's case. I call upon you to explain to investigator Smirnov and the accused Lyubarsky that sincere recantation is in itself an extenuating circumstance and so the fact that Lyubarsky has recanted does not oblige him to testify against other people."

On 5 October 1972 *V. N. Chalidze* wrote a letter to USSR Procurator-General Rudenko, the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Podgorny, and the Chairman of the KGB (attached to the USSR Council of Ministers), Andropov, "Concerning the repentance of accused persons and assistance in the exposure of crime". The letter speaks of the inadmissiblity of confusion between the categories referred to in its title and especially their definition (that of the second in particular) as circumstances mitigating punishment, a confusion which effectively exists in the USSR Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation and in the Criminal Codes of a number of Union Republics. Whence follows, says the author of the letter, the inadmissibility in general of the use of testimony given by witnesses in custody as evidence in law. Such a practice violates the principle of the impartiality of witnesses and the principle of the equality of all persons in the eyes of the court, not to mention the mutual corruption of investigators and persons under investigation, judges and defendants, which is fostered in this way by trade in "incriminating" evidence. For example: the cases of Galanskov and Ginzburg (the testimony of Dobrovolsky and Brox-Sokolov), of Kvachevsky (testimony of Gendler), of Gorbanevskaya (testimony of Gendler), and of Bukovsky (testimony of Sebreghts) [see *Chronicles* 1, 5, 15 and 23 respectively].

Postscript by *Sakharov*: "I consider the question raised

an important one and associate myself with the author's arguments."[70]

* * *

Activities of the Human Rights Committee

On 4 September 1972 member of the Human Rights Committee V. N. Chalidze sent the Committee a letter: "I am announcing my retirement from the Human Rights Committee. It would appear that I am too exhausted to continue to carry out the responsibilities which I took on myself when I became a member of the Committee. This does not mean that I do not intend to take any further interest in the Committee's activities. On the contrary: I am concerned about its future, and as interested as before in problems of Human Rights. In this note I expound some of my ideas about the Committee, and I hope that what I have to say may prove useful to present and possibly also future members of the Committee. I imagine the Committee will regard this statement as a document of the Committee and will publish it . . .

In this country it is unusual and unconventional to form committees without a directive from above . . . For the Committee to exist requires great courage. The courage

[70. See the full texts of this and the preceding letter by Chalidze in *Russkaya mysl*, 16 November and 28 September respectively. Also, for the letter to Andropov, see *The Times*, 27 September. For the first interview given by Sakharov, to Jay Axelbank, see *Newsweek*, 13 November, and (full text) *The Observer*, London, 3 December. See also the biologist Academician V. A. Engelgardt's admiration of Sakharov's moral qualities in *Russkaya mysl*, 2 November 1972, where his interview in *Le Figaro* is condensed. Finally, in summer 1972 Paul Friedrich, Professor of Anthropology and Linguistics at Chicago University, helped to collect the signatures of 73 Chicago professors under this telegram: "To Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Andrei Sakharov, and associated scholars, writers, and scientists of Soviet Russia.

The undersigned scholars of the University of Chicago, acting as a matter of individual conscience, wish by this letter to express their unbounded admiration and moral support for your courageous, farsighted and often isolated struggle for the dignity of the individual, for intellectual freedom, and above all, for the right and duty of the scientist and artist to seek the truth and state his conclusions."]

lies not in anticipating hypothetical repressions but in the ability to adhere to the proclaimed principles and ideas, regardless of the prejudices and criticisms of its many and sometimes very well-meaning opponents . . . From the outset the Committee found itself in a confusing position: some people thought that the Committee was aspiring to leadership of what they called the democratic movement; others hoped the Committee would become its leader; some believed that the formation of the Committee marked the birth of a political opposition in the USSR; while others marvelled at how intelligent people could embark on such a futile enterprise. Attempts to explain that the Committee was a creative association of people who wanted to study problems of Human Rights and to assist the authorities in developing a system of guarantees for these Human Rights . . . were taken as a cover for something else. People are too accustomed to hypocrisy . . . I remember the disappointment of one of my friends after he had read my introductory report to the Committee: 'I thought your "principles" were a screen concealing some struggle for freedom, but you really do want to concern yourselves with idle talk . . .' One needs intellectual courage in order not to allow prejudices to hamper one's creative activity. If there are many people who expect of the Committee something which it has not promised, that is interesting more as a distressing social phenomenon than as a reason for altering the nature of the Committee's activity . . . The social importance of the Committee's example . . . lies, I feel, in its respect for its own principles and its consistent observance of its own procedures . . ."

* * *

On 7 September 1972, at a meeting, the Committee acknowledged receipt of the announcement by V. N. Chalidze of his retirement from the Committee. The Committee resolved to elect V. N. Chalidze a consultant of the Human Rights Committee.[71]

* * *

[71. In December, however, after being deprived of Soviet citizenship, Chalidze resigned his position as a consultant. Earlier he had been subjected to strong KGB pressures. See his accounts of some of these in a note to the Human Rights

On 5 October 1972 the Human Rights Committee elected Grigory Sergeyevich Podyapolsky (see *Chronicle* Nos. 25, 26) a member of the Committee.

* * *

New Information on the Leningrad "Aeroplane" Trial

At the Leningrad aeroplane trial in December 1970 (see *Chronicle* No. 17) defendant I. M. Mendelevich was charged, amongst other things, with having written the articles "On Assimilation" and "The Jews Are Ceasing to be Silent", and defendant L. G. Khnokh with possessing an appeal "of anti-Soviet content" entitled "Your Native Tongue". These counts of the indictment are described as proven in the verdict pronounced by the Leningrad City Court on 24 December 1970 and in the ruling of the RSFSR Supreme Court of 31 December 1970.[72]

Committee dated July 10 (later published in *Possev* 10, 1972, p. 12) and in a report from Moscow published in the *Washington Post* and *The Guardian* on July 31. See also an attack on him in *Golos rodiny*, Moscow, No. 18, 1972, by L. Pavlov. On August 16 UPI and Reuter reported from Moscow that he had appealed to President Svoboda of Czechoslovakia to pardon persons recently convicted there for alleged subversion. In November he was allowed to accept an invitation to lecture at some American universities. In his first and widely reported interview in New York on November 25, he stressed his loyalty to the Soviet state and his solidarity in matters of human rights with various imprisoned dissenters. On December 13 he was informed that the Supreme Soviet had deprived him of his Soviet citizenship: see numerous press reports and interviews published on December 14-16, also Moscow Radio's attack on him (in English and German) of December 14 in *Summary of World Broadcasts*, 16 December. On December 5, Soviet Constitution Day, he had published an article on human rights themes in the *New York Times*, and on January 4 he wrote about the policy of keeping Soviet prisoners in a constant state of acute hunger in the *Chicago Tribune*. In February he came to Britain to give a series of five lectures at London University on "Problems of Human Rights in the USSR". It was announced at this time that an Institute of Socialist Law had been set up in New York, with Chalidze as President and John Carey, until recently Chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man, as one of the directors.]

[72. See the record of the trial in *Exodus* No. 4, published in 1971 in English as a booklet by the Institute of Jewish Affairs, 13-16 Jacob's Well Mews, London W1H 5PD.]

