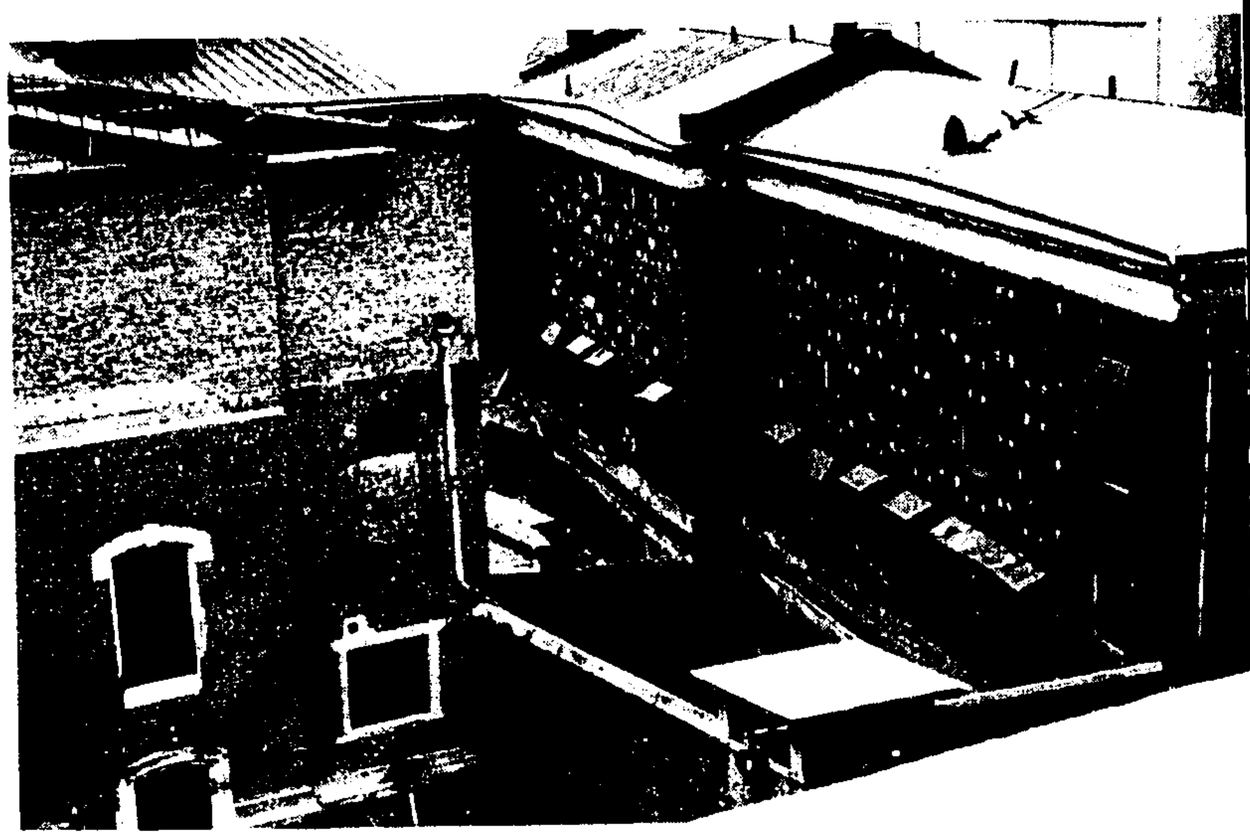
A CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS

Nr 57

Journal of the Human Rights Movement in the USSR



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A Chronicle of Current Events
Number 57

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Abbreviations

ASSR & RSFSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Subordinate to any SSR (see below) and based on the minority nationality whose home is on the territory. The Mordovian ASSR, for example, is subordinate to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and so named because it is the home of the Mordovian national minority.
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
EC	Executive Committee.
KGB	Committee for State Security.
Komsomol	Communist Youth League.
MVD	Ministry of Internal Affairs.
OVD	Department of Internal Affairs.
OVIR	Department (of the MVD) for Visas and Registration.
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic, of which where are 15 in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the largest being the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic).
UVD	Administration for Internal Affairs.

Preface

A Chronicle of Current Events was initially produced in 1968 as a bi-monthly journal. In the spring of that year members of the Soviet Civil Rights Movement created the journal with the stated intention of publicizing issues and events related to Soviet citizens' efforts to exercise fundamental human liberties. On the title page of every issue there appears the text of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which calls for universal freedom of opinion and expression. The authors are guided by the principle that such universal guarantees of human rights (also similar guarantees in their domestic law) should be firmly adhered to in their own country and elsewhere. They feel that 'it is essential that truthful information about violations of basic human rights in the Soviet Union should be available to all who are interested in it'. The *Chronicles* consist mostly of accounts of such violations.

In an early issue it was stated that 'the *Chronicle* does, and will do, its utmost to ensure that its strictly factual style is maintained to the greatest degree possible . . .' The *Chronicle* has consistently maintained a high standard of accuracy. As a regular practice the editors openly acknowledge when a piece of information has not been thoroughly verified. When mistakes in reporting occur, these mistakes are retrospectively drawn to the attention of readers.

In February 1971, starting with number 16, Amnesty International began publishing English translations of the *Chronicles* as they appeared. This latest volume, containing *Chronicle* 57, is, like previous ones, a translation of a copy of the original typewritten text (which reached London on 8 December 1980). The editorial insertions are the endnotes (numbered) and the words in square brackets. The table of contents, abbreviations, illustrations, index of names, bibliographical note and material on the outside and side of the cover have been added to help the general reader. None of this material appeared in the original text.

The endnotes have been kept to a minimum, partly because the Russian text already refers to earlier issues, and partly because the index of names gathers together all references to a particular person. Ukrainian names are usually given in transliteration from the Russian, not in Ukrainian forms.

Since Amnesty International has no control over the writing of *A Chronicle of Current Events*, we cannot guarantee the veracity of all its contents. Nor do we take responsibility for any opinions or judgements which may appear or be implied in its contents. Yet Amnesty International continues to regard *A Chronicle of Current Events* as an authentic and reliable source of information on matters of direct concern to our own work for the worldwide observance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Amnesty International February 1981

The Struggle for Human Rights in the Soviet Union 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*

Number 57 **3 August 1980**

Contents

The trial of Poresh. Persecution of the Moscow Helsinki Group: The arrest of Osipova, A warning to the group, The trial of V. Nekipelov. Persecution of the Working Commission: The case of Vyacheslav Bakhmin, The case of Ternovsky, The arrest of A. Podrabinek. The deportation of Vladimir Borisov. Persecution of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled. The case of the journal *Searches*. The case of Lavut. The repentance of Dudko. Pre-trial investigations. Arrests. Sakharov in administrative exile. Persecution of Crimean Tatars. Events in the Ukraine. Events in Armenia. Events in Estonia. Events in Lithuania. Persecution of believers. The right to leave. In the prisons and camps. In exile. In the psychiatric hospitals. After release. Miscellaneous reports. Letters and statements. Samizdat news. Official documents. Addenda and corrigenda.

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

The Trial of Poresh

From 23 to 25 April the Leningrad City Court, presided over by a vice-chairman of the Leningrad City Court, N. S. Isakova (*Chronicles* 1, 12, 16, 20, 35, 53), heard the case of Vladimir Poresh (born 1949, arrested on 1 August 1979 — *Chronicle* 54), charged under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Leningrad Deputy Procurator I. V. Katukova (*Chronicles* 12, 16, 17, 20, 35). Poresh refused a barrister and spoke in his own defence.

At the beginning of the first court session Poresh protested against persecution of the following for their religious convictions: A. Ogorodnikov (*Chronicles* 51, 52, 55), T. Shchipkova (*Chronicle* 56), V. Popkov (*Chronicle* 56), V. Burtsev (*Chronicle* 56), L. Regelson (*Chronicle* 55), S. Ermolayev (*Chronicle* 54), G. Yakunin (*Chronicle* 54), D. Dudko (*Chronicle* 56) and V. Kapitanchuk (*Chronicle* 56).

In the indictment Poresh was charged with producing the collection *Bulletin* (*Chronicle* 46 [pp 43-4]); producing, possessing and circulating the journal *Community* (*Chronicles* 49, 51); writing the letters 'To Our Czech Friends', 'To the Youth of the West', and to A. Solzhenitsyn (the first two letters, according to the indictment, were printed in the 'White émigré newspaper *Russkaya Mysl*, an organ of the NTS'), and producing a photocopy of Solzhenitsyn's book *The Calf Butted the Oak*. The indictment also stated that Poresh 'had set himself the goal of subverting the Soviet system and talked about restoring the monarchy'.

In his speech Poresh spoke about the founding in 1974 of the 'Christian Seminar on Problems of the Religious Renaissance in Russia' and about the persecution of its members (*Chronicles* 41, 43, 46, 49, 52). He admitted that in March 1977 he had compiled the *Bulletin*, which contained, in addition to material on the seminars, some articles which he had written earlier, including those mentioned in the indictment. Poresh denied that the articles contained slander of the Soviet system, saying that notwithstanding repeated requests on his part, the criteria by which they were defined as anti-Soviet had not been explained to him. Poresh recounted further that he had passed the *Bulletin* on to A. Ogorodnikov, who was in hospital, and that the only copy was confiscated during a specially organized 'sanitary inspection' (*Chronicle* 46). By June 1977 Poresh had written a series of articles for the journal *Community*, which the members of the seminar had decided to issue instead of the *Bulletin*; the first issue of *Community* was numbered No. 2. Materials for *Community* No. 2 were confiscated during a search of the home of T. Shchipkova (*Chronicle* 49). Poresh told how he had gathered all the articles and notes remaining in his possession, supplemented them with new

material, and then republished *Community* in 18 copies. Poresh said that he had asked S. Busov to put the journal on film. At Poresh's request 14 copies of *Community* No. 2 were bound by V. Gusakov. Some time later Poresh began to compile *Community* No. 3. Poresh said that he and V. Popkov had typed almost all the material on a typewriter borrowed from S. Busov. Poresh renounced the evidence he had given during the pre-trial investigation that the article 'The Trial-Farce of A. Ogorodnikov' in *Community* No. 2 had been written by V. Sokolov, and also that he, Poresh, had given Regelson a letter to Solzhenitsyn and the journal *Community* on film to send abroad.

In their questioning of the accused, the Judge and the Procurator were chiefly concerned with the connections of the seminar and of Poresh personally with foreigners and with Solzhenitsyn. Regarding the letter to Solzhenitsyn, Poresh said that it contained a description of the seminar. He added that the letter contained a request to put the seminar in touch with Christian youth groups abroad. Poresh stated that in general he shared Solzhenitsyn's views on Marxism-Leninism; he sees the Great October Socialist Revolution as a great tragedy for Russia. He said:

> It is written in the Constitution of the USSR that the ultimate goal of socialist society is Communism, that is, the creation of a godless state. As a Christian, of course I am against this kind of state, and of course, in this sense I was undermining it. The Kingdom of God cancels out Communism.

In answer to the question: Did he have the opportunity to make his confession and take communion during the pre-trial investigation?, Poresh replied 'Yes'. After the questioning of the accused, the witnesses were questioned.

O. Okhapkin stated that *Community* No. 2 was compiled by Poresh, Ogorodnikov and himself. He recounted in detail the extent of the participation of each in the production of the journal, and added that it contained no slander.

Busov denied having photographed *Community* No. 2; Poresh again stated that he had asked Busov to do so and that the latter had made the film. Busov replied that he had photographed some pages in a sheaf, not a journal. He was not aware of the contents of the papers.

B. Dymov testified that together with Busov he had photographed a typed text without reading it.

Popkov, who was brought from camp to the trial, gave a detailed account of his own and Poresh's participation in producing *Community* No. 3. He stated that Regelson was meant to send the film abroad.

T. Lebedeva (*Chronicles* 54, 56) stated — in reply to the Judge's question — that Poresh had not given her the journal *Community*. Poresh said that he had taken the second issue of the journal to Lebedeva's flat, where he had 'put it on the table'.

V. Kovalenko (*Chronicle* 55) said that Poresh had not given him anything to sign, nor shown him any journal.

Gusakov testified that he had bound 14 copies of some typed text for Poresh, for which he had received 28 roubles.

Ogorodnikov's wife **E. Levashova** testified that Poresh had given her his article 'A Walk through Moscow' to read.

