A Chronicle of Current Events

A Journal of the Soviet Civil Rights Movement produced bi-monthly in Moscow since 1968

Issues No. 19 and 20

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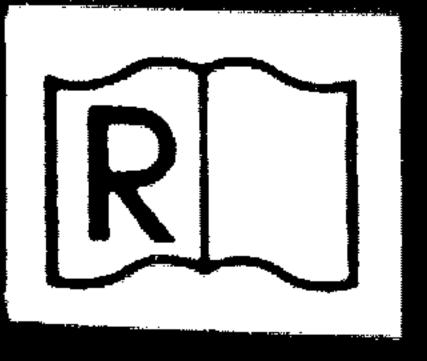
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This is a rather literal translation of the typewritten Russian originals produced in Moscow and circulated in samicdat. Only the words in square brackets have been added by the translators. Chronicles 19 and 20 are published here together, as the first copy of 19 to reach the outside world arrived with over three months' delay. The Russian texts are due to appear in Possev: Devyatyi spetsiadnyi vypusk. Frankfurt, October, 1971.]



The Movement in Defence of Human Rights in the USSR Continues

A Chronicle of Current Events

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

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19

Issue No. 19

30 April 1971 [Moscow]

Fourth year of publication

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The arrest of Vladimir Bukovsky. Vladimir Gershuni's notes from the special psychiatric hospital in Oryol. The hunger strike of Borisov and Fainberg. The fate of members of the "All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People". An appeal by the Crimean Tatar people. The movement of the Meskhetians for a return to their homeland. The Jewish movement to leave for Israel. Extra-judicial persecution. Banned films. Items from the Soviet press. News in brief. Samizdat news.

The Arrest of Vladimir Bukovsky

On 29 March 1971 Vladimir Bukovsky was arrested by the Moscow Region KGB. He was charged under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code and placed in Lefortovo prison.

A search of Bukovsky's flat was carried out in his absence (Bukovsky was driven away, questioned, detained and—

two days later—charged).

The search was carried out by Captain Korkach, senior investigator of the investigation division of the KGB, and four others (whose names were not given and whose signatures on the record of the search are illegible). The official witnesses present at the search, Natalya Korobkova and Vladimir Knyazev, arrived with the security officers, who addressed them familiarly as "Natasha" and "Volodya". Instead of explaining their duties to the witnesses, the investigator told them: "Here you'll be able to have a look at gold coins and bars, jewels and foreign currency", to which Nina Ivanovna Bukovskaya, Vladimir's mother, remarked: "You won't find those things here, better look for them at your own house".

The following were confiscated during the search: materials on the case of the "All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People", Chronicle No. 17, the letter by V. Borisov and V. Fainberg from the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital [see p.176], A. Krasnov's The Living Word [see p.209], P. Yakir's letter to the 24th party congress [see p.210], a parody of Kochetov's novel (What are you laughing at?)¹, poems by B. Chichibabin and V. Delone, F. Ya. Mikhailichenko's booklet The Ideological Diversions of American Imperialism (stamped "For official use"), a portrait of A. Solzhenitsyn (called "portrait of a male person" in the record of the search), the addresses of foreign committees for the defence of human rights, recording tapes (ten spools) and two note-books.

[1. Vsevolod Kochetov's hard-line novel What is it you want? (Chego zhe ty khochesh?) was published in the journal Oktyabr, of which he is the editor, in late 1969 (Nos. 9-11). A number of parodies appeared shortly afterwards in samizdat; this one (in Russian: Chego zhe ty khokhochesh?) is by S. S. Smirnov and its text is in Possey 6, 1970, pp. 57-59.1.

V. Bukovsky has been repeatedly persecuted for activities which stem from his beliefs. His principal belief is that freedom must be fought for (and he has acted on this, without breaking the law in the process). Vladimir has spent six of his 28 years in lunatic asylums, camps and prisons. The demonstration in defence of Sinyavsky and Daniel of September 1966 [in fact of December 1965] and that in defence of Dobrovolsky, Galanskov and Lashkova of January 1967 are linked with his name. Bukovsky's final speech at his trial in September 1967 is memorable.

On his release from a three-year term of imprisonment in January 1970, Bukovsky immediately joined the struggle for human rights. His interview on the situation of political prisoners in psychiatric hospitals is well known (he has himself experienced the Leningrad prison-hospital on Arsenalnaya St., and has also been in Moscow hospitals Lyublino, Stolbovaya and -for examination the Serbsky Institute).

Just before his arrest Bukovsky sent to the West a collection of documents he had assembled, which give an idea of what sort of people are placed in psychiatric hospitals and of the methods by which this is done (the materials include copies of the diagnostic reports of forensic-psychiatric experts and letters written in confinement by persons judged to be of unsound mind). These materials were destined for Western psychiatrists, to whom Bukovsky appealed in a letter (of 28 January 1971); Bukovsky's object was to help specialists to study the question of how psychiatry is employed in this country to imprison dissenters, in order that this question might then be brought

[2. Text in Pavel Litvinov, The Demonstration in Pushkin Square, London, 1969, pp. 87-95.]

[3. English text in Survey, London, no. 77, 1970, pp. 139-45.]
[4. Included in the big compilation Kaznimye sumasshestvicm, Possev-Verlag, 1971. Some of the materials are due to appear in English in Survey no. 81, and they are analyzed in a booklet by Cornelia Mee, The Internment of Soviet Diesenters in Mental Hospitals, John Arliss Ltd. Cambridge.]

[5, Text in Mee, op. cit.: The Limes, 12 March 1971; and Illie British Journal of Psychiatry, London, August 1971; p. 225 where Dr. Derek Richter calls on fellow-psychiatrists to respond to Bukovsy's appeal. The linst large-scale response, strongly critical of Soviet practices, came in a letter to The Times from forty-four prominent psychiatrists on 16 September 1971.]

up at forthcoming international conferences of psychiatrists," and the attention of world public opinion focused on the fate of the inmates of prison-hospitals.

Open Letters in defence of Bukovsky have appeared, viz. a letter by V. Bukovsky's mother addressed to A. Kosygin, a letter by a group of [30 of] his friends and acquaintances to the 24th party congress" and an article by A. Krasnov, "Not by the sword and the lance"."

Notes by Vladimir Gershuni' from the Oryol Special Psychiatric Hospital

March 9

It has been announced that letters can be sent off only twice a month. This is just the same as in [Moscow's] Butyrka prison. On February 27 the latest party of prisoners arrived from Butyrka, so the cells are full—before there were seven, now eight people to a sixteen or seventeen square metre cell—that is, two square metres per patient. This is all intentional. There is no room to move. One is allowed to go along the corridor, but only if it's absolutely necessary—to the toilet, to get items of food from the nurse, or to smoke in the toilet. The toilet here is a cess-pit: four holes in the ground and two taps for fifty-four people, very reminiscent of station lavatories in the worst sense of the word. Less than half of all patients work at weaving nets. This is a type of work which is far from dynamic. The exercise period amounts to an hour in tiny exercise yards

[6. It is to be discussed at the congress of the World Psychiatric Association in Mexico City, November 28-December 4.]

[7. N. Bukovskaya's letter, dated 13 April, appears in summary form in a DPA report, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 April 1971, also in Corriere della Sera, Milan, 14 April.]

[8. Summarized by A. Astrachan in the Washington Post and The Guardian, 3 April 1971. P. Yakir, A. Volpin and A. Levitin were among the signatories. Krasnov-Levitin's article is in Vestnik RSKLD, 91 rue Olivier de Serres, Paris 15, No. 99, 1971, pp. 136-42.]

[9. On Gershuni see Chronicles 10, 11, 17, 18, also (with photograph of him) The Economist, London, 31 July 1971.]

far smaller than in Butyrka. There isn't a single locker in the cells, you can only write by squatting beside your bed on the floor. The light is poor.

March 10

We were warned that pencils and fountain pens would be taken away and that they would only be issued if this was absolutely necessary—to write letters, that is, as in the case of P(yotr) G(rigorevich) [Grigorenko]. A smooth routine is gradually being "established" and will be like the routine in Chernyakhovsk, but even harsher, in the best traditions of the Central Prison at Oryol.

What of the *medical treatment*? Any phrase spoken incautiously to a doctor or nurse can serve as a pretext for a series of aminazin [largactil] injections. Sometimes these injections are prescribed without any pretext, simply because of some doctor's whim. The head of the medical department is an oculist. Another doctor is an ear-nose-and-throat specialist, a third is a physician. As far as I can see the Head of the hospital, Lt. Colonel Baryshnikov, is himself supremely qualified to become a patient in a psychiatric hospital. It is by sheer and absurd chance that he is in charge of the hospital, for before we came, he headed a sanatorium for tubercular patients—in fact, in the very same building. By training this lieutenant-colonel is a surgeon.

When our party of prisoners arrived from Butyrka, all sixty of us were prescribed treatment, without undergoing any medical examination. I, for instance, had my blood pressure measured, but the others did not even have this. Almost all of those who arrived were given aminazin, both orally and by injection. No one showed any interest in either a patient's heart or his liver or anything that was wrong with him, if these had no bearing on psychiatry. Only two of the group, whose obvious allergies to aminazin had been established at the Serbsky Institute, were saved from the injections. One had serious liver trouble—the result of injuries sustained at Butyrka. Because of these injuries, he had had to be operated upon—they took him to the Sklifosovsky Institute.

March 11, morning

During rounds, just by way of an experiment, I complained about feeling poorly after a dose of haloperidol, and asked that the dose be reduced. This led to my being prescribed even more aminazin than I was already receiving. The head physician, Evgeny Vladimirovich Kozich, the oculist I have referred to already, being in charge of my case, made this decision. During a hunger strike in January (I had been given aminazin ever since my arrival), I felt steadily worse and worse, and after making a complaint, I began to get aminazin injections in the maximum dose, or very close to it (approximately 6 cc). I couldn't sleep at all, yet the same dose was administered to me for twelve days in a row, until they became convinced that I was still not sleeping, and that the injections had not made me give up my hunger strike. I was given two injections a day, from the 7th to the 18th of January, and from the 19th of January onwards I have been given two tablets of haloperidol twice daily, that is four tablets in all (and Kozich assures me that this will go on for a long time). This medicine makes me feel more awful than anything I have experienced before; you no sooner lie down than you want to get up, you no sooner take a step than you're longing to sit down, and if you sit down, you want to walk again—and there's nowhere to walk. By the way, I'm not the only one who's had this sort of thing happen to him. Everybody here has their life made miserable by triftazin [trifluoperazine/ stelazine], aminazin, and other powerful drugs. The doctor who used to be in charge of my case, Leonid Timofeyevich Petrov (...) said to me, in an attempt to justify the use of aminazin, that the vast number of new arrivals made it difficult to ascertain what was the matter with each one of them, and that because of that errors occurred—in my case, the prescription of aminazin. Just now, during his round, Kozich assured me that everything was being done properly, and there were no doctors who'd wish to harm their patients. "I haven't met any doctors like that," he said, "I've only read about them." And so once again I am prescribed aminazin. There you have it: the defencelessness of a prisoner in a special hospital, totally at the mercy of a doctor's whim, constantly in danger of being prescribed

exception to some remark or glorice of his. What has hap pened today has consinued me that if one complains that a medicine has an adverse effect, one will earn obeself either an increased dose of the same medicine, or an exist prescription of a new one. This has already happened often

from 7 to 8.36 in the evenings, we are allowed to use the dining-room. We can write letters, or play dominocs and chess. The bedlam is indescribable. Your head feels as if it's about to burst. The letters you write in this atmosphere are transportations.

We only have an hour's exercise (we had two in Butyrka), the exercise yards are so cramped and crowded that it makes your head swim once more. Today, when Kozich heard my warnings that he would have to answer for the patients being treated in an arbitrary and unceremonious manner, he threatened to put me in a cell with severely disturbed patients; I have already savoured the pleasure of such neighbours, and at some length at that—for more than a month, in fact. This happened just at the time when they were giving me injections in order to make me stop my hunger strike, but they didn't succeed, although sharing a cell with severely disturbed patients and having injections into the bargain is more than one can put into words (...)

My teeth are firm again, but one is still a little loose-and that's two months later! If you have any doubts over what brought about this clash, I'll describe it in greater detail. January 17th was a Sunday. After my injection, I wasn't allowed to take exercise. The "screw" [warder] got the wind up, not wishing to take the responsibility for anything that might happen to me during my exercise period (my hunger strike was scaring him). Fairly calmly, I demanded the period of exercise due to a prisoner and tried to join those who were being led outside. They grabbed me, twisted my arms behind my back, forced me back into the cell, and in the doorway the exercise "screw" dealt me a blow on the jaw. My gums were rather tender; after all, this was the 42nd day of my hunger strike. Blood gushed forth. Once I had been locked up again, I broke the small pane of glass in the door, shoved my hand through the opening, drew back the bolt, ran out with a piece of glass still sticking in my hand, so as to settle accounts with the Chekist [secret policeman]. But he managed to nip out on to the staircase, and slam the door. His name is Ivan Ivanovich—I didn't succeed in learning his surname. He still works in the same job—he hasn't even been transferred to a different part of the prison! As for the official record of the "tooth" incident it states that this occurred when I, in a fit of insanity, smashed the pane of glass with my head, cutting my mouth and breaking my jaw at the same time (!!!) A lot of people in the hospital have terrible trouble with their teeth, but they are not taken to the dentist. They're given pain killers, and advised to take more care in eating.

These overcrowded cells are hypocritically referred to as "little wards" and anyone who calls them "cells" is threatened with punishment. Tender diminutives are coming into fashion; one talks of "a little bit of aminazin", and so on. There you are: the Yudushka Golovlev [a character of Saltykov-Shchedrin's] syndrome. Here we joke about these things: a "baby dungeon", "teeny-weeny injections", "a wee bit of excrement for analysis".

Friday, March 19

We've had a severely disturbed patient, who has nocturnal attacks of epilepsy, put in our cell. The first night he wet his bed and as the mattress was soaked right through the smell lingered for a long time. The only thing they did was to change the sheets (...).

More and more noticeably I'm losing my memory (...). The story of Victor Prikhodko, who was born in 1936, is also not without interest. This gifted lad, who could even reel off Dostoyevsky's family tree, a dancer, a singer, tremendously alive and alert was at one time (in July) in the next cell to me (. . .). Before his arrest he had worked as a driver. In September, he was hauled off to the Butyrka prison hospital, where they gave him massive doses of aminazin injections and something else as well. And so it happened that one day he woke up—but not completely, and thereafter he remained in this half-awake state-his head on one side, his speech languid and indistinct, his eyes glazed. He sank into apathy, and all his reactions slowed down. Only now, since he's been taken off medicines, has he begun to recover. He was thus cancelled out for five months. Hail to Soviet "special psychiatry"! (. . .)

The Hunger Strike of Borisov and Fainberg

Vladimir Borisov, who as a member of the Action Group [for the Defence of Human Rights] had signed an appeal to the UNO [in 1969], and Victor Fainberg, who took part in the demonstration in Red Square on 25 August 1968, were, because of their opinions, judged to be of unsound mind and placed in the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital. On 13 March they announced a hunger strike in protest against being adjudged of unsound mind, and appealed "to the progressive public of all countries, to all people of good will":

"The government of our country and the agencies under its control, trampling underfoot international legal norms, the Declaration of Human Rights and its own constitution and laws, has long used methods of reprisal against dissenters which are unprecedented in their cynicism.

"Ideological dissent is often declared to be a symptom of mental illness, and persons in perfect mental health are sentenced to compulsory treatment in prison-hospitals, where in conditions of utter lawlessness they are subjected to every conceivable outrage to compel them to renounce their beliefs. In defiance of the law, which specifies that compulsory treatment may be prescribed for a period not exceeding two years, people are kept here from two or three to thirteen or fifteen years, while political prisoners are held until such time as they renounce their beliefs. Thus persons who refuse to barter their beliefs are doomed to permanent imprisonment. Besides this, the most refined methods of persuasion are applied, ranging from restricting the victim's reading or placing him among patients who are seriously ill and dangerous to those around them, to prescribing neuroleptic and other drugs which act drastically on the brain and threatening to use electric shock therapy—i.e. the most calculated methods of physical torture. Thus medicine, one of the most humane professions of mankind, has been reduced to a servile accomplice of the regime's punitive agencies in their function as butchers. With its help people who refuse to tailor their minds volun-

[10. On Borisov's trial see Chronicle 11, Possev: Tretii i spetsialnyi vypusk, April 1970, and on Fainberg see N. Gorbanevskaya's Red Square at Noon, soon to be published by Deutsch.]

tarily to the pattern demanded by the regime, or to go through life wearing the mask of smiling, contented slaves, are subjected to attempts literally to deprive them of their reason, by means of direct chemical or physical action on the brain.

"It is clear that such a trend represents an enormous danger to all humanity, especially in view of the unprecedented rate at which science is advancing in the search for the most effective methods of influencing the mind of man, in view of the fact that in the near future major discoveries are awaited in this field, which will be incomparable in their scale and consequences. For mass spiritual castration is no less monstrous than genocide.

"Above all, this concerns our country, which by taking the first steps in this direction has gained a shameful distinction. The scientific and technological revolution, and the irreversible social tendencies connected with it, have pronounced sentence of death on the totalitarian regime. It is well known by what methods it is defending itself at present, and no-one should have any illusions about the scale on which these methods are employed, given the famous traditions of 'Russian revolutionary style and American efficiency' of our punitive agencies.

"But not a single country, not a single people has a guarantee that the practice of mass mental sterilization will not be adopted by its ruling élite. Of course, this can happen only under a totalitarian system. But given the fact that totalitarianism is generally speaking historically doomed, it is precisely now, in the transitional period, that it tries to take its revenge in the most unexpected places. It is sufficient to recall the recent conspiracy of the Italian generals, the growth in influence of the military-industrial complex in the USA, and so on.

"The argument about the desirability of the development of science is pointless, since scientific progress is impossible to halt; while such a halt, if it were in fact to succeed, would lead to the degeneration or destruction of humanity. It is not a matter of science, but of people, society and the political system being able to employ the most humane discoveries to man's detriment. There is no doubt that future discoveries in the field of influencing the human mind are inevitable, or that they will bring invaluable benefits to

humanity-but where is their application to be limited? Only the people of the whole world can prevent new crimes, they alone can check the hand reaching out for a new, super-powerful weapon to crush all free thought and any hint of opposition.

"And we do not doubt that progressive public opinion will speak out in angry protest against these heinous crimes. which were not conceived of even by the tormentors of Hitler's or Stalin's torture-chambers.

"We urge you, as Julius Fucik once urged: 'PEOPLE, BE VIGILANT!'

"For our part we announce a protest hunger strike and demand:

1. An immediate end to the compulsory prescription for us of medicines intended for the treatment of mental patients (we have V. Borisov and V. Chernyshov specifically in mind; V. Fainberg is not receiving these medicines);

2. The removal of the restrictions on giving us books

and writing requisites:

Permission to correspond with any persons not in custody, as stipulated for prisoners in camps and prisons of ordinary type:

Permission to see defence counsel;

Removal of the label 'mentally ill' with which we have in cowardly fashion been branded, and the ordering

of a court hearing.

"We refuse to conduct any negotiations with the administration, with the exception of those taking place in the presence and with the participation of both of us simultaneously, and we give warning that any repressive measures against either of us will only extend the hunger strike by us both.

"We are not involving political prisoner V. Chernyshov in the hunger strike, although he also wished to take part in it, in view of the grave condition to which he has been brought by injections of aminazin [see Chronicle 18].

"Many other political prisoners are in agreement with us, but for quite understandable reasons are refraining from going on hunger strike and from openly signing their names.

On 15 March Academician Sakharov sent a telegram¹¹ to the Ministers of Health and Internal Affairs, demanding their immediate intervention to eliminate the very possibility of violations of human rights and of medical ethics in the

work of psychiatric hospitals.

On the fourth day of the hunger strike, 17 March, V. I. Fainberg was interviewed by a medical commission consisting of: Prof. Nadzharov, of the Central [Serbsky] Institute of Psychiatry attached to the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, Moscow; Z. N. Serebryakova, chief psychiatric specialist of the USSR Ministry of Health, Moscow; [V, P.] Belyayev, chief psychiatrist of Leningrad; P. B. Blinov, commandant of the hospital; L. N. Zemskov, head doctor of the hospital (the supervisor of his dissertation was D. R. Lunts [of the Serbsky Institute]). (A record of V. Fainberg's interview by the commission is in the possession of the Chronicle¹².)