On 26 May 1972 the written evidence of former Soviet and now Israeli citizens M. Zand (see *Chronicle* Nos. 19, 20), V. Meniker and M. Gelfond,[73] given under oath in accordance with legally established procedure, before the chief legal assistant to the chief Israeli government adviser on legal affairs, Leonard Schroeter, was sent to [USSR] Procurator-General R. Rudenko. From this evidence it is clear that: 1. The author of the text entitled "On Assimilation" is M. Zand. 2. The author of the first part of the article "The Jews Have Ceased to be Silent" is M. Zand; the author of the second part of the same article is not Mendelevich either, but another person known to M. Zand, V. Meniker and M. Gelfond, whom they do not name. 3. The article "Thy Native Tongue" (its title was misquoted in the verdict and the ruling) was written by M. Zand. It is not of an anti-Soviet nature, as also are not three other articles known to Zand whose titles include the words "native tongue".

In connexion with this statement the corresponding counts in the indictment, verdict and ruling cannot be imputed to I. M. Mendelevich or L. G. Khnokh. The indubitable falsity of these accusations calls into question the objectivity of the trial held in Leningrad on 24 December 1970 as a whole, and therefore, in the opinion of M. Zand, there should be a retrial. M. Zand expresses his willingness, "in the event of a review, at an open judicial hearing, of the case of those convicted in Leningrad on 24 December 1970 . . . to come to the USSR at the summons of Soviet legal organs and give additional evidence regarding the essence and the details" of his written testimony.

* * *

Materials from Newspaper Articles

On 26 July 1972 the paper *Evening Tbilisi* [*Vechernii Tbilisi*] published an interview with the Rector of the Pushkin Pedagogical Institute in Tbilisi, Natela Vasadze. It included, amongst other things, the following:

[73. See Gelfond's appeal in *ibid.*, and Meniker's letter of 1966 in defence of Sinyavsky and Daniel in M. Hayward and L. Labedz, *On Trial*, London, 1967, also *Chronicle* No. 2 about him.]

Correspondent: At a recent Plenum of the City Council one of your teachers was criticised for performing religious ceremonies in a church.

Rector: We sacked her. How can a person who adheres to superstitions be an educator of youth? (Teacher of English Megi Kezheradze had been seen lighting a candle in a church on Easter Eve.)

* * *

On 9 August 1972 the *Literary Gazette* published two open letters to the West Berlin paper *Der Tagesspiegel* by writer A. Krivitsky. A. Krivitsky disputes, amongst other things, the allegation made by German author W. Kraus [in *ibid.*, 6 April and 27 June 1972] that "in the USSR intellectuals who do not agree with 'the official line' are put in psychiatric hospitals". This is how A. Krivitsky argues:

1. No person who is at present a member of the Writers' Union is registered at a psychiatric hospital.

2. The persons who have undergone compulsory treatment and whom W. Kraus refers to in his article as writers —Vasily Chernyshyov [see No. 18], Mikhail Neris (evidently M. A. Naritsa is meant, see *Chronicle* No. 16[74]). Gennady Shimanov and Julia Vishnevskaya[75] are not members of the Writers' Union.

3. They cannot be regarded as writers for another reason: they have not applied for membership of the Writers' Union or sent their manuscripts to literary journals (Krivitsky had telephoned his friends on many different journals), and bibliographies of their works do not exist.

4. Former member of the Writers' Union V. Tarsis really does exhibit signs of mental derangement; consequently the above-mentioned persons are abnormal also.

Apparently Krivitsky has good reason to have a head-

[74. And a translation of his essay in the U.S. Senate publication described in note 61.]

[75. On Vishnevskaya see No. 22, and on Shimanov see No. 13, his remarkable essay on his internment in a mental hospital, *Notes from the Red House*, Monastery Press, 8011 Champagneur Ave., Montreal 15, 1971, and his letters to *Vestnik RSKhD*, Paris, No. 104-105, 1972, pp. 319-23.]

ache, by his own admission, right after making his opening move . . .

* * *

The End of School No. 2

By 1 September 1972 the Moscow Physico-Mathematical School No. 2, once one of the most popular of the city's schools, had to all intents and purposes ceased to exist.

Over a period of eight years teachers at the school had worked an experimental curriculum which gave children with an outstanding aptitude for mathematics advanced instruction in physico-mathematical disciplines. Over and above their normal classes pupils attended lectures by University Professors and special seminars directed by research students and undergraduates in their final years at Moscow University. Prominent scientists—mathematicians, physicists and psychologists, worked unpaid with the schoolchildren, simultaneously solving a number of problems related to the forced development of their pupils. It was not, however, a matter merely of experimentation or narrow specialization.

The directors of the school, in their concern for the all-round development of the children, tried to entrust the teaching of all subjects to those teachers who were most experienced in and sensitive to the children's needs. As a result the school became widely known. The number of applications for admittance grew from year to year until it was three or four times in excess of the number of vacancies available. Pupils journeyed to the school from the most distant parts of Moscow, some of them from the outer suburbs. They soon began to excel in establishments of higher education, not only by virtue of their high-level grounding in physics and mathematics but also because of their love of literature, their keen interest in social problems, the nature of the questions they asked lecturers in ideological disciplines, and their habit of not taking on trust anything that had not been proven. Reports about the "spirit" of School No. 2 gradually accumulated in the offices of persons in authority until, at the beginning of 1971, a former teacher

at the school, I. Kh. Sivashinsky, submitted an application to leave for Israel and his daughter, a schoolgirl in the tenth class, resigned from the Komsomol. From that moment district and city party authorities began to prepare practical steps.

For about four months (from March to the end of June) the school was investigated by dozens of inspectors. Instances of negligence were sought assiduously. When a summary of the findings of the inspection was compiled, the chief reasons for dissatisfaction with the school—ideological ones—were concealed. Behind a screen of the most ordinary "defects of leadership" which had occurred—or allegedly occurred—in School No. 2, the Head and three of his assistants were dismissed. Several teachers registered their protest by leaving the school. Professorial lectures gradually dwindled to nothing. Pupils from distant areas moved to ordinary schools But there still remained at the school some teachers who hindered the implementation of the new policy. And in February 1972 a new stage in the purge began. Again the school was inundated with teams of inspectors. Their attention was focused on members of the old staff—teachers of history and literature—who had still not been driven out. As a result all the history teachers (with the exception of one who had worked for only one year under the old administration) and all the teachers of language and literature were forced to leave the school.

By September 1972 the number of entrants to School No. 2 had dropped sharply. Vacancies appeared. Education authorities made it their concern to recruit new pupils. Candidates for vacancies on the teaching staff began to be approved by the district party committee. Many had to be persuaded. Persuasion was frequently reinforced with promises of new apartments. There are reports that those who participated in the investigation of School No. 2 and those who compiled the records are already receiving their reward (in particular, in the form of official trips abroad). Operations leading to the liquidation of this "élite" School were directed personally by: Yagodkin, a Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, Perova, head of the schools' department of that Committee, Arkhipova, First Secretary of the October District [of Moscow] Party Committee,

Tsvetkova, head of the October District Education Department, and Ageyeva, an instructor of the October [two words illegible] . . .[76] During the course of the school's liquidation many influential persons, including the Minister of Education of the USSR [M. A.] Prokofiev, tried to intervene on its behalf (by means of private petitions), but all in vain.

* * *

News in Brief

On 21 August in Moscow City Court the trial took place of *I. Glezer*, charged with "the manufacture and dissemination of libellous letters and documents designed to undermine the Soviet state system" (see *Chronicle* No. 24 [and 25]). The judge was Bogdanov, the Procurator Funtov and the defence lawyer, appointed by the court, Rausov.[77]

The sentence was three years' deprivation of freedom and three years' exile. I. I. Glezer is a Master of Biological Sciences and the author of two books. On 23 August 1972 the paper *Moskovskaya Pravda* published an article about Glezer entitled "Poison in an Envelope". The article is signed by Yu. Babushkin, a pseudonym of Yury Vasilevich Dmitriyev, head of a department on the paper *Labour* [*Trud*].[78]

* * *

[76. Vladimir N. Yagodkin is an applied economist who used to teach and head the party committee at Moscow University; he achieved his present post, and also candidate membership of the Central Committee, in 1971. Galina V. Perova's surname was mis-spelt as Panina in the copy of the *Chronicle* received, but has been corrected. Tatyana P. Arkhipova has occupied her post since 1968.]