I. Martenov said that he had asked Poresh to show him *Community* and had read the literary section of the journal; he did not consider the journal to be anti-Soviet.

P. Kulagin affirmed that Poresh had shown him the second issue and material for the third issue of *Community*. In addition, he said that he had seen a filmed text of Solzhenitsyn's book *The Calf Butted the Oak* in Lazutkin's flat (*Chronicle* 54), and *Community* No. 2 at Lebedeva's.

A. Golovushkin confirmed that Poresh had given him the book *The Calf Butted the Oak*. To the question whether Poresh had conversations of an anti-Soviet nature with him, he replied that he did not remember. Golovushkin explained that the evidence he had given on this subject during the pre-trial investigation was the result of acute depression.

A. Arro testified that Poresh had spoken of the necessity of freeing the Church from State control, and of ours being a totalitarian state. Arro said that he had heard from 'reliable sources' that everyone who had anything to do with Poresh would be put in prison. For this reason he, Arro, had sent a statement to the KGB:

> V. Yu. Poresh held anti-Soviet conversations with me, defaming everything we hold sacred. If Poresh comes in contact with people who are less mature politically, he may cause a great deal of harm. I request that his activities be brought to the attention of the KGB organs and stopped, because if this is not done, something terrible might happen.

(This statement was written two months before proceedings were instituted against Poresh.)

The witnesses were asked many questions about Ogorodnikov. **S. Shuvalov** of Ufa (*Chronicles* 43, 44) said that Ogorodnikov had given him a collection of issues of the journal *Posev* over several years, *Kontinent* and *The Gulag Archipelago* to read. Shuvalov renounced the evidence he had given during the pre-trial investigation that Poresh called on people to overthrow the Soviet regime and restore the monarchy. Shuvalov said that Ogorodnikov referred to Solzhenitsyn as a pretender to the throne. Isakova asked whether Poresh and Ogorodnikov shared the same ideas, and afterwards specified: 'That is, what one says, the other might say?' Shuvalov replied: 'Yes'.

The witness **Ilin** (Kalinin) confirmed that Ogorodnikov had given

him a summary of *Community* and his article.

Levashova was asked whether Ogorodnikov hadn't spoken to her about publishing the journal. In reply Levashova asked: 'Whose case is being tried in this court — Ogorodnikov's or Poresh's?'

The testimonies of **G. Podosokorskaya** and **I. Kanysheva,** who did not appear in court, were read out during the trial. Podosokorskaya had testified that she had typed texts included in *Community* for Poresh, and that she had read the journal and Poresh's article 'A Walk through Moscow'. Kanysheva (a nurse at Moscow City Hospital No. 4) had confirmed that books and articles of an anti-Soviet nature had been taken from Ogorodnikov, and that she had discovered them during a sanitary inspection and handed them over to the Head Doctor.

T. Goricheva (*Chronicles* 55, 56; see also 'The Right to Leave' in this issue) also did not appear at the trial. Poresh confirmed the evidence he had given during the pre-trial investigation that he had given Goricheva a copy of *Community*.

After the witnesses had been questioned, Poresh petitioned the court to conduct an expert examination to determine whether the texts with which he was charged were of an anti-Soviet and slanderous nature. No such examination was carried out.

Procurator Katukova stated that the CIA, in supporting reactionary émigré groups, was carrying out diversionary work against the Soviet system:

> The cornerstone of their activities is internal diversion and the use of unstable elements for their treacherous purposes. By starting a propaganda campaign about so-called 'human rights' and attempting to expose alleged persecution of believers in our country, certain Western groups try to cover up the repressive actions of their own henchmen. They stop at nothing, using for their purposes rabid anti-Soviet agitators and slanderers — Solzhenitsyn, who was expelled from the Soviet Union for his criminal activities, Krasnov-Levitin and others.

Elsewhere in her speech for the prosecution Katukova said:

> Attempts to restore bourgeois ideology under the guise of Christianity include the use of works by the reactionary émigré activists N. Berdyayev, S. Bulgakov and G. Fedotov.

Then, after enumerating all the episodes mentioned in the indictment and stating that the guilt of the accused had been proven in full, Katukova suggested that it be taken into account that Poresh 'is being tried for the first time, and during the pre-trial investigation gave evidence permitting the truth on the episodes covered by the case to be ascertained', and asked that he be sentenced to five years' imprisonment in a strict-regime camp, followed by five years in exile.

In his defence speech Poresh stated that his activities were not anti-Soviet in nature. He denied the Procurator's assertion that he had acted under the direction of foreign centres. He said:

> In essence I am being sentenced for my beliefs. If ours is a totalitarian state, I have indeed broken the law by having my own beliefs, which I never concealed, and which I spoke about honestly and openly. I just do not understand how I could be put in prison. What I have done is the natural result of my convictions. According to the laws of our country I should have sat quietly, without a word; but for a Christian it is not enough to perform rites, we cannot restrict ourselves to this, we need to address the whole world.

From his final speech:

> Here you are, you have witnessed the trial, you have acquainted yourselves with all the materials. I do not ask for leniency; that is against my principles. The Citizen Procurator has requested a short sentence for me. I would ask for more, but I understand that that would be too great an honour for me. There are people who have done more for the Church than I have. I am glad that I am being sentenced under this article and on the basis of the materials to be found in the case file.

His sentence: five years' strict-regime camp and three years' exile.

* * *

Relatives of Poresh attended the trial; his friends were allowed in only for the reading of the judgment. After they started to shout 'Christ is risen!', 'Volodya [affectionate form of Vladimir], we're proud of you!', 'Volodya, we love you!', they were pushed out. In the corridor, Poresh's friends sang an Easter hymn.

Persecution of the Moscow Helsinki Group

The Arrest of Osipova

On 27 May KGB Lieutenant Kruglov and KGB officers Belov, Topolëv and Gurzhos conducted a search of the home of Moscow Helsinki Group members T. Osipova (born 1949) and her husband **I. Kovalëv** in connection with Case No. 35, that of Osipova. A large number of Moscow Helsinki Group documents were confiscated, as well as several issues of the *Chronicle* (including several copies of No. 54), a freshly typed 'edition' of the 8th issue of the *Bulletin* of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled (*Chronicle* 56), numerous

documents and materials containing information, letters in defence of arrested people (including several copies of letters in defence of A. Lavut and a rough draft of I. Kovalëv's letter about him), statements by various persons to government institutions and to the Moscow Helsinki Group, replies from official institutions, a list of political prisoners, a list of Pentecostalists trying to emigrate, and I. Kovalëv's letters in defence of his father S. Kovalëv and on the administrative arrest of his wife (*Chronicle* 56).

The following items were confiscated, among other things: four typewriters, two small tape-recorders and cassettes (mostly unrecorded), the issue of *Roman-gazeta* in which *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was printed, a photocopy of Khlebnikov's book *Children of the Otter* (these books had not been taken in the previous search), several samizdat works including 'Six Documents' by Yu. Shikhanovich (*Chronicle* 55), 'Story of a Hunger-Strike: Sergei Kovalëv' by I. Kovalëv (*Chronicle* 56), and a book by A. Shatravka (*Chronicle* 51) on psychiatric hospitals, *If You Have the Freedom Disease, or A Report from a Cannibal's Stomach.* The 52 photographs confiscated included photographs of the Lefortovo and Butyrka Prisons, various psychiatric hospitals, Perm Camp No. 36, and also of V. Bakhmin and Father Dudko (as 'persons against whom criminal proceedings have been instituted') and A. Sakharov, ('regarding whom administrative measures have been taken'), and a photo of Ospiova herself (during the previous search on 10 April — *Chronicle* 56 — only three photos of V. Bakhmin had been confiscated). However, other photos of 'prosecuted' persons — eg T. Velikanova, S. Kovalëv and A. Lavut — were left behind.

During the search Kovalëv was permitted to copy out his address book; however, some pages of the new book on which he wrote the telephone numbers of foreign journalists and foreign addresses were taken from him. During the search Osipova and Kovalëv were visited by Alexander Ebel (a relative of German refuseniks who demonstrated on Red Square — *Chronicle* 56). An address book and a copy of a letter to relatives in West Germany were confiscated from him.

In their comments on the search record Osipova and Kovalëv wrote in particular that:

> ... The material confiscated is not slanderous in nature. It was confiscated with the aim of putting a stop to the circulation of information on violations of human rights in the USSR, and this fact is another confirmation of the truthfulness of this material.

After the search Osipova was taken for interrogation to the Head of the Investigations Department of the USSR KGB, Lieutenant-Colonel B. I. Chechetkin; there she was arrested. She was charged under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code. The investigation is

being conducted by the KGB; in addition to Chechetkin, the investigation team includes Senior Investigator for Especially Important Cases Lieutenant-Colonel V. A. Skalov, Senior Investigator for Especially Important Cases Lieutenant-Colonel Yu. I. Suchkov, Investigator Saushkin (*Chronicles* 46-8, 51-3) and Major Gubinsky (*Chronicle* 48).

* * *

On 4 June and in early July, in Moscow, Saushkin interrogated **Viktor Chamovskikh** [*Chronicles* 33, 40, 45] of Kerch twice in connection with Osipova's case. He wanted to know when and where Chamovskikh had made Osipova's acquaintance and what he knew about her activities in the Helsinki Group.

On 17 June Skalov interrogated Osipova's immediate superior in her job at the Central Geophysical Expedition (CGE), **E. Sokolinsky.** Sokolinsky described Ospiova as a good worker and said that he did not see her outside working hours. He also said that he had asked Osipova about her activities in the Moscow Helsinki Group (he had learnt she was a Group member from a 'Voice of America' broadcast), but she declined to answer, saying that she considered her activities to be beneficial to our State. To the question about Osipova's relations with A. Lavut and other workers in the CGE, Sokolinsky replied that Osipova had no close friends. She was on good terms with Sokolinsky's wife, but did not discuss her activities with her or with anybody else. She was on good terms with Lavut, but the witness knew nothing about their meetings outside working hours.

In June Osipova's mother, stepfather and grandmother were interrogated. Her grandmother was visited at home. They complained to her about Osipova's 'stubborn character'.

* * *

B. I. Mordvinov, who shares a communal flat with Ospiova and Kovalëv (three families live there), once boasted proudly to Osipova that he was collaborating with 'our brave Chekists'[1]. Osipova and Kovalëv have reason to believe that he reads their post and sometimes keeps their letters, goes into their room while they are out, and exchanges information about them with the 'organs'. On the day of Osipova's arrest, 27 May, he went out earlier than usual to clean his shoes in the stairwell, leaving the front door open. Osipova guessed that they would come straight away for a search. A few minutes later the KGB officers were already in their room. Now that Osipova has been arrested, when he answers the doorbell, he sometimes says that Kovalëv will not be there much longer.

Boris Ivanovich Mordvinov is about 80 years old. He used to work as a personnel officer; in his retirement he works as a Party activist.

* * *

On 28 May the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 133, 'The Arrest of Tatyana Osipova'. The document contains biographical information on Osipova and describes her civic activities:

> ... Tatyana Osipova has a wide range of interests, which are not limited to civic problems only; however, she is acutely aware that no activity of full value is possible in a society without civic freedoms.
>
> Tatyana Osipova's civic activities gave rise to continual persecution from the authorities. She has been subjected several times to searches and arrests; in January this year she spent 25 days under administrative arrest; for 21 days she maintained a hunger-strike in protest.
>
> A totally innocent person, she now faces the threat of a cruel punishment: many years' imprisonment in camp.
>
> All Tatyana Osipova's activities were aimed at the real implementation of the Helsinki Agreement in our country, and her arrest is a crude violation of the Agreement.

On 30 May I. Kovalëv wrote an essay 'About My Tanya'. Kovalëv briefly describes the 'pre-arrest' search:

> ... But it is already clear to us: the third search in eight months; so many of our friends and close ones arrested during this time; and now, a 'criminal case' against Tanya. It means her arrest. Our turn has come to embrace each other for the last time and say to one another: 'I love you to distraction, there is no one nearer and dearer to me than you.' And let those inhuman creatures crowd around us: we have nothing to be shy about in front of them. But one of 'them' butts in, ordering us to sit apart from each other and not to 'talk to each other'. We laugh, and he gives an order to note in the record that we have been disobedient.
>
> Well, then ... then they take Tanya away, as if they are stealing her. They say it is for interrogation. We want to go together, but they put her in the car and push me away. Nearby are the sneering faces of the undercover agents — apparently they had surrounded the building while the search was on. There is a nod from behind the car window. They've gone. That was our farewell.