V. Fainberg has now been in the hospital for two years. He is constantly pressured to renounce his beliefs. The doctors actually tell him: "Your discharge depends on your conduct. By your conduct we mean your opinions precisely on political questions. Apart from them it is absolutely normal. Your disease is dissent [inakomyslie]. As soon as you renounce your opinions and adopt the correct point

of view, we'll let you out." By decision of the commission Fainberg was deprived of books, all printed matter, writing requisites and exercise.

The hunger strike continues. Fainberg is being held in solitary confinement and forcibly fed. His condition is serious. Borisov is in a general cell for violent patients. In his case forcible feeding was commenced two weeks after the start of the hunger strike.

On 30 March Academician Sakharov, a member of the Committee for Human Rights, again sent an Open Letter to Shchelokov, Minister of Internal Affairs.13 In it he associated himself with the demands of the hunger-strikers.

- [11. Summarized by Frank Taylor in The Daily Telegraph, London, 20 March 1971, together with Fainberg's and Borisov's appeal.] [12. See text in Esprit. 19 rue Jacob, Paris 6, No. 7-8, 1971, pp.
- 54-58.] [13. Briefly summarized in The Guardian and The Washington

In April members of the Action Group appealed to the World Health Organisation.

Fainberg's parents wrote to the USSR Ministry of Health.
The wives of the hunger-strikers asked the World Health
Organisation to establish a commission of psychiatrists who
were members of the WHO.14

On 20 April the wives of Borisov and Fainberg appealed to Turoshev, Leningrad Assistant Procurator for the supervision of places of imprisonment. Turoshev claimed to have been to the hospital and spoken to the head doctor. He had not seen Fainberg and Borisov; he said: "How can I talk to them when they are of unsound mind?"

Zemskov, head doctor of the hospital, did not allow the wives to see their husbands or hand in parcels for them, explaining his refusal by saying that Fainberg and Borisov were confined to bed, and that he had no right to permit a meeting in the ward (cell).

The hunger strike continues.

The Fate of Members of the "All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People"

The first issue of the Chronicle reported the trial of members of the "All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People" (ASCULP). Seventeen "rank-and-file" members of ASCULP were convicted, as well as (separately) four "leaders": Igor Vyacheslavovich Ogurtsov, born 1937—"head" of the organisation; Mikhail Yukhanovich Sado, born 1934—"director of the personnel section, responsible for the security of the organisation"; Evgeny Alexandrovich Vagin, born 1938—"director of the ideological section"; Boris Anatolevich Averochkin, born 1938—"curator of the documents of the organisation". They were charged with "betrayal of the fatherland" (article 64-a of the Russian Criminal Code), i.e. in this case with "con-

[14. Summarized in a Reuter's dispatch. The Observer, 25 April 1971.]

[15. Report translated in M. Bourdeaux, Patriarch and Prophets, London, 1970, pp. 341-44. On the group see also the important document in Possev 1, 1971, pp. 38-43.]

spiracy to seize power"; with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (article 70 of the Code) and with "creation of an anti-Soviet organisation" (article 72).

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Altogether eighteen members of ASCULP arrived in the Mordovian camps and Vladimir prison during 1968 (three—Stanislav Konstantinov, Olgerd Zobak and Oleg Shuvalov—were given sentences which they had in fact already served during the pre-trial investigation).

The following are at present in the Mordovian camps: Averochkin (camp 19, sentence—eight years) and Vagin (same camp, same sentence¹⁶): article 43 of the Russian Criminal Code ("imposition of a more lenient sentence than is prescribed by the law") was applied in their case; Nikolai Viktorovich Ivanov, born 1937 (camp 17, sentence six years); Vladimir Fyodorovich Ivoilov, born 1938 (camp 19, same sentence¹⁷); and also Sado (sentence—thirteen years), who was transferred from Vladimir prison in 1969, first to camp 17 and then to camp 3. At present he is working as an orderly in the hospital zone of camp 3.

Igor Ogurtsov, by sentence of the court, is serving the first seven years of his fifteen-year term in Vladimir prison, to be followed by eight years in a camp and five years in

In April 1971 the USSR Supreme Court, according to supervisory procedure, considered the case of the ASCULP leaders and found no grounds for mitigating Ogurtsov's

Leonid Ivanovich Borodin, born 1938, is also in Vladimir, having been transferred from Dubrovlag camp 17 in autumn 1970 until the end of his sentence (see *Chronicle* No. 17). He is due for release on 18 February 1973. 18

Ten other ASCULP members: Yu. Baranov, G. Bochevarov, Yu. Buzin, V. Veretenov, A. Ivlev, M. Konosov, A. Miklashevich, V. Nagorny, A. Sudarev and S. Ustinovich have been released at various times, beginning on 9 June 1969.

Yury Petrovich Baranov, born 1938, formerly an electrical

^{[16.} Ten years according to Chronicle 1.]

^{[17.} Chronicle | reported Ivoilov's sentence incorrectly as two

years.]
[18. See Alexander Petrov-Agatov's vivid description of Borodin and Sado in *Possev* 3, 1971, pp. 20-27.]

engineer at the surgery hospital-clinic of the First Leningrad Medical Institute, was released on 10 February 1970. He died suddenly a few weeks afterwards.

On 7 February 1971 Mikhail Konosov was released after serving four years' imprisonment. M. Konosov, born 1937, lived in Leningrad before his arrest, was an external student at the Moscow Literary Institute and worked as a fitter for the Leningrad Gas Board. His work was published in newspapers and journals. At present Konosov is registered in the town of Luga in the Leningrad Region.

Appeal of the Crimean Tatar People to the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, to the Soviet Press, to All Communists

(The Appeal is here reproduced in an abridged form)

The Central Committee of the communist party is well aware of the existence in the USSR of the national movement of the Crimean Tatar people for a return to their homeland in the Crimea and the restoration of Lenin's historic decree on the autonomy of the Crimea. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens are participants in this movement. The [Crimean Tatar] people sends thousands of its representatives, messengers from the people, to the central authorities in Moscow. To the Central Committee alone they have handed hundreds of thousands of letters from individuals and 163 volumes of various documents, on which a total of more than three million signatures have accumulated over the years. And all without result. 19

Our people appealed to the 23rd party congress. The presidium of the congress was sent an appeal which more than 130,000 people had signed, yet our question was not raised at the congress.

Our situation as a nation is intolerable. For we do not ask for ourselves anything exceptional. We wish to be an

equal people among the equal peoples of our country. We have faith that the party will solve this problem . . .

A terrible national tragedy befell the Crimean Tatar people on the night of 17-18 May 1944. While most of the Crimean Tatar population who were fit to bear arms were fighting at the fronts of the Great Patriotic War, their families in the rear—old men, women, children, partisans, members of the government of the Crimean Autonomous Republic, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet—all without exception were turned out of their houses, driven into trains and deported to remote areas of the country.

To disguise the essence of the barbaric act of banishing the Crimean Tatars from their Homeland, the enemies of Lenin's nationalities policy and of the friendship of the peoples maliciously laid against them the baseless charge of "betraying" the fatherland. The decrees of 1946 and 1956 were a legislative consolidation of this treacherous act, serving as its vindication or veiled justification. Moreover these decrees greatly aided the concoction of slanderous fabrications against the Crimean Tatars in the areas of historical science, literature and so on. The Crimean Tatars, as a people, have been struck from all encyclopedias, guidebooks and reference books. Pseudo-scientific historians and writers have appeared, who shamelessly falsify historical reality with impunity, whipping up hatred against a small people. . . .

With great bitterness we inform the congress that the numerous letters and Appeals sent by Crimean Tatars to the highest party and government bodies over a number of years remain unanswered, are passed over in stubborn silence and ignored, despite the legal obligation to reply to us.

Moreover our problem, from a matter for consideration by party and legislative bodies, has been turned into a matter for the agencies of security and internal affairs, at which our people expresses its deep indignation. One might think that our national movement in some degree "threatened" the security of the country and conflicted with the interests of party and state. (Together with this Appeal we submit documents of indictment exposing the improper actions of the administrative authorities, who are trying to intimidate our people.)

^{[19.} The first thorough analysis of the Tatars' fate and campaign is in *The Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans* by Ann Sheehy. Minority Rights Group, 36 Craven St., London WC2N 5NG, 1971.]

The Crimean Tatar people angrily condemns the deeply disturbing atmosphere which has been created in the Crimea with regard to its original inhabitants and to citizens of Crimean Tatar nationality who arrived to take up residence there after the promulgation of the decree of 5 September 1967. (We attach to this Appeal irrefutable documents exposing numerous instances of outrages committed against Crimean Tatars attempting to return to their Homeland—the Crimea.)...

Appealing to the great forum of the communists of our

country, we ask you:

1. To sanction an organised return of the Crimean Tatars to their native land—the Crimea, and to create the necessary conditions for their successful development as a people and as a nation.

2. To renew the validity of Lenin's decree of 18 October 1921 on the formation of the Crimean Autonomous

Republic.

3. To reinstate in the ranks of the party all those expelled from it for taking part in our national movement.

4. To release and rehabilitate all our representatives sentenced for taking part in our national movement.

5. To call to account the falsifiers of the history of the Crimean Tatar people.

The Movement of the Meskhetians for a Return to their Homeland

In 1969 the *Chronicle* (Nos. 7, 9)²⁰ reported on the Meskhetians, the original population of the southern areas of Georgia, on the history of the forcible deportation of the entire people, and on the persecution of the Meskhetians when they attempted to return to their homeland. For 27 years the people of Meskhetia have been held in exile, and although the deportation-regime was lifted in April 1956 the Meskhetians are still not permitted to return to the places from which they were banished in 1944.

The Moslem Meskhetians were declared to be "Azer-

[20. See Possev: Vtoroi spetsialnyi vypusk, December 1969, also Robert Conquest, The Nation Killers, London, 1970, passim.]

baidzhanis" and allowed to move from Central Asia and Kazakhstan to the Mugan steppe (Azerbaidzhani Republic) to develop that area, which has severe climatic conditions.

Representatives of the Meskhetians repeatedly travelled to Moscow to try to secure the right to return to their homeland. Their constant visits to government bodies in Moscow and Tbilisi were in vain.

Many families began to return to Georgia, abandoning their homes and belongings. By decision of V. P. Mzhavanadze, First Secretary of the Georgian party Central Committee, they were sent back by force: on 13 July 1960 fifty families were deported from the Makharadze District, on 20 July 1960—fifteen families from Mikha-Tskhakaya, on 20 February 1961—130 families from the Gali District, on 23 April 1964—ten families from the Gardabani District, and on 10 June 1969—500 families from the Gali District.

Persecution and repression united the Meskhetian people. At their first general assembly in 1964 the Interim Steering Committee for Liberation (ISCL) was formed, headed by Odabashev, a history teacher, to campaign for the return of the people to their homeland.

On 23 March 1966 an act of provocation was staged at Frunze airport, as a result of which Odabashev and Izetov [Alles Izatov, according to no. 7], who had been intending to fly to Tbilisi, were put in prison.

On 26 August 1969 the 33rd delegation of the Meskhetian Turks, consisting of 120 persons, was received by Moralev at the premises of the Central Committee of the party in Moscow. Their demands were rejected in an insulting manner. In protest the entire delegation left their passports in the Central Committee Reception Room and handed in statements renouncing Soviet citizenship. On the following day a round-up of the delegates began, and they were deported from Moscow under guard.

On 13 October 1969 Enver Odabashev, the leader of the national-liberation movement, was summoned to court for the sixth time. Meskhetians who arrived at the court-house, among them old men whom the police had removed from vehicles and who had come many kilometres on foot, were not admitted to the court-room.

Driven to desperation, members of the Committee, under the leadership of E. Odabashev, M. Niyazov, I. Kerimov and T. Ilyasov, applied on 6 April 1970 to the Turkish embassy in Moscow, with a request that all those who wished to do so should be allowed to emigrate to Turkey as citizens of the Turkish Republic

Meeting on 2 May 1970 in the Saatly District of the Azerbaidzhani Republic, the 6th people's assembly approved this decision. The following resolution was also passed:

- to demand that the Procuracy of the USSR and the Council of Ministers initiate an investigation into the illegal deportation and 26-year exile of the original population of the Adyge, Akhaltsikhe, Aspindza. Akhalkalaki and Bogdanovka Districts of Georgia, and punish those responsible;
- to request autonomy, with the formation of a Meskhetian-Turkish Autonomous Republic or Autonomous Region, with its capital in the town of Akhaltsikhe, within the Georgian Republic;
- to request the Soviet Government to provide for a normal return by the people to their homeland;
- should these demands not be met, to request the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to allow those wishing to emigrate to Turkey to do so.

The next meeting of the ISCL took place on 14 February 1971. The Committee requested the Government of the USSR to meet the national demands of their people.

- On 15 March the Turkish embassy was handed lists of Meskhetians wishing to emigrate to Turkey if the Soviet Government should refuse them the right to live in their ancestral lands.
- On 21 March 1971 a protest was submitted to Soviet government leaders. It cites numerous cases of lawlessness and of insults to the national feelings of Meskhetians. The delegates ask that their demands should be properly understood, and state that they will remain in Moscow to await a definitive solution of their national problem.

The Jewish Movement to Leave for Israel

The hunger demonstration of 10-11 March

On 10 March 1971 56 citizens of Riga appeared in the Reception Room of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. At 11 am they handed in a statement addressed to N. V. Podgorny, President of the Supreme Soviet, and A. N. Kosygin, member of the Presidium, by Jewish families in Riga who have been refused permission to emigrate to Israel.

They demanded permission to emigrate to Israel, the provision of written, reasoned replies in cases of refusal, the cessation of judicial and extra-judicial persecution connected with the desire to emigrate to Israel, and the replacement of Kh. V. Kaia, the head of OVIR [Department of Visas and Registrations] in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Latvian Republic, whose outrageous conduct was intolerable in an official representative of authority.

Those present announced that they would remain in the Reception Room of the Presidium until they received a positive reply to their statements.

A secretary proposed that they should register for individual appointments or choose a representative for interview, since nobody would conduct an interview with all of them at once.

By I pm 149 people had gathered in the Reception Room: Jews from Vilnius, Kaunas, Lvov, Berdichev, Kislovodsk, Tallinn and Odessa had joined those from Riga.

Foreign correspondents were removed from the Reception

Room by officials of the KGB.

Three hours after the statement had been submitted, the 56 Riga Jews announced a hunger strike in the Reception Room of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in protest at their detention on the territory of the USSR. The others joined the hunger demonstration. It lasted until the evening of 10 March, when the demonstrators left the Reception Room on being threatened with the use of force, but continued the following day.

On the morning of 11 March department-head Dumin talked to those who had gathered in the Reception Room. In answer to the remark that the Soviet Union had ratified

the Convention on the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination and thus recognised the right of citizens freely to choose their place of residence, including emigration to another country, Dumin said: "Did you not know that this document has been approved for the sake of the outside world, but is not law on the territory of the USSR?"

After submitting several more statements the Jews set off for the premises of the Reception Room of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. There they talked to Colonel Ovchinnikov, acting head of the All-Union OVIR, Major-General Samokhvalov, head of the Operations Group of the MVD, and finally to the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, Colonel-General N. A. Shchelokov. The latter stated that by taking this step—going on hunger strike—those present were dancing to the tune of the Zionist bosses, and that anyone who interfered with our building of the radiant edifice of communism, and got under our feet, would be punished. "You'd better not forget what we did to the Tatars," said Minister Shchelokov. He also promised to examine and reconsider the cases of those who wished to emigrate.

At 4.30 pm the Jews ended their hunger strike and left the premises of the Reception Room of the USSR Ministry

of Internal Affairs.

Most of the participants in the hunger demonstration in Moscow had received permission to emigrate to Israel by the end of March 1971.

On 26 March 1971 39 Jews were apprehended in the Reception Room of the USSR Procurator-General, where they had been waiting for a reply to their statement demanding that those arrested in Leningrad, Riga, Odessa and Kishinyov should be either released or tried in open court. There were 213 signatures to the statement.

Two-and-a-half hours after they had begun their wait, those present were taken by bus to sobering-up station No. 9. There, after being questioned, they were all charged with petty hooliganism. On the following day Judge Sgibneva of the Frunze District, on the basis of the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 15 February

1962 "On increasing the penalties for endangering the life or health, or belittling the dignity, of officials of the police and the people's vigilantes", passed sentence: fines of 10-20 roubles and five to fifteen days' imprisonment.

One of the 39 Jews apprehended at the Procuracy of the USSR was A. Tumerman. On 26 March 1971 he was subjected to fifteen days' imprisonment, and in protest he carried out a ten-day hunger strike. On the night of 12-13 April A. Tumerman was taken to the police station in accordance with a summons requiring him to appear before the head of the District police for an interview at 12 o'clock at night. From there he was taken to a psychiatric hospital.

On 18 April Tumerman wrote a letter from the hospital to Golda Meir, Prime Minister of Israel, asking her to help him to emigrate to Israel.

On the authority of the district psychiatrist he was released and placed under his parents' guardianship.

Letters and appeals

28 April. An Open Letter from a psychiatric hospital by A. Tumerman. He places the responsibility for his forcible detention in a psychiatric hospital personally on Prof. Pavel Nilovich Ushakov and Dr. Nina Matveyevna Morozova, head of section seven of the Solovyov Psychiatric Hospital [in Moscow].

On 26 April a group of Jews from Riga who are attempting to obtain permission to emigrate to Israel sent an appeal to Shchelokov, Minister of Internal Affairs, stating: "We await your positive decision" (ten signatures). The same group sent telegrams to Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Kosygin, President of the USSR Council of Ministers.

In protest at their illegal detention and arrest [on 26 March] ten persons announced a hunger strike. M. Zand and A. Gorbach carried out their hunger strike for the whole fifteen days of their imprisonment.

Elena Stroyeva and Yury Titov, who are husband and wife, were separated from the other detainees and placed in the Kashchenko Psychiatric Hospital.

On 25 March the mothers and wives of the Jews arrested in Kishinyov and Leningrad appealed to the 24th party congress and to Brezhnev, General Secretary of the party Central Committee, urgently requesting the release of their sons and husbands. The latter had spent from four to nine months in confinement, while their only "guilt" was their desire to study the Jewish language and Jewish culture, and to return to their historic homeland.

End of April 1971: an appeal to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the 24th party congress from relations and friends of those convicted by the Leningrad City Court on 26 December 1970 [i.e. the Smolny "hijackers"]. It asks for them to be pardoned.

An appeal to the representatives of the Italian and French communist parties at the 24th party congress from Jews in Riga who are attempting to emigrate to Israel. 52 signatures.

An appeal to the chief rabbis of Jewish religious communities.

It complains of the impossibility of observing religious rites in the USSR, and asks them to assist religious Jews in emigrating to Israel. Seventeen signatures to the appeal and 48 more in support.

Extra-judicial Persecution

On 1 March Sandor Fodo, Lecturer in Hungarian Philology at Uzhgorod University [on the Czechoslovak border], was dismissed from his job. The order, signed by L. Chepuro, rector of the university, gives the grounds for his

dismissal as absenteeism and an attempt to bring anti-Soviet literature across the frontier. The "absenteeism" was an approved journey to Hungary by Fodo during the student vacation; the "anti-Soviet literature" was seven issues of New Symposium, a Yugoslav journal appearing in Hungarian, which Fodo had voluntarily given up to customs officials at the station of Chop.

A less superficial reason for Fodo's dismissal is the inimical attitude on the part of the Uzhgorod authorities towards the cultural enterprises of the local Hungarian intelligentsia (Fodo had formed a Hungarian folk-song ensemble).

Information Note: Magyars make up a large group of the population of the Trans-Carpathian Region (approximately 160,000 people). Until the Second World War this Region was part of Czechoslovakia, and the Ukrainians and Magyars who had settled there enjoyed cultural autonomy. Under the Czechoslovak-Soviet peace treaty of 1946 Trans-Carpathia became part of the Ukraine. Mass deportation of the male Magyar population to the interior of the country began at the same time.

Only in recent years have the Magyar inhabitants of Trans-Carpathia been able to send their children to Magyar schools (there are now eighteen Magyar secondary schools in Trans-Carpathia); a Hungarian-language newspaper began to appear (differing in content from Trans-Carpathian Pravda, the Regional newspaper which appears in Russian and Ukrainian), and a Magyar department was established at Uzhgorod University, preparing teachers of Hungarian language and literature (up to ten persons are accepted annually).

Vladimir Aks of Sverdlovsk [in W. Siberia] has been dismissed from his job under article 47-e of the Code of Labour Legislation (absenteeism) after submitting documents for emigration to Israel.