[77. V. V. Bogdanov has presided over six other political trials described in the *Chronicle* (Nos. 15, 16, 20-22); on N. I. Funtov see No. 22; and Rausov is the barrister who asked a court to sentence his client R. Fin to internment in a prison-hospital (see no. 22).]

[78. For a reply to this article by 16 Moscow Jews dated September 7, and also for more details on the trial, see *NBSI* III, No. 1, 1972, p. 17, also Reuter and UPI reports dated September 9. The reply says that the article evokes "the most sombre associations and serious concern" by its extreme language and crude Stalinist anti-semitism.]

On 12 September 1972 after serving a 10-year term of imprisonment *Anatoly Vladimirovich Radygin* [see Nos. 4, 11, 24 and above], a Jew on his mother's side but a Russian according to his passport, was discharged from Vladimir Prison. From his own words (see Marchenko's *My Testimony* [chapter "Friends and Comrades"]) it is known that he graduated from the Leningrad Higher Nautical College and became an officer, but somehow "left the forces". He sailed in the Far East as Captain of a fishing-boat. In 1962 he published an anthology of poetry in Leningrad entitled *The Salt of the Ocean*,[79] directed a literary association at a factory and was a member of a group committee attached to the Leningrad Branch of the Writers' Union. He was arrested on 8 September 1962 during an attempt to cross to Turkey by sea. He was convicted of "intent to betray the fatherland" (article 64 of the Russian Criminal Code) and also of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. He served his sentence initially in Dubrovlag (Mordovian) camp 7; in the autumn of 1965 together with Krivtsov and Niklus he was put in a BUR [barrack of intensified regime] for six months; then he found himself in camp 11, and in the summer of 1969, together with I. Terelli and R. Semenyuk he was sent off again, this time to Vladimir, on suspicion of organizing an escape tunnel.[80] In the autumn of 1971 Radygin decided that he would leave for Israel after his release and tried to have his papers altered to contain the surname (Shulman) and nationality of his mother. The prison administration refused his application and he went on a three-week hunger strike—to no avail. After release he was sent to live in Tarusa [Kaluga Region] under surveillance. He still intended to leave the USSR. The journal *Herald of the Russian Student Christian Movement*, No. 101-102, published "A Garland of Sonnets", written by Radygin in Vladimir Prison (Paris-New York, 1971, No. 101-102, pp. 231-238).

* * *

[79. Reviewed by Yu. Vtyurin in the journal *V mire knig*, 1963, No. 4. See also his poem "Victory" in Zvezda, 1961, No. 5.]

[80. On Krivtsov see Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*, on Niklus see *Chronicles* 13 and 15, and on both see Marchenko's book. On Semenyuk see Nos. 11 and 18. In No. 11 Terelli is spelt "Vareta", which is probably a mis-typing.]

On 2 August 1972 the chemist *Lev Kvachevsky* was released. He had been serving a sentence of four years under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code (see *Chronicle* Nos. 2, 3, [5, 8-11], 14, [18, 22]). Since May 1970 he had been in Vladimir Prison. He has been sent to Luga [near Leningrad].

* * *

In July 1972 *Stepan Zatikyan*, a worker sentenced to four years for "anti-Soviet propaganda" (see *Chronicle* Nos. 15, [18, 23], 25), was released from Vladimir Prison, where he had been since July 1970.

* * *

Valery Vudka (article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code, three years, see *Chronicle* Nos. 12, 14, 22) has been released from Vladimir Prison.

* * *

Valentina Mashkova, article 70, six years (see *Chronicle* No. 15),[81] has been released from the Mordovian camps.

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On 5 August *Gilel Shur* (see *Chronicle* Nos. 15, [20], 24) was released from a camp.[82]

* * *

On 12 August *Boris Shilkrot* (see *Chronicle* Nos. [14, supplement to] 17, 22) was released from Vladimir Prison. He has been sent to Luga.

* * *

In August residents of Kishinyov *A. Voloshin* and *L. Trakhtenberg* were released from confinement.[83] They were sentenced over a year ago to a two-year term in the case of the "nine Jews" charged with "stirring up emigrational attitudes, stealing an 'Era' copying machine, and also intending together with the Leningraders (see *Chronicle* No. 17) to participate in the hi-jacking of an aircraft". Other defendants at the same trial were: D. Chernoglaz (five years), A. Goldfeld (four years), G. Shur (two years), all Leningraders; A. Galperin (2½ years), S. Levit (two years), Kh. Kizhner (two years) and D. Rabinovich (one year).

Approximately one month after their release from the camps Voloshin and Trakhtenberg received permission to leave for Israel.

* * *

On 14 June *Islam Karimov*, deputy chairman of the Society for the Defence of the National Rights of the Meskhetian Turks (see *Chronicle* Nos. 21, 22),[84] was released from a camp ([Kaluzhskaya obl.,] g. Lyudinovo, uchrezhdeniye 55/6). I. Karimov was sentenced in January 1972 to eight months under article 198 (infringement of the identity-card regulations).

* * *

In the Serbsky Institute in Moscow in August was *A.*

[81. And Petrov-Agatov's essay, *Grani*, 83, 1972, p. 61. After her release she settled with her daughter at: Stavropolsky Krai, g. Georgievsk, ul. Pionerskaya 29, kv. 1.a.]

[82. In No. 24, note 33 mistakenly says Shur's letter of 1971 has not been published: brief extracts in fact appeared in *NBSJ* No. 204, 1971, and the full Russian text is in the journal *Sion*, Shderot Rotchild 42, Tel-Aviv, No. 1, 1972, pp. 37-45. On the brutal circumstances of Shur's release see an appeal of six Jewish prisoners to the UN of August 1972, text in *NBSJ*, III, 2, pp. 10-11. And on the KGB harrassment of him after his release see *NBSJ*, II, 218, p. 13. In November 1972 he successfully left the USSR after paying 7,000 roubles in education tax, and in December he was one of the seven Israeli Jews to appeal "to all people of good will" to intensify their efforts on behalf of Jewish political prisoners in the USSR. See text in *Jews in the USSR—Latest Information*, London, II, No. 3, 19 January 1973.]

[83. Just before this they were two of the six signatories to the appeal to the UN described in note 82.]

[84. These issues describe Meskhetian affairs and the fate of their leader E. Odabashev. No. 19 records an earlier arrest of Karimov. A rare discussion in the Soviet press of the Meskhetians, described just as "Turks", appeared recently in *Izvestiya AN KazSSR*, seriya obshchestvennaya, Alma-Ata, 1972, No. 5, pp. 79-82. This was an article by F. Fazoglu, "Special Features of the Speech of the Turkish Population in Kazakhstan". Fazioglu states that there are 79,000 Turks in the USSR (*Chronicle* 7's figure of 200,000 is probably nearer the mark), of whom 92.3% consider Turkish their mother tongue, and that their speech shows the influence of their long Turkish-Georgian bilingualism in the past.]

Rybakov (see *Chronicle* No. 25). He has been pronounced of unsound mind (diagnosis: schizophrenia).