The author writes further that the trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel, where thoughts and words were on trial, shook the belief of Tatyana Osipova, then a Komsomol member, that ours was the most just society in the world. And then there was the invasion of Czechoslovakia, which made her realize that 'her way of thinking did not correspond to what was prescribed':

> ... She wanted to *act*. For Tanya, action means openly telling the truth about violations of human rights in her country. The only 'ulterior motive' behind this activity is the desire to live in accord with one's own ideals and convictions. It began with signing documents, then there was Pushkin Square,[2] and she joined the Helsinki Group.
>
> Tanya defends those who have been arrested and speaks out for the rights of prisoners; she defends the right of believers to their faith and the right of Germans, Jews and Crimean Tatars to their homeland; she does everything within her power to make available to everyone reliable information on the struggle for human rights in our country and on violations of these rights.
>
> And in every search of our flat, *Chronicles*, Group doucuments, and informational notes and materials are taken away. In violation of the law, they take everything containing the truth about the struggle for human rights and about persecution for this struggle. The truth which the authorities try to conceal.
>
> Hardly a day passes without visitors coming to our room. Dozens of people come from many towns. And for each of them Tanya found time, a word of sympathy and support. And the telephone rang continually: a search, a detention, an arrest.
>
> Usually we had practically no time to ourselves. But we could not live any other way. Especially when one after the other the arrests of our friends came thick and fast: Velikanova, Nekipelov, Bakhmin, Landa, Ternovsky and finally our closest friend, Alexander Pavlovich Lavut.
>
> ... Tanya was arrested, not for committing a crime, but because she dared and was able to speak the truth, to help prisoners and their families and all the people who came to us. Because of the respect she has earned.
>
> This is considered an 'especially dangerous crime against the State'. Now the investigation will rummage through our papers, collect 'evidence' and look for 'proof' that Tanya lied, slandered, defamed, undermined the State's prestige As a result, real facts which are unpalatable to the authorities will become 'slanderous fabrications', and their publication 'an attempt to undermine State prestige'.
>
> It is shameful to arrest people for kindness, compassion and sincerity.
>
> IT IS DOUBLY SHAMEFUL TO ARREST A WOMAN.
>
> I call upon all who cherish freedom, outspokenness, mercy and justice, all who feel respect for women, to come to Tanya's defence.

A collective letter entitled 'Reprisals for Honesty' (10 June, 31 signatures) reads in part:

> All her 'activities' arise from natural human qualities: honesty,

kindness, mercy and compassion. And from the remarkable firmness of her moral position, which is essentially extremely simple: every person is responsible for what happens around him. Knowing that someone else is in trouble, one cannot refrain from trying to help him. Tanya 'only' does what she cannot help but do. Her moral duty compels her.

These moral qualities of Tanya's were very obvious to everyone who knew her even slightly. Evidently this is why they kept coming to her for advice, for a kind word, often just to say what was on their mind. She would put everything else off to listen, take notes and help them. Then tens of thousands would read in samizdat and hear on the radio about persecution of dissidents in the USSR and about the authorities' violations of their own laws. And again and again people come: Tanya listens and takes notes.

The letter is available for signing until the investigation of Osipova's case is over.

On 19 June I. Kovalëv wrote to the Parisian 'Committee to Defend Soviet Women':

> ... I ask your committee to use all your influence to obtain the release of Tatyana Osipova. In my own and in Tanya's name I ask you also to work for the release of these other women: Tatyana Velikanova, Olga Matusevich and Oksana Meshko, who are now under investigation; Malva Landa and Ida Nudel, already sentenced and serving terms in exile. I also ask you to speak out for anyone else in our country who may be subjected to repression for their civic activities and who is in danger now.

On 23 June Osipova's colleagues at the CGE (six signatures) wrote an 'Open Letter' in her defence to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the editors of *Pravda* and to the USSR Procurator-General. Their letter contains a demand for Osipova's release.

* * *

On 4 July (see 'The Right to Leave') Lieutenant-Colonel Suchkov interrogated Moscow Helsinki Group member **Yury Yarym-Agayev,** ostensibly in connection with Osipova's case. At the beginning of the interrogation Suchkov assured Yarym-Agayev that there was no connection between his emigration and his behaviour at the interrogation. The questions chiefly concerned the Moscow Helsinki Group, its membership, structure and activities. At the end of the interrogation Suchkov asked Yarym-Agayev to come for another interrogation the next day. When on 5 July Yarym-Agayev failed to turn up for the appointed interrogation, Karatayev woke him up with a telephone call and asked him why he had not come. Yarym-Agayev replied that he

was exhausted from the previous day and that he would not come for an interrogation that day. They agreed to hold the interrogation on 6 July (a Sunday).

At the second interrogation the main question was whether Group members knew that their documents were used in the West for anti-Soviet purposes.

A Warning to the Group

On 30 May **Yarym-Agayev** received a 'warning according to the Decree'[3] (see 'The Right to Leave'). The 'Warning record' stated:

> The USSR KGB warns citizen Yu. N. Yarym-Agayev that he, being a member of a hostile grouping called the 'Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR', is continually involved in the circulation of anti-Soviet and slanderous fabrications, maintains constant contact with foreign correspondents and representatives of embassies of capitalist countries, and holds so-called 'press conferences', where information is circulated which undermines the prestige of the Soviet State.
>
> These actions constitute an infringement of Soviet legislation and are liable to criminal prosecution.

On 9 June the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 135:

> The authorities have declared the Moscow Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements a hostile grouping. In the past, the authorities have avoided such definitions or references to the Group, even in the indictments and during the trials of Group members.
>
> The description of the whole Group as a hostile grouping openly shows how the authorities are ignoring the Helsinki Agreement, which includes a call to individuals and associations to assist its implementation in all ways possible.

The Trial of V. Nekipelov

From 11 to 13 June an assizes session of the Vladimir Regional Court held in Kameshkovo, Vladimir Region, heard the case of Moscow Helsinki Group member Viktor Nekipelov (arrested on 7 December 1979 — *Chronicle* 55), charged under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code. The Judge was Chairman of the Regional Court N. N. Kolosov; the prosecutor was Deputy Regional Procurator Salnov; there was no defence counsel (*Chronicle* 56).

Nekipelov's relatives were not informed of the date of the beginning

of the trial. On 4 June his wife N. Komarova asked the secretary of the Regional Court, Volkova, the date of her husband's trial; the latter replied that she knew nothing about it (on 2 June a preparatory meeting of the court had set the date of the trial). On 5 June the Vice-Chairman of the Regional Court 'knew nothing'.

On 11 June N. Komarova travelled from Kameshkovo to Vladimir to deliver her regular parcel to her husband, who was held in Vladimir Prison. In the Regional Court she learned by chance that some 'special case' was being heard in Kameshkovo and that the court officials were being sent there for three days. Komarova returned to Kameshkovo, where the court session had already begun.

But that day Komarova did not manage to get into the courtroom. A few minutes after she made her way into the court building, the 'special audience' thronged out of the room where the case was being heard, and Komarova learned that although it was still early in the day (about 1.00 pm), a recess had been declared until the next day.

V. Nekipelov's son Sergei (*Chronicles* 55, 56) was summoned on 11 June to an interrogation at the Procuracy; his wife, A. Podyapolskaya, was asked to go to the University on an academic matter. However, they both went to Kameshkovo, without knowing yet that the trial had begun. They did not manage to attend the first session.

On the first day of the proceedings the indictment was read out. Nekipelov was charged with producing and circulating the following: seven poems from his collection of poems *Anaesthesia* (the collection contains about 100 poems);

— the articles 'Why Didn't I Sign the Stockholm Appeal?', 'Stalin on the Windscreen' (*Chronicle* 51); 'About Our Searches' (*Chronicle* 46), 'Three Years in the Camps' (about M. Kukobaka), 'In Defence of Little-Known Prisoners', 'When there is no Contest between the Parties' (*Chronicle* 53), 'The Faculty of Democracy' (*Chronicle* 54), 'Erased from the Façade' (*Chronicle* 52 [p. 119]), 'Oprichnina-77' and 'Oprichnina-78' (*Chronicles* 45, 46, 48, 51);

— two Moscow Helsinki Group documents (No. 85 — 'The Violation of Socio-Economic Human Rights in the USSR. The Right to Work' and No. 98 — 'Political Trials of Workers in the USSR');

— letters in defence of E. Buzinnikov (*Chronicle* 51) and E. Kuleshov (*Chronicle* 53); the letter 'To Find A Man' (*Chronicle* 48);

— a statement renouncing his Soviet citizenship (*Chronicle* 46); the statement 'For Considerations of Secrecy' (*Chronicle* 51);

— a translation from Ukrainian of a long tale by M. Osadchy (*Chronicles* 48, 52), *The Cataract*.

In addition, he was charged with 'possessing with intent to circulate' Solzhenitsyn's article 'Live Not By Lies', R. Medvedev's article 'On Volume Three of *The Gulag Archipelago*', a review of the book *On Bureaucracy*, a letter from Melnikov to T. Khodorovich, and the song

'We Renounce the Red World ...' (Nekipelov heard it in camp and wrote it down from memory). Nekipelov refused to take part in the court proceedings until his wife was admitted.

On 12 June there was 'no room' for V. Nekipelov's friends in the courtroom. In front of the court building were many KGB officers from Vladimir, Kovrov and Moscow, including Zakharov, who had carried out the search at T. Osipova and I. Kovalëv's home on 11 October 1979 (*Chronicle* 54) and detained them on 10 December 1979 (*Chronicle* 55). **I. Kovalëv, K. Velikanova, Yu. Kashkov** and **V. Tyulkov** (*Chronicles* 46, 47, 56) wrote a statement to the court commandant, pointing out that the trial was being held in violation of the law on the publicity of legal proceedings: people wishing to attend the trial were admitted selectively. They also insisted in advance on their right to attend the reading of the judgment, since the reading must be open to the public and allusions to 'lack of space' in this case would be groundless.

As he was leaving for Moscow, **Fuat Ablyamitov**'s (see 'The Trial of Lavut') documents were checked. **Yury Kashkov** was detained (see 'Miscellaneous Reports').

S. Nekipelov and **A. Podyapolskaya** were allowed into the courtroom. Komarova was told in the yard of the court building ten minutes before the beginning of the trial that she was being called as a witness. On Nekipelov's petition she was first to be questioned. After refusing to answer questions on how the article 'About Our Searches' was written and sent abroad, and who translated Osadchy's *The Cataract* into Russian, Komarova stated that her husband had availed himself of the rights and freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution, and therefore his indictment under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code was unconstitutional. The Judge interrupted the witness and released her from further questioning.

S. Nekipelov also asked to be questioned as a witness. V. Nekipelov seconded his request, but the court refused them. When S. Nekipelov attempted to photograph his father from the courtroom, he was taken out and his film exposed. He was asked who had given him the camera and who was standing by the court building. He refused to talk and returned to the courtroom. At this point someone promised to throw him off the staircase and break his head open.

From the questioning of the witnesses it was ascertained that:

1. Nekipelov was a good worker but was not a trade union member, did not take part in community work, did not take part in elections, did not sign the Stockholm Appeal and did not plant flowers, saying that he was not hired to do this; in addition, people came to see him and he received many letters, particularly from abroad. This was the testimony of witnesses from his place of work: Head Doctor of the

District Hospital K. N. Maiorov, laboratory director K. E. Egereva and laboratory assistant M. M. Dranitsyna.

2. Nekipelov had stated that he had come to a point where he was in basic disagreement with the system and could no longer live in this country. He had thrown his passport on the desk of the head of the passport office and lived for two years without a passport. (In fact, Nekipelov sent his passport to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet — *Chronicle* 47 — and refused to pick it up at the Kameshkovo Passport Office; he had nothing to throw 'on the desk'). It was not at all clear why Nekipelov should wish to leave the USSR, as there were very few people who wished to do so: three or four each year. (Witnesses: the Head of the Vladimir Region UVD Passport Office, Shaidrov, and the Head of the Kameshkovo Passport Office, L. F. Shibayeva.)