Igor Alekseyevich Adamatsky, an employee of the Leningrad section of the society "Knowledge", was dismissed on 27 April 1971 "at his own request". I. Adamatsky was a

witness at the trial of Pimenov, Vail and Zinoveva in October 1970 (see *Chronicle* No. 16). After the trial a case was instituted against him "for giving false testimony", but the proceedings were terminated before a charge had been brought.

In April 1971 Adamatsky was expelled from the party, after which the trade-union committee considered the management's petition to dismiss him (under article 106, para. 4 of *The Bases of Labour Legislation*) and agreed to his dismissal.

The article in question provides that "employees performing educative functions" may be dismissed "should they commit an immoral act incompatible with their retention of the post".

At the Russian Language Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences Prof. Victor Davydovich Levin, Doctor of philological sciences, has been illegally removed, with effect from 1 April 1971, from the competitive post of head of the Department of Stylistics and Literary Language. The basis for his removal was a decision of the administration. A few days previously V. D. Levin had been dismissed from the Philology Faculty of Moscow University, where he was employed simultaneously to give a course of lectures.

The immediate pretext for V. D. Levin's dismissal from Moscow University and his removal from the post of Head of Department was a speech he had made at a trade-union meeting held at the Russian Language Institute to hear reports and elect new officers.

At a party meeting at the Institute V. D. Levin was told that his speech "had objectively helped to justify persons who had signed letters which had been exploited abroad for anti-Soviet purposes".

By decision of the Lenin District party committee V. D. Levin was expelled from the party. The District committee had already recommended the director of the Russian Language Institute to remove V. D. Levin from the post of Head of Department.

On 29 April 1971 Tatyana Sergeyevna Khodorovich, junior research officer at the Russian Language Institute, was not re-elected for a further term by the Academic Council. Under the system of the Academy of Sciences this is a form of dismissal. T. S. Khodorovich, who is a member of the Action Group, signed [in 1969] the Appeal to the Human Rights Commission of the UNO (see Chronicle No. 8).

Prof. R. I. Avanesov, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences and head of the department in which T. S. Khodorovich worked, and Prof. F. P. Filin, also a corresponding member of the Academy and director of the Russian Language Institute, stated plainly in their addresses to the Academic Council that they had no fault to find with the actual scientific work done by T. S. Khodorovich, who had worked at the Institute for eighteen years.

"By writing a letter to the UNO, to the Commission for the Defence of Human Rights, which does not include the Soviet Union but which does include our enemies, by writing to a hostile organisation, Khodorovich has committed an anti-Soviet act incompatible with the title of scholar", said Prof. Avanesov.

F. P. Filin, director of the Institute, stated that the appeal to the UNO, which contained complaints about violations of legality and infringements of human rights in the USSR, was a "grave anti-Soviet crime".

T. S. Khodorovich's report on her scientific work was heard by the Academic Council without arousing any opposition on the part of the members. In a secret ballot four members voted for T. S. Khodorovich's re-election and twenty against. On 27 April, two days before the Academic Council met, a meeting of the department where T. S. Khodorovich worked had taken place. I. F. Protchenko, Master of philological sciences, who a few years ago came from the Scientific Department of the Central Committee of the party to take up the post of deputy director of the Institute, was present at the meeting in addition to the staff of the department.

At this meeting R. I. Avanesov had noted that all were unanimous in their positive evaluation of the scientific work

conducted by T. S. Khodorovich, but that "serious accusations of a political nature" were being made against her. When a woman staff-member asked why in that case Khodorovich's report on her work was being heard, a great linguistic scholar replied: "Because we have a truly democratic system. That's how we're supposed to do it."

T. S. Khodorovich said that the question of her political opinions and beliefs could have nothing to do with any appraisal of her as a scholar. She also stated that an appeal to an international organisation whose authority was recognised by the government of our country could not be regarded as an appeal to the enemies of the Soviet Union. "As I have already said at the open party meeting, the appeal which I signed contains nothing libellous. It discusses cases of violation of legality and of infringement of human rights. I insist, as I always have done, on my right to struggle for freedom of speech, which is guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR in the interests of the people. It can be in nobody's interests for the agencies of investigation and justice to exploit our laws, by means of an arbitrary interpretation of them, as a weapon in the struggle against dissent." T. S. Khodorovich had repeatedly expressed this point of view when subjected to all sorts of "workingsover" during the last two years at the Russian Language Institute.

In the course of the discussion of Khodorovich's "anti-Soviet act" at the departmental meeting, I. F. Protchenko expressed surprise at the lack of unanimity on the question of whether or not to recommend the Academic Council to re-elect Khodorovich for a further term. "There cannot be two opinions on this question," he said. At an open ballot on 27 April twelve members of the department voted to recommend the Academic Council of the Institute to re-elect T. S. Khodorovich to the post of junior research officer. Twenty members voted against.

There are in all seventeen people at the Russian Language Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences who have signed various letters on cases of violation of legality. Of these only Khodorovich signed the appeal to the UNO, the remainder addressing themselves to internal Soviet bodies. Beginning in early 1971 a series of meetings were held at

the Institute at which persons who had signed the collective letters of 1966-1968 were condemned. On 28 January 1971 the Academic Council of the Institute passed a resolution categorically condemning the "negative" (politically harmful, in F. P. Filin's definition) attitudes of certain of the Institute's employees, and also collective appeals, since these letters "are exploited abroad for anti-Soviet purposes". The resolution also spoke of the need to "intensify work on the preparation and publication of researches in the field of the critique of bourgeois ideology in linguistics".

At departmental discussions of this question the director of the Institute, Filin, said frankly that persons who failed to change their point of view and withdraw their signatures from the letters would not be allowed to defend their dissertations, nor promoted to higher scientific posts, nor sent abroad, irrespective of their academic achievements. T. S. Khodorovich is the first to have been dismissed from the Institute in the course of this campaign. Her high-principled position—she was the only person to vote against the resolution of the Academic Council mentioned above—and her appeal to the UNO provoked the particular annoyance of the Institute's administration and party organisation.

Tatyana Sergeyevna Khodorovich, who is the mother of four children, had worked at the Institute for eighteen years. Her profession is that of linguist and dialectologist, and her work on the compilation of specialist maps for an atlas of Russian dialects, as well as her participation in the drawing up of a projected new programme for a Russian language course for schools, have earned the high praise of many of her colleagues, not least during the discussion of her last report on her work.

Besides the appeal to the UNO, which Khodorovich signed as a member of the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights, she has also signed a number of letters in defence of persons suffering for their beliefs. These letters were sent to Soviet public and governmental organisations.

The dismissal of Khodorovich is a case in which the dismissal of a scholar for her beliefs has been carried out in a completely undisguised manner, without the substitution of spurious grounds.

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Banned Films

The Chronicle here gives a list (clearly incomplete) of films of recent years which have not reached the general public.

I, "Arrested" films

1. A. Alov, V. Naumov: A Nasty Tale (Based on the story by F. Dostoyevsky). Mosfilm, 1966.

2. S. Paradzhanov: Kievan Frescoes. Dovzhenko Studio [Kiev], 1966 (the film was not assembled).

3. G. Poloka: Intervention (Based on the play by L.

Slavin). Lenfilm, 1968.

The prints of "arrested" films are stored in the Special Department of the State Committee for Cinematography. 11. Films which have not been released

4. V. Bychkov: Christ's Second Coming. Belarus-film [Belorussia], 1967. Banned.

5. M. Kalik: The Price (Based on the play by Arthur Miller). Central Television, 1969. Not passed for showing.

6. A. Mikhalkov-Konchalovsky: About Asya Klyachina, who was in love but did not marry because she was proud (Lame Girl Asya). Mosfilm, 1966. In 1969 the film was given a new sound-track and passed for hire with the title Asya's Happiness. It has not gone on general release.

7. A. Tarkovsky: Andrei Rublyov. Mosfilm, 1966. In 1969 the film was sold abroad and awarded a prize in France. In 1970 A. Romanov, chairman of the State Committee for Cinematography, signed the order allowing prints to be

made of the film. It has not been released.

8. L. Pchyolkin: Ballot by Name [Poimyonnoye Golosovaniye] (about the 4th Congress of Soviets, which ratified the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Script by M. Shatrov, M. Ulyanov in the role of Lenin). Central Television, 1967-69. Showing forbidden.

9. L. Pchyolkin: An Hour in Lenin's Study (script by M. Shatrov, M. Ulyanov in the role of Lenin). Central Tele-

vision, 1967-69. Showing forbidden.

III. "Restricted" films 10. T. Abuladze: Entreaty. Gruziya-film [Georgia], 1968. Not released in the capital.

11. V. Derbenev: Cavalier of a Dream, Moldova-film [Moldavia], 1969. Not released in the capital.

12. A. Grikevicius, Dausa: Feelings. Vilnius Film Studio, 1969. It ran for three days in one Moscow cinema.

13. L. Osyka: The Stone Cross. Dovzhenko Studio,

1968. Not released in the capital. 14. S. Paradzhanov: Sayat Nova. Armenfilm [Armenia], 1968. Released in Armenia in 1969 under the title The Colour of Garnet. Passed for exhibition throughout the country. Not released in the capital.

15. I. Talankin: The Stars by Day (after O[lga] Berggolts). Mosfilm, 1967. It ran for three days in three Moscow cinemas and for three days in one Leningrad cinema.

IV. A film with a "story"

16. M. Kalik: To Love . . . Moldova-film, 1968. The film was cut without the director's knowledge and released in the provinces in a distorted form. When the State Committee for Cinematography refused to remove the director's name from the credits, on which he insisted, Kalik tried unsuccessfully to take legal action against the Committee. The version released for hire consisted of less than 1,000 metres of the 15,000 which had been shot, the director retaining 900 metres. The remaining 13,000 metres were seized. Criminal proceedings were instituted against Kalik for showing his own version of the film To Love . . . (see Chronicle No. 18).

Items from the Soviet Press

The Bulletin of the USSR Supreme Court (1971, No. 1) includes material on the case of Kh. Teshayev, a worker at the Tadzhiktekstilmash factory in Dushanbe [Tadzhikistan], "who in 1968 and 1969 systematically advocated opinions among the factory workers and among individual citizens of the city which were aimed at arousing national enmity, who disseminated slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system" and so on, and who on 7 August 1970 was convicted by the Tadzhik Supreme Court under articles 71 ("infringement of national and racial equality", equivalent to article 74 of the Russian Criminal Code), 203-1 (equivalent to article 190-1) and 220, para. 2 (equivalent to article 206, para. 2).

On 26 November 1970 the USSR Supreme Court deleted articles 71 and 203-1 from the sentence "in the absence of an incident" [to which these articles would apply] and ruled that "audacious and cynical actions aimed at belittling the honour and dignity of individual citizens in connection with their national affiliations" should be defined as malicious hooliganism.

N. Zhogin, Deputy Procurator-General of the USSR and a Doctor of Jurisprudence, has published an article entitled "Let us increase the vigilance of Soviet people" in the journal Agitator (a journal of the Central Committee of the party), 1971 No. 2 (January). Besides writing about Amalrik and mentioning V. Bukovsky's name, the article includes information on persons unknown to the Chronicle:

"Secretly from their parents two seventeen-year-olds, Khmelevsky and Govorukha, listened every day to the broadcasts of various foreign 'voices', fell under their influence without realising it, and themselves began to circulate among the inhabitants of the town (which is not named—Chr.) hostile, anti-Soviet fabrications. They attempted to involve friends of their own age in this activity, but were duly rebuffed.

"The youths' parents are of course principally to blame, for not concerning themselves with their upbringing. But neither can the collectives of the instrument-making factory and the vocational technical college, where Khmelevsky and Govorukha studied and worked, be absolved from responsibility . . . "

The same article names Misiruk, born 1931, "who lived in a district of the Odessa Region", a Prokofevist Evangelical Christian-Baptist, who "systematically induced the children of members of the sect to refuse to take part in the social life of the school, and forbade them to wear Pioneer neckerchiefs and stars, to join the Pioneer and Komsomol organisations and to visit the theatre and cinema. This illegal activity has been stopped and Misiruk has been convicted".

This refers to Stepan Nikitovich Misiruk, a resident of Usatovo in the Belyayevka District of the Odessa Region,

who was arrested on 20 May 1969 and sentenced under articles 138 and 209-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (equivalent to articles 142-2 and 227-1 of the Russian Code) to four years of ordinary-regime corrective-labour camps with confiscation of property and five years in exile. Misiruk's [camp] address: g. Vilkovo Odesskoi obl., p/ya YuG 311/79.

News in Brief

On 16 March the American embassy in Moscow protested strongly to the Soviet government after the police had seized the family of a Soviet doctor when they were already on the territory of the embassy.

A representative of the embassy stated that the incident had developed into a brawl between police and embassy officials, and that it was a "violation of the immunity of the embassy's territory".21

Vasily Nikitenkov, a 43-year-old doctor from Klin [50 m. NW of Moscow], had tried to enter the American embassy with his wife and two daughters aged five and nine to obtain information on the procedure for immigration into the USA. Nikitenkov's wife and little girls were stopped by policemen, but he himself managed to beat off the attack by the police with the help of embassy officials. He told embassy officials that he wished to emigrate to the USA, because he was dissatisfied with life in the Soviet Union. The procedure for immigration was explained to him, and he was given a written invitation to visit the embassy again if he wished. Nikitenkov stayed in the embassy for more than four hours, leaving only when the official [American] protest had been made concerning him.

At present Nikitenkov and his wife have been placed in the Moscow Regional Psychiatric Hospital (ul. 8 Marta). [See also p. 259.]

On 15 March 1971 Vladimir Gershovich [see Chronicle 5], arriving at the Dutch embassy on the invitation of a secretary to collect documents in his name, was not allowed into [21. See many papers, e.g. The Daily Telegraph, 17 March 1971.]

the embassy by the police. The following day Gershovich and his wife were detained by policemen at the entrance to the embassy and taken to the 83rd Division police station, at the same time being insulted, threatened and accused of "resisting the authorities". Gershovich sent protests to OVIR, the Moscow City Chief of Police, and Procurator-General Rudenko, with a copy to the 24th party congress.

On 7 April M. Slepak sent a protest to the USSR Committee for State Security [KGB] about an illegal search of her flat which had been carried out in her absence.

That morning she had been asked to come to work earlier than usual; when she refused, Akulova telephoned her ten minutes later from OVIR, where she had submitted documents for emigration to Israel, and asked her to attend for an interview. During the afternoon there was no-one at home. M. Slepak's eleven-year-old son, who happened to come home from school during his break, was detained by a policeman at the entrance and taken to the police station. The boy was kept there more than an hour, questioned and made to sign a record which he had not read.

Next day G. S. Prokopenko, deputy police chief of the 108th division, in reply to M. Slepak's demands for an explanation of the illegal actions of the police, said that the present shift knew nothing of what had happened while

the previous shift had been on duty.

On 4 March 1971 Veniamin Kozharinov was detained in Moscow. On the following day a search of his flat was carried out. Samizdat materials were confiscated. V. Kozharinov was charged under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code. The degree of restraint was a signed undertaking not to leave the city. The investigation is being conducted by Bardin, an investigator of the Moscow Regional KGB.

While being transferred from Kamyshlov prison (Sverdlovsk Region) Andrei Amalrik (see Chronicle No. 17) was taken ill with suppurative meningitis and placed in the Novosibirsk prison hospital. He was unconscious for tendays.

In mid-April Amalrik's wife Gyuzel Makudinova travelled to Novosibirsk, but was not allowed to see her husband. She wrote to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and to the Medical Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, asking them either to register her husband as an invalid or to pardon him. This letter has not yet been answered.

At the end of April a medical commission at Novosibirsk hospital pronounced A. Amalrik an invalid of the second category for a year. He will soon be sent to a prison medical unit, and on completion of his treatment to a camp. [see p. 259]

On 27 March Julia Vishnevskaya (see Chronicle Nos. 15, 16, 17) was forcibly placed in the Kashchenko hospital. She was taken to police station No. 40 by police car, and from there to the hospital. Her relatives were not informed of the grounds for placing her in the hospital. At the hospital J. Vishnevskaya refused to take the medicines she was given, after which she was given injections forcibly for a week.

In the words of the doctors Vishnevskaya is "on the strict regime", and is therefore allowed visits only from relatives.

Vilnius. Vitautas Simokaitis, who on 14 January 1971 was sentenced by the Lithuanian Supreme Court to be shot for attempting to make an aeroplane change course (see Chronicle No. 18), is still being held in the death cell of "Lukiski" prison. Rumours that the death sentence has been commuted to fifteen years of special-regime corrective-labour camps are premature. It is now definitely known that when the foreign radio stations broadcast the news that V. Simokaitis had been pardoned, his case had not yet been reconsidered. The papers in the case were asked for by the USSR Procuracy in Moscow only in March 1971.

Simokaitis's wife Grazina Mickute, who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment (see *Chronicle* No. 18), is being held in prison at Panevezis, together with criminal convicts.

It is worthy of note that most persons convicted in political cases in Lithuania recently are not being sent to Dubrovlag,

but are being held in prisons and camps in Lithuania (with criminals).22

Klaipeda. The case of Simas Kudirka, the trawler radio operator who in November 1970 attempted to remain on board an American cutter and was handed over to Soviet sailors by its captain (see Chronicle Nos. 17 and 18), will be considered by the Lithuanian Supreme Court on 5 May 1971. S. Kudirka has told Colonel Kislin, who is in charge of the investigation, that he will not give evidence in court, that he will refuse a defence counsel and will make only one demand—that he should be allowed to emigrate, in accordance with the right proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. [See also p. 232.]

Vilnius. Algis Statkevicius, who was judged to be of unsound mind by a court in 1970 (see Chronicle No. 17), is in the "Lukiski" prison at Vilnius. He is confined together with criminals and is forbidden to read or write. Before 1956 A. Statkevicius served about nine years in various camps. On his release he graduated from the Medical Faculty of Vilnius University and worked as a sociologist in the Lithuanian Ministry of Social Welfare. He has written four books; it is known that they are devoted to a critique of the existing social system and to an analysis of the situation in Lithuania.

During early April the film producer Mikhail Kalik and the film dramatist Efim Sevella learned that they had been expelled from the USSR Union of Cinematographists in December 1970. Contrary to the constitution of the Union the expulsions had been carried out in their absence and retrospectively. The reason for the expulsions is clearly the desire of M. Kalik and E. Sevella to emigrate to Israel. [Soon afterwards Sevella was allowed to do so.]

Riga. On 17 April the case against Maiya Silmale23,

[22. It had become the normal rule in the 1960s for all persons sentenced under serious political articles (i.e. nos. 64-88) to be sent either to Dubrovlag in Mordovia or to Vladimir Prison.]

[23. Her anthology of French poetry, translated mostly by herself. es tevi turpinu, Liesma, Riga, 1970, was given an outstanding

review in Le Monde, 26 March 1971.]

who had been charged under article 183-1 of the Latvian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code), was discontinued (see *Chronicle* Nos. 17 and 18). A few days after her release M. Silmale was placed in the Riga Oncological Clinic. [See also p. 261].

Sochi [on the Black Sea]. On March 29 Valeria Volzhskaya, an Intourist inspector aged 23, was arrested in Sochi. During a search Solzhenitsyn's The First Circle, Marchenko's My Testimony and poems by Daniel were confiscated. She was charged under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code (at first under article 70).

At the same time a search was carried out at the home of Anatoly Rumyantsev, aged 33. The search was fruitless. Nevertheless Rumyantsev was arrested on April 9. Anatoly's elder brother, Valery Rumyantsev, an officer who was arrested in 1958 and convicted by court-martial in 1959, is at present serving a fifteen-year term in Dubrovlag camp No. 19 (sentence expires in 1973). The Rumyantsevs' mother, who is blind, lives in Sochi.

In mid-April L[arissa] Bogoraz [wife of Yuly Daniel] was questioned about the case of A. Rumyantsev in the settlement of Chuna in the Irkutsk Region.

Sverdlovsk [in W Siberia]. On 19 March 1971 Valery Kukui, an engineer born in 1939, was arrested. V. Kukui had submitted documents for emigration to Israel, and had signed a letter from residents of Sverdlovsk on the subject of the Leningrad trial of the "aeroplane people". During a search letters from abroad and samizdat materials, including [the story] Heart of a Dog by M. Bulgakov²⁴, were confiscated. A charge has been brought under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code.

Moscow. In December 1970 Islam Karymov, aged 24, was arrested for taking part in the national movement of the Meskhetians (see Chronicle No. 9 and the present issue). During the investigation Karymov was required to sign some papers, which he refused to do. After a suicide attempt he was sent to the Sklifossovsky Institute.

1. Karymov was released thanks to the intervention of the Turkish embassy.

[24. Text in Grani 69, 1968.]