* * *

The investigation into the case of *Kronid Arkadevich Lyubarsky* (see *Chronicle* No. 24) has been completed; the investigator is Kislykh. The trial is to take place on 26 October in Noginsk, Moscow Region [see note 46].

* * *

On 26 August the priest *Juozas Zdebskis* (see *Chronicle* Nos. 21-24) was freed from confinement.

* * *

V. Dremlyuga, serving a sentence in Yakutia (see *Chronicle* Nos. 17, 20, [21,] 22), was in Moscow's Lefortovo Prison from June until the beginning of September.

* * *

The beginning of October 1972 saw the release, after 25 years of prison and camps, of *Kateryna Mironovna Zarytska* (see No. 15) who was until 1947 the organizer of the Ukrainian Red Cross, a contributor to the paper *Idea and Action*, and a messenger for the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists].

* * *

In September and October *V. Moroz* (see *Chronicle* Nos. 17, 18) was in Kiev under interrogation in connexion with the case of I. Dzyuba (see *Chronicle* Nos. 24, 25), after which he was sent to Lvov for questioning in connexion with the case of Chornovil (see *Chronicle* Nos. 24, 26).

* * *

At the beginning of October *Danylo Shumuk* (see *Chronicle* Nos. 24-26) arrived at his camp: Potma Mordovskoi ASSR, p/ya 385/1, 6-i otryad.

* * *

The London publishing house of Macmillan has issued the first part of the autobiography of *P. I. Yakir—Childhood in Prison*. Its length is about 150 pages and it deals with his first years of confinement in Soviet prisons and

camps. The book vindicates a description of the author by V. Lapin [see above]: "Right from his childhood this man, despite his convict's fate, has retained an enthusiastic capacity to rejoice in things joyous."

* * *

In May 1972 a domestic quarrel between two neighbours in a workers' district of Dnepropetrovsk, *Plastik*, a Jew, and *Maslov*, a Ukrainian, led to large-scale riots of an anti-semitic nature which continued for several days.

During the fight between Maslov, who was drunk, and Plastik, Maslov's mother called the police; three policemen pushed Maslov into his own room, where he threw himself out of a second-floor window. The shouts of his mother attracted a crowd. The police took away Plastik's family to save them from reprisals. In the old town cemetery many tombstones on Jewish graves were destroyed. Only three days later were the disturbances brought to a halt. Party meetings were held in the town's industrial enterprises, at which it was explained that the Jew had not thrown his neighbour out of the window. At a meeting of the party activists of the town, Regional Party Secretary [A. F.] Vatchenko laid the blame for events in the town on "foreign agents and Zionists" (see *Chronicle* No. 26 [but not the text received in the west]).

* * *

Moscow. At the end of September 1972 the Orthodox priests Father *Vsevolod Shpiller*, incumbent of the Nikola Church on Novokuznetskaya Street, and Father *Dmitry Dudko*, a priest of the Church of Saint Nikolai of the Transfiguration, were "sent into retirement", i.e. dismissed.[85] The KGB had long been bringing pressure to bear on the warden of the church where D. Dudko officiated, insisting on Dudko's dismissal. The warden refused to

[85. This report appears, in the light of subsequent information, to be exaggerated. In late 1972 the two men were reported still to be at their posts, despite pressure. On Shpiller see Chapter 8 in M. Bourdeaux, *Patriarch and Prophets*, London, 1969, and for Dudko's brief arrest on 24 February 1966, for intending, with Grigorenko and others, to make an anti-Stalin demonstration, see *Possev*, 16 September 1966. See also a collection of Shpiller's sermons in *Vestnik RSKhD*, No. 104-105, 1972.]

concur and was himself dismissed. The new warden promptly informed Dudko that he had been instructed to cancel his contract with him. He laid the blame on Father Dmitry's "political utterances". On 1 October the priest Dudko preached a sermon to his parishioners, asking them to help and defend him. On 4 October a group of believers appealed to the Patriarch of All Russia, Pimen, in a letter protesting at the priest's dismissal.

Father Vsevolod too was retired for political reasons. Both priests are well known for their pastoral activities amongst young believers.

* * *

A prominent detail connected with the forcible expulsion from Kiev of *Zh. A. Medvedev*[86] during the International Congress of Gerontologists there (see *Chronicle* No. 26) was an attempt by foreign scientists to express solidarity with their colleague who was being persecuted by the authorities. This has become known from notes by Zh. Medvedev entitled "The Problem of Ageing and the Problem of Democracy (Letters to a Friend)", which have appeared in *samizdat*. About 500 participants in the Congress were ready to register their protests and boycott its sessions. On their behalf Professor L. Hayflick had a meeting with the Chairman of the Soviet organizing committee, Professor D. F. Chebotaryov, who assured him that he knew nothing about the incident, and promised to use his influence to prevent any possible persecution of Medvedev. Anxious for the fate of his colleague and hoping to help him, L. Hayflick was satisfied with the assurances he had received and promised to refrain from making any public protests. It is clear, however, from Medvedev's notes that the authorities' actions were taken in complicity with Professor Chebotaryov.

* * *

[86. At the beginning of September Medvedev circulated in *samizdat* an open letter to the Soviet finance minister, in which he suggested that would-be emigrants be allowed to pay the new education tax with the unredeemed state bonds which citizens bought compulsorily between 1928 and 1957. See Reuter and *Washington Post* dispatches dated September 3. On 15 January 1973, Medvedev arrived in Britain to research for a year at London's National Institute for Medical Research.]

Last summer KGB officials took test-samples of the typefaces of all typewriters in the Leningrad branch of the publishing-house *Goslitizdat* and its subsidiary editorial offices.

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The *Chronicle* is reproducing the full text of a document which, in a legally vague form, virtually sanctions the tapping of telephone conversations:

Order of the Minister of Communications of the USSR, No. 593.

Moscow 7 September 1972

Concerning an Addendum to Article 74 of the Communications Statutes of the USSR.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR, by a Decree issued 31 August 1972, No. 655, has added to this Article of the Communications Statutes of the USSR, which were ratified by Decree No. 316 of the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued on 27 May 1972 (SP SSSR 1971, 110,[87] article 83), after the first paragraph, a paragraph as follows:

"The use of the telephone communication system (inter-urban, municipal or rural) for purposes contrary to the interests of the state or to public order is prohibited."

I order:

the heads of all chief administrations, departments and offices of the Ministry of Communications of the USSR, Ministers of Communications of the Union Republics, heads of industrial and technical departments of communications, managers of enterprises, establishments and organizations in the field of Communications under Union jurisdiction:

a) to take cognizance of and comply with Decree No. 655 of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, 31 August 1972,

b) to ensure the insertion of the above-mentioned Addendum into Article 74 of the Communications Statutes

[87. I.e., "Collection of Resolutions of the Government of the USSR", 1971, p. 110.]

of the USSR, which have been circulated to provincial organizations by order No. 420 of the Ministry of Communications of the USSR, 8 June 1971.

Minister of Communications of the USSR N. Psurtsev

11,230 copies.

* * *

The *Chronicle* continues to publish the addresses of families, and the birthdays of children of political prisoners.[88]

Nadezhda Pavlovna *Kirsanova*: Sverdlovsk P-116, ul. Komarova 3 kv. 8. Daughter Ira: 26 July 1962.

Galina Ilinichna *Salova* (Lyubarskaya): Noginskii raion Moskovskoi oblasti, pos. Chernogolovka, ul. Pervaya d. 26, kv. 35. Daughter Veronica: 3 October 1960.