3. During a search of Nekipelov's home in 1973 many pro-Chinese documents had been confiscated, containing a call to overthrow the Soviet system. In a search of Nekipelov's home in 1978 a text was found which began with the words 'We Renounce the Red World'. (Witness Gavrilov, a local policeman.)

4. Prisoners in the camps were well taken care of, they worked eight hours a day, the safety regulations were observed, there were days off. All the convicts worked well, but some refused to work. The food norms were observed; those who were ill were given food according to doctors' instructions. The prisoners got eight hours' sleep, even more; it was never restricted. (The Judge: 'It should be stricter'. Witness: 'It is according to the law'.) There had been cases of prisoners dying. One prisoner suffering from high blood pressure, for example, had died as a result of taking too many tablets. Pekharev (*Chronicle* 47) had died in hospital of a perforated ulcer; he tore out his own stitches. Volobuyev (*Chronicle* 47), a tubercular patient, had died because he would not take any medicine or allow anyone to give him injections, and he had done himself bodily harm. To Nekipelov's questions the witness replied that he knew nothing about the beating of Fëdorov and Romanyuk, or about the prisoners' two-month hunger-strike on account of the frequent beatings and the high mortality rate, but he said that 'the convicts frequently wrote complaints about harmful working conditions'. (Here the Judge commented that they were 'greenhouse' conditions.) (Witness Nadezhkin, former head of the medical unit in Mordovian Camp No. 1.)

5. There was no tyranny in the camp. There was a hospital with ten beds and an out-patient reception. A solarium had been set up in the camp ('a warm sunny glade') where the convicts played football and volleyball. Thus they lived better than the witness, inasmuch as he did not always eat lunch, while they had three meals a day. **Shumuk** was indeed very thin, but this was due to his asthenic constitution. (Witness I. V. Petrov, a medical officer in Perm Camp 36.)

6. After reading two letters from V. Nekipelov to her son **Oleg Solovëv** (*Chronicles* 52-4), the witness had written to him, asking him to leave her son alone. She had informed the KGB about his letters. (Witness A. D. Solovëva of Zheleznovodsk, who did not attend the trial; her testimony was read out.)

7. Nekipelov had asked for writing-paper, but it was not sold to him on the instructions of the manager of the bookshop, Yakovleva. He had bought exercise books, ballpoint pen refills, pens and toys. (Witnesses V. A. Barabanova and G. A. Vorobëva, salesgirls in the 'Kulttovar' shop.)

8. Nekipelov had reviewed the witness's manuscripts; he had not shared his opinions and views; his beliefs were his own business. (Witness N. D. Tolmachev (*Chronicle* 54).)

9. Nekipelov had provided his article 'Erased from the Façade' for publication in the *Bulletin* of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled; it was not known how the article ended up in the [Paris] newspaper *Russkaya Mysl*. (Witness O. F. Zaitseva — see 'Persecution of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled'). The Judge told Zaitseva that if her husband V. Fefëlov (see the same section) continued to engage in 'slanderous activities' he would 'make things worse for himself'.

10. Nekipelov's younger son Evgeny, then a schoolboy in his third year, had said at a meeting that at the 25th Party Congress people had met, talked, decided nothing and gone away again. In a talk with the headmaster of the school Viktor Nekipelov had stated that he was not going to explain anything to his son and refused to assist the school in educating him. (Witness I. S. Bylov, a teacher and former headmaster of the school, who did not attend the trial; his testimony was read out on the petition of Nekipelov, who said that on the basis of Bylov's statement a file on his own son Evgeny had been opened. Nekipelov also stated that a file had been opened on his eldest son Sergei, while a case against N. Komarova had been separated for investigation by KGB organs.)

After the witnesses had been questioned, Nekipelov was given the opportunity of commenting on their testimonies and on the episodes in the indictment. Nekipelov said that since 1976 he had been trying to emigrate and had been refused permission on at least four different grounds. One of the main documents with which he was charged was a 'Statement of Renunciation', described by the investigation as libellous because it mentions the oppression suffered by his father, and also because the entry 'Harbin' [China] in the space 'Place of Birth' had been described by Nekipelov as a 'black mark' against him.

The investigators had asserted that his father had not been subjected

to any repression, and the fact that Nekipelov was born in Harbin had not prevented him from graduating from three educational establishments. Nekipelov had explained that in 1941 his father was exiled from Noginsk to Ishim because he had formerly lived abroad. He said further that he had applied to several institutions of higher education and passed all the exams with excellent marks, but not been accepted. And everywhere, in all documents, the word 'Harbin' had been underlined in red. It was only by chance that he had managed to enter the Omsk Military Medical School and the Kharkov Pharmaceutical Institute. He had been accepted into the Gorky Literary Institute because the cult of Stalin was then beginning to be exposed.

Nekipelov said that the main part of the indictment concerned his involvement in the Moscow Helsinki Group. He could not understand why he was charged with only two of the 84 group documents in the case file. For this reason Nekipelov petitioned the court to expand the indictment by including in it 48 more documents he had signed. This petition was turned down. Nekipelov also petitioned the court to read out the additional documents. The court refused this too. Nekipelov requested the court to call 21 additional witnesses, co-authors of the documents with which he was charged and people with whom the documents were concerned. This petition was not granted either. His next petition — that his personal documents be returned to him (eg a certificate attesting to his being voted an honorary member of the American PEN-Club, taken from V. Nekipelov's mail after his arrest). The Procurator supported this petition; however, the court decided to resolve the matter after the trial was concluded. Nekipelov petitioned the court to return the private letters which had arrived after his correspondence became subject to systematic confiscation, and to return certain literary materials which the investigation had resolved to destroy. The court resolved to send this petition to the KGB for consideration.

On the last day of the trial Nekipelov continued his explanations arising from the questioning of the witnesses and episodes in the indictment. He divided the indictment into three parts. The first consisted of his literary activities; the second of his defence of human rights; and the third, of his private documents.

Nekipelov said that he knew of no country where a person could be tried for his literary activities. He was charged with seven poems from the collection *Anaesthesia*. But a collection is a complete work of literature, and to extract poems from it is the same as quoting a few sentences extracted from a text and judging the whole text by them. He stated that his poetry was his own personal reaction to various events. They contained no libel, and the same was true of the articles and literary essays 'About Our Searches', 'Erased from the Façade', 'Why Didn't I Sign the Stockholm Appeal?', 'Stalin on the Windscreen', 'To Find a Man' and 'When there is no Contest between the Parties'.

Nekipelov refused to give evidence about the Helsinki Group Documents, the letters in defence of Kukobaka, Buzinnikov and Kuleshov, 'Oprichnina-77', 'Oprichnina-78', 'The Faculty of Democracy' and the 'Letter in Defence of Little-Known Prisoners', as the court had turned down his petition to call as witnesses the co-authors of these documents and the people possessing facts which would have proved that the documents contained no slanderous fabrications.

Nekipelov stated, regarding R. Medvedev's article 'On Volume Three of *The Gulag Archipelago*', that it contained criticism of Solzhenitsyn's book and could have been published in Soviet newspapers instead of being used for a charge of circulating anti-Soviet literature.

The Procurator considered Nekipelov's guilt to have been fully proven, and demanded the maximum sentence: seven years' strict regime camp and five years' exile.

In his defence speech Nekipelov pointed out that the documents with which he was charged contained no libel. He also said that the investigation and the Procurator had pronounced them anti-Soviet without proof, while part of the court's task was to assess whether this assertion had been proved. However, the court had refused Nekipelov's request to call witnesses who had suffered for their convictions and had been, or were at present, in prison. Instead they had called Nadezhkin and Petrov, who had given false evidence about conditions in the camps. This was the same as if at the Nuremberg trials the witnesses had been not the victims of Fascism, but only the organizers of mass extermination.

From his final speech:

> I consider myself innocent, and consider that I should be acquitted. But I know what sentence will be pronounced: it has been decided in advance. I do not ask the court for leniency, because that would contradict everything I have said here.
>
> I am 52 years old and a sentence of seven years' imprisonment and five years' exile means for me life imprisonment.

After a meeting lasting two-and-a-half hours, the court pronounced the judgment, which included all the episodes in the indictment. It mentioned in particular that the intent to circulate was evidenced by the testimonies of the salesgirls, who had said that Nekipelov repeatedly asked for paper. Nekipelov was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in strict regime camps, followed by five years' exile.

* * *

Nekipelov's case file contains the testimony of a certain female criminal, who was allegedly told by M. Landa in a transit prison that I. Kovalëv,

on the instructions of Nekipelov, had concealed some dissident radio transmitter, or printing press, somewhere in Lithuania. The case file contains a mention that materials of some sort on **M. Petrenko** have been sent to the District Office of the KGB.

There is also a letter from the Chairman of the Moscow Bar, **Apraksin,** to Andropov's deputy Major-General Ponomarëv. Apraksin informs him that, in accordance with their agreement, he is sending a refusal to supply a Moscow barrister, signed by his deputy Sklyarsky, to Nekipelov's wife and son (*Chronicle* 56).

* * *

During the investigation Nekipelov was held in a ward with tubercular patients. He was subjected to a psychiatric examination: he was brought in ostensibly for examination by a dermatologist, but found a psychiatric commission in the office. Nekipelov refused to speak with its members. The entire 'assessment' lasted five minutes. He was not examined. The conclusion: 'A psychopathic individual, but responsible for his actions'.

* * *

On 17 June Viktor Nekipelov was granted a two-hour meeting in Vladimir Prison with his wife and eldest son (his son's wife was not allowed to visit him, despite the fact that the Judge had given her permission). Instead of the two hours they had been allowed, they were given one hour and 45 minutes.

They were forbidden to discuss the trial, an appeal, a lawyer, or even their twelve-year-old son Evgeny. When they mentioned relatives with the same first names as those of prisoners whom Nekipelov had defended, the telephone was cut off — 'we know who you're talking about'. He was forbidden to read his wife some poems he had written for 22 June, their fifteenth wedding anniversay. They were forbidden to read out telegrams addressed to V. Nekipelov, or to discuss the family's financial situation. They were allowed to discuss only 'everyday' subjects.

V. Nekipelov said that during the previous week he had suffered from continual migraines and pain in his knees (arthritis) and lower spine. He was having difficulty walking; one of his legs hurts when he uses it. He was in urgent need of a dentist; he was refused treatment during the investigation, as he was there 'temporarily'.

Nekipelov said he was not permitted to have T-shirts, even short-sleeved ones. He has thick boots, and doubts that he will be sent to camp wearing them; for him 'tarpaulin boots are required' (at the trial he had to wear his boots, in spite of the heat; he was not permitted to put on shoes). He also asked to be sent an English language text-book. The visit was continually interrupted with threats that it would be cut short.

After the visit the Deputy Head of the prison, N. V. Fedotov, forbade Komarova to give her husband what he had asked for during the visit: a plastic mug, a bag and foot-cloths.

* * *

On 14 June **A. Sakharov** wrote a letter in defence of V. Nekipelov:

> ... I appeal to heads of governments who signed the Helsinki Agreement, to writers and poets, to Amnesty International; I ask all concerned with human rights and justice to do everything possible to obtain the release of Viktor Nekipelov. There is much that is terrible and unjust in the world today. But the fate of one man who has done so much for others — this is something worth fighting for.
>
> Two years ago Nekipelov and other Moscow Helsinki Group members appealed for a political amnesty in the USSR, something so desperately needed by our country, tormented as it is by sixty years of political oppression, and for an amnesty for prisoners of conscience all over the world. Today I repeat this appeal once again.