Mordovian Autonomous Republic. On December 30 Anton Nazarovich Nakashidze²⁵ was released from Dubrovlag camp No. 3 after ten years' imprisonment.

During a tour of England in the 1950s (Nakashidze is a dancer) he applied for political asylum; in 1960 he requested and was granted permission to return; a few months after his return he was arrested and convicted of betrayal of the fatherland.

Mordovian Autonomous Republic. Halyna Tomovna Didyk, born 1912, who was serving a 25-year sentence (see "Inmates of the women's political camp" in Chronicle No. 15), has been released from the women's political camp (ZhKh 385/3).

She was a messenger of the Ukrainian Red Cross in the Ternopol area [SE of Lvov] and later a messenger of the Central Committee of the OUN [Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists]. She was arrested on 5 March 1950 and sentenced to 25 years in prison. She was held in Vladimir prison, then transferred in 1969 to the Mordovian camp.

On 24 March 1971, by decision of the Mordovian Supreme Court in response to a petition by the camp administration, Didyk's sentence was reduced to the term she had already served. In all she spent 21 years in confinement, nineteen of them in prison.

On being released Didyk went to Karaganda—she is

banned from residing in the Ukraine.

The only women members of the OUN movement remaining in Mordovia are therefore: Kateryna Zarytska, born 1913 (arrested in October 1947, sentence—25 years), Dariya Husyak, born 1924 (arrested on 5 March 1950, sentence—25 years) and Maria Palchak (arrested in 1961; death sentenced commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment).

Mordovian Autonomous Republic. In March several prisoners were transferred from Mordovian camp No. 19 to Vladimir prison. They included Valery Vudka (see Chronicle No. 18). The names of the others and the reasons for the transfer are not known.

Moscow. On March 14 Vladimir Gusarov (see Chronicle No. 17 on his essay "Message on Liberty") was placed in the Kashchenko Psychiatric Hospital. On April 30 a medical commission certified Gusarov as an invalid of the second category.

Saratov [500m. SE of Moscow]. On March 17 officials of the KGB called on Nina Kalustovna Kakhtsadzova, a doctor and radiologist, at her place of work and took her away for questioning. While being questioned she fainted twice.

A search of her home resulted in the confiscation of samizdat materials and of leaflets which were once distributed by foreigners in GUM [a large department store on Red Square]. On the same day several of her friends were summoned to the KGB for questioning. On the morning of March 18 N. K. Kakhtsadzova hanged herself.

Alma-Ata [capital of the Kazakh Republic]. On February 16 Efim Iosifovich Landau, a literature specialist aged 54, committed suicide. A few days before E. I. Landau's suicide a search of his home had been carried out, and he had subsequently been summoned for questioning by the KGB.

Rostov. On 29 March 1971 criminal proceedings were instituted in Rostov against Lazar Moiseyevich Lyubarsky under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code. The grounds for the charge were the fact that he had signed letters to various bodies, and that certain Jewish books and tape-recordings of Jewish songs were discovered during the search.

In Sverdlovsk criminal proceedings have been instituted against Boris Rabinovich, aged 28, who is charged with Zionist propaganda and agitation. The charge is based on the testimony of witnesses.

After submitting an application to emigrate to Israel Rabinovich was expelled from graduate school. Two fruitless searches of his flat have been carried out during the last two months, the first in connection with the case of Ruta Alexandrovich, the second with that of Valery Kukui. Boris Rabinovich signed letters of protest against the

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^{[25.} See attack on him in Komsomolskaya pravda, 30 October 1963.]

death sentences passed on those convicted in the Leningrad case of the "aeroplane people".

Moscow. In mid-April the Russian Supreme Court heard the appeal in the case of Vitaly Pomazov of Gorky (see Chronicle Nos. 16 and 18). Defence counsel was Polyak. The court changed the indictment from article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code to article 190-1, and reduced the sentence from four years of corrective-labour camps to one-and-a-half.

In April the Russian Supreme Court heard the appeal in the case of Victor Vasilevich Kuznetsov, who is undergoing compulsory treatment in the special [phychiatric] hospital in Kazan [500m. E of Moscow] (see *Chronicle* Nos. 9 and 18). The verdict of the lower court—to extend Kuznetsov's term in the special hospital—was left unaltered.

On March 29 a search of the home of V. N. Chalidze was

carried out by officials of the KGB.

The following items were confiscated: the UNO Convention on Human Rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the archive of the Committee for Human Rights, translations of articles by René Cassin from the International Journal of Human Rights and issues of the [samizdat] journal produced by Chalidze, Social Problems.

It later became clear that the search had been carried out in connection with the arrest in Moscow of two Belgian citizens—Hugo Sebreghts and Jomie Hemschoote.

On the instructions of the Flemish Committee for the Defence of Human Rights Sebreghts visited Chalidze on March 26 and 28 to ask him a number of questions about the activities of the Soviet Committee for Human Rights, of which Chalidze is a representative. Sebreghts wanted to know whether the Committee was legal, whether contacts with other Committees were being made, what the Committee's objectives were and what the authorities thought of it. In reply Chalidze explained to him the Committee's legal status, quoted its Statutes, and also stated that in accordance with article 5 of the Principles of the Committee, its members were prepared to maintain contacts only with organisations not aiming to inflict harm on the Soviet Union.

Sebreghts was charged under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code. The investigation was conducted by Major Sevastyanov.

On April 3 the Flemish Committee appealed to Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to give instructions for the release of the Flemings: "They have committed no crimes from the point of view of Soviet laws, nor from that of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These young Flemings came to your country as peaceful tourists, to become more closely acquainted with the country

and the people".

On April 19 Izvestia published K. Bryantsev's article "Under the mask of falsehood", which made it clear that the case of Sebreghts and Hemschoote had been discontinued, and they themselves deported from the USSR.

Samizdat News

"Social Problems", issue No. 9, January-February 1971, a collection compiled by V. Chalidze.

Contents:

1. O. O. Gruzenberg: "Shame" (reminiscences of the Beilis case [of 1911-13]). The author, one of Beilis's defence counsels, describes the attitude of the authorities, public reaction to the trial and the selection of a line of defence. Gruzenberg is of the opinion that the ruling circles of Russia were convinced of Beilis's innocence. "There was not a single member of the monarch's immediate circle", writes Gruzenberg, "who was not convinced of Beilis's innocence. But none the less even the ancient Russian principle 'neither take revenge by trial, nor grant favour by trial' was sacrificed. Public opinion expressed itself in numerous protests by scholars, writers and the press. Our line of defence was to take part as little as possible in the tangled discussion of the existence of Jewish dogmas which, it was said, allowed the use of Christian blood, and to concentrate our attention on proving Beilis innocent."

2. Dietrich A. Loeber: "Legal Rules 'For Internal Use Only' "(translation²⁶). The established procedure for the publication of normative acts [any generally binding orders

which may or may not have the force of law] in the Soviet Union, and how it is put into practice, is compared with procedure and practice in East Germany, Poland, Yugoslavia, West Germany, Switzerland and the USA. In the USSR, according to the author's information, which is based on an analysis of Soviet sources, over 80% of the Resolutions of the Council of Ministers are not published, although they are not all of a normative character. Evidence is produced indicating how Soviet courts make use of unpublished legislative acts.

3. Documents of the Committee for Human Rights.

(a) A. S. Volpin: "An expert opinion on questions raised in a letter by G. K. Makudinova [wife of Andrei Amalrik]". Comparison of certain articles of the Code of Criminal Procedure with the RSFSR Code of Practice of the Legal Profession demonstrates a disparity in the conception of defence counsel's duties. A law is needed to regulate the duties of defence counsel and to define precisely the grounds on which he is entitled to decline a brief. It is explained that

defence counsel is obliged to give his client complete information on the way he is handling the brief. The client may defend his right to be given complete information through

(b) "The right to defence". (An expert opinion on legal assistance.) An examination of the right of an accused to be represented by the defence counsel of his choice at any stage of a criminal trial. The law provides an adequate guarantee of this right in the court of first instance. Demands that defence counsel show his "pass", which are often made in practice, are always unlawful, and when the case is being held in open court they are also senseless. The Russian Code of Criminal Procedure does not stipulate that defence counsel and appellant must necessarily be present at an appeal hearing in the court of second instance; therefore, contrary to article III of the Constitution, it does not guarantee the right to defence. This contradiction should be eliminated.

4. "The scientist's charter." (Ratified by the first General Assembly of the World Federation of Scientific Workers in [26. From The International and Comparative Law Quarterly.

1948.) Its aim is to promote scientific freedom and progress.

5. Documents on legal practice:

V. N. Chalidze: To the Moscow City Procurator. A note on the legal status of the Committee for Human Rights.

V. N. Chalidze: Letter to USSR Procurator-General Rudenko on a verdict delivered by the Apsheron District People's Court on 29 June 1968.

A. Krasnov: "The living word." A reply to "Message to the nation" (see Chronicle No. 17 [and full text in Survey. London, 1971, no. 80]). The author argues against the "Russian patriots" ("Message to the nation" is signed thus) from the stand-point of a Christian and a democrat. That which divides people and engenders hostility among them the author calls the dead word. "The living word is the word of the struggle for liberty, equality, fraternity and justice among people." Thus the essay ends.

Sergei Severny: "To the authors of 'Message to the nation'". This essay is devoted to exposing the unsound logic and lack of scientific integrity of the "Message to the nation".

Robert Conquest: The Great Terror. London, 1968. An anonymous translation of two chapters, "The problem of confession" and "Foreign misapprehensions", from a book dealing with the "show trials" of 1936-1938 (on this book see Chronicle No. 14). ["Foreign misapprehensions" is in fact not a chapter, but one section of the Epilogue (pp. 499-513 of the hard-cover edition).]

The chapter "The problem of confession" analyses the methods used by investigators to extract confessions from prisoners, on the basis of a vast quantity of documentary material, using both Soviet and foreign sources (memoirs of former prisoners, stenographic records of the trials, Khrushchev's report at a closed session of the 20th party congress, various items from the Soviet and foreign press). Not confining himself to a history of the "show trials", the author directs the reader's attention to the fate of the miliions of innocent victims. In the chapter "Foreign misapprehensions" Conquest explains the reasons for those misapprehensions and for the conscious distortion in the

London, January 1970.]

West of events taking place in the USSR, and shows that this factor led to an intensification of the uncontrollable terror.

P. Yakir: "To the Presidium of the 24th party congress (copies to the delegates of foreign communist and workers' parties). 27 March 1971. An Open Letter (here reproduced in an abridged form)

in an abridged form). . . . In the internal life of our country a dangerous trend towards the restoration of Stalinist methods of government has begun to make itself felt in recent years, and in art, literature, historical works and memoirs—towards the rehabilitation of Stalin himself, one of the greatest criminals of the 20th century. It is understandable that the Stalinists. dreaming of revenge, find this trend to their liking. But is it not understandable or natural that it provokes protests from those who warmly welcomed the "liquidation of the consequences of the cult"? Is the alarm of many thousands of people not understandable, when the shadow of the sombre monster has once more loomed up before them? That alarm is felt by an enormous part, if not the overwhelming majority, of our creative, scientific and technical intelligentsia, that alarm is felt by the thousands of representatives of the national minorities, whose rights, trampled underfoot in the Stalin period, have to this day not been restored, and by many, many other citizens of the Soviet Union who are not indifferent to the fate of the country.

In the second half of the 1960s a great torrent of letters, appeals and statements—individual and collective, on specific questions and general ones—came flooding into various party and government organisations. The critical content of these documents was in the vast majority of cases utterly loyal. It was natural to expect that the leaders, who had announced the final "liquidation of the consequences" to the whole world, would politely and competently explain to their fellow-citizens where their criticism was just and where unjust.

WHY THEN WAS THE ANSWER TO CRITICISM AT BEST SILENCE, AND AT WORST—JUDICIAL AND EXTRA-JUDICIAL PERSECUTION?

Once more political prisoners have appeared in the camps. Once more "persons of unsound mind", for whom the main sign of "recovery" is a volte-face in their beliefs, have appeared in the psychiatric prison-hospitals. Once more public recantations are required, and those who do not recant—and sometimes those who do—are demoted, dismissed, expelled from their institutes. The selectivity and "discrimination" with which repression is carried out (for equal "guilt" one man gets off with a reprimand at work, another gets off scot-free, but a third is given several years in the camps) only underline the arbitrariness and lawlessness of the repression.

Answering criticism with persecution—whose method is that? Who finds it necessary? Is that the way to prove one's righteousness to one's fellow-citizens and to the world? IS THAT THE WAY TO ACHIEVE THE IDEOLOGICAL UNANIMITY OF SOCIETY? It merely causes the circle of malcontents to broaden, irrespective of how their discontent finds expression.

Samizdat has appeared, and is stubbornly continuing to exist. Is that not a sign that the spiritual needs of society are not being properly satisfied? And is imprisonment on account of samizdat a way of satisfying spiritual hunger?

Why can France see the Soviet film Andrei Rublyov, but not the Soviet Union? Why can foreign communists read and admire Solzhenitsyn, while in the Soviet Union we can read only malicious articles about him?

... Who would think of writing to the UNO or appealing to world public opinion, if his own leaders were to give convincing answers to the serious questions troubling serious people?

The conclusion suggests itself: POLITICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL DISSENT, EVEN IF IT IS LOYAL, IS SECRETLY CONSIDERED TO BE A CRIME IN OUR COUNTRY.

My personal experience is a "happy drop" in the ocean of the far less happy fortunes of others, some of whom are known to me, others unknown—General Grigorenko, the poetess Gorbanevskaya, the communist Yakhimovich, the mason Gershuni, the engineer Pomazov, the poet and pedagogue Gabai, the student Dzhemilev, the philologist Fainberg, the worker Borisov, the artist Kuznet-

sov, the physicist Kadyev, the worker Vorobyov, the engineer Ubozhko, the actor Vail, the mathematician Pimenov, the historian Amalrik, the worker Dremlyuga, the engineer Altunyan—and many, many more, whose fate, like the future of our country, depends on the decisions of your congress.

The Movement in Defence of Human Rights in the USSR Continues

A Chronicle of Current Events

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

Issue No. 20

2 July 1971 [Moscow]

Fourth year of publication

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Political Trials (May-June 1971)

A.

The Leningrad trial of persons connected with the "aeroplane affair".27

The case was heard in the Leningrad City Court from 11-20 May 1971. Accused:

1. Gilya Izrailovich Butman, aged 39, an engineer; articles 17 (complicity), 64-a, 70-1, 72 and 189-1 of the Russian Criminal Code.

2. Mikhail Semyonovich Korenblit, aged 34, a dentist; articles 17, 64-a, 70-1, 72.

3. Vladimir Osherovich Mogilyover, aged 30, an engineer and mathematician; articles 70-1, 72, 189-1.

4. Solomon Girshevich Dreizner, aged 39, an engineer; articles 70-1, 72, 189-1.

5. Lassal Samoilovich Kaminsky, aged 41. an engineer; articles 70-1, 72, 189-1.

6. Lev Naumovich Yagman, aged 30, an engineer; articles 70-1, 72, 189-1.

7. Lev Leibovich Korenblit, aged 48, a physicist and Master of Science; articles 70-1, 72, 189-1.

8. Victor Noyevich Boguslavsky, aged 31, an engineer; articles 70-1, 72.

9. Victor [I.] Shtilbans, [born 1941,] a doctor; articles 70-1, 72.

Members of the court: presiding—N. S. Isakova, Deputy Chairman of the Leningrad City Court [who also presided at the trial of E. A. Lalayants in late 1969 (see Chronicle Nos. 14, 16)]. Counsel for the prosecution—Senior Assistant Leningrad City Procurator I. V. Katukova [state prosecutor at the trial of Lalayants and at the first Leningrad trial of Jews] and Assistant Procurator [G.] Ponomaryov. Counsel for the defence: for Butman—[I.] Breiman, for [M.] Korenblit—[Yu.] Buziner, for Mogilyover—[S. A.] Kheifets [who defended R. I. Pimenov (see Chronicle No. 16)], for Dreizner—[V. I.] Vishnevsky, for Kaminsky—[F.] Rozhdestvensky, for Yagman—[V. G.] Stryapunin [who was among the defence counsel at the Kishinyov trial (see

[27. For various accounts of this trial see the dispatches of Tass, Reuter and U.P.I. for 11-14 and 17-20 May 1971.]

below, p. 225)], for L. Korenblit—[V.] Chernyak, for Boguslavsky-Zerkin, for Shtilbans—[G.] Yarzhenets.

Indictment [summary form]: International Zionism is engaged in activities aimed at undermining the socialist countries, attempting to bring about the ideological subversion of the USSR and other socialist countries, circulating slanderous articles and sending in tourists. This contributed to the creation in Leningrad of a Zionist anti-Soviet organisation.

Investigations have established that persons joining this organisation maintained contact with Israeli Zionist circles, actively engaged in hostile activity, slandered Soviet domestic and foreign policies and fostered pro-emigration attitudes, influencing persons of Jewish nationality in favour of emigration to Israel, making use for this purpose of anti-Soviet Zionist literature, some of which was published in the capitalist countries. They formed a committee, maintained contacts with other cities, tried to maintain secrecy. collected membership dues and utilised parcels from Israel and from the firm of Dinerman [through which goods are sent legally to Soviet citizens]. They circulated the following anti-Soviet literature: Exodus by [Leon] Uris, Kennan's feuilleton, Iton [a samizdat journal] Nos. 1 and 2, "For the return of Jews to their Homeland", and "Exodus", a collection of slanderous letters [i.e. issue No. 1 of the samizdat journal "Exodus"].28

To the question "Do you plead guilty or not guilty?" the accused replied:

G. Butman: to articles 70, 72 and 189—guilty, to articles 17 and 64-a—not guilty.

M. Korenblit: to articles 70 and 72—guilty, to articles 17 and 64-a—partially guilty, [i.e.] of the actions [on which the charge is based].

V. Mogilyover: guilty on all counts.

S. Dreizner: guilty on all counts.

L. Kaminsky: to articles 70 and 72—guilty in part, to article 189—not guilty.

[28. On "Exodus" see Chronicles 14, 15, 17, 18. Issues 2 and 4 are available in English from the Institute of Jewish Affairs, 13-16 Jacob's Well Mews, George St., London W.1; the Russian text of issues 1 and 2 is in Possev: Sedmoi spetsialnyi vypusk, March 1971.]

L. Yagman: to articles 70 and 72—not guilty, to article 189-1—guilty. [?—see below.]

L. Korenblit: guilty on all counts.

V. Boguslavsky: not guilty on all counts.

V. Shtilbans: guilty on all counts.

Questioning of the accused:

G. Butman stated that he and his comrades had formed a Zionist organisation with the aim of combating the assimilation of Jews and of asserting the right to emigrate to Israel. They had studied the language and history of the Jewish people and produced literature, part of which had been judged by the court to be anti-Soviet, although he had not previously regarded it as such. He had not aimed at underming the Soviet system, but this might possibly have taken place inadvertently. At the very end of December 1969 and at the beginning of 1970 he had intended to leave the USSR illegally by aeroplane together with Dymshits [see Chronicle No. 17], and had taken part in the planning of the operation, but he later realised that this alternative was unacceptable and withdrew from it of his own accord-(on about 9 or 10 April 1970). Moreover Israel was opposed to it. In order to realise his dream of going to live permanently in the state of Israel he had asked his relatives for an invitation for his whole family. From the middle of April until the end of May he energetically took all possible steps to prevent the operation (i.e. crossing the border illegally), and by 26 May 1970 was firmly convinced that he had averted all possibility of its being carried out.

M. Korenblit stated that he had wished to emigrate to Israel. He had studied its language and history. He had submitted an application to OVIR, but this was rejected. When Butman suggested leaving the USSR illegally by aeroplane he had at first agreed, but had soon begun to doubt the correctness of this path, and under the influence of Mogilyover, Chernoglaz and Kaminsky had rejected this plan completely. As a member of the organisation he had kept books on the history of Israel at his home, and helped to organise a conference at which the organisation's constitution and programme were adopted. He had been outraged by the crimes of the Arab terrorists, who murdered women and children. He regretted what he had done. In conclusion he said: "The fact that Jews with higher education are in the dock proves that there is no anti-Semitism in the USSR."

V. Shtilbans testified that he was an incidental member of the group. At one time he had wished to emigrate to Israel illegally, by aeroplane, and as a doctor had prepared a soporific drug to give the pilots, but later he had rejected the plan. He now regretted all he had done and was critical

of Zionist extremists.