Inna Ivanovna *Zhuravlyova* (Dronova): Moskva, ul. Dokukina 7. kv. 40. Son Dima: 26 July 1969.

Galina Vasilevna *Gavrilova*: Tallin 28, ul. Sõpruse Puiestee, d. 208, kv. 163. Daughter Lyuba: 9 October 1968.

Vilena Anatolevna *Pimenova*: Syktyvkar, Krasny Zaton, ul. Kuznechnaya 19. Son Revolt: 20 August 1964.

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Samizdat News

I. Aleksandrov [pseudonym?]: "Brief Notes on the Present-Day Crisis." An essay containing an appraisal of the present state of affairs in the country and some forecasts for the future. The author feels that phenomena of crisis in the Soviet Union are starting to assume a universal character, encompassing all spheres of public life: economics, politics, both domestic and foreign, relations between national groups, culture, and so forth. Such is the overall tendency, and, in the author's opinion, it will grow steadily stronger during the 70's and lead to the differentiation of social and political forces. The split will extend also to the leadership, thinks Aleksandrov, and will clearly

[88. These are, respectively, Anatoly Reshetnik (No. 25), Kronid Lyubarsky (24-27), Alexander Dronov (23, 25), Gennady Gavrilov (10, 11, 15, 22, 23, 26), and Revolt Pimenov (16-18, 22, 23; 25).]

reveal different trends and groupings: "Stalinists", "Maoists", "Westerners", "true Party-members", "Internationalists". The situation will become extremely complicated. "In these conditions," writes the author, "the times will demand a particularly precise theoretical and practical response to the situation, and history will not forgive the Russian intelligentsia if it shows itself, on this occasion too, incapable of becoming master of the situation, the leader of all that is wholesome in the boiling cauldron of Russia."

* * *

F. Karelin: "A Propos of Father Sergei Zheludkov's Letter to A. Solzhenitsyn."[89] The objections raised by the priest Zheludkov to Solzhenitsyn's letter to Patriarch Pimen have already been reported in *Chronicle* No. 25. F. Karelin stresses that these objections bear witness to a "lack of faith in the spiritual might of the Church". While A. Solzhenitsyn proceeded from the conviction that the human spirit is more powerful than external circumstances, the priest Zheludov deems the social environment more powerful than the spirit. Such a philosophy is more akin to materialism than to Christianity. "The second untruth" displayed in Zheludkov's letter is the "psychology of the disfranchised citizen, which has eaten its way into the consciousness of almost the entire body of Russian clergy". F. Karelin writes: "When you use the words 'it is not allowed' you have in mind not laws but something else" . . . "Do you not think that this something else has less to do with the domain of Law than it has with the domain of pathological psychology, . . . of our own inept attitude to the laws of our country, our legal lethargy, and more

[89. Karelin's reply has appeared in Russian in *Vestnik RSKhD* No. 103, in English in the weekly *The Tablet*, 48, Great Peter Street, London S.W.1, 11 and 18 November 1972; in French in *Cahiers du Samizdat* No. 3, 1972; and in Italian in *Russia Cristiana*, Milan, No. 125. Solshenitsyn's own reply to Zheludkov has appeared in the same places, but not in *The Tablet*, and not in No. 3, but in No. 1 of *Cahiers*. A further response, from "Father G.R.", to Solzhenitsyn's original letter is in *Vestnik* 104-105, pp. 327-28. Zheludkov's "Liturgical Notes" are in *Vestnik*, Nos. 103 and 104-105.]

than anything else . . . our fear which we have still not conquered? . . ."

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M. Meyerson-Aksyonov: "The People of God and the Pastors."[90]

In connexion with the discussion centred around A. Solzhenitsyn's Lenten Letter to the Patriarch, the author attempts to "take a look at the contemporary ailments of Russian Orthodoxy in a historical perspective". He demonstrates that the Church is not in principle one and the same thing as its hierarchy, which, in the case of the early Christians, was a single whole made up of all believers, who all participated equally in its religious activity. Hierarchical isolation has made Orthodoxy defenceless in the face of tyrannical interference by the State, since bureaucrats can give orders to hierarchs and, through them, to all believers. On the other hand, detached from "the world" and "worldly things", the historical Church has become ossified in its ritual forms, and ceased to trouble about the introduction of spiritual principles into daily life. It has carried out its own "secularization", waiting upon the state, "giving its blessing" to any of the state's political actions or claims. The author sees, as a way out of the church crisis that has arisen, the mitigation of the historical contrast between the "people of God" and the "pastors", the mobilization of laymen, first and foremost of the Christian intelligentsia, towards the creation of a truly Ecumenical Church which will rid itself of its narrow-minded nationalism, its forced sanctification of the political actions of the government, and its degrading dependence on the state.

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A. Sugrobov [pseudonym?]: "Unconverted Property." The author polemicizes with N. Semyonov, author of an

[90. Text in *Vestnik* No. 104-105. Meyerson signed a document of 1968 in P. Litvinov, *The Trial of the Four*; in January 1973 he emigrated from the USSR. See two recent illustrations of Meyerson's thesis in *Vestnik* 104-105, concerning Archbishop Pavel's forced retirement (see also No. 103) and the persecution of the church in Kolyvan, on which see also Reddaway, *op. cit.*, p. 321. Myerson's article has appeared in Italian in *Russia Cristiana*, No. 127.]

article published in *Literary Gazette* on 20 September 1972, "Isn't it Better to be in Debt to Oneself?", in which the author argues in favour of the ransom required of professionally qualified persons leaving the country. In the view of A. Sugrobov this is merely a particular instance of "state serfdom", the roots of which lie far back in Russian history.

* * *

S. Telegin:[91] *Trade in a Valuable Commodity.* A pamphlet devoted to the newly-introduced ransom tax on emigration from the USSR.

[91. Evidently a pseudonym. See also the author's essay of 1970, "How is one to Lead One's Life?", in *Vestnik* No. 103.]

"Freedom is a prime necessity throughout the whole world . . . It is disgusting to sell freedom for money. [This] tax on education is a tax on freedom. It is an insult to human dignity."

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Author unknown. "S. P. Trapeznikov, *An Abstract: Selected Pronouncements, Aphorisms, Conjectures.*" An assortment of quotations from the book *Sharp Turns of History* by S. P. Trapeznikov, head of the Central Committee's Department of Science [and Educational Establishments]. Sometimes the author comments on his quotations. We publish several quotations taken at random:

"Who is called upon to develop and who really does develop the communist ideology in present-day conditions? Undoubtedly the leading organ of the party, the Central Committee, its Politbureau . . . In truth, this Leninist mechanism has no equal anywhere or in any respect" (p. 92). "This is what happened! The spectre of scientific communism widened and deepened" (p. 37). "And when the bourgeoisie saw that from this spectre of communism there had unfurled on a broad front the Marxist workers' movement, it threw its forces against the very core of the movement" (p. 44). "The liberal intelligentsia rushed to join the ranks of the party, diluting them with its petit-bourgeois ideology and anarchistic jargon. All this went against the well-tried laws of dialectics" (p. 87).

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Addenda and Corrigenda

1. The report in *Chronicle* No. 24 about the confiscation, during a search at the home of Serednyak, of novels by Solzhenitsyn and Grossman is erroneous. Confiscated from her were *Chronicles* No. 21 and 22, and stories by an unknown author.

2. Re: *Chronicle* No. 25. The search at the home of V. E. Yuvchenko (Kiev) took place on 15 March and not 15 May. On the same day there were searches at the homes of S. F. Gluzman (arrested 12 May) and A. Feldman (for the second time; first searched 14 January).[92]

[92. On Alexander Feldman see also No. 26, and *NBSJ*, III, No. 5, p. 20.]