On 17 June the **Moscow Helsinki Group** adopted Document No. 137, 'The Trial of Viktor Nekipelov':

> ... From the statements Viktor Nekipelov made at his trial it follows that his involvement in the Moscow Helsinki Group is in fact the main charge against him.
>
> The court did not seek to prove Nekipelov's 'guilt'; it attempted only to create the superficial decorum of the process of justice. In particular, the court turned down Nekipelov's petition that all the Helsinki Group Documents be investigated and more than twenty additional witnesses be called to confirm the facts recorded in the articles, letters and documents with which Nekipelov was charged.
>
> Nekipelov's evidence was ignored by the court. The court blocked all Nekipelov's attempts to obtain a consistent and objective examination of the episodes with which he was charged, and 'proved' Nekipelov's 'guilt' by means of contradictory and sometimes downright false evidence of witnesses on incidental episodes of little significance.
>
> We maintain that the trial and arrest of Viktor Nekipelov constitute yet another crude violation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

Persecution of the Working Commission [on Psychiatric Abuse]

The Case of Vyacheslav Bakhmin

In April **Tatyana Khromova,** the wife of Vyacheslav Bakhmin (on his arrest see *Chronicle* 56), who belongs to the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, tried to send books to her husband through Investigator G. V. Ponomarëv (*Chronicle* 56) of the Moscow City Procuracy, who is in charge of her husband's case. Ponomarëv told her that parcels to a KGB prison (Bakhmin is being held in a KGB investigation prison) are dealt with by KGB officers. Ponomarëv suggested to Khromova that she see the officer in charge of these matters. When she did, however, he was not concerned with parcels, but with **Viktor Bakhmin** (Vyacheslav's brother). Khromova was told that Viktor was circulating a slanderous collective letter in defence of his brother (117 signatures — *Chronicle* 56). It was explained to her that the letter was slanderous because it said Vyacheslav Bakhmin was arrested in 1969 for speaking out against the Stalin cult, when in fact anti-Soviet literature had been found during a search of his home. The KGB officer suggested that it be considered that it would not be a bad thing for Viktor to graduate from his institute.

In May, before the next parcel was due, Ponomarëv telephoned Khromova and told her that her husband had some requests which she could discuss with the same KGB officer. At their meeting on 16 May, after the parcel had been delivered, Khromova was asked whether she intended to write some more letters in defence of her husband. She said she did not. Her husband's request was passed on to her.

On 12 May Ponomarëv for the second time (*Chronicle* 56) summoned the following for interrogation: **T. Osipova, I. Filatova, A. Romanova** (*Chronicle* 56), **M. Petrenko** and **V. Neplekhovich.**

Petrenko, as in other interrogations connected with similar cases (*Chronicle* 56), handed the investigator a statement refusing to take part in the investigation.

Romanova was asked about her acquaintance with Bakhmin. She replied that she knew him well, and asked on what grounds he was being held in custody while his case was being investigated. Ponomarëv answered that this had been sanctioned by a procurator. Then Romanova refused to answer any more of the investigator's questions. It was written in the record that she refused to answer questions while Bakhmin was under arrest.

Filatova was asked about her acquaintance with Bakhmin, A. Podrabinek, Ternovsky and Serebrov, and about Bakhmin's participation in the production of *Information Bulletins.* Several leading questions were not recorded in the record. Filatova replied that she had met Bakhmin at work and knew nothing about the Working Commission and its Bulletins. She did not know A. Podrabinek, but knew his wife Alla Khromova, the sister of Vyacheslav Bakhmin's wife; she had heard of the other names, but was not sure of ever having met these people. In her comments on the record Filatova wrote:

> ... I know Bakhmin to be an irreproachable, honest person, totally incapable of lying, much less of deliberately false slander, and for this reason I consider the charge against him absurd and, at best, a mistake.
>
> For this reason I refuse to sign the record.

Prior to the interrogation, KGB officers had a talk with Filatova's mother about her daughter's dangerous friendship with Bakhmin. After the talk her mother checked to see if I. Filatova (who is 22 years old) had any papers in her possession; having made sure there was nothing incriminating, she reported this to the KGB. I. Filatova found out about the talk with her mother, and the search, by chance.

Osipova did not attend an interrogation on 12 May. Some days later, when at work, she was called to the personnel office, to which Ponomarëv had telephoned. Osipova agreed to come for interrogation on 19 May, a working day (she had previously been summoned on her days off). While he was filling in a form, Ponomarëv asked Osipova about her civic activities. She replied that she was a member of the Helsinki Group. It turned out that this 'did not count'. To the question about her acquaintance with the accused she replied that she knew Bakhmin and his civic activities, which exposed one of the most shameful pages in the life of our country: the use of psychiatry for political purposes. She was convinced that Bakhmin never resorted to slander and 'fabrications', as the reality of daily life provided enough evidence to confirm the justness of the Working Commission's aims and the usefulness of its activities. Osipova was asked two more questions: which materials in particular produced by Bakhmin and published in the *Information Bulletin* convinced her that Bakhmin did not slander? and which facts could she cite to corroborate the assertion that the reality of daily life provided grounds for speaking of abuse of psychiatry for political purposes? Osipova refused to reply until, as she said, 'a criminal case is started against punitive medicine'. On her insistence this phrase was noted in the record.

On 19 May Ponomarëv interrogated Bakhmin's former colleagues at work. **Boris and Marina Rumshisky.** Boris Rumshisky testified

that he had known Bakhmin at work since 1973 and was on friendly terms with him; Bakhmin sometimes visited him at home. To Ponomarëv's question about the activities of the Working Commission and the publishing of the *Information Bulletin*, and his acquaintance with other members of the Working Commission, Rumshisky gave no specific answers. For example, Rumshisky dismissed the questions on how he had found out that Bakhmin was a member of the Working Commission, and which other Commission members he knew, as not relevant to Bakhmin's case. At the end of the interrogation Ponomarëv informed Rumshisky that he would summon him again frequently, and threatened him that he would advise OVIR to stop considering his application of emigration. Rumshisky wrote a note about this into the record. Then Boris's wife Marina was interrogated. She did not give any significant evidence either.

On 3 June Ponomarëv interrogated Working Commission member **F. Serebrov** (*Chronicle* 56) in connection with the cases of Bakhmin and Ternovsky, having called him in to return his wife's savings book (*Chronicle* 56). Serebrov refused to answer questions, stating that article 190-I contradicts the Constitution. Ponomarëv said that at present Serebrov 'would not be needed as a witness for a long time to come'. In reply to Serebrov's counter-question: 'And as an accused?', Ponomarëv expressed the hope that his case would be handled by someone else.

On 12 June Serebrov was summoned to the Moscow City Procuracy to Smirnov, who had an educational 'talk' with him. Two weeks later Serebrov was called to a District Police Station on the pretext of a prophylactic check in connection with his former conviction. Referring to a ministerial Decree, which he refused to show him, the policeman demanded a certificate from his place of work. He then asked Serebrov to write a statement saying that he, Serebrov, would not break the law during the Olympics. Serebrov refused to write a statement, but said that he was going on holiday during the Olympics.

On 12 June Ponomarëv interrogated **Viktor Bakhmin,** who said he knew nothing about his brother's part in publishing the *Information Bulletin*, and that he had not carried out any errands for Vyacheslav when he travelled to Ust-Nera to see his relatives A. Podrabinek and A. Khromova.

In June Ponomarëv informed T. Khromova that she must find a lawyer for her husband by 13 June.

* * *

In May **Viktor Bakhmin** appealed to the International Committee of the Red Cross to provide medical assistance to his brother, who suffers from a stomach ulcer. Viktor Bakhmin writes that the

administration of Lefortovo Prison had not replied to his request for permission to send his brother the medicines he needed.

On 6 June **Rostislav Evdokimov** sent a statement to Vyacheslav Bakhmin's lawyer, asking to be called as a witness at the trial. Evdokimov writes about the reliability of the Working Commission's information and points out that on the occasions when the commission did not possess exact information, it had applied to official institutions for details, but had received no reply. Therefore the official institutions were responsible for any mistakes which might have appeared in the Working Commission's *Information Bulletin*.

The Case of Ternovsky

On 15 June Working Commission member **I. Grivnina** (*Chronicle* 56) was detained and searched at Vnukovo Airport when returning to Moscow from the Crimea. The warrant for the search — in connection with Case No. 50633/50-79 — was issued by Investigator Yu. A. Burtsev (*Chronicles* 55, 56). Grivnina was told that the search was being carried out in connection with the case of L. Ternovsky (on his arrest see *Chronicle* 56), although the number of Ternovsky's case is 49609/15-80 (there is a misprint in *Chronicle* 56). The following were confiscated in the search: a tape-recorder and a camera, tapes and film (including unused film), letters, telegrams, an address book, a notepad and photographs. The investigator expressed surprise that Grivnina was returning to Moscow when she had not intended to return until September.

On 20 June Leonard Ternovsky, who is being held in Butyrka Prison, was put in the punishment cells. (Ternovsky and **Lavut** were given ten days each in the punishment cells for attempting to contact each other. In the punishment cell Ternovsky hurt his leg while letting down his bunk. Lavut and **Sokirko,** who was also serving ten days in the punishment cells at the time, managed to get permission for Ternovsky to lie down in the punishment cell during the daytime. His wife found out about it by chance when, with the investigator's permission, she came to bring him some things. When she enquired about it, the Procuracy replied that Ternovsky had been sentenced to the punishment cells for attempting to send a note out of the prison.

On 17 July Ternovsky was transferred to the prison on Matrosskaya Tishina Street. The Butyrka Prison Administration stated that in Matrosskaya Tishina he would be examined by lung disease specialists, but assured his wife that he was healthy. G. V. Ponomarëv, who is in charge of Ternovsky's case, stated that he was in perfect health and that he had been transferred to another prison for reasons connected with the investigation.

* * *

At the request of their relatives, the defence of Bakhmin and Ternovsky has been taken on by the British barristers L. Blom-Cooper and B. Wrobel. On 15 May defence hearings on both cases were conducted in London.

The Arrest of A. Podrabinek

On 13 June, in Ust-Nera, Working Commission member Alexander Podrabinek was arrested after a search (the third this year — *Chronicle* 56) by the Procuracy of the Yakut ASSR. He was charged under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code; held against him were a statement to the Congress of the USA concerning SALT-2, written in June 1979 with T. Osipova; amendments to his own book *Punitive Medicine*; and the 'circulation' of a photocopy sent to him by post of some book on the October Revolution. The Investigator is V. N. Prokopev.

No copy of the search record was left in the house. The statutes of the NTS,[4] which Podrabinek received through the mail, letters, and a copy of the Working Commission's *Information Bulletin* were confiscated in the search.

After Podrabinek's arrest, interrogations began in Ust-Nera of people who had visited him. They were 'advised' not to visit his wife if they wanted to stay out of trouble.

On the morning of 15 June (a Sunday) **Roman Belopolsky** was summoned for interrogation; he refused to give evidence; the investigator then ordered him to go to the Procuracy that afternoon, with his belongings. This threat [of arrest] proved, however, to be a bluff.

On 16 June the investigator permitted **Alla Khromova** to visit her husband. During the visit he attempted to persuade A. Podrabinek to write a request for a pardon.

On 17 June the **Moscow Helsinki Group** adopted Document No. 136, 'The Arrest of Alexander Podrabinek'. The document ends with the words:

> We consider the latest arrest of Podrabinek to be totally illegal and insist that Alexander Podrabinek be released immediately and persecution of his family stopped.

Since 21 June A. Podrabinek has been held in Yakutsk (Bolshaya Markha, uchr. IZ-16/1).

* * *

On 23 May (a Friday) **Alla Khromova**'s mother was called to the passport office and told that her daughter had lived away from Moscow too long and that the question of her residence would be resolved on 28 May: she should travel to Moscow. On 27 May A. Khromova returned to Moscow. When she went to the passport office on 28 May a stamp was put in her passport cancelling her Moscow residence, and she was told that the decision to cancel her residence had been taken on 26 May (Monday).

A. Khromova was born, grew up and resides permanently in Moscow, where she shares a flat with her mother and sister. She has a certificate saying that she was unable to leave Ust-Nera because of the illness of her son, who was born in Ust-Nera in December 1979.

* * *

On 24 June A. Khromova appealed to the Committee to Defend the Podrabinek Brothers[5] and to Amnesty International:

> ... My husband was arrested because even here, in exile, where he is serving his sentence, he remained a human being and could not live in the prescribed way, as all Soviet people are obliged to live. In connection with his arrest, his and my correspondence have been seized: I do not have the right to receive letters and telegrams, or to talk on the telephone, even to my own mother. Parcels containing baby food are delivered to me at the Procuracy, where all our mail ends up.
>
> My husband is very ill. Some months ago he suffered from a liver disease; he has heart trouble; he has high blood pressure.
>
> I ask you to do everything you can for the release of my husband. I hope that your voices will help defend him.

The Deportation of Vladimir Borisov

At the end of March, in Leningrad, Vladimir Borisov was forcibly hospitalized in a psychiatric hospital. In mid-April he was sent for an expert examination (*Chronicle* 56). On 3 May Borisov was discharged from hospital: the psychiatrists pronounced him no longer a 'psychiatric invalid'. On 3 June in Moscow Borisov was taken out of his relative's car, put in another car and driven away.