V. Mogilyover was one of the founders of the Zionist organisation. He had worked on cultural enlightenment, taught Ivrit [Modern Hebrew] and compiled text-books. Wishing to emigrate to Israel he had submitted an application to OVIR, which was rejected in October 1969. He had signed collective letters to Soviet bodies and sent them abroad. He had not previously regarded his activity as anti-Soviet. When preparing literature he had tried to ensure that it contained nothing anti-Soviet. He regretted isolated anti-Soviet remarks, as he had no wish to inflict harm on Soviet authority.

S. Dreizner pleaded guilty. He was one of the founders of the organisation, had taken part in its conference and been a member of its committee. He considered it his duty to promote the study of Jewish language and culture and to further the struggle for the right to emigrate to Israel. He had known that the organisation possessed a stolen "Era" duplicating machine and had assembled its components. The machine was intended exclusively for the preparation of Ivrit text-books, but had never been used. His attitude to the aeroplane operation was negative.

L. Korenblit said that he was born in Bessarabia and was a Rumanian subject until the age of eighteen. He had been brought up in the traditional Jewish spirit. Almost all the members of his large family had perished in concentration camps and ghettoes. He saw the formation of the state of Israel as the sole protection and refuge for the Jews who had survived. "As became clear in the course of the investigation," said L. Korenblit, "I had completely misinterpreted the term 'anti-Soviet'. I thought literature was anti-Soviet if it advocated the overthrow of Soviet authority or a change in the Soviet system. During the time which has passed since my arrest it has been explained to me that any idea diverging from the official Soviet line, anything contradicting or disagreeing with what is said in the Soviet press, is regarded

as anti-Soviet. In that sense those articles expressing sympathy with Israel and supporting her struggle for existence really are 'anti-Soviet', even though the Soviet Union might not be mentioned in them. I therefore plead guilty to the circulation, preparation and possession of 'anti-Soviet' literature and am prepared to suffer the appropriate

punishment.''

L. Yagman said that in 1969 he and his family had submitted an application to emigrate to Israel, but this was rejected. He had then written to various organisations, but was again refused. He and his comrades had not pursued the aim of undermining or weakening the Soviet state. They had written collective letters in order to obtain permission to emigrate. The first of these was an Open Letter to the newspaper Pravda. He had not seen it in Pravda, but he had seen it on the investigator's desk. The second was a letter to U Thant asking for his help in emigrating to Israel. He pleaded not guilty to articles 70 and 72 because he did not regard the organisation as anti-Soviet, and to article 189 because he did not know that the duplicating machine was stolen.

L. Kaminsky said that he had dreamt of emigrating to Israel for twenty years. He had first submitted documents to OVIR in 1967. He had met Butman and Dreizner, recognising them as persons of like mind, and studied lyrit under Butman; later he had prepared text-books and circulated literature on the Jewish question. They had never had the aim of undermining or weakening the Soviet system. That was beyond the power not only of their group, but also of the many imperialist states. What he liked about the literature prepared and circulated by their organisation was the information on the history of Israel, on life in that country, and not the anti-Soviet statements which had happened to slip in. Iton 1, Iton 2, The Aggressors by [Ladislaw] Mnacko [a Slovak writer], the collection of letters "Exodus" and "For the return to the Homeland", which the investigation had judged to be anti-Soviet, were this sort of material. He regarded the organisation not as anti-Soviet, but as Zionist, seeing it as a movement for the unification of Jews in Israel. He did not identify himself with the Zionists who organised disturbances in Soviet institutions abroad.

V. Boguslavsky said that he had fastened together the pages of Iton 1 and of Iton 2. He was not always in agreement with their content, as statements against the Soviet government occurred in them, and he, as well as his colleague L. Korenblit, had proposed that the production of Iton should be terminated. He had translated a chapter of the book The Road to War [possibly the book on the Six Day War by R. and W. Churchill]. The personal manuscripts on which the charges against him were based had been confiscated during a search of his home, but he had not circulated them.

During questioning the Judge repeatedly interrupted the accused and their defence counsel, demanding an exact repetition of what had been said during the pre-trial

investigation.

Witnesses questioned included Mark Dymshits, Eduard Kuznetsov, Silva Zalmanson and Joseph Mendelevich, who were convicted in December 1970 in the case of the "aeroplane people" [see Chronicle No. 17]. They testified that the accused at this trial had been categorically opposed to crossing the border illegally. Butman and L. Korenblit had tried to dissuade them from trying to seize the aeroplane.

Witness B. Maftser (see "The Riga trial of four" in this issue of the *Chronicle*) testified that the accused had been opposed to anti-Soviet statements contained in articles in Iton, and had demanded that Iton should be carefully edited and should not contain anything derogatory to Soviet authority.

Other witnesses (in all more than 40 persons were questioned) described the organisation as cultural and educational, and testified that its members had no anti-

Soviet opinions or criminal intentions.

Procurator Katukova accused the defendants of anti-Soviet activity aimed at undermining and weakening Soviet authority, of organising the operation to seize the aeroplane, of being in contact with reactionary circles in Israel and of slandering Soviet international and domestic policies. Taking into account the defendants' confessions and remorse expressed during the investigation, the Procurator proposed the following sentences: Butman—ten years of strict-regime camps, M. Korenblit—eight years, Mogilyover —four years, Dreizner—three years, Kaminsky—six years, Yagman—five years, L. Korenblit—three years, Bogus-

lavsky—three years and Shtilbans—one year.

Defence counsel did not deny the fact that a clandestine organisation had existed, or that the defendants had belonged to it; they acknowledged the anti-Soviet and Zionist character of the organisation. They disputed only the guilt of their clients and, accordingly, the severity of their punishment. Counsel for Butman and M. Korenblit disputed their guilt under article 64-a (via 17), counsel for Yagman and Boguslavsky their guilt under articles 70 and 72. Counsel for Kaminsky pointed out that it was a conversation with his client which had persuaded Butman (as he himself had stated) finally to reject the idea of seizing an aeroplane.

In their final addresses all the defendants pleaded guilty to having committed a crime, and expressed remorse.

Sentence of the court (pronounced on 20) May 1971, the eighth day of the hearing): G. I. Butman—ten years of strict-regime camps, M. S. Korenblit—seven years, L. S. Kaminsky—five years, L. N. Yagman—five years, V. O. Mogilyover—four years, S. G. Dreizner—three years, V. N. Boguslavsky—three years, L. L. Korenblit—three years, V. I. Shtilbans—one year.²⁹

The Riga Trial of the Four

On 24-27 May the case of A. A. Shpilberg, aged 33, an engineer, B. M. Maftser, aged 24, an engineer, M. Z. Shepshelovich, aged 28, a mechanic, and R. I. Alexandrovich, aged 23, a nurse, was heard in the Latvian Supreme Court.³⁰

Members of the court: presiding—L. I. Lotko, member of the Latvian Supreme Court; people's assessors—[V. P.]

[29. Despite a strong plea to the Russian Supreme Court by friends and relatives, the appeals of all accused were rejected on 20 July.]

[30. For other accounts of this trial see the Tass, Reuter and U.P.I. dispatches of 24-27 May, also Komsomolskaya pravda, 28 May.]

Efremov and [K. A.] Polis; state prosecutor—Senior Legal Counsellor D. F. Chibisov, Assistant Procurator of the Latvian Republic. Counsel for the defence: for Shpilberg—A. M. Rozhansky, for Maftser—I. Ya. Brigis [who defended L. A. Doronina (see *Chronicle* No. 17)], for Shepshelovich—M. I. Zharova, for Alexandrovich—I. M. Otlyagova.

The court sat in an outlying suburb of Riga. Although the trial was regarded as open, only seven relatives of the defendants were able to attend the sessions. The remaining seats were occupied by persons who had been given special passes at their places of work. Alexander [also called Isai] Averbukh, Ruta Alexandrovich's fiancé, who also had some claim to be present in the court-room, was seized in the street not long before the beginning of the trial and imprisoned for fifteen days for "resisting the authorities". 31

All the accused were charged under article 65 [more precisely 65-1, according to TASS] of the Latvian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 70 of the Russian Code): anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Shpilberg and Maftser were also charged under article 67 of the Latvian Code (equivalent to article 72 of the Russian Code): organisational activity directed towards the committing of especially dangerous state crimes, and equally membership of an anti-Soviet organisation.

The indictment reads in part: "... the investigation has established that the above-mentioned persons, by virtue of their commonly-held anti-Soviet convictions, entered into a criminal conspiracy and engaged in the preparation and circulation of slanderous writings derogating the Soviet social and political system. Shpilberg and Maftser also engaged in organisational activity, arranging the mass preparation and circulation of slanderous materials derogating the nationalities policy of the Soviet state ...". The "slanderous writings" mentioned in the indictment were

^{[31.} The arrest, on 16 May, provoked a protest concerning its transparent aim by 33 Riga Jews to Procurator-General Rudenko. See also Averbukh's letter in defence of his fiancée, his letter with eight other friends and relatives, and also his fiancée's letter prior to her arrest, in Jews in Eastern Europe, 31 Percy St., London W.I, Vol. IV, No. 6, April 1971, pp. 97-101.]

"The biography and poetry of a Soviet Jew", the booklets "For the return of the Jewish people to their homeland" and "Homewards", 32 the leaflet "Our native tongue" and Iton (of which two issues had appeared), which contained

material on the Jewish people and its history. Mastser pleaded guilty. When questioned he said, inter alia: "In May 1969 J. Mendelevich (sentenced to ten years at the Leningrad trial of the "aeroplane people"---sec Chronicle No. 17) invited me to take part in the collection of material on the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union. The aim was that this material should embody only facts which could be interpreted as manifestations of discrimination. I took issue with Mendelevich, as I considered that no such facts existed in reality But he was none the less able to persuade me of the need to collect this material. . . . In my opinion Zionism is at odds with the Soviet nationalities policy. Marxist-Leninist ideology and the political line of the party and government. . . . The literature circulated by us dealt with the situation in the Middle East in a one-sided manner, and was defamatory of the nationalities policy of the Soviet state. That literature was in essence anti-Soviet, it propagated false views, and was capable of being used for purposes of premeditated slander. . . ." In answer to a question put by the Judge, Maftser said: "Yes, I engaged in Zionist, anti-Soviet activity and am guilty for doing so."

Ruta Alexandrovich pleaded guilty in part. When questioned she said: "... I am basically in agreement with the facts of the case. That is what I meant when I replied that I pleaded guilty 'in part'. But the indictment states that I acted with 'the aim of undermining and weakening Soviet authority'. I deny this part of the indictment, for I never had any such aim. I wished to emigrate to Israel, and when this was refused I longed to acquire knowledge of Jewish culture and of Israel. It was in the acquisition and dissemination of this knowledge that the aim of my actions lay. The literature I circulated expressed a point of view different from that which officially exists in the Soviet Union. It may be that one or two things were incorrectly put. But there

[32. Domoi: a small brochure of Zionist materials, published in Israel.]

[33. A samizdat article suggesting that Jews should give Hebrew as their native tongue in the 1969 census.]

was nothing in that literature containing the idea of undermining or weakening Soviet authority. R. Alexandrovich said that certain assertions made about her by Maftser were factually incorrect.

Shepshelovich, in answer to the question "Do you plead guilty or not guilty?", said: "I confirm the facts. But I plead not guilty." When questioned Shepshelovich stated that he did not hold and had never held anti-Soviet convictions. "On social matters my views are socialist, on national matters—Zionist. . . . My sole aim and the sole motivation for my actions was the desire to study the history and cultural heritage of the Jewish people. . . . I maintain that the literature, in the preparation of which I took part, contains nothing slanderous. . . . The sole purpose of our publications was to provide information for Jews wishing to know the truth about Israel, and that is not criminal."

Shpilberg pleaded not guilty. He said that his opinions had never been anti-Soviet. "I could not engage in anti-Soviet activity, if only by virtue of my national aspirations and interests. That sort of activity by no means follows from my national aspirations, and would merely distract me from the realisation of my hopes. . . . I did not engage in the circulation of the journal Iton. The entire case against me is based on the testimony of Maftser alone. . . . Maftser is making slanderous allegations with the object of earning himself a testimonial as a compliant defendant. He'd like to show that in the whole affair he was somebody's cat'spaw... He is pursuing a quite definite objective—earning himself a favourable testimonial by his obsequiousness. When my home was searched the works of Bialik and Sholom-Aleikhem, picture-post-cards with views of Israel, and Ivrit dictionaries and text-books were confiscated. Such a choice in the confiscation of literature, and the very nature of the search, could of course not inspire me with confidence in the investigation."

Witnesses called at the trial included Silva Zalmanson, I. Zalmanson, Altman, Bodnya, Khnokh (convicted at the first Leningrad trial—see *Chronicle* No. 17), Mogilyover, Dreizner, L. Korenblit, Boguslavsky (convicted at the trial connected with the "aeroplane affair"—see this issue of the *Chronicle*), colleagues and friends of the accused.

Petitions by the defendants for the calling of additional

witnesses were rejected.

In his address Procurator Chibisov said: "... In determining the degree of punishment the prosecution bases itself on humane principles, having regard to the age of the defendants and to the personality of each of them. Maftser, who has sincerely confessed his guilt and shown remorse, is deserving of mercy. Alexandrovich's state of health must be considered in determining her degree of punishment. Shpilberg and Shepshelovich have committed a grave crime. but they have shown no remorse and have not condemned their actions. . . . " The Procurator demanded the following sentences: Shpilberg-four years of strict-regime camps, Shepshelovich—two years, Alexandrovich and Maftserone year.

Counsel for Maftser, Alexandrovich and Shepshelovich asked the court to apply article 183-1 of the Latvian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code) to the actions of their clients instead of article 65. I. M. Otlyagova, counsel for R. Alexandrovich, asked the court to limit her sentence to the term she has already served (Ruta was arrested in October 1970), while M. I. Zharova, counsel for Shepshelovich, asked the court to limit itself to

a minimal sentence.

Rozhansky, counsel for Shpilberg, said: "... This is the first time I have heard of the degree of punishment depending not on the crime committed but on the conduct of the defendant during investigation and in court. This approach is quite unacceptable. This is not just my point of view—it is the point of view of the law, the point of view of legal theory... With four items in the charge against Shpilberg and seven in that against Maftser, the Procurator demands that Shpilberg should be punished four times as severely as Maftser...." Analysing one item after another, Rozhansky came to the conclusion that not one of the items in the charge against Shpilberg had been proven, and asked for his client to be acquitted.

The final addresses of the defendants:

Mastser pleaded guilty on all counts. He stated: "I shall never return to past mistakes and take the criminal road. . . . ''

Alexandrovich: "I acknowledge the facts contained in

the indictment to be correct, but I have never pursued the aim of undermining and weakening Soviet authority. . . . The spirit of socialist ideas is dear to me, and I see here no contradiction with my desire to emigrate to Israel."

Shepshelovich: "I ask the court to have regard to the following: first, I acted from Zionist convictions, which cannot be identified with anti-Sovietism. I hold no anti-Soviet views. Secondly, I acted consciously, but I never pursued the aim of undermining or weakening Soviet authority. I had but one aim—to rouse the national consciousness of my people. And in any case, can one seriously discuss the idea of a few privately-produced publications of an informative and educative character undermining the might of a state like the USSR? Thirdly, I do not regard the literature which I prepared as illegal or slanderous— I regard it as in some degree critical, and I find nothing criminal in that. My aim is to emigrate to Israel. I had no other aims or purposes."

Shpilberg: "I trust in the victory of justice in the deciding of my fate and that of my two daughters, the younger of

whom I have not yet seen."

The court sentenced A. A. Shpilberg to three years of strict-regime camps, M. Z. Shepshelovich to two years, R. I. Alexandrovich and B. M. Maftser to one year.

Riga. On 2 May about two thousand Jews gathered for a rally at the Jewish cemetery. They demanded the release of the accused. The rally lasted about one-and-a-half hours. Those present at the rally were surrounded by police, who did not interfere with them but merely asked them that there should be no leaflets.

On 23 May, the day before the trial of the four Jews in Riga, a group of people wishing to emigrate to Israel appealed to all people of good will to raise their voices in defence of justice.

On 29 May the newspaper Soviet Latvia printed an article by V. Strokolev, "The fall of the pretenders", which presented tendentiously materials of the investigation and

The Kishinyov Trial of the Nine31

On 21 June 1971 the Moldavian Supreme Court, with D. D. Bordyuzha, member of the Supreme Court, presiding, began hearing the case against:

A. S. Voloshin—under articles 17-61, 67, 69 and 119 of the Moldavian Criminal Code (equivalent to articles 64, 70, 72 and 89 of the Russian Code, the last article being concerned with "The appropriation of state property");

A. Z. Galperin [born 1946]—under the same articles; A. M. Goldfeld [born 1946]—under the same articles; Kh. Ya. Kizhner [also known as Kirschner]—under the same articles;

S. A. Levit [born 1947]—under articles 67 and 69; D. [Ya.] Rabinovich [born 1946]—under article 119; L. A. Trakhtenberg—under articles 67, 69, 119;

D. I. Chernoglaz (Leningrad) [born 1939]—under articles 17-61, 67, 69 and 119;

G. Z. Shur (Leningrad) [born 1936]—under the same articles.

The state prosecutor was A. P. Poluektov, Senior Assistant Procurator of the Moldavian Republic. Counsel for the defence were T. Ya. Barantseva, Yu. I. Luri [who defended Eduard Kuznetsov at the trial of the "aeroplane people"—see Chronicle No. 17], Ya. S. Rozhansky, V. G. Stryapunin [who defended Lev Yagman—see this issue of the Chronicle] and others.

Voloshin, Galperin, Goldfeld and Kizhner were charged "that in company with Dymshits, Butman and others, who have already been convicted by the Leningrad City Court, they took part in preparations to seize a civil aeroplane in order to cross the border in it" (article 17-61 of the Moldavian Criminal Code, equivalent to article 17-64 of the Russian Code). "Together with defendants D. I. Chernoglaz, G. Z. Shur, S. A. Levit and L. A. Trakhtenberg they involved other citizens in their criminal activity, preparing and circulating literature of anti-Soviet content" (articles 67 and 69 of the Moldavian Code). The literature referred to was Exodus by Uris, The Six-Day War, Iton

[34. For other accounts see the Tass dispatches of 22, 24-26 and 28-30 June, and the U.P.I. dispatches of 21-22, 25-27 and 29-30 June.]

Nos. 1 and 2 and My Glorious Brothers by Howard Fast. "With the object of duplicating literature of this sort, defendants Rabinovich, Galperin and Voloshin stole an 'Era' electrographic duplicating machine from the Moldavian branch of the USSR Tsentrosoyuz Institute of Design' (article 119 of the Moldavian Code). (The indictment is quoted here from the newspaper Soviet Moldavia of 22 June 1971.)

1971.) Voloshin, Galperin, Kizhner, Levit and Rabinovich pleaded guilty. (Voloshin's evidence had assisted in the investigation.) Goldfeld pleaded guilty in part, Trakhtenberg not guilty under articles 67 and 69. Chernoglaz pleaded not guilty under articles 17-61 and 119, and stated that if there had been infringements of articles 67 and 69, then he had acted without malice aforethought and without anti-Scviet objectives. Shur pleaded not guilty. "The Kishinyov court", he said, "is not competent to try me; I have never been to Kishinyov, not a single witness to the items in the indictment relating to me is a resident of Kishinyov. Not once", continued Shur, "since the time I was transferred from Leningrad to the Kishinyov investigation prison (autumn 1970) have I been questioned on the case of the 'Era' theft. Investigator Kulikov, in the presence of the Procurator, proposed that I should plead guilty and be released from custody in the court-room; otherwise I would get five to seven years' imprisonment."

Shur refused to co-operate in the trial and declared a hunger strike. His final address was postponed for a day

because of a fainting fit.

Four of the witnesses summoned to the court (Makhotko, Freizer and two others) refused to testify. Witness Gruman (Kishinyov) told the court that he was prepared to testify in his native language. To applause from the public the Procurator demanded that proceedings should be taken against them for refusing to give witnesses' testimony.

Witnesses M. Dymshits and M. Korenblit (convicted by the Leningrad City Court and brought to Kishinyov under guard) continued to maintain that their reasons for preparing to seize an aeroplane were the groundless refusals of permission to emigrate to Israel.

In his address the Procurator dwelt on the attempt to hi-jack an aeroplane ("the majority of the defendants took

an active part in the organisation of the attack on the aeroplane with the object of betraying the Fatherland"). The defendants, said Poluektov, had created an anti-Soviet organisation under the guise of an ulpan (an association for the study of Ivrit and the history and culture of Israel). The "Era" had been used not to produce Ivrit text-books, as the defendants maintained, but to print anti-Soviet literature.