3. Re: No. 25. Lithuanian schoolmistress O. Briliene has been dismissed from her job, after it became known in the school that her own children were attending church (a photograph which showed her children in a church happened to find its way into a school library book).

4. Re: No. 26 [p. 243]: According to more precise information, about 150 people were detained at the Shevchenko memorial on the anniversary of the bearing of the poet's ashes [to the Ukraine]. All the detainees were initially released, but after a "check" some of them were sentenced 24 hours later to 15 days' arrest.

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Additional Corrections by the Translators

The following list is not complete. It excludes, for example, some of the corrections made to previous issues, either by the *Chronicle* editors or by the translators, in subsequent issues. In addition, it ignores the changes made by the translators, starting with No. 18, in their system of transliterating Ukrainian and Baltic names. Whereas previously these were transliterated direct from the Russian forms, from No. 18 on the names of nationally minded Ukrainians have been transliterated from their Ukrainian forms, and Baltic names have been rendered in what were known (or judged) to be their original Latin-alphabet forms (although the printers have not usually had the right type for the Lithuanian letters with inverted circumflexes, so that the latter have normally had to be omitted).

Readers who wish to enter corrections in their copies should note that some corrections require adjustments to the indexes.

No. 16 Entries for "Kheifits" in Nos. 16 and 17 should read "Kheifets".
p. 11, last line. Insert at beginning (also in index) "L. Arushanyan, born 1939, a worker;".
p. 12, line 14. "Arutyunyan" should read "Arushanyan".
p. 12, line 39. Delete "[emigré?]." (See No. 23, note 89.)
p. 16, para. 3. "N. V. Lazuta" should read "I. V. Lazuta".
p. 34, line 5. "Budka" should read "Vudka".

No. 17 In Nos. 17, 18 and 20 "Tvyordokhlebov" should read "Tverdokhlebov".
p. 38, line 14. "Cyuzel" should read "Gyuzel".
p. 48, last line. "Matanogov" should read "Metanogov". This name should be inserted in the index.
pp. 51, 55 and 56. "Toropova" should read "Toporova".
p. 52, line 7. "Ara" should read "Arie".
p. 53, lines 21-22. "Izrail" should read "Israel" (the country).
p. 80, line 14. "1,300" should read "1,200".
p. 101. The second entry "Kuznetsov O." should read "Kuznetsova O.".
p. 101. "84" should read "85" in the entry "Ponomaryova V.".
p. 101. Insert in index: "Romanyuk, Fr. V. 41".

No. 18 p. 111, line 13, Delete "i.e.".
p. 149, prisoner 12. "Kranov" should read "Krasnov".
p. 165. Insert in index "Sokulsky, I. G. 152".

No. 20 p. 242, last line. After 1965 insert: [in fact: 1966].
p. 243, line 10. Delete "different sections of".

p. 244, line 26. "end" should read "beginning".
p. 255, line 19. "pact" should read "covenant".
p. 264. "Ibragimov 245" should read "Ibragimov, L. 244-5".
p. 265. Sakharov entry. "253" should read "254".
p. 266. Add "Tarnavsky N. 242".

No. 21 p. 292, line 14. "July" should read "June".
p. 292, line 18. "20 July" should read "28 June".
p. 292, line 20, "In 1967" should read "on 27 June 1967".

No. 22 p. 21, line 22. "Maillot" should read "Maheu".
p. 32, line 3. "13" should read "18".

No. 23 p. 76, line 28. "Sivashinsky" should read "Svechinsky".
p. 84, 5th June from bottom. Delete "[or Denur?]".
p. 127, line 10. "Turtov" should read "Purtov".

No. 24 p. 147. The Kiev prison address given here is probably inaccurate, as the Kiev Region's code is YaA. The correct address is therefore probably YaA-207.
p. 156 Delete "Eliseyev", insert "[Evgeny S.] Evseyev".

No. 25 p. 195, note 27. *"Sovetskaya Latvia"* should read *"Sovetskaya Litva"*.
p. 205, line 2. Delete "Vasily Kondrata", insert "Vasyl Kindrat". (See No. 27, note 56.)

No. 26 p. 231, line 1. "Rokityansky" should read "Raketsky". (See No. 27, note 16.)
p. 234, line 14. "24" should read "4".
p. 254, note 47. "Silvestrov's article" should read "Silvestrov's interview".
p. 260, line 1. "20" should read "29".

PUBLICATIONS IN WESTERN LANGUAGES ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE USSR

SUPPLEMENT TO THE SELECT BIBLIOGRAHPY IN *CHRONICLE* 22-23
(the same categories are used, with some extra sub-categories)

I — COLLECTIONS OF DOCUMENTS

I. a. General

J. Bezemer and M. van den Heuvel, eds., *De demokratische Beweging in de Sovjetunie: Documenten*, Amsterdam, 1971.
An excellent, wide-ranging collection, with photographs.

Cahiers du Samizdat, 105 drève du Duc, 1170-Brussels.
This excellent monthly translates a wide range of new *samizdat* documents, with the necessary minimum of commentary.

C. Gerstenmaier, *The Voices of the Silent*, Hart (N.Y.), 1972.
230 pages of documents and 300 pages of analysis, this is a (rather inexpert) translation of the very useful *Die Stimme der Stummen*.

N. Karsov, S. Szechter, eds., *Kronika biezacych wydarzen*, Polonia Book Fund, 10 Queen Anne's Gardens, London W.4, 1972.
This excellent Polish translation of the *Chronicle* includes Nos. 1-12 in full and Nos. 13-16 in summary, and carries photographs and an introduction.

La lunga strada di un'alternativa nell'URSS. Samizdat politico, Jaca Book, Milan, 1972.
A very useful collection of political *samizdat*.

Borys Lewytzkyj, *Politische Opposition in der Sowjetunion, 1960-1972: Analyse und Dokumentation*, Deutscher Taschenbuch (Munich), 1972.
An excellent and wide-ranging collection of documents and commentary, plus pen-portraits of 14 leading dissenters, a good bibliography which includes magazine and press articles, and an invaluable 40-page list of 670 political prisoners of recent years, with details of their arrest, sentence, etc. The documents include the "Programme of the Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union" (1969), the appeal of 17 Latvian communists (1971), an informed analysis of the Leningrad "All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People" (1969) and a document recording the discussion between Mikoyan and a Volga German delegation in 1965.

Russischer Samisdat, Kuratorium Geistige Freiheit, Postfach 1825, 3001 Bern, Switzerland.
A magazine which publishes translations of *samizdat* documents.

I. b. Trials, Demonstrations, Persecution, etc.

Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Repression in the Soviet Union (Washington, D.C.), 1972.
See details in note 61 to this issue of the *Chronicle*.

Condannati alla folia, Garzanti (Milan), 1972.
A translation of *Kaznimye summasshestviem* (Frankfurt), 1971, this book gives massive documentation from *samizdat* sources on a wide range of victims of political psychiatry up to early 1971.

C. Gerstenmaier, ed., *Wladimir Bukowskij. Der unbequeme Zeuge*, Seewald (Stuttgart), 1972.
A very useful collection of documents by and about Bukovsky, including the long *samizdat* account of his trial in January 1972.

K. van het Reve, ed., *Nicht geladene Zeugen. Briefe und Telegramme an Pawel M. Litwinow*, Hoffmann und Campe (Hamburg), 1969.
Translation of *Letters and Telegrams to Pavel M. Litvinov.*

I. c. National and Religious Movements

(1) *National*

La repressione culturale in Lituania, Jaca Book (Milan), 1972.
A collection of documents on the national and religious movements in Lithuania.