His wife **Irina Kaplun** tried to find her husband through the police; she reported the number of the car which drove off with her husband, and was told that there was no police car with that number. Kaplun went to the USSR KGB. There she was told that they did not know where Borisov was, but that she and her husband ought to emigrate. On 11 June Kaplun was summoned to the USSR KGB; this time she was told that Borisov had been arrested and that the matter they had to discuss with him would be resolved in a few days; she was reproached with reporting false information about her husband to

Western correspondents, to which she replied that she told only the truth.

It later transpired that Borisov had been taken to Leningrad and put in prison for 15 days, after which his arrest had been extended for another 10 days.

According to Borisov, on 22 June he was forcibly put on an Aeroflot plane departing for Vienna. In Vienna Borisov refused to leave the plane until the Austrian police arrived. His demand was satisfied; his escort handed the Austrian police Borisov's exit visa, which had been filled in as in the case of Soviet citizens emigrating from the USSR of their own free will in order to live permanently in Israel. Unexpectedly for Borisov, his brother Oleg, who had applied for permission to emigrate on 2 June, came out of the same plane.

Vladimir Borisov is a member of the Initiative Group to Defend Human Rights in the USSR (*Chronicle* 8; at present there is not a single member of the Initiative Group still free in the USSR); he has been a prisoner in psychiatric hospitals for many years (*Chronicles* 8, 10, 11, 19, 24-8, 30, 32, 43, 44), and is a member of the Council of Representatives of the Free Inter-trade Association of Working People (*Chronicle* 51).

* * *

On 23 July **Irina Kaplun** was killed in a car accident.

While still a schoolgirl in the ninth class I. Kaplun circulated leaflets. In November 1969 Kaplun (then a first-year student in the Language and Literature Faculty of Moscow State University) was arrested: in December 1969 she intended to scatter anti-Stalinist leaflets (*Chronicle* 11) 'in honour' of the 90th anniversary of I. V. Stalin's birth. In September 1970, when her case had already been handed to a court, she was unexpectedly pardoned (*Chronicle* 16). I. Kaplun was one of the founders of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes (*Chronicle* 44).

Persecution of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled

On 1 April **Valery Fefëlov,** a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR (*Chronicle* 51), was issued a 'warning according to the Decree'.[6]

On 17 May the Yurev-Polsky District newspaper *For Communism* printed an 'exposing' article: 'Whatever Do You Want, Fefëlov?' The article carries the signatures of the Head of the local State Car Inspectorate, A. Chernov, the Head of the District Social Welfare

Office, S. Glushchenko and the Head of the District Power-Station, A. Basov.

On 14 May officers Malikov and Perepelkin of the Kolchugino District Office of the Vladimir KGB arrived in Yurev-Polsky. They handed each of V. Fefëlov's relatives a copy of the newspaper, questioned them about the 'reaction of the community' of Yurev-Polsky to the article about Fefëlov, and stated that he would face criminal prosecution for the activities described in the newspaper.

On the same day in the 'Promsvyaz' plant and the 'Avangard' factory workers' meetings were held and appeals made to condemn Fefëlov. The resolution that was passed stated that Fefëlov should be written about in the nation-wide press and that 'there is no place for him among the working people of the town'.

On 15 May Fefëlov's wife **Olga Zaitseva,** also a member of the Initiative Group, went to see People's Judge Zimina, in order to file a suit against the authors of the article about her husband for libel. Zimina replied that the article 'corresponds wholly and fully to reality', and that now that it had been published Fefëlov would be deprived of all benefits.

On 16 May Zaitseva went to the Chief of the Yurev-Polsky police, Chizhikov, with a statement about letters addressed to them which were quoted in the article. Chizhikov refused to accept her statement: 'You are against the Soviet regime — so don't go on appealing to it!' Then he turned crimson and shouted hysterically: 'Out! Get out of here!'

On 17 May Fefëlov appealed 'To All People of Good Will'. The appeal (published in full in *Bulletin* No. 9 — see 'Samizdat News') ends as follows:

> I ask all honest people and members of humane organizations, in the event of my arrest, to take up the defence of my wife, and to give moral support to her and our two young children.

On 25 May Fefëlov sent a statement to the editor of the newspaper *For Communism,* V. Suvorov:

> ... I consider that the contents of this article are, from beginning to end, a made-up farce which has the aim of degrading my dignity and honour.
>
> I will not continue to list my disagreements with the newspaper article, and so I conclude my statement by asking you, the Editor-in-Chief, to publish my reply in your newspaper *For Communism*.

On 30 May Colonel Shibayev of the Vladimir KGB, Malikov and Perepelkin went to the play-school where Zaitseva works as a nurse. They threatened Zaitseva that she would be fired and would not be able to get work anywhere else. They pointed out that if Zaitseva

left her husband, she and her childern would be provided with a private flat (Fefëlov, a semi-paralysed Group I invalid, is presently living with his mother, wife and two children in a damp, two-room flat of 24 square metres without central heating or telephone). They also told Zaitseva that if *Bulletin* No. 9 was issued her husband would be arrested immediately.

On 2 June Malikov and Perepelkin went to see V. Fefëlov's father. On 8 June the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 134, 'On the Persecution of Members of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR'.

On 10 June Judge Zimina went to see Fefëlov. She suggested that Fefëlov write a letter of repentance to the newspaper. In reply Fefëlov wrote the article 'What I Want' (published in *Bulletin* No. 9):

> ... I want:
> 1. Permission for the disabled to have their own association and press;
> 2. that the disabled should not be ashamed of their clothes and their hideous pedal- and motorized wheelchairs; public transport and the streets to be adapted for the disabled;
> 3. opportunities for the disabled to obtain a decent education and work corresponding to their particular infirmity or disease;
> 4. all public places to be open to the disabled: theatres, cinemas, libraries, etc.;
> 5. the possibility for disabled people to buy a car as an item of primary necessity;
> 6. the opportunity for disabled people to obtain medical assistance and access to holiday resorts;
> In sum, the right of disabled people in the USSR to lead a full life.

On 12 June, the second day of Nekipelov's trial, Investigator Plaksin went to see Fefëlov. He informed Fefëlov that on the basis of two reports by the Car Inspectorate a criminal case was being instituted against him under article 211 of the Russian Criminal Code ('Infringement of the regulations on traffic safety and the use of transport by persons driving a means of transport'), and made him sign an undertaking not to leave the district.

On 18 June Zaitseva was summoned to the Chairman of the District Soviet EC, Semënov. Shibayev, Malikov and Perepelkin were also waiting in his office. Semënov told Zaitseva that he had received a statement from the parents of children attending the play-school where she works: the parents write that they can no longer entrust Zaitseva with the education of their children, since it says in the newspaper that her husband is an anti-Soviet agitator, and she shares his views.

'But I work with babies, and however much I might want to, I cannot possibly educate them "in an anti-Soviet spirit", as you put it.'

'What about the collective? Don't you influence the collective you work with? Anyway, this statement doesn't concern me; I'm passing it on to my comrades in the KGB: let them settle the matter.'

'But I don't insist on working in a play-school. Let them transfer me to another job.'

'No,' replied Shibayev. 'Who on earth would let you into their collective? There's not a single collective that would let you work with them. We'll sack you and nobody will hire you, then we'll put you in jail for parasitism like Ivanov (**N. Ivanov** was sentenced in 1968 as a member of the All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People and released in 1973 — *Chronicle*).[7] And we always thought it was Valery who influenced you, but you're the one who's influencing him. Since you've been living with him, look what an activist he's turned into. We ought to write the same sort of article about you. After all, we already have enough material. If you don't wise up, Olga Fadeyevna, we'll have to imprison you. Just sign your name once more anywhere, and we'll start a criminal case against you. Have a good think about it.'

'Our laws, unfortunately, are too humane,' said Semënov. 'If Beria [8] was here now, we'd talk to you differently. We have a lot of democracy here, and people like you take advantage of it.'

* * *

Initiative Group member **Yu. Kiselev** was forbidden to drive his car out of his yard during the Olympics. To make sure, a tyre was punctured and the windscreen wipers removed. While Kiselev was out, his garage, with all the tools and spare parts that were in it, was removed to the junk-heap (see *Chronicle* 53).

The Case of the Journal Searches (Chronicles 52-6)

On 27 May, the day of T. Osipova's arrest (see above), Investigator Sazonov of the Moscow City Procuracy conducted a search in connection with the case of the journal *Searches* at the home of **Yu. Denisov,** who works as a waiter at the Budapest Restaurant. The search warrant was issued by Yu. A. Burtsev. The search record contains 77 points. The confiscated items include a large quantity of samizdat and foreign publications, poems, articles, newspapers, several issues of the new samizdat journal *The Duel* (on 10 April it had already been confiscated in a search of Osipova's home — *Chronicle* 56), and a statement by the editors of the journal, dated 20 May. A typewriter,

recording tapes and cassettes were also taken. One of the tapes (containing lectures on the subject of 'Russian Dissent') was handed over by Denisov of his own free will, in the hope that the remaining tapes of 'neutral content' would be left in his possession.

In his comments written on to the record Denisov stated that he considered the confiscation of the typewriter belonging to his wife — a professional typist — illegal; he also protested against the confiscation of his materials and tapes, which bore no relation to 'materials defaming the Soviet system'.

On the previous evening a search was made at the flat of Yu. Denisov's mother-in-law in connection with the same case. Approximately the same amount and kind of material was confiscated.

* * *

On 27 May Investigator Titov of the Moscow City Procuracy conducted a search of **M. Petrenko**'s home in connection with Case No. 50611/14-79. Private correspondence (many letters were from abroad), materials on Viktor Nekipelov and other human rights activists, two Gospels published in Finland, and a manuscript by her son-in-law Sergei Nekipelov about service in the army were confiscated. Several letters Petrenko had written to official institutions were also taken. The searchers refused to show their documents and did not let her copy out the search warrant. M. Petrenko's daughter **Anastasia Podyapolskaya** [9] and **Sergei Nekipelov**, who were detained in the house for the duration of the search, which lasted twelve hours, were not given a certificate to explain their absence from work.

On 4 June Petrenko was issued a 'warning according to the Decree' [10] in the Procuracy. The materials she was 'charged' with included the rough draft of a letter in defence of V. Nekipelov and photocopies of several rough drafts confiscated in the search of T. Osipova and I. Kovalëv's home on 10 April (*Chronicle* 56). These concerned a 'talk' with her. Petrenko was told that she would be prosecuted for slander and for refusing to give evidence.

* * *

On 24 June **Sergei Nekipelov** received a telephone message summoning him from work to the City Procuracy, where he had a 'talk' with G. V. Ponomarëv.

Ponomarëv asked Nekipelov how his letter to Strauss (January 1980), in which he wrote that his family was being subjected to persecution, had reached the West; and what did he mean by persecution? S. Nekipelov replied that the KGB had files on four out of the five members of his family, and criminal cases had been started against some of them.

Ponomarëv also asked what he meant by 'that monster' in his letter, which had been broadcast by Radio Liberty. 'You are sufficiently intelligent people to understand that without any explanation from me,' said Nekipelov; this offended his interlocutors.

Ponomarëv left the room, whereupon two 'officers' who did not give their names, who had been present during the 'talk', attempted to persuade Nekipelov that he was in fact guilty of nothing, but had merely fallen under the bad influence of others, who were presenting him as the son of a 'great martyr'. Then his interlocutors returned to the question of how his letters had ended up abroad. Nekipelov refused to answer. Questions followed about documents which had been confiscated on 27 May in the search of M. Petrenko's home. A forensic test had shown that S. Nekipelov was the author of many of these documents. He was told that he had fallen under the influence of Petrenko, who carried out her activities illegally (as opposed to his father Viktor Nekipelov, who carried out his anti-Soviet activities legally). S. Nekipelov stated that he would discuss all the confiscated documents bearing his signature in more official surroundings, and said that the accusations against M. Petrenko were without substance. Then it was explained to him that there would be an official interrogation when a case was started against him (they hinted that it would be under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code). Concerning Petrenko, they said that many young people gathered in her flat, and that they already had statements from parents about what went on there. From what they said further it transpired that the flat was bugged and all the members of the family under surveillance. They then asked Nekipelov what plans he had for the future. He refused to discuss personal matters. In conclusion he was issued an oral 'warning' that criminal proceedings were being instituted against him.