The sentences, pronounced on 30 June, were: Chernoglaz -five years of strict-regime corrective-labour camps, Goldfeld-four years, Voloshin, Kizhner, Levit, Trakhtenberg and Shur-two years, Galperin-two-and-a-half years, Rabinovich—one year.

The Trial of Valery Kukui (Sverdlovsk)

On 15-16 June the trial of V. Kukui, born 1938, an engineer at the Sverdlovsk concern "Agricultural Machinery" (see Chronicle No. 19), took place in the Sverdlovsk Regional Court under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code. Access to the court-room was unimpeded. The chairman of the court was [A.] Shalayev [who presided at the trial of Andrei Amalrik (see Chronicle No. 17)]. Zyryanov was state prosecutor [as he was at Amalrik's trial]. Dobrynin (of the "Agricultural Machinery" concern) was public prosecutor. Counsel for the defence was Naumov.

The substance of the indictment:

1. Between 1964 and 1970 Kukui verbally disseminated information slandering the international and domestic policies of the USSR (claiming that anti-semitism existed in the USSR, that there was no freedom of speech, that Soviet policy in the Middle East was determined not by the principle of justice but by the interests of the state, and so

2. He typed, duplicated and circulated literature slandering the Soviet social and political system. The works mentioned in the charge against Kukui included Heart of a Dog. Kukui had to explain that this work was written not by him but by Mikhail Bulgakov. But in the course of the trial the Procurator again returned to this story when questioning witness Varshavsky: "Just look what obscene expressions

there are in it!" Witness: "Would you like me to read you some of the chastushki [humorous folk-poetry, usually sung] from [Sholokhov's] The Quiet Don?" Procurator:

"No. I wouldn't."

In his address for the prosecution Zyryanov called Heart of a Dog an anti-Soviet work. "I'd like to grab him by his calloused proletarian foot" the procurator indignantly quoted. Defence counsel Naumov and Kukui himself in his final address insisted that Heart of a Dog was not proscribed.

When questioned himself, V. Kukui systematically refuted every point in the indictment: his desire to emigrate to Israel was caused solely by his national feelings; he had not circulated anti-Soviet literature; his critical remarks had always related to isolated negative phenomena (e.g. to instances of anti-semitism), but never to the state policy of

the USSR.

All the witnesses (friends and colleagues of Kukui) gave testimony favourable to him, denying that his statements and actions were anti-Soviet. A few witnesses retracted testimony compromising Kukui which they had given during the pre-trial investigation, stating that it had been given under pressure from the investigator and because of fear (Blank, for example, said: "I thought that if Kukui was inside and I didn't give evidence against him, I'd be put inside as well").

The only significant witness for the prosecution was Valery's brother Anatoly Kukui, who did not attend the court himself (because of illness), but who had written a letter saying that Valery was "a Zionist and anti-Soviet", and that he, Anatoly, knew from what his mother had told him that Valery had "copied anti-Soviet material on a type-writer".

Their mother, Zinaida Borisovna Kukui, who was present in court, refuted Anatoly's testimony as lies and slander.

Valery stated that he and his brother had disagreements due to their [unsatisfactory] living conditions.

The Procurator demanded for Kukui three years of ordinary-regime corrective-labour camps.

The public prosecutor called upon the court to "punish

Kukui with all the severity of Soviet law".

Defence counsel asked that the sentence be limited to

one year of compulsory labour [i.e. without imprisonment].

In his final address Valery Kukui said, among other things: "I am indignant at the publication of the articles about me, 'Where is the "land of his fathers"?' and 'Slanderers rebuffed', in the newspaper *Urals Worker*. These articles were written while the investigation was under way. But the tone of the articles and their form were such as to suggest that the trial was already over and my guilt proven. I discern in this an attempt to influence public opinion and the verdict of the court."

V. Kukui ended his final address as follows: "... I have faith in the justice and humanity of the Soviet court. I have faith that I shall be released, that I shall be allowed to return to my family and bring up my daughter, that I shall be able to realise my dream of emigrating to Israel—the

land of my fathers."

The sentence was three years of ordinary-regime camps. The imformation: The decision to institute criminal proceedings against Kukui and to bring a court action against him was taken by a meeting of the collective of the "Agricultural Machinery" concern on the initiative of its director.

The Trial of Reiza Palatnik (Odessa)

The trial of Reiza Palatnik (for her see Chronicle No. 17) took place on 22-24 June in Odessa. The investigation was conducted by [Major] V. I. Larionov, an investigator of the Odessa Region KGB.

The chairman of the court was Kadenko, the Procurator

-Tekunova.

The indictment was under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian

[35. One of these articles is summarized in a Reuter dispatch of

[36. A Reuter report of 4 August 1971 summarizes a protest against this sentence by A. Sakharov and V. Chalidze to the Russian Supreme Court, and refers to a samizdut record of the trial. The protest lists the trial's irregularities and asks for the sentence to be quashed.]

Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code). Materials confiscated during a search, and forming the basis for the charge against R. Palatnik, included an Open Letter by 40 Jews (in reply to the Moscow press-conference [of 4 March 1970]), an article "Einstein and Zionism" [from Israel To-day], poetry by N. Korzhavin and A. Galich, Open Letters by members of the USSR Union of Writers V. Konetsky and V. Sosnora and the letter by L[ydia] Chukovskaya [daughter of Kornei Chukovsky], all in defence of Solzhenitsyn.35

R. Palatnik pleaded not guilty and stated that she did not

consider these materials to be slanderous.

The witnesses—colleagues of R. Palatnik at the library where she worked—spoke highly of her. Palatnik claimed that the court was persecuting her for her desire to emigrate to Israel. When the judge remarked that Zionism, with which Palatnik sympathised, was a reactionary and anti-Soviet movement, she replied that A. Einstein had also sympathised with it.

Procurator Tekunova called Palatnik a renegade who had fallen under the influence of Zionist propaganda, "Her guilt is aggravated", said the Procurator, "by the fact that she works on the ideological front." Tekunova declared the letter by 40 Jews to be slanderous and fabricated, claiming [falsely] that many of the signatures to the letter were "fictitious".

In her final address R. Palatnik said that she regarded her trial as a link in the unbroken chain of anti-Jewish trials in Leningrad, Kishinyov and Riga. She considered that now, when very many Jews in the Soviet Union were expressing the wish to emigrate to Israel, her trial was intended to intimidate them. Reiza told of the severe and humiliating conditions in which she had been held in prison. Palatnik ended her speech as follows: "I allowed myself the luxury of thinking, which is clearly not permitted. That is why I am in the dock. I ask nothing of the court but justice."

[37. See text in Possev: Sedmol spets, vypusk, pp. 10-12, condensed English text in Jews in Eastern Europe, IV, 5, August 1970, pp. 16-18.]

[38] See Konetsky's and Chukovskaya's letters in L. Labedz, ed., Solzhenitsyn: A Documentary Record, New York, 1971, pp. 90, 169-72.]

The sentence was two years of ordinary-regime camps.³⁹ Several of R. Palatnik's relatives and friends, who had been admitted to the court-room to hear sentence pronounced, began shouting: "Reiza, we'll see you in Israel! The whole Jewish people is with you!"

The Trial of Simas Kudirka

In November 1970 Simas Kudirka, born 1929, the radio operator of a Lithuanian fishing-boat, attempted to remain on board an American cutter in USA territorial waters; the captain of the cutter handed him over to the Soviet sailors (see *Chronicle* Nos. 18, 19).

Kudirka was arrested, an investigation was carried out by the KGB and a charge brought under article 62 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code (equivalent to article 64 of the Russian Code)—betrayal of the fatherland.

The trial took place on 17-20 May in the court-room of the Lithuanian Supreme Court in Vilnius. The chairman of the court was [I. P.] Misiunas, the Procurator—Petrauskas, counsel for the defence—Gavronskis. When the chairman announced the name of the defence counsel, Kudirka stated that he declined to be defended. "If defence counsel Gavronskis is an honourable man and defends me conscientiously, it will only do him harm. If he is dishonourable and plays the part of a second Procurator, as is often the case in political trials in Lithuania, then I think my case is not that complicated, and one Procurator will be sufficient."

S. Kudirka pleaded not guilty, since, as he stated, he had not betrayed Lithuania, his fatherland; and he did not regard Russia, now called the Soviet Union, as his fatherland. Explaining the reasons which led him to try to escape to the West, Kudirka spoke for more than four hours. He told of how he had grown up in a very poor family. In 1940, when Lithuania was joined to the USSR, poverty had been supplemented by national oppression. He remembered how

[39. U.P.I. reported on 5 August 1971 that V. Chalidze had protested against this sentence in a letter to the Ukrainian Supreme Court.]

[40. Long extracts from a samizdat record of the trial appeared in The Washington Post and the International Herald Tribune, 7-8 August 1971.]

people had been taken away to Siberia in 1941, and he knew that it was the most public-spirited Lithuanians who were sent into exile, among them many popular teachers who were declared at the time to be "bourgeois". In 1944 he had again witnessed people being exiled to Siberia, and had seen mass murders. Many of his comrades had joined the partisans. Almost all of them had perished. He had continued to go to school in Vilnius, completed eight classes and decided to become a sailor. He wanted to see the world, and thought that at sea he would be able to forget the tragedy of his people. He wanted to escape from frightful scenes: the mutilated corpses of Lithuanian partisans lying in heaps in the market-places.

Procurator Petrauskas expressed his outrage at Kudirka's treachery and said that his act was a disgrace to Soviet Lithuania. He demanded a sentence of fifteen years' confinement in strict-regime camps with confiscation of

property.

Kudirka himself summed up for the defence. He quoted Herzen, Marx and Lenin. He explained the difference between socialist theory and practice in Lithuania. He told of the attempts to "re-educate" him which had been made by First Lieutenant Urbonas, his investigator, Colonel Kismen [or Kislin?], head of the investigation department, Major-General [J. J.] Petkevicius, chairman of the [Lithuanian] KGB, and others who had travelled specially from Moscow. They had proposed that he should condemn Lithuanian bourgeois nationalism and say that it had led him to commit treachery, in return for which they had promised to try him under [the much less severe] article 82 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code [equivalent to article 83 of the Russian Code] (crossing the border). But Kudirka had declared that he refused to betray his fatherland, Lithuania, in return for his liberty.

Kudirka spoke of the struggle of the Lithuanian people against assimilation. He told of the ten-year struggle of the "Forest Brethren" [the post-war partisan movement], almost all of whom had been killed or had died in concentration camps. Even officials of the KGB confirmed that 50,000 Lithuanian partisans had perished. "Never in the history of the world has a partisan movement survived for

so long or cost so many lives.

Kudirka made a single request of the Supreme Court and Government of the USSR—to grant Lithuania her independence.

The sentence of the court: ten years' hard labour in strict-regime camps with confiscation of property.

Kudirka has a mother, wife and two children.

During the investigation attempts were made to persuade relatives and friends of Kudirka to give evidence suggesting him to be of unsound mind. A medical commission headed by [J.] Gutmanas, Chief Psychiatrist of Vilnius, pronounced him healthy.

The Trial of Levitin (Krasnov)

On 8 May the degree of restraint applying to Krasnov, who had been at liberty during the investigation, was changed: he was taken into custody.

On 19 May 1971 the Moscow City Court, sitting on the premises of the District Court of Lyublino [a suburb], heard the case against the Orthodox writer A. E. Krasnov-Levitin (under articles 190 and 142, para. 2, of the Russian Criminal Code). The Judge was [V. V.] Bogdanov [who presided at the trials of Natalya Gorbanevskaya, Olga Iofe and M. Ya. Makarenko—see *Chronicle* Nos. 15, 16)], the Procurator was Biryukova, counsel for the defence—A. A. Zalessky.

A group of friends and relations of A. E. Krasnov had gathered in front of the court. Only his step-mother, G. A. Levitina, and Academician A. D. Sakharov were allowed

into the court-room.

The indictment contained many quotations from Krasnov's works, which formed the basis for the charge of slandering the Soviet social and political system and of "inciting servants of the church to violate the law on the separation of church and state" (article 142). A. E. Krasnov-Levitin was also charged with signing a number of appeals and petitions in 1968-69, of which the Letter to the Budapest meeting of communist parties and the Appeal to the UNO of May 1969⁴¹ were singled out for special attention.

Krasnov-Levitin pleaded not guilty on all counts, claiming [41. Texts in A. Brumberg, In Quest of Justice: Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union Today, London, 1970, pp. 171-3, 458-61.]

that the arguments in the indictment were based on an arbitrary and incorrect interpretation of excerpts from his works. He explained that his works contained criticism of individual phenomena, not slander against the system, and that he had expressed his actual opinions, not deliberately false fabrications. Krasnov informed the court that several of the quotations cited in the indictment as examples of "anti-Soviet slander" were texts from the Holy Scriptures.

The witnesses—G. Yakunin and V. Borozdinov (both priests), Father Agafangel (Dogadin), priest-monk of the Pskovo-Pechorsky monastery, V. Lashkova [co-defendant with Galanskov, Ginzburg and Dobrovolsky], V. Berestov, E. Kushev, V. Shavrov, L. Kusheva and others—testified that they had read the works of Krasnov and saw nothing slanderous in them.

Procurator Biryukova repeated the indictment and asked that Krasnov-Levitin be sentenced to three years of

ordinary-regime corrective-labour camps.

Defence counsel A. A. Zalessky refuted the arguments of the indictment point by point and asked the court to draw its own conclusions from his address.

In his final address A. E. Krasnov-Levitin said:

"I am a believing Christian. But the mission of Christianity consists in more than going to church. It consists in putting the behests of Christ into practice, Christ called upon us to defend all who are oppressed. That is why I defend people's rights, whether they be Pochayev [in W Ukraine] monks, 43 Baptists or Crimean Tatars, and if convinced opponents of religion should some day be subjected to oppression I shall defend them too. . . . No right-thinking man considers that it is a crime to criticise individual tenets of the law and suggest adjustments to them. This democratic right of every citizen was won in the hard struggle for freedom by the English, French and October revolutions.

Everything in my work is based on documentary facts and is in accordance with reality. . . . I consider that the Procurator's address is a disgrace to Soviet justice. . . .

^{[42.} A God-son of Levitin. Kushev's book of verse, Ogryzkom karandasha, Possev-Verlag, 1971, has a foreword by Levitin.]
[43. See his materials in Zashchita very v SSSR, Ikhthus, Paris. 1966, pp. 63-87.]

(For information: there is a transcript of Krasnov-Levitin's final address circulating in samizdat which contains a few factual inaccuracies.)

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In its verdict the court deleted three items from the indictment (the paragraphs on the Pochayev monks, on blessing the water, and on excerpts from the letter to TASS), changed the charge from article 142, para. 2 to article 142, para. 1, and sentenced A. E. Levitin (Krasnov) to: under article 142, para. 1—one year of corrective labour at his place of work with deduction of 20% of his wages; and under article 190-1—three years of ordinary-regime camps.

On A. E. Krasnov-Levitin and his works see *Chronicle*

On A. E. Krasnov-Levitin and his works see *Chronicle* Nos. 15, 17, 19.44

The Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR has appealed to the Human Rights Commission of the UNO, Pope Paul VI and the General Assembly [Pomestny Sobor] of the Russian Orthodox Church. The appeal describes Anatoly Emmanuilovich Krasnov-Levitin as a man of high morals, a convinced opponent of any sort of violence or political extremism, his weapon being the public word addressed to the conscience. "The verdict of the Moscow City Court can be seen only as yet another act of arbitrary tyranny by the authorities against dissenters, against believers, against fighters for Human Rights in our country."

The appeal was supported by 30 people.

Academician A. D. Sakharov appealed to Podgorny, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to alleviate the fate of Krasnov. "The works of Levitin on which the charges against him were based", Sakharov writes, "in fact express a view-point natural for a believer on the moral and philosophical meaning of religion, they state opinions on present-day internal church problems, and also discuss from loyal and democratic standpoints problems of the freedom of conscience. . . . I was present in court and am convinced that there has been no violation of the law by anything Levitin has done." [Full text in Russkaya mysl, Paris, 11 September 1971.]

[44. Also M. Bourdeaux, Patriarch and Prophets. passim.]

An Open Letter by Gennady Smirnovsky (Moscow), "Behind the closed portals of Themis"—a report from Krasnov-Levitin's place of trial—has appeared in samizdat.

In June, before the sentence had even been confirmed by the appeal court, Krasnov was transferred from Butyrka prison to the Krasnaya Presnya transit prison [also in Moscow] and put on general duties.

Tallinn. In April Vladimir Vasilevich Eikhvald, a radio engineer aged 57 (for the institution of proceedings against him under article 194-1 of the Estonian Criminal Code, equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code, see Chronicle No. 18), was judged to be of unsound mind by an in-patient forensic-psychiatric examination. On 1 June, by decision of the Tallinn City Court, Eikhvald was placed in a psychiatric hospital of ordinary type.

Sochi. The trial of Anatoly Rumyantsev and Valentina Volzhskaya, born 1947 (for their arrest see Chronicle No. 19), on charges under article 190-1 [of the Russian Code] took place from 30 June to 2 July.

The Judge was Chepurko (of the Krasnodar Provincial Court), the Procurator—Goncharova (Sochi). Defence counsel for Rumyantsev was Aristov (Krasnodar), for Volzhskaya—Pashkevich (Sochi).

During the investigation Rumyantsev and Volzhskaya had been permitted to marry. The investigator (Shatov, of the Sochi City Procuracy) was aware that Volzhskaya was pregnant, but the degree of restraint—detention in custody

remained unchanged. Volzhskaya was repeatedly taken from the prison in Armavir to Sochi for questioning, also to Krasnodar for psychiatric examination.

Rumyantsev was charged with giving Volzhskaya A. Marchenko's book My Testimony and six poems by an unknown author (two of them—"Parade" and "Empire"—Rumyantsev had copied into his note-book, which the investigators regarded as evidence of duplication).

Volzhskaya was charged with the possession and circulation of A. Marchenko's book My Testimony (article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code), and also with re-typing the poems. "Evidence" of circulation of the book My Testi-

mony was a line copied from it which was found during a search.

None of the witnesses called was able to give any information proving the circulation of the literature listed in the indictment; two female witnesses gave evidence relating to Solzhenitsyn's Cancer Ward, one—that Rumyantsev had circulated it, and the other (an Intourist colleague of Volzhskaya), who had stated before the arrests that she had seen Cancer Ward in Volzhskaya's possession, reaffirmed this in court. (This book was confiscated during a search of Volzhskaya's home.)

Rumyantsev pleaded not guilty, and Volzhskaya only confirmed the fact of possession.

The Procurator asked for a sentence of three years for Rumyantsev and a suspended sentence of three years for Volzhskaya. Aristov, counsel for Rumyantsev, asked for the release of his client, stressing that Anatoly's mother was a blind and lonely woman whose husband, who had fought in the Finnish War, had died of exhaustion during evacuation from the siege of Leningrad, and whose elder son Valery was serving a fifteen-year sentence in the Mordovian camps (camp no. 19). Pashkevich [a woman], counsel for Volzhskaya, shared the opinion of the prosecutor.

The court sentenced A. Rumyantsev to two-and-a-half years of ordinary-regime corrective-labour camps, and V. Volzhskaya to one-and-a-half years (suspended).

The Movement of the Meskhetians for a Return to their Homeland

On 4 May 1971 leaders of the Soviet state were sent an appeal signed by O. Selimov, chairman of the Council of Elders of the Turkic Association for the Defence of National Rights. The Council of Elders of the Meskhetian people, who have been in exile for 27 years, quotes the resolution of the sixth People's Assembly on 2 May 1970 and requests that the Meskhetian Turks should be granted national autonomy (see *Chronicle* No. 19). A copy of the letter was sent to UNO Secretary-General U Thant.

On 9 May a delegation consisting of 61 people arrived in Moscow. It was headed by M. Niyazov, R. Seifatov and Mamedov, members of the ISCL (Interim Steering Com-

mittee for Liberation). On 11-12 May the delegation attempted to obtain an audience with Podgorny. In the Reception Room of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet the delegates were told that Podgorny would not receive them and that there would be no changes in their situation. On 14 May the delegation was received by V. K. Kondratev at the Reception Room of the Central Committee of the party. On the same day, having lost hope of receiving a positive answer, the delegation decided to turn to the Turkish embassy, but they were stopped from entering by police. On 17 May the delegation was received at the Central Committee by Starchenko, who announced that the problem would not be re-examined and that a mass re-settlement of the Moslem Meskhetians was out of the question.

In a letter of 18 May to USSR leaders, the large delegation requests the Soviet government to solve the question of the return of an exiled people to their lands. The Meskhetians state that should this be refused they will apply to the Turkish government for permission to settle in Turkey. 46 people signed the letter on behalf of the delegation.