R. W. Schloss, *Lass mein Volk ziehen. Die russischen Juden zwischen Sowjetstern und Davidstern. Eine Dokumentation* (Munich-Vienna), 1971.
Documents on the Soviet Zionist movement.

S. Stetsko, ed., *Revolutionary Voices: Ukrainian Political Prisoners Condemn Russian Colonialism*, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations Buchdruckerei OSB, München 2, Westendstr. 49.
Although edited from the viewpoint of extreme Ukrainian nationalism, this book is a very useful anthology of writings by leading Soviet Ukrainian dissenters.

Ukrainian Intellectuals in Shackles: Violation of Human Rights In Ukraine, Ukrainian American Congress Committee, 302 West 13th Street, New York 10014, 1972.
This booklet contains extracts from, and summaries of *samizdat* documents.

(2) *Religions*

X. Howard-Johnston and M. Bourdeaux, eds., *Aida of Leningrad: The Story of Aida Skripnikova*, Gateway Outreach, 60, London Street, Reading, Berks, 1972.
Moving documents about a leading young Baptist, including a transcript of her trial in 1968.

Kampf des Glaubens. Dokumente aus der Sowjetunion, Schweizerisches Ostinstitut (Bern), 1967.
A collection of *samizdat* documents about religious persecution in the early and mid 1960's.

André Martin, *Les Croyants en URSS, L'Eglise officielle contestée. Persécutions et procès des croyants*, Fayard (Paris), 1970.
A useful collection of Orthodox and Baptist documents of 1965-69.

Russia Cristiana, via Martinengo 16, 20139 Milan.
This bi-monthly journal regularly and promptly prints Christian documents from the USSR, with commentaries.

Russian Christians on Trial, European Christian Mission, 24 Elm Grove, London N.8, 1970.
This 48-page booklet consists of the *samizdat* transcript of a trial of some Odessa Baptists in 1967.

Terra nuova sotto la stella rossa. Samizdat religioso, Jaca Book (Milan), 1971.
A very useful collection of religious *samizdat*.

Nadeshda Theodorowitsch, *Religion und Atheismus in der UdSSR: Dokumente und Berichte*, Claudius (Munich), 1970.
An excellent collection by one of the leading western authorities on religion in the USSR.

II — BOOKS BY PARTICIPANTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND PEOPLE CONNECTED WITH IT

II. a. Problems of Soviet Society

Anon., *Renaissance du bolchévisme en URSS: Mémoires d'un bolchévik-léniniste*, Maspéro (Paris), 1970.
Memoirs of a Trotskyist, written around 1968, about political struggles in the party in the 1920's, then about the prisons and camps he experienced. Documents by Yakir, Pisarev, Plyushch, Gigorenko and Yakhimovich are added as appendices.

Anon, *White Book of Exodus*, National Conference on Soviet Jewry, 11 West 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10036, 1972.
A collection of documents brilliantly edited in Moscow, which illustrates the major aspects of the persecution to which active Zionists are subjected, even when they have an excellent knowledge of the law.

Evgenia Ginzburg, *Into the Whirlwind* (London), 1967, and Penguin, 1970.
A well-known, moving and impressive account (many other translations) of life in Stalinist prisons and camps.

Pyotr Grigorenko, *The Thoughts of a Madman* (provisional title), Souvenir Press (London), due in late 1973.
This translation of *Mysli sumasshedshego* (Herzen Foundation, Amsterdam, 1973) contains the major writings by and about Grigorenko, plus a detailed bibliography.

Eduard Kuznecov, *Senza di me. Diario da un lager sovietico 1970-1971*, Longanesi (Milan), 1973.
Kuznetsov describes his experiences during the Leningrad "aeroplane case" (see *Chronicle* 17) and then in the appalling conditions of special-regime camp No. 10 in Mordovia, where he is still. His style is reflective, analytical, sometimes bitter, always moving. To appear in other languages.

Nadezhda Mandelstam: her *Vtoraya kniga (A Second Book)*, YMCA, Paris, is due to appear in various languages in 1973. In it she continues her remarkable and penetrating memoirs, begun in *Hope against Hope*, which shed light on many aspects of her husband's life, Soviet history and the Soviet intelligentsia.

Roy Medvedev, *De la démocratie socialiste*, Grasset (Paris), 1972. An ambitious work (to be published in other languages too) which analyzes the different political forces at work in the USSR, including different types of opposition, from a liberal Marxist perspective.

Valentyn Moroz, *A Chronicle of Resistance in Ukraine*, PIUF (3, rue du Sabot, Paris 6), and Smoloskyp (Baltimore), 1970.
Moroz's stirring essay about preserving the Ukrainian nation.

Valentyn Moroz, *Among the Snows: Protest Writings from the Ukraine*, Ukrainian Information Service, 200 Liverpool Road, London N.1, 1971.
Moroz's brilliant essay of 1970, polemicizing with Dzyuba, is the centrepiece of this small book, which also includes documents about Moroz and other Ukrainian dissenters.

Sergei Scheludkow, *Ist Gott in Russland tot?*, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1971.
A translation of the Pskov priest Zheludkov's book on the relation of religion to society. His modernist approach holds that the relation should be close.

Pyotr Yakir, *A Childhood in Prison*, Macmillan (London), 1972. These vivid and revealing memoirs, written without any self-pity, concern Yakir's first years in imprisonment, after his arrest in 1937 at the age of 14. French, German and Dutch editions have already appeared too.

II. b. Belles-lettres

Andrey Amalrik, *Die Nase* and *Ist Onkel Jack ein Konformist?*, Diogenes Theaterverlag (Zürich), 1971, and *Six Plays*, Harcourt Brace (New York), due in early 1973.
Translations from Amalrik's *Pesy* (Amsterdam, 1970), a collection of his comic, surrealist plays.

Varlam Chalamov, *Récits de Kolyma*, Paris, 1969.
This small selection from Shalamov's powerful stories of camp life under Stalin have also appeared in German.

Lydia Chukovskaya, *Going Under*, London and New York, 1972, and *The Deserted House*, London, 1967.
These two beautifully told stories concern life in the Stalin period.

Julij Daniel, *Berichte aus dem sozialistischen Lager*, ins Deutsche gebracht von Wolf Biermann, Hoffmann und Campe (Hamburg), 1972.
Brilliant, free translations by East Germany's leading poet of some of the poems in Daniel's *Stikhi iz nevoli* (Amsterdam, 1971), which were written in camp and prison.

Oles Honchar, *Der Dom von Satschipljanka*, Hoffmann und Campe (Hamburg), 1970.
A translation of *The Cathedral*, which set off a furore when published in Kiev in 1968, then withdrawn.

A-H. Horbach, *Ein Brunnen für durstige und andere ukrainische Erzählungen*, Horst Erdmann (Germany), 1970.
An anthology of modern Ukrainian literature, including works by contemporary dissenters.

G. N. Luckyj, ed., *Four Ukrainian Poets*, Quixote (New York), 1969.
Poems by Drach, Korotych, Kostenko and Symonenko.

M. Maslow, ed., *La nouvelle vague littéraire en Ukraine*, PIUF, 3 rue du Sabot, Paris 6, 1967.
An anthology of the Ukrainian "Writers of the Sixties", including Kostenko, Drach, Symonenko, Dzyuba and Svitlychny.