* * *

On 3 July in the town of Troitsky, Moscow Region, Investigator Yu. A. Burtsev conducted a search at the home of **Valery Godnev**, a computer programmer with the Nuclear Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Godnev voluntarily handed over typed texts, photocopies and books published abroad. The confiscated items included issues of the journal *Kontinent*, works by Solzhenitsyn, Berdyayev and Nabokov. After looking through the books Godnev handed over, Burtsev asked: 'And where is *Searches*?' *Searches* No. 7 was taken from Godnev's briefcase. The search record contains 33 points altogether, one of them being a typewriter. Godnev stated that he had not typed anything on it. Burtsev made a note of this on the record. They could not find Godnev's address book in the search. The searchers grabbed Godnev and went with him to his place of work, where they took away his address book and several copies of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which had not been

fully typed. They did not leave a copy of the record of items confiscated at work. Burtsev then handed Godnev a summons to an interrogation on 4 July.

At the interrogation Burtsev asked Godnev about his acquaintance with several persons, including members of the *Searches* editorial board. Godnev said that he did not know any of the board members, but he did not deny knowing **S. Belanovsky** (*Chronicles* 45, 54, 55), whose telephone number was in his address book. Godnev refused on ethical grounds to tell them where he had obtained the confiscated material.

During the interrogation Burtsev showed Godnev the copyright sign (the letter c in a circle) and told him that a 'first edition' copy of *Searches* had been confiscated from him. He said that the size of the edition quoted by [the radio-station] 'Deutsche Welle' (20 copies) was heavily exaggerated. Burtsev also stated that an expert examination had shown several issues of *Searches* to contain 'slanderous fabrications'. In the second half of July Godnev signed a record of a 'warning according to the Decree'.[11]

* * *

On 4 July Burtsev interrogated **Belanovsky,** who did not refuse to answer questions but requested permission to register a complaint beforehand in the record about Burtsev's actions during the search of 13 September 1979 (*Chronicle* 54). Burtsev did not permit him to. He also refused to show him an inventory of the materials which were sealed into a bag during the search without having been sorted out. Several times during the interrogation Burtsev threatened to register a 'refusal to give evidence'. Thus no record of the interrogation was drawn up. (The same thing had happened at an interrogation of Belanovsky at the end of February.) Burtsev reprehended Belanovsky for sending post-cards to Abramkin and Sokirko in prison without telling him. Burtsev stated that Belanovsky did this with the intention of supporting the criminals, but that in any case the post-cards had not been delivered to them.

At the end of July, while Belanovsky was away on an 'Olympics' business trip, a notice arrived at his Moscow address summoning him to another interrogation.

* * *

At the end of July Burtsev twice interrogated **V. Abramkin**'s mother. The questions chiefly concerned Abramkin's wife **E. Gaidamachuk** and **G. Pavlovsky** (*Chronicles* 52, 55, 56). Abramkin's mother said that she knew nothing about her son's activities.

In June and July Abramkin (he is in Butyrka Prison) was deprived of access to the prison shop and of parcels for 'systematically infringing the regulations'.

* * *

Early in May **V. Gershuni,** a member of the *Searches* editorial board, received the following anonymous letter:

> Hey, you lunatic!
>
> Stop your scurrying around. Just think, you blockhead, who and what you're up against! We're not afraid of you anyway. You might have to spend the rest of your days without any teeth.
>
> Anyway, it's high time you were in a loony bin.

On 26 June Gershuni was detained in the street and taken to the 131st Police Station, where he had a talk with the doctor who had signed his latest discharge [in 1974] from psychiatric hospital (No. 13); she said she wondered why he did not come to the hospital, and that he would have to be hospitalized. Gershuni was then taken to Psychiatric Hospital No. 13.

That night he began to have abdominal pains and a high temperature; however, he did not manage to obtain a medical examination until mid-afternoon on 28 June. He was then urgently transferred to the 1st City Hospital, where he was operated on (suppurating appendicitis; peritonitis had already begun). After the operation an orderly from Psychiatric Hospital No. 13 stood guard in the corridor.

Then Gershuni, with his abdomen still bandaged, was transferred to the psychosomatic department of the 1st City Hospital. Here he was not allowed to go out for exercise. On 15 July Gershuni was transferred back to psychiatric hospital.[12]

* * *

In May **P. A. Podrabinek** (*Chronicle* 48) was summoned to the Town Soviet EC (he lives in Elektrostal, Moscow Region). There he was met by the Chairman, the Town Procurator, the Secretary of the Town Party Committee for Ideological Work, and the Senior Research Officer of the Scientific Communism Faculty of some institute. At first they started to talk about the hopeless state of the electrical wiring in P. A. Podrabinek's flat, but very soon changed the subject to the article he wrote with P. M. Egides, 'Contemporary Problems of the Democratic Movement in Our Country', published in *Searches* No. 5.

* * *

On 16 July **V. Kuvakin** (*Chronicles* 48, 53, 54, 56) was summoned to the Moscow Procuracy and given a 'warning according to the Decree'. He was told that his article published in *Searches* had been found by experts to contain 'slander'.

The Case of Lavut

Fifty-one signatures appear under the appeal 'Alexander Lavut Has Been Arrested', issued on 5 May (he was arrested on 29 April — *Chronicle* 56):

.. What crime has been committed by this wonderful, modest, hard-working man, who loves his country and has worked indefatigably for it over many years?

The same as always: he defended the human and civil rights of his fellow-citizens; that is all. And with nothing more than the word of truth. He had no other weapon. Since 1968 Alexander Lavut has taken an active part in the democratic movement. With Tatyana Velikanova and Sergei Kovalëv he joined the Initiative Group to Defend Human Rights; he collected, studied and publicized evidence of violations of these rights, signed documents in defence of illegally suppressed prisoners of conscience, and tried, with other human rights activists, to gain access to the courtrooms where they were on trial. He defended the innocent, the unjustly convicted, people illegally deprived of their rights. And to this he dedicated all his so-called 'free time' and all the warmth of his compassionate soul ...

The name of Alexander Lavut, whose personal modesty matched his hard backroom work of collecting and circulating truthful information about violations of human rights, was not widely known. But today you are learning about him. For it is through prison cells that the best people in our country acquire this sad renown nowadays ...

We protest against the illegal arrest of Alexander Lavut!

We protest against the fact that in our country, openness is declared a crime, and humaneness a vice. We protest against the 'selection' carried out by the punitive system: the best, most honest and kindest people are sent to prison, while the worst, most unscrupulous, inhuman and selfish people are given the right to decide the fate of other human beings.

We demand the release of Alexander Lavut, a man one cannot help loving, and of whose friendship one can only be proud.

* * *

On 9 June Investigator Yu. G. Zhdanov of Moskvoretsky District Procuracy [in Moscow] interrogated Alexander Lavut's former son-in-law **S. Chistikov.** The latter gave detailed evidence; in particular, he listed people who had visited Lavut and confirmed that he had received some samizdat works from him. When Chistikov read the interrogation record he told Zhdanov that several answers had not

been correctly recorded. The investigator replied that it 'didn't matter'. Chistikov agreed and signed the record.

On 11 June Zhdanov interrogated **M. Martinson,** whose home was searched on the day of Lavut's arrest in connection with his case. Martinson told Zhdanov that Lavut had not given him anything to read, and when asked whom he had seen at Lavut's home, he listed the latter's relatives.

* * *

On the same day, on Zhdanov's instructions, Investigator Novikov of the Moscow City Procuracy conducted a search at the home of **Fuat Ablyamitov** (*Chronicle* 51). An extensive private correspondence between Ablyamitov and Mustafa Dzhemilev, documents on the Crimean Tatars (consisting chiefly of an appeal in defence of M. Dzhemilev), and a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were confiscated. The first item recorded in the search record was a congratulatory telegram to A. D. Sakharov; the record contained 17 points altogether.

On 1 July Ablyamitov was interrogated in connection with the materials confiscated from him. Zhdanov asked about Ablyamitov's acquaintance with Lavut, Ablyamitov's attitude to Sakharov and to the 'Jewish Question', about Ablyamitov's obtaining a job and his residence in Moscow (Ablyamitov is a neurologist and works in a first aid station). During the interrogation the investigator asked in particular: 'Why do you write "Crimean Tatar"? Are there really differences between Tatars? What would happen if all the Tatars were moved to the Crimea at once? There wouldn't even be enough work for them. Lavut is a Jew, as you know, yet he's involved in the problems of the Crimean Tatars.' Ablyamitov told the investigator that Lavut had given him the impression of being a cultivated and intelligent man, and that he had great respect for Sakharov, because the latter demanded the abolition of the unconstitutional ban on the residence of Crimean Tatars in the Crimea (there are at present about 50,000 of them in the USSR).

At the beginning of the interrogation the investigator said he wished to return the things confiscated during the search to Ablyamitov, but at the end he changed his mind saying: 'Such things shouldn't be kept, they should be thrown away!' When Ablyamitov asked: 'And the Universal Declaration of Human Rights too?', the interrogation was closed.

On 16 July at about 3 pm a certain Sharov, who showed a 'Moscow Criminal Investigation' identification card, came to Ablyamitov's place of work and had a talk with him 'on the instructions of a senior official'.

Sharov said in particular:

> We can't open the borders for everyone wishing to leave the USSR. ... What attracts you so to the Crimea? ... Don't you know yet that Sakharov's wife is Jewish, that she has connections with Zionist organizations and has an enormous influence on her husband? ... In 1937 totally innocent people were not arrested: they were at least 46-60% guilty ... Haven't you hidden some more forbidden literature? Don't you circulate it? Aren't you a member or a leader of an illegal organization? ... Sakharov has even sold some of our secrets abroad ... He can't be arrested, because they'd make a martyr out of him straight away, and all hell would break loose around the world. We can't go that far; we have to take public opinion into account ... Sakharov's people think we killed Bogatyrëv, but he was seriously ill, you know, he didn't have to be killed: a brick fell on his head completely by chance, from a roof ... How can we let everyone read the materials of the Twentieth Party Congress? They might not understand them correctly.

Sharov threatened Ablyamitov and warned him not to meet foreigners during the Olympics.

Ablyamitov said that he respected Sakharov, Lavut and Mustafa Dzhemilev and did not believe they had committed crimes; that his father, for example, was killed in 1937 but was rehabilitated in 1957; that it was quite permissible to meet foreign journalists both while the Olympics were not in progress and otherwise; and that questions of the personality cult should be publicized correctly, then they would be understood correctly.

* * *

On 12 June in Belogorsk (Crimea) a search was carried out at the home of **Eldar Shabanov** (*Chronicle* 53). A letter from Italy which came by post, an envelope containing two post-cards from West Germany, a customs declaration from a parcel from the USA, letters in the Tatar language, an old map of the Crimea with Tatar place names, and an address book were confiscated. After the search, which was conducted on Zhdanov's order by Investigator Vasilenko of the Belogorsk District Procuracy, E. Shabanov was taken away for interrogation. Vasilenko said that, during a search of Lavut's home, the record of a previous search at Shabanov's home and his address had been confiscated. Shabanov replied that he did not know Lavut, neither did he know how his papers had ended up in his possession.

On 16 June in Uzbekistan searches were carried out at the homes of **Izet Khairov** (*Chronicles* 31, 52), of **his sisters,** of **Reshat Ablayev** (*Chronicle* 54) and of **Grigory Aleksandrov.** In the searches, poems, appeals and letters were confiscated. From Aleksandrov a copy of his book *I Will Lead you to Abandoned Habitats* and a poem about Musa Mamut (*Chronicle* 51) were also confiscated. Khairov and Ablayev were given talks after the searches; Aleksandrov was interrogated in connection with the case of Lavut, at whose home, according to the investigator, many papers belonging to Aleksandrov had been found.