In Moscow on 25 May Meskhetian representatives Niyazov, Seifatov and Mamedov, having made preliminary arrangements with the Turkish consul for a meeting, set off for the Turkish embassy. At the entrance to the embassy they were apprehended and taken to the police station. They were tried on the evening of the same day. Niyazov and Seifatov were sentenced to fifteen and twelve days imprisonment respectively, and Mamedov to a fine of ten roubles. Prisoners Niyazov and Seifatov declared a hunger strike.

Extra-judicial Persecution

"Service Record" of M. Rostropovich (November 1970-May 1971)

- 1. At the beginning of November 1970 Rostropovich wrote an Open Letter in defence of Solzhenitsyn (see *Chronicle* No. 17).
- 2. Since the end of November 1970 there has not been a

single radio or television broadcast with his participation (broadcasts by his wife G[alina] Vishnevskaya were also cancelled for some time).

3. December 1970, Return from abroad. An offensively thorough search at the Brest customs post [at the Polish border], during which his personal letters were read.

4. January 1971. The newspaper Soviet Culture published a report of the award of a Grand Prix to Soviet musicians for a recording made in France of the opera Eugene Onegin. The prize was handed personally to Rostropovich by the French Minister of Finance [Giscard d'Estaing]. The newspaper lists not only the principal performers but even the director of the recording company [omitting his name], but Rostropovich's name is not mentioned.

5. The USSR Deputy Minister of Culture informed Rostropovich that for a period of six months his concerts abroad, which had already been arranged, had been

cancelled.

6. February. The fiftieth anniversary of the Grand Radio Orchestra. Rostropovich's photograph was removed from the jubilee wall-newspaper on the instructions of the party committee.

7. 1 April. By order of the director, Oznobishchev, Rostropovich was dismissed as a soloist from the Moscow Philharmonia, and, moreover, not informed of the fact.

8. 28 April. In Komsomolskaya pravda, the only newspaper to report the Moscow concert of the British [in fact London] Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by B[enjamin] Britten, at which [Svyatoslav] Richter and Rostropovich were the soloists, only Richter was mentioned. An article about the concert was removed altogether from Izvestia, because its author refused to strike out the mention of Rostropovich.

9. Late April. Advertised concerts by Rostropovich were

cancelled.

10. 11 May. A previously announced concert by Rostropovich at Moscow University was cancelled under the false pretext that he was ill.

11. Late May. As a result of protests by leading musicians Rostropovich was reinstated in the Philharmonia.

Joint Session of the Academic Council and the Council on Teaching Methods of the General Economics Faculty of the [Moscow] Plekhanov Institute. 4 June 1971.

(For information: Allan-Edgar Veniaminovich Kroncher, born 1935, Jewish, non-party-member, economist, Lecturer in the Department of Economic Planning, who has been engaged in scientific and pedagogical work for eight-and-a-half years since gaining a higher degree, gives lectures on economic planning. He submitted an application to the rector requesting a reference for OVIR in connection with leaving for Israel.)

Agenda: The deprivation of A. V. Kroncher of his degree and academic title in connection with actions incompatible with the title of Soviet scholar and Lecturer at the Institute N. A. Ivanov, Dean of the General Economics Faculty,

conducted the meeting.

V. V. Kossov, Head of the Department of Economic Planning, reported the resolution of a meeting of the Department's party members: to condemn Kroncher's act as political treachery and to petition for his removal from teaching work of any kind.

The floor was then given to A. V. Kroncher, who expressed his "anger and categorical disagreement with

what is taking place here".

After Kroncher members of the Department of Economic Planning spoke in the following order: Prof. B. M. Smekhov, Doctor of economic sciences; Prof. B. I. Braginsky, Doctor of economic sciences; I. G. Kuznetsova, Senior Lecturer; Prof. V. V. Kossov, Head of Department, Doctor of economic sciences; E. K. Serednitskaya, Deputy Head of Department, Reader, Master of economic sciences; N. A. Ivanov, Dean of the General Economics Faculty, to which the Department of Economic Planning belongs. They all denounced Kroncher's action and supported the resolution on his case passed by the Department of Economic Planning.

As the result of a ballot a resolution was passed, completely endorsing that of the meeting of the Department's party group. On the same day the decision of the Academic Council of the Faculty was confirmed by the Academic Council of the Institute.

News in Brief

On 15 May Nikolai Fyodorovich Dragosh, born 1932, was released from Vladimir prison. A graduate of Odessa University, he was head-master of a young workers' school in the Tarutino District of the Odessa Region, where he taught mathematics.

On 19 May Nikolai Andreyevich Tarnavsky, born 1940, who was convicted in the same case as Dragosh, was also released from Vladimir prison. He has a specialist secondary education and until their arrests taught labour at the school of which Dragosh was head-master.

In September 1964 they were both sentenced by the Moldavian Supreme Court to seven years of strict-regime corrective-labour camps under articles 67 and 69 of the Moldavian Criminal Code (equivalent to articles 70 and 72 of the Russian Code). On 13 July 1970 Dragosh and Tarnavsky were transferred from [Dubrovlag] camp 19 to Vladimir prison (see *Chronicle* Nos. 15, 18).

They were charged [in 1964] with creating the organisation "Democratic Union of Socialists" and with printing a broadsheet of newspaper format, "Truth to the People" [Pravda narodu]. The other persons convicted in this case were Vasily Vasilevich Postalaki, born 1936, a student at the Conducting Faculty of the Kishinyov Institute of Arts (released in 1970); Nikolai Sergeyevich Kucerianu, born 1941, a student at the same Institute (six years of corrective-labour camps—pardoned in 1968); Sergei Chemertan, born 1938, a student at the same Institute (five years of corrective-labour camps, pardoned in 1968); and Ivan Alekseyevich Cherdyntsev, born 1938, a teacher at Dragosh's school (six years of corrective-labour camps plus four years under article 206-2 [malicious hooliganism], which he was given in the camp).

On 15 May the Moscow mathematician and Master of Science Ilya Burmistrovich (see *Chronicle* No. 18) was released from the camps of the Krasnoyarsk Province on completion of a three-year sentence.

By Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Andrei Donatovich Sinyavsky, who was sentenced in 1965 to seven years of strict-regime corrective-labour camps under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code, was released on 8 June, fifteen months early. His release was preceded by letters to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet from M. V. Rozanova (Sinyavsky's wife)⁴⁵ and from Yu. M. Daniel, Sinyavsky's friend who was convicted in the same case. The letters contained requests for Sinyavsky's release, his health having markedly deteriorated in the camps.

Since the summer of 1969 A. D. Sinyavsky had been in different sections of Dubrovlag camp 3 (in Mordovia); for the last year he worked as a loader in the repair squad.

As soon as Sinyavsky had been released, the camp loudspeakers announced that he had been pardoned at the request of the administration because he had begun to mend his ways (in fact Sinyavsky's release came as no less of a surprise to the administration than to Sinyavsky himself).

On 15 June Omelyan Gilyarovich Polevoi, born 1913, a native of the Ternopol area [50 m. E of Lvov], was released from Mordovian camp No. 17 on completion of a 25-year sentence.

In July 1946 Polevoi, who at the time was the commander of section 3 of UIA-West (Ukrainian Insurrectionist Army—the partisan formations of Ukrainian nationalists), was arrested in Lvov and sent to Kiev prison. In April 1947 a Military Tribunal of the Kiev Region MVD sentenced Polevoi to be shot. Three months later the death sentence was commuted to 25 years in the camps. Until 1958 Polevoi was on the Kolyma River [in E Siberia, beyond the Arctic Circle], then he spent two years in the Taishet-Bratsk camps [in the Irkutsk Region of Central Siberia] and in 1960 was transferred to Dubrovlag.

On 25 June Stepan Stepanovich Bedrylo, who was convicted in Kiev in 1969 [in fact he was arrested in Kiev in 1969 and convicted in Lvov in January 1970], was released from Mordovian camp No. 3.

On 25 June Vadim Delone, who took part in the demon-[45. On her letter see article by D. Murarka, *The Observer*, London, 13 June 1971.] stration in Red Square on 25 August 1968, was released from a camp in the Tyumen Region on completion of his sentence.

On 22 June Pavel Lobkov, a Jehovah's witness, was released from Dubrovlag camp 17 on completion of a 25-year sentence.

On 27 April Ivan Yakhimovich (for him see Chronicle No. 7) was released from a psychiatric hospital in Riga, A commission has judged him to be an invalid of the second category. The local authorities refuse to register him as a resident, referring to the fact that he could not obtain adequate accommodation. Yakhimovich's wife and three children live in the town of Jurmale near Riga.

During the second half of June the Central Forensic-Psychiatric Commission, headed by D. R. Lunts, recommended Victor Kuznetsov for discharge from the Kazan special psychiatric hospital and placing under the supervision of his district psychiatrist, and recommended Valeria Novodvorskaya (see *Chronicle* No. 11) for transfer to a psychiatric hospital of ordinary type. On a previous occasion, as has been reported, the Moscow City Court refused to release Kuznetsov (see *Chronicle* Nos. 8, 18).

At the end of June Olga Iofe (see Chronicle Nos. 11, 15, 18) was recommended for discharge from the Moscow "Matrosskaya tishina" psychiatric hospital.

At the end of June Eduard Kuznetsov arrived in Dubrovlag camp 10 (st. Udarnaya, Leplei, the special-regime camp, i.e. its inmates are confined in prison conditions and escorted out to work); he was placed in the same cell as Yury Fyodorov, who was convicted in the same case [i.e. the Leningrad "aeroplane case"]. At the same time Joseph Mendelevich arrived in camp 17-a and Silva Zalmanson in camp 3 (a women's camp).

Tashkent [Uzbekistan]. On 20 May Ibragimov, a Crimean Tatar, arrived in Tashkent from Simferopol [Crimea]. On the evening of the same day he was arrested.

On 20 June Aishe Muratova, a historian, was arrested. During a search of her home a note-book containing her own poetry was confiscated.

In 1967, after spending about nine months in a KGB investigation prison (Lefortovo [in Moscow]) with two other Crimean Tatars, Muratova was given under article 74 of the Russian Criminal Code (arousing national discord) a one year suspended sentence.

According to the information at hand, Muratova and Ibragimov are involved in the same case: they have been indicted under article 191-4 of the Uzbek Criminal Code (equivalent to article 190-1 of the Russian Code).

Yakutsk [E Siberia]. Vladimir Dremlyuga, who was sentenced in 1968 to three years of corrective-labour camps for taking part in the Red Square demonstration of 25 August 1968 against the sending of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia, was due for release on 25 August this year. Dremlyuga has spent most of his sentence in one of the camps in Yakutia, being constantly subjected to harassment by the camp administration (see Chronicle No. 17).

At the end of April V. Dremlyuga was sent from the camp to Yakutsk prison. Proceedings have been begun against him, and the investigation under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code has already been completed. The basis for the charge is conversations with other prisoners to the effect that in the USSR there is no freedom of speech, demonstration and so on.⁴⁶

A telegram sent by the Procuracy of the Yakut Autonomous Republic states that Dremlyuga had asked for arrangements to be made for him to be represented at the hearing of his case by a Moscow defence counsel. According to the RSFSR Code of Practice of the Legal Profession, the appointment of defence counsel to conduct cases is carried out by the head of the Legal Advice Office. In practice, however, this must be cleared with Apraksin, chairman of the Moscow Collegium of Lawyers, who in this case, without citing any legislative acts or instructions, stated that no lawyer from Moscow would be permitted to go to Yakutsk.

^{[46.} On 30 August 1971 Dremlyuga was reported to have received a new three-year sentence. See, e.g., The Daily Telegraph.]

It is impossible to appeal against Apraksin's decision, since the Collegium of Lawyers is a public organisation formally independent of state bodies.

Moscow. Nadezhda Emelkina, born 1946, was arrested on 27 June.

A graduate of a young workers' school, she entered the Moscow Institute of Geological Prospecting in 1965. In 1968 she was expelled from the Institute, the real reason being her presence outside the court where the trial of Ginzburg, Galanskov, Dobrovolsky and Lashkova took place. Since then Emelkina has worked as a nurse, labourer, cleaner and the like. She has signed several Open Letters in defence of human rights.

At 6 pm on 27 June 1971—Soviet Youth Day— Emelkina appeared in [Moscow's] Pushkin Square and began to hand out and scatter hand-written leaflets. The leaflets contained the words: "... do you know that to this day people are still being arrested in our country for their beliefs, as in the fearful time of Stalin?" Emelkina also had a banner with two slogans written on it: "Freedom for the political prisoners in the USSR!" and "Freedom for Vladimir Bukovsky!"

She has been indicted under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code. The investigation is being conducted by L. S. Akimova, senior investigator of the Moscow City Procuracy (who also conducted the investigations into the cases of I. Belogorodskaya, the participants in the Red Square demonstration, N. Gorbanevskaya, A. Krasnov-

Levitin and others). On 2 July a search of N. Emelkina's flat was carried out. At present Nadezhda Emelkina is in Butyrka prison.

Requests by believers in Gorky and Naro-Fominsk (Moscow Region) for registration as religious associations and for the opening of Orthodox churches in their cities have been repeatedly refused, despite the fact that according to the law "On religious associations" of 8 April 1929, which is still in force, believers numbering at least twenty persons are entitled to form a religious association and, after registering it with the local Soviet, to build houses of worship (or receive them from their local Soviet free of charge) and to gather in them without further informing the authorities. "Registration may be refused only in cases where doctrine, the performance of rites, or any other activity involves violating the law, molesting the person of citizens, or infringing their rights" (Izvestia, 29 August 1966, an interview given by V. A. Kuroyedov, chairman of the Council on Religious Affairs).

In both cases the requests for the opening of churches were signed by as many as 1,500 people.47 Neither the local authorities nor any of the higher instances gave any grounds

for their refusal.

A woman living in Naro-Fominsk brought a court action against the Council on Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers. On 27 March 1970 the people's court of the Lenin District of Moscow vindicated the Council's actions. On 6 February 1971 the Naro-Fominsk newspaper Banner of Ilich printed an article, "A dirty business", condemning the attempts of "charlatans on the fringes of religion" to open a church in the town (although in recent years the issue has been the registration of believers).

In Gorky, after unsuccessful attempts to send complaints to the World Council of Churches and the UNO by post, an attempt was undertaken to send one through western tourists.48 Persecution of the authors of the complaint then ensued: KGB interrogations lasting many hours (they were conducted by O. P. Labutov), dismissals from work, deprivation of special permits, refusals to provide living accommodation. A long "documentary story" about the authors of the complaint, "A cheque for 7,000", was printed in the newspaper Gorky Worker in December 1970. Veniamin Kozulin, a tuner, Galina Vakhutina, an engineer, Zoya Zhebrakova, also an engineer, Valentin Sazanov, a university lecturer, and his mother, a typist, were dismissed from their jobs; Valery Vantsev, a fifth-year student, was expelled from the university; Vitaly Klementev, a mechanic. and Pelageya Trofimova, an engineer, were demoted at

[47. See also V. Chalizde's letter in support of the Naro-Fominsk believers, dated 28 February 1971, in Possev 5, 1971, p. 8.] [48] This succeeded: Letters sent to the WCC and UNO, dated

23 September and 4 November 1968, appeared in Russkaya myst, Paris. 19 June 1969, and in English in Religion in Communist-Dominated Areas, New York, VIII, No. 19-20, 1969.]

work. Archbishop Flavian [of Gorky] condemned the believers' desire to open a church from the pulpit.

Moscow. On 18 June Alexander Ginzburg was transferred from Vladimir prison to a KGB investigation prison (Lefortovo) to give testimony. He is being questioned by Captain V. I. Korkach, senior KGB investigator. As Korkach carried out a search of V. Bukovsky's flat on 29 March of this year, it can be assumed with some confidence that Ginzburg was sent for in connection with his case.

Leningrad. On 7 June in the special psychiatric hospital the hunger strike of Vladimir Borisov and Victor Fainberg (see Chronicle No. 19) came to an end. It had lasted 81 days. As yet the Chronicle has no information on the prisoners' physical state, the conditions of their confinement, or whether their demands were met.

Riga. In mid-February a civil court action brought by Natan Lozovsky, an engineering economist aged 31, took place. He had instituted proceedings against the Baltic Institute of Transport alleging that a reference, which the administration of the Institute had issued to him for submission to OVIR, contained false information defamatory to his professional reputation.

During the hearing a member of the public in the court-room made a tape-recording of the proceedings. The Judge demanded that the recording be stopped, jumped up from his seat and, trying to rip out the tape, struck one of those present. A protest was made about "judges exceeding their authority". The police were called, the court-room was closed for two hours and four people were detained. They were not released until some hours later.

At the beginning of March the court sat for a second time. The court announced that it would not consider the case and that the plaintiff could apply to the administrative authorities.

Kiev. On 21 May Izrail Kleimer, who was carrying a letter from nine Kievan Jews to the national newspapers, was taken off the Kiev-Moscow train at Nezhin [in Chernigov Region]. The letter contained a protest against

the trials of Jews pursuing their right to leave for Israel. Kleimer was shown a forged railway ticket, with which, it was alleged, he had attempted to travel on the train. The "operation" was led by a person who gave his name as Major Kolomiichuk, chief of police of Nezhin.

Kleimer was informed that he and the other authors of the letter would be brought to trial for forging railway

tickets and for slandering Soviet justice.

On 25 May Kleimer and his family were given verbal permission to leave for Israel. Later, when he and his wife had resigned from their jobs, he was told that permission for him to leave had been revoked. I. Kleimer has as yet received no reply to complaints sent by him to various government bodies.

(For information: the removal of Jews from Moscow-bound trains was first noted before and during the 24th party congress. Several Jews in Riga and Vilnius were refused the sale of tickets, others were taken off the trains and told that there had been a mistake in the issue of the tickets, and so on.)

Moscow. On 14 June a group of about 25 Jews from Vilnius and Kaunas arrived in Moscow and went to the Reception Room of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to apply for an interview with Minister Shchelokov or his deputy. (They had applied for an appointment on 28 May.) The group consisted of persons who had repeatedly received rejections of their petitions to emigrate to Israel. They were received by the USSR head of OVIR [A. V. Verein], but were not given a positive answer. On 16 June they went to the Reception Room of the Central Committee of the party, where they spoke to Tikhomirov, head of the Room. It was there that Colonel Ovchinnikov, deputy head of OVIR, gave them the grounds for rejection: "You have received higher and secondary education".

On 21 and 22 June a group of Lithuanian Jews, together with five Jews from Riga who had joined them, applied to the Reception Room of the Presidium of the USCR Supreme Soviet, also in vain . . . At 3 p.m. on 22 June they sent a telegram to Brezhnez, Podgorny and Kosygin declaring that they would hold a hunger strike on the

premises of the Central Telegraph Office until they were given a positive answer by the MVD. That evening they were spoken to by an official of the KGB, who called himelf "Leonty Kuzmich" but did not give his surname. He strongly urged the hunger-strikers to quit the telegraph office and leave Moscow, promising that their cases would be reconsidered in their respective home towns. Since this promise was given by an unofficial [i.e. non-competent] person, the demand that they leave the telegraph office was refused.

On 23 and 24 June the telegraph office was visited by officials of the MVD and KGB, who repeated the request that they should leave the office and added that most of them would be given positive answers.

In Vilnius, at 2 p.m. on 24 June, 45 relatives and friends of the hunger-strikers themselves began a hunger strike in their support at the Central Telegraph Office, informing Sneckus, First Secretary of the Lithuanian Central Committee, of their action by telegram. Towards midnight the hunger-strikers were dispersed by police officers.

Since the hunger-strikers at the Moscow telegraph office included women and invalids, and in view of the promises given by officials of the MVD and KGB, the hunger strike was called off at 9 p.m. on 24 June. 48

On their return home the participants in the hunger strike were again refused permission to leave for Israel. The grounds were as before.

Two days after their return from Moscow Elena Levinaite, Miriam Taicene, Tereli Gotlib and Alexander Falkas were reprimanded; Grigory Abramovich, Lazar Krunberg, Judith Lenze and Sonia Furman were dismissed from their jobs for absenteeism.

Angarsk [E. Siberia]. Jonah Kolchinsky, the young Jew from Kharkov at present doing his military service in the town of Angarsk (see Chronicle Nos. 17, 18), came out in support of the Baltic Jews on hunger strike at the Central Telegraph Office in Moscow. In his telegram of 24 June Kolchinsky asked to be regarded as a participant in the collective hunger strike, and submitted a report to his unit [49. On this strike see also the Reuter and U.P.I. dispatches of 23

and 24 June.]

commander asking to be struck off the rations list.