Wladimir Maximow, *Die sieben Tage der Schöpfung*, Scherz (Bern and Munich), 1972.
This devastating novel about Soviet life is due to be published in various languages.

Andrey Sinyavsky, *For Freedom of Imagination*, Holt, Rinehart (New York), 1971.
A selection of essays on Pasternak, Akhmatova and others.

Andrey Sinyavsky, *Unguarded Thoughts*, Collins and Harvill (London), 1972.
Sinyavsky's brilliant and epigrammatic reflections on life, death and God, of the mid-1960's.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *August 1914*, 1972 (in many languages), and *Stories and Prose Poems* (London and New York), 1972.
Works by and about Solzhenitsyn are now too numerous to list in full.

III — BOOKS (AND JOURNALS) BY WESTERN SCHOLARS AND OBSERVERS

III. a. General

Martin Dewhirst and R. Farrell, eds., *The Soviet Censorship* [provisional title], Scarecrow Press (Metuchen, New Jersey), due in 1973.
This meticulously edited record of the proceedings of a conference of 1970 addressed by various former Soviet writers, including A. Belinkov and A. Kuznetsov, is the first well-documented book on a subject of great relevance to many dissenters.

John Dornberg, *The New Tsars: Russia under Stalin's Heirs*, Doubleday (New York), 1972.
This book by *Newsweek's* Moscow correspondent from 1968 to 1970 devotes Parts II and III to an informed description of *samizdat* and dissenters, some of whom the author knew personally.

Peter Hübner, *Literatur contra naturwissenschaftliche Dogmatismus in der UdSSR Heute*, Bericht des Bundesinstituts (Köln, Lindenbornstr. 22), 1970.
A study of recent writings, including *samizdat* ones, against dogmatism in Soviet science.

Index, Writers and Scholars International, 35 Bow Street, London, W.C.2.
This quarterly contains a regular section on the world-wide persecution of writers, scholars, artists, etc., and also pays considerable attention to *samizdat* and censorship in the USSR.

Susan Jacoby, *The Friendship Barrier: Ten Russian Encounters*, New York and London, 1972.
An account by a perceptive journalist, who lived in Moscow in 1969-71, of her friendships with various Russians, including dissenters like Bukovsky and Gyuzel Amalrik.

Peggy Kettenis and others, *Opposite in de Sovjet-Unie 1960-1970*, Amnesty International (Holland), 1972.
A small but imaginatively edited collection of documents and commentaries over a wide range of subjects.

Peter Reddaway, *The Forced Labour Camps in the USSR Today: An Unrecognized Example of Modern Inhumanity*, International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR, 28, place Flagey, B-1050 Brussels, February 1973.
This 45-page study, also available in French and Dutch, is a preliminary report, accompanied by a map showing the exact locations of 250 camps and the approximate locations of the roughly 750 more which exist. All these camps are estimated to hold a total of at least one million prisoners, and their most inhuman feature is the constant semi-starvation which the prisoners face. A full report will be published later in 1973.

A. Rothberg, *The Heirs of Stalin. Dissidence and the Soviet Regime 1953-1970*, Ithaca and London, 1972.
A discussion of the best known Soviet dissenters and their situation by a versatile but not always expert author.

Samizdat, bi-monthly bulletin in Flemish of the Flemish Action Committee for Cooperation with Eastern Europe, Postbox 19, B-2800 Mechelen, Belgium.
Documents and commentary, edited by a group which has organized human rights demonstrations in Moscow.

H. von Ssachno, M. Grunert, *Literatur und Repression: Sowjetische Kulturpolitik seit 1965* (Munich), 1970
A discussion of Soviet policy on literature, the censorship and repression since 1965.

S. Yakobson and R. V. Allen, *Aspects of Intellectual Ferment and Dissent in the Soviet Union*, study printed by the U.S. Government Printing Office on 4 October, 1968, for the Committee on the Judiciary of the U.S. Senate.
A useful study of different aspects of dissent, especially in the years 1966-68.

III. b. National Movements

Baltic Events, edited by R. Taagepera, School of Social Science, University of California, Irvine, Calif. 92664.
A bi-monthly newsletter, formerly called *Estonian Events*, which provides information in a documented way about various aspects of life, including human rights.

Julian Birch, *The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement in the USSR since 1956*, Ukrainian Information Service, 200 Liverpool Road, London, N.1, 1971.
A short but knowledgeable and well-documented analysis.

Ethnic Pressures in the Soviet Union, Conflict Studies No. 30, Institute for the Study of Conflict, RUSI Building, Whitehall, London, SW1A 2ET.
Comprises studies of the Western republics and Soviet Central Asia. See details in notes 1 and 51 to this issue of the *Chronicle*.

G. Hodnett, P. J. Potichnyj, *The Ukraine and the Czechoslovak Crisis*, Occasional Paper No. 6, Dept. of Political Science, Australian National University, Canberra, 1970.
A careful academic study of the relation of Ukrainian dissent to developments in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Soviet Jewish Affairs, Institute of Jewish Affairs, 13-16 Jacob's Well Mews, George Street, London, W.1.
This excellent journal, which appears twice yearly, is the most academic publication on Jewish affairs, and treats both contemporary and historical themes.

III. c. Religion

Catacombes, B.P. 79, 92405 Courbevoie, France.
An interdenominational monthly which publishes *samizdat* documents and commentaries on the churches in the USSR and East Europe.

Giovanni Codevilla, *Stato e Chiesa nell'Unione Sovietica*, Jaca Book (Milan), 1971.
Part of this work has been published as a small book in English: *The Attitude of the Soviet State towards Religion*, Russia Cristiana, via Martinengo 16, 20139 Milan. The work is concerned to examine church-state relations in the USSR from a basically legal viewpoint, in order better to understand contemporary religious dissent.

John Dunlop, *The Recent Activities of the Moscow Patriarchate Abroad and in the USSR*, St. Nectarios American Orthodox Church, 9223, 20th Avenue Northeast, Seattle, Washington 98115, 1970.
The second half of this capable study, "The 'Unofficial' Voice of the Persecuted", makes extensive use of Orthodox *samizdat*.

ELTA-Press, 00182 Rome, via Casalmonferrato 33.
This monthly information bulletin publishes documents and commentaries on Lithuanian church affairs.

Battista Mondin, *Cristo Ancora Clandestino*, Edizioni Izme-Pime, 94 via Mose-Bianchi, 20149 Milan, 1972.
This small book is an objective eye-witness account of the predicament of the Soviet churches today.

The Orthodox Word, Platina, California 96076.
A bi-monthly which publishes both documents and commentary concerning the Russian Orthodox Church and especially its persecution.

Religion in Communist Lands, 34 Lubbock Road, Chislehurst, Kent, BR7 5JJ.
This new bi-monthly journal, the organ of the Centre for the Study of Religion and Communism, publishes *samizdat* documents and commentaries on the churches in the USSR (also material on East Europe and China). Its bibliographical section incorporates the Centre's previous publication, *Documentation Service on Religion in the USSR*, which from 1968 to 1971 listed and annotated systematically all religious *samizdat* reaching the west.

Joshua Rothenberg, *The Jewish Religion in the Soviet Union*, Ktav (New York), 1971.
An authoritative analysis of the religious conditions available for Jews in the USSR, from a legal angle. The extensive discrimination and harrassment which the laws support and encourage (against other religions too) help to explain the rapid growth of Zionism.

Gerhard Simon, *Die Kirchen in Russland, Berichte, Dokumente*, Munich, 1970, translated as *The Churches in Russia*, London, 1973.
A very useful combination of documents and commentary by a leading specialist.

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