V. Chalidze, J. Kolchinsky's legal proxy, sent an Open Letter to [Minister of Defence] Grechko arguing the necessity that Kolchinsky be prematurely demobilised.

Moscow. The Report on the Organisational and Creative Work of the Moscow Branch of the RSFSR Union of Writers for 1969-70 (Moscow, 1971—bearing the stamp "For official use") makes it clear that R. Baumvol and Z. L. Telesin have been expelled from the Writers' Union for "expressing in their written statement and verbal conversations opinions sharply at variance with the Constitution of the USSR Union of Writers, and for showing themselves to be writers having nothing in common with the aims and objectives confronting our multi-national Soviet literature". (p. 9). (Telesin and Baumvol, who are husband and wife, are Jewish poets who desired to leave for Israel. They left the USSR in April 1971.)

The Report also mentions the "reprimand and warning" given to V. Voinovich (see Chronicle No. 18) and the "severe reprimand to be recorded in his personal file" administered to the poet A[leksei Ya.] Markov "for an irresponsible and politically incorrect public statement". (At a poetry evening given by him at an institute in 1969 Markov expressed disapproval of the existence of so-called "special shops" [open only to high officials]).

During April and May books by R. Baumvol, I. Kerler and Z. Telesin, who have emigrated to Israel, were withdrawn from libraries and bookshops. This fate usually befalls books by authors who have declared themselves "non-returners" and applied for political asylum in the West (in recent years—A. Belinkov, M. Dyomin, Yu. Krotkov, A. Kuznetsov).

On 24 June Mikhail Isaakovich Zand left for Israel. He is an authoritative literary scholar, a specialist on the history of Persian and Tadzhik literature and an expert on semitology.

Zand was born into the family of a professional Comintern official of Polish-Jewish origin who immigrated into the USSR at the end of the 1930s and was purged shortly

before the war (and later posthumously rehabilitated).

After graduating from Moscow University Zand went to work in Tadzhikistan; thanks to his efforts the Russian reader was introduced to the classics of Persian and Soviet Tadzhik literature. In the 1950s and 60s he worked at the Institute for the Peoples of Asia under the USSR Academy of Sciences (Moscow). A few years ago he published the popular monograph Six Centuries of Glory.

Public statements made by Zand in the late sixties and early seventies resulted in his dismissal from work and other measures. In March and April 1971, among others, he served a fifteen-day sentence on the premises of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department (38 Petrovka St.), spending the entire period on hunger strike (see Chronicle No. 19).

On 10 May, having been given a visa, Zand and his family prepared for their departure, but the visa was then unexpectedly taken away.

In June he received the visa again, and Zand arrived safely in Israel.⁵¹

On 14 May the criminal prosecution of film producer Mikhail Kalik (see *Chronicle* No. 18) was discontinued; he was officially informed of this on May 23.

Moscow. On 1 June, International Children's Defence Day, youths calling themselves "hippies" and "hairies" gathered in the inner courtyard of the former History Faculty of Moscow University in order to hold a march to the USA embassy with anti-war slogans. As soon as their "leader" unfurled a banner proclaiming in English "Make love, not war!" (the traditional hippy slogan) and moved towards the arch leading to Herzen St., he and the others (about 150 people) were surrounded by special operations men and vigilantes, who had been waiting there for a long time. The demonstrators were loaded into vehicles on this principle: the hairiest into Volgas and

[51. This case aroused great publicity in the west. See also Zand's letter of thanks for this in The Times, 7 August 1971.]

[50. The text of the order for this, signed by the head of the Glavlit censorship, P. Romanov, is in the paper Nasha strana, 19 August 1971 (Tel-Aviv, Salomon St. 7).]

minibuses, the rest into ordinary buses. They were then taken to various police stations.

It seems that a few days before the demonstration was due to take place someone nick-named "Sun" (an authority among Moscow hippies) had told them that the demonstration had been approved by the ACCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] (!). There are rumours that at the time the young people were detained in the university court-yard, "Sun" was in Pushkin Square, where another demonstration by hairies was expected, but the *Chronicle* knows nothing of this.

The Chronicle is unable to report to what repression the "hippies" were subjected. It is known only that there were a number of cases in which the Supreme Soviet Decree of December 1962 "On petty hooliganism" was applied, also cases of compulsory psychiatric hospitalisation, of especially hairy youths having their heads shaved, and of prophylactic talks with hippies by officials of the KGB.

The International League for the Rights of Man (head-quarters in New York) has invited the Committee for Human Rights (Moscow) to join. The Committee has joined the League as a Group Member.⁵²

On 20 May the Committee elected I. R. Shafarevich as a member. Igor Rostislavovich Shafarevich (born 1923) is a mathematician and specialist on algebra, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (since 1958) and a Lenin Prize-winner.

On 20 May V. N. Chalidze, a member of the Committee for Human Rights, sent a statement "On the persecution of Jewish repatriates" to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.⁵³

Explaining that Zionism is not a reactionary political trend, not anti-communist or anti-Soviet, as represented in our press, but the concept of Jewish statehood, Chalidze calls for "an end to all persecution of repatriates" and "no future violation of the clear human right to leave any country".

[52. For more details see The New York Times, 30 June, and The Times, 9 July.]

[53. Full text in *Possev* 6, 1971, p. 12.]

Members of the Committee A. D. Sakharov and A. Tvyordokhlebov agreed with the arguments of the letter and associated themselves with its demands.

On 31 May Chalidze sent a letter to the heads of government of the USSR and Israel, calling on them to establish direct consular relations with each other in order to contribute to the solution of the problem of reuniting divided Jewish families in the country where these families wish to be re-united.

Chalidze informed UNO Secretary-General U Thant of his missive and asked his help in the establishment of nonpolitical contacts between the USSR and Israel with the object of defending Human Rights.

On 21 June Vladimir Tvyordokhlebov, Master of chemical sciences and elder brother of Andrei Tvyordokhlebov, member of the Committee for Human Rights, choosing a moment when there was no-one in Andrei's flat, stole from his study an archive relating to his legal activities. In the opinion of A. Tvyordokhlebov, the theft was to a great extent committed under compulsion.

Andrei Amalrik, sentenced under article 190-1 to three years of hard-regime corrective-labour camps (see Chronicle Nos. 17, 19), arrived on the Kolyma [River] in June. His address: Magadanskaya oblast, p/ya AV-261/3.

Samizdat News

Herald of the Exodus No. 1 (a collection of documents).

Contents: On the eve of the trials (letters from relatives and friends of the accused in Leningrad, Kishinyov, Riga). Visits by groups of Jews to USSR government bodies. The departure applications of M. Kalik and V. Slepak. Letters, statements, telegrams, protests, official documents ("Regulations on entering and leaving the USSR" and "On additions and alterations to Resolution No. 59854 of the USSR Council of People's Commissars of 29 April 1942: 'On rates of state customs duty'").

V. Chalidze: "A foreigner visited me", May 1971.
This booklet includes records of the searches of

Chalidze's room on 29 March and 7 April (see Chronicle No. 19), an Open Letter from Academician Sakharov to Minister of Internal Affairs Shchelokov, the texts of Chalidze's conversations with a KGB investigator and of his confrontation with the Belgian Sebreghts, 55 a commentary to Bryantsev's article "Under the mask of falsehood" (Izvestia, 19 April 1971) and statements by Chalidze on these subjects sent to various bodies, M. Kalik: To the Russian intelligentsia. To the editors of

An Open Letter in which the author, conscious of being a Jew and at the same time a Russian intellectual, reflects on the fortunes of "those who leave" and "those who remain".56

"Social Problems" No. 10. March April 1971. Compiled by V. N. Chalidze.

This issue contains Jerzy Savicki's article "A lawyer's reflections on criticism" and A. S. Volpin's report to the Committee [for Human Rights], "The international pact on civil and political rights and Soviet law".

The Polish lawyer's article, from Tribuna ludu of 1 January 1962, was written as a discussion of a draft of the Polish Criminal Code. In it he examines problems of the freedom of criticism in a socialist system. The code, he says, lacks legal guarantees of the freedom to criticize, one of the reasons for this being the authorities' fear of the consequences of criticism. It is true that the complete elimination of criticism, as Savicki writes, "is impossible to achieve, even in the conditions of a relationship between the regime and the citizen such that the public discussion of anything at all is absolutely prohibited, and in the name of law and order—and to preserve the authority of the regime—citizens are instructed to channel all their critical observations only through their superiors, who 'know better how to extirpate evil'".

The author points out that certain periods are characterised by "hostility towards any legal norms". In order

- [54 Text of this Resolution: see Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR, No. 4, 1942, pp. 74-79.]
- [55] For some details see *Possev* 4, 1971, p. 8, and 5, 1971, pp. 22-24.1
- [56] This letter, dated 5 May, has appeared in National Zeitung, Basel (date unknown).]

to prevent the growth of "the sphere left completely to the discretion of the authorities" he considers it essential to introduce legal norms guaranteeing freedom of criticism and limiting the risk from "incorrect" criticism.

His concrete proposals are: sanctions against the suppression of criticism, verification of the real motives of the administration (when, for example, a critical person is dismissed in a way ostensibly within the framework of legality). "The security of the critic must be increased to

the utmost", J. Savicki urges.

In his report Volpin sets out his thoughts on the extent to which the USSR satisfies the pre-conditions for the ratification and observation of the Pact on Civil and Political Rights. Part of the report is devoted to the Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. (The texts of the Pacts were published in the [Soviet] book The Soviet Union and the United Nations Organisation, 1968, 4,800 copies). A. S. Volpin finds that the rights acknowledged in the first Pact are already reflected in Soviet law and in the conventions which the USSR has joined, with the sole exception of the "right to strike". When the second Pact comes into force a UNO Committee for Human Rights will be formed, empowered to examine violations of the rights acknowledged in the Pact. The author presumes that the USSR, if it ratifies the Pact, will be an active member of the Committee and will recognise (although such recognition is not obligatory) the competence of the Committee to examine complaints emanating from states (but not petitions from private individuals).

The rights acknowledged in the Pact are also acknowledged by Soviet law. The main question under discussion is therefore the restriction of these rights in the USSR: is this compatible with the requirements of the Pact? Articles 12 (the right to enter and leave a country), 18 (the right to freedom of thought), 19 (freedom of information) and 22 (freedom of association) might here be singled out for comparison with the situation, laws and practices

existing in the USSR.

Although many rights acknowledged by the Pact are poorly observed in the USSR, this is due not so much to our laws as to social institutions and traditions, which also

determine the quality of legal proceedings. Ratification of the Pact cannot of itself alter this state of affairs.

Although the author sees a need to make certain changes in the law, he considers that on the whole the USSR is

legally prepared for adherence to the Pact.

The last item in this issue is a record of the meeting of the Committee for Human Rights on 28 April, at which it was decided that the affiliation of the Committee to the International League for the Rights of Man as a group member was acceptable.

Veche No. 2, 19 May 1971. Contents:

1. A statement by the editors of *Veche*.⁵⁷ The journal is not illegal. It is pointed out that the name and address of the chief editor, V. N. Osipov, are given. The editors reject the description of the journal as "extremely chauvinist".

2. Commentary by the editors on the work by M. F.

Antonov (see below).

3. M. Antonov: "The teaching of the Slavophiles as the zenith of popular consciousness in Russia in the pre-Lenin

period". Continued.

The views of A. S. Khomyakov are expounded: he was a conservative, not a reactionary. It must be remembered that he lived and worked more than a hundred years ago. The October revolution was a genuinely popular revolution—the "communal way of life" [obshchinny uklad], undistorted by "Western formalism" and so on. Orthodoxy is the "highest form" of Christianity and that which best corresponds to the spirit of the Russian people.

4."Shafts of thought". The remarks of an anonymous

author on Russia and Orthodoxy.

5. "On the forthcoming Assembly". A statement on the extra-ecclesiastical activities of Metropolitan Nikodim by Nikolai Gainov, minister of the church of the Holy Trinity, and others. The authors protest at the resurrection of the Living Church [obnovlenchestvo] ideology [i.e. close collaboration with the state] in a new form.

6. "General M. D. Skobelev [1843-82] as soldier and

statesman". The author is not indicated.

7. Anna Barkova: "Tatar melancholy" and other poems. A poetess of the older generation; spent many years in the camps. She has not been published since 1920.

[57. Text in Possev 5, 1971, p. 8.]

8. Mikhail Morozov: "Some remarks on contemporary literary developments". An assessment is given of many contemporary writers, poets and critics:

"Our literature is vital, its mighty organism nourished by our thousand-year-old culture and by the particular spirituality peculiar to the Russian, and however hard it may be at times for it to breathe, nothing can interrupt its eternal, revivifying breath."

9. "Tom Thumb, or the bard of the 'sexual revolution'." A pasquinade by an anonymous author (about A[ndrei] Voznesensky).

10. Under the heading "Criticism and biography": "Mysticism before the tribunal of Shakhnovich" 58 (edited by N. Bogdanov), "In the murk of foreign parts" (notes by V. Osipov on a book⁵⁹ by B. N. Alexandrovsky, a former emigré), "Memoirs of a meteor" (comments by A. Skuratov on the memoirs of A. F. Kerensky).

11. "Our mail": a letter on the views of N. A. Berdyayev; a statement by an Orthodox priest on the moral state of the Russian nation; a letter from L. Rendel [a

historian imprisoned from 1957-67]. 12. The "Chronicle" section of Veche No. 2 reports the death of the poet N. M. Rubtsov; so on Vladimir Maksimov's novel The Seven Days of Creation;61 on the Naro-Fominsk affair (see this issue of the Chronicle); on the dismissal of Yu. D. Ivanov from his job [senior lecturer at Moscow University] for Slavophile sympathies expressed in the pages of [the journal] Molodaya

V. Lapin: "On the discussion of the problem of capital punishment". A letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 18 May 1971 (see Chronicle No. 17-

[58. Prof. M. I. Shakhnovich, a Soviet specialist on the history of religion and atheism and author of a number of works attack-

ing mysticism, para-psychology and so on.] [59. From my Experiences in Foreign Parts: Reminiscences and Reflections of a Former Emigré (Moscow, Mysl publishing house, 1969), reviewed in Mol. Gvardiya, 3, 1970, pp. 292-6.]

[60. Aged 35. See notices also in Lit. Rossiya, 22 January 1971. p. 11, and Mol. gvardiya, 6, 1971, pp. 106-7.]

[61. To be published by Possev-Verlag.]

gvardiya.62

[62. See his articles in Noss. 2, 6 and 12, 1969.]

V. Lapin: "On the abolition of capital punishment" [text]

an Festnik RSKLD 99, 19711). This continuation of the correspondence with the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was provoked by a reply from P. Sedugin, deputy head of the Legal Department of the (Presidium of the) Supreme Soviet, that "the proposal to abolish capital punishment was discussed during the preparation (in the late 1950's) of the Fundamentals of the Criminal Law of the USSR and the Union Republics, and was rejected."

V. Nikitenkov: Open Letter of 12 May 1971. 55

Doctor Vasily Nikolayevich Nikitenkov, who together with his wife was placed in a psychiatric hospital after an attempt to enter the American embassy on 16 March (see Chronicle No. 19), appeals to all honourable people to help his family.

Yu. Glazov: "To Israel . . .". 26 May 1971. An essay on the newly arisen Jewish problem with a brief excursion

into history.

K. Burzhuademov: "Anti-Galbraith". The author demonstrates the superiority of a free market economy over a feudal-directive economy. Polemicising with Galbraith, author of the book The New Industrial Society, Burzhuademov denies that any large-scale enterprise can be progressive. There are interesting parallels between modern production and the world of nature, between interfering with the economic structure and upsetting the biological equilibrium.

The author uses the word "socialism" in an unusual sense: by socialism he understands nationalisation, the consolidation of production in the hands of the state.

The author protests at the fact that the bourgeois ideals of hard work, thrift and prosperity are held in haughty and feudal [feodalnoharsky] contempt. Appendices contain an exposition of the author's views on communist ideology and the prospects of the democratic movement, and also a response to A. Amalrik's work Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?

164. A well-known linguist who has signed several protest letters.]

^[63] See extracts in The Washington Post and The Daily Telegraph, 22 May 1971. This was written in the Central Moscow Regional Clinical Psychiatric Hospital on 8 March Street.]

V. Voskresensky: "For my friends". A collection of poems by the young Moscow poet, a member of SMOG, who was associated with the unofficial publications Sphinxes, The Russian Word and so on. He died tragically in January 1970.

Obituary

On 17 June Mykhaylo Mykhaylovych Soroka died suddenly of a heart attack in Dubrovlag camp 17-a.

M. M. Soroka was born in the Ternopol area in 1911. An architect by profession, he studied in Prague. In 1930 he took part in the activities of the OUN [Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists], fighting in its ranks for the independence of the Western Ukraine from the Polish Republic. For some time Soroka was confined in a Polish prison

After the territory of the Western Ukraine had been occupied by Soviet troops in autumn 1939 and incorporated into the Soviet Ukraine, many OUN members were arrested in Lvov in a single night. Among them were Soroka and his wife K. M. Zarytska, the daughter of a prominent Lvov professor of mathematics (on her see Chronicle Nos. 11, 15). Soroka was despatched to Vorkuta [in the far North], while Zarytska remained in Lvov prison, where she gave birth to a son (now the Ukrainian artist and decorator Bohdan Soroka, who lives in Lvov).

M. M. Soroka was kept beyond the Arctic Circle until 1950, when he was rehabilitated—a rare event in those years. After his release he returned to Lvov (by this time Zarytska, as a messenger of UIA commander Roman Shukhevych, had already been under investigation for about three years). Soroka did not stay long in Lvov; not receiving permission to live in his homeland, he was obliged to leave for Krasnoyarsk Province [Central Siberia].

In 1952 Soroka was again arrested. It turned out that a

certain Austrian, who had been released with him, had been repatriated to Austria and shortly afterwards published his memoirs. He described life in the Vorkuta camps and told of the circulation among the prisoners of persistent rumours of their possible mass liquidation. The prisoners were determined to resist, and made preparations to defend themselves if this operation should be carried out. The plan was drawn up under the direction of Mykhaylo Soroka.

So once more Soroka was in the camps—this time

sentenced to 25 years.

camp [at Dubrovlag] not far from the burial ground for camp inmates (the convicts' graves are adorned with plaques bearing, instead of the name of the deceased, his camp number), learned of her husband's death indirectly; the camp administration did not officially inform her of the death of Mykhaylo Mykhaylovych Soroka.

Addendum

to Chronicle No. 19. On the termination of the case of Maiya Silmale (Riga)
"Procuracy of the USSR
Procuracy of the Latvian SSR
16 April 1971

To citizeness Silmale Austra Arvidovna.*

I hereby inform you that on the basis of article 198, para. 2, of the Latvian Code of Criminal Procedure criminal proceedings against Silmale Maiya Arvidovna, born 1924, have been discontinued by the Procuracy of the Latvian SSR and that the degree of restraint applied in her case—an undertaking not to leave the city—was removed on 15 April 1971**, since Silmale M. A. has been judged by an in-patient forensic-psychiatric commission to be of unsound mind and her case is not referable to the

[66. I.e. Joseph Scholmer, Arzt in Workuta, first published in

^{[65.} A loosely-knit group of young writers which flourished in the 1960s. The name is made up of the initials of the Russian words for "boldness, thought, image, depth". See Vokresensky's poems in *Grani*, No. 66, 1967, pp. 20-21.]

Cologne in 1954.]
[67. Termination of proceedings when the accused is suffering from mental or other serious illness, certified by a medical institution.]

courts for the imposition of measures of compolsory treatment.

(signed)

E. Kakitis, 88 lawyer 1st class, investigator of the Procuracy of the Latvian SSR for especially important cases." *sister of Maiya Silmale.

**Silmale was arrested on the evening of 2 February (see Chronicle No. 18).

Correction

[Translator's note 31 to Chronicle 18, p. 140, is erroneous. The Menshikov referred to is in fact M. (). Menshikov, a journalist who collaborated with the authorities in the early 1900's.]

[68. Investigator in the cases of I. Yakhimovich and L. A. Doronina (see Chronicle No. 7 and 17).]

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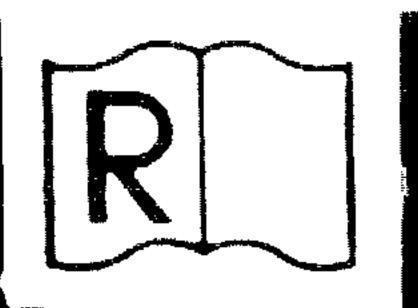
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Published by Amnesty International, Turnagain Lane,
Farringdon Street, London E.C.4.

Printed by T. B. Russell, 1/3 Ludgate Square, London
EC4M 7NN



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