* * *

On 13 June **Yu. Shikhanovich** (*Chronicles* 2, 27, 30, 32, 55) was invited to a 'talk' at the Moscow KGB. His former investigator, Colonel V. K. Galkin (in 1972-4 he was a Lieutenant-Colonel), and KGB officer O. P. Novikov, who conducted surveillance of Shikhanovich after his discharge from psychiatric hospital in July 1974, reproached Shikhanovich for not having kept the promises he made in 1973 when he was in the Lefortovo KGB Investigations Prison. Galkin also had in front of him an 'Undertaking' written by Shikhanovich in January 1980 at a police station (*Chronicle* 56). 'Yury Aleksandrovich, when are you finally going to stop working on the *Chronicle*?' asked Galkin. (This question apparently arose from the fact that on 29 April, during a search of Lavut's home, *Chronicle* 55, containing handwritten notes by Shikhanovich, was confiscated.) Galkin said that he would not like to meet Shikhanovich 'in another capacity'. Shikhanovich replied that he would think about what he had heard.

* * *

On 23 June colleagues at the Central Geophysical Expedition (CGE), where Lavut worked before his arrest, sent an 'Open Letter in Defence of Alexander Pavlovich Lavut' (11 signatures) to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, to the editors of *Pravda* and to the USSR Procurator-General:

> ... We work with Alexander Pavlovich and have known him for many years. He is an exceptionally decent man, very modest, kind and compassionate; he does not suffer injustice and is always ready to help others and defend them. He is organically incapable of tolerating falsehood, and therefore to imagine him in the role of a disseminator of slander and lies is simply inconceivable.
>
> A. P. Lavut's activities in defence of civil rights in our country are conditioned by his profound understanding of his civic duty and in no way defame the Soviet political and social system.
>
> We protest against the judicial persecution of Alexander Pavlovich Lavut and demand his immediate release.

The letter was signed by G. Stepanets, V. Kronrod, A. Romanenko, A. Deyeva, L. Andreyeva, L. Rudakova, N. Mikhaleva, G. Poletayeva, T. Gerus, L. Tertitsky and V. Brudno.

On 27 June the Director of the CGE, Kashek, was summoned to

the Moskvoretsky District Procuracy; starting from 9 July each of the signatories of the letter in Lavut's defence was summoned several times, as well as several other colleagues of his. All of them were interrogated by Zhdanov. He asked them to describe Lavut's character and questioned them as to who was on closest terms with him, who visited his home, and whom and what they saw there. Several questions concerned the letter in defence of Lavut and the collection of money for his family. Zhdanov asked who the author of the letter was, who passed it around to be signed, why they signed it, who collected the money and how much was collected, and who passed the money on to Lavut's family. In some cases the investigator resorted to threats. He told one person that he would probably have to find another job, and asked another whether she wasn't afraid for her children. At the same time he promised that 'no one would find out' about the evidence they gave. All of them described Lavut in the most favourable terms; there was no compromising evidence against him.

On 29 July the Procurator of Moskvoretsky District of Moscow, Molochkov, replied to the CGE members' letter: the investigation of Lavut's case 'is being conducted objectively; there are no grounds for changing the type of physical restraint imposed on him'.

The Repentance of Dudko

Father Dmitry Dudko was arrested on 15 January (*Chronicle* 56).

On 20 June his 'statement of repentance' was broadcast on television. On 21 June a similar statement was published in the Moscow evening issue of *Izvestia*:

> ... At first I denied my guilt and stated that I had never spoken out against the Soviet system, but that as a priest I struggled against godlessness. Afterwards I realized that I had been arrested not for believing in God, but for a crime.
>
> I continued further and further in my reflections, and remembered what I had written and published abroad. I was especially distressed by the contents of my books and articles. I felt embarrassed when I remembered the anti-Soviet expressions and slander they contained; I blushed, I was upset, I felt guilty. ... Repent, then!
>
> I went further and further, recalling step by step what I had done. Finally, look and see which of your works the West is printing most keenly, which it is attempting to broadcast over the radio? Take your pastoral newspaper *In the Light of the Transfiguration*. Every time it's the passages defaming our country. And the newspaper also contains unchecked material.

> I saw that I had succumbed to the message of those voices of propaganda whose aim is to undermine our system, and had not seen what is in fact being done in our country for the welfare of the people.
>
> Moreover, while considering myself a member of the Russian Orthodox Church, I refused to walk in step with her, forgetting that our Church is doing precisely what she needs to.
>
> I renounce what I have done, and consider my so-called struggle against godlessness to have been a struggle against the Soviet system.
>
> My activities assumed an even more anti-Soviet character because they were at first fomented, then in essence also directed, from abroad. Slanderous materials received from me by the *New York Times* newspaper correspondent C. Wren, the American Professor A. R. Nebolsine, Archbishop Vasily of Brussels and Belgium and other foreign citizens were used in hostile propaganda against our State. I had never been an admirer of foreign countries, and I am now convinced that foreigners who interfere in our internal affairs bring us nothing but harm.
>
> I wish to state also that I renounce the slanderous books and articles I have produced, and as their author I forbid future publication of them.

On 21 June Father Dmitry was released from the Lefortovo KGB Investigations Prison; however, the investigation of his case continues.

On 24 June Dudko issued a 'Statement for the Western Press':

> I have been made into a political figure, I have been used as a pawn, I can see that clearly ... Now I have given up everything reminiscent of politics. As I stated to the Soviet press, I want to engage only in religious work, as a faithful son of the Church and the fatherland. Leave me alone, do not keep dragging me into any politics of any kind; I am only an Orthodox priest, moreover in the land of Russia which — this I stress — I must be concerned for ...
>
> I have not betrayed my faith at all: I remain faithful to God and to the Church; I love my poor Russian people, against whom such a spiteful campaign has arisen all over the world. I do not close my eyes to the fact that there are shortcomings, but I must grieve over them, not exaggerate them.
>
> I repeat: Dudko is not a political activist, but an Orthodox priest in the land of Russia ...

At the same time Dudko informed his Western publishers that he was not renouncing his books and requested them to publish all the manuscripts in their possession. The investigators asked Dudko to leave Moscow immediately; he went to a village in Tula Region.

On 7 July **Marina Lepeshinskaya** sent a letter to the KGB:

To all concerned with the case of Father D. Dudko

I, Marina Yurevna Lepeshinskaya, charge the State Security organs with the murder of my spiritual father, Dmitry Sergeyevich Dudko.

After keeping an elderly man, exhausted by suffering, in a cell for half a year, with despicable cunning you violated his will and forced him to sign a false testimony.

On the same day she issued a 'Statement for the Press':

The day after the televised humiliation our dear Father, wearing a suit specially tailored for this masquerade, was led out of Lefortovo Prison ...

I ask everyone not to believe a single word! Remember that anything said under threat of prison, camp or even — they will not shrink from this! — execution by shooting, has no legal validity, not to mention moral validity. Any shameful farce to which they are willing to subject my unfortunate spiritual father can only inspire disgust with his aggressors, who spare nothing for the sake of a momentary political victory and force a priest to make a hideous recantation and statements which do not contain a shadow or the slightest trace of truth.

On 27 July Dudko wrote an appeal:

To All My Spiritual Children

My dear spiritual children ... I cannot forgive myself for being so faint-hearted. My heart is torn with grief at the sight of your confusion, amazement and division, and on hearing all these false rumours. I cannot help shuddering when I envisage how I appeared in front of the whole world, and what temptation I imposed on people, and how I disarmed the hearts I had previously armed. I prostrate myself before you and ask you to forgive me ...

Now more than ever, we must unite in the face of danger. It is not only your spiritual father who is being tried by the KGB organs or anyone else, it is the Russian Orthodox Church that is on trial ...

At the same time he wrote to Archbishop Vasily of Brussels:

... It would have given me the greatest joy to have withstood the attack of the enemies of the Church, but I was reduced by them to ashes, and what was worse, I besmirched your holy name. I have no excuse to give you; but then there is no excuse at all for me.

If anyone had told me that I would behave in such a way, I would have considered it slander. But now it is clear that I overestimated my strength; I have fallen lower than anyone else. I have never before experienced such torment as I feel now. I understand from my own experience what Hell is. Now I am prepared to do anything to make amends, but I have not yet thought of a way.

Pre-Trial Investigations

The Yakunin-Kapitanchuk-Regelson-Dudko Case

G. Yakunin was arrested on 1 November 1979 (*Chronicle* 54), L. Regelson on 24 December 1979 (*Chronicle* 55) and V. Kapitanchuk on 12 March 1980 (*Chronicle* 56).

In Moscow, in March, Investigators Kolpakov and Yakovlev (*Chronicle* 54) spent a whole day interrogating **E. Barabanov** (*Chronicles* 30, 32, 37, 45) in connection with the Yakunin, Regelson and Kapitanchuk cases. At the same time in Pskov **Father S. Zheludkov** (*Chronicles* 29, 32, 43, 46) was interrogated for two days running in connection with the same cases. Fr Sergei refused to give evidence 'for professional reasons'.

* * *

On 5 May two officials of the Criminal Investigation Department took member of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR **V. Shcheglov** (*Chronicle* 56) from work to the Party District Committee where a KGB Major showed him Xeroxed copies of Christian Committee documents. Shcheglov was asked to sign a record of a caution 'according to the Decree'.[13] Shcheglov wrote a protest against the classification of the Committee documents as slanderous and signed the record.

* * *

On 15 May Investigator Levchenko interrogated **Stanislav Zherdev** in connection with the Kapitanchuk case. Zherdev was shown a letter from his wife to the 'Slavic Mission' dated 25 February 1979. The letter spoke of the difficult material and living conditions in which the family lived. Levchenko said that Zherdev was doing a bad turn to his friend Kapitanchuk with this 'slanderous' letter (soon after it was sent the Zherdevs received a good flat in the centre of Moscow — they have seven children). Zherdev said that he had seen the letter and thought it was accurate. He did not know who had sent it abroad and whether it had been broadcast by Western radio-stations. The following questions were also put to him:

— concerning his acquaintance with Dudko, Yakunin, Regelson, Kapitanchuk and Popkov;

— had Zherdev been in Dudko's flat or other flats at meetings with foreigners? (Levchenko read out Popkov's testimony on this point);

— concerning Zherdev's attitude to the Christian Committee's activities.

Zherdev refused to answer any of these questions on the grounds of his religious beliefs. Levchenko then brought in a Bible and asked Zherdev to show him the passage which made him unable to answer. Zherdev answered: 'To dispute over the Word of God with an atheist is to be led into temptation'. Zherdev was then given a short educational talk. They hinted that they would not make it difficult for him to leave and wished him 'a pleasant journey'.

* * *

On 12 June a search was conducted at the home of **A. Sidorov** in connection with the Yakunin case. Over a hundred items were listed on the record. Sidorov is an art historian whose articles are published in Russian publications abroad; he is a neighbour of Yakunin's aunt, L. Zdanovskaya (*Chronicle* 54).

In mid-June in Moscow KGB officials interrogated former member of the Christian Committee **Varsonofy Khaibulin**[14] for three days. The interrogations concerned the Yakunin and Dudko cases. Khaibulin was asked by what means he had sent Christian Committee documents to the West. He replied that he had done this via Western correspondents. He did not give names. He was threatened with arrest, but when he said that he had left the Christian Committee in 1979 and was now occupied with theology they released him. On 20 June Yakunin's aunts, **A. I. Zdanovskaya** and **L. I. Zdanovskaya,** were interrogated in connection with the case against him.

* * *

On 24 July **Iraida Yakunina** brought her husband a scheduled parcel. She was asked to see the Head of the Moscow KGB Investigations Department, A. V. Trofimov, who extracted from her a promise to talk only of domestic matters and took her to see her husband. She was amazed at how **G. Yakunin** behaved during the meeting (for example, he did not ask anything about their children and he praised the investigators and the conditions in which he was being held). I. Yakunina told her husband that she was waiting for his return, but not a return like Dudko's. Her parcel for Yakunin was accepted (he had been stopped from receiving parcels on 15 May for 'violation of regulations').

The Dyadkin Case. The Arrest of Gorbachëv

In June I. Dyadkin (arrested on 25 April — *Chronicle* 56) underwent an out-patient psychiatric examination. He was ruled responsible. His wife N. Dyadkina has received a letter from him in which he says that he has not changed and that nothing bad is happening to him. He asks her to find him a Moscow lawyer. In the second part of July an investigator asked Dyadkina about her and her husband's acquaintance with A. Lavut.

The Director of the Kalinin department of the All-Union Institute for Geophysical Research, where Dyadkin worked until his arrest, wrote a testimonial speaking in particular of Dyadkin's bad influence on his colleagues. Dyadkin's colleagues **L. Lozovsky** (*Chronicle* 56) and **S. Gorbachëv** (*Chronicle* 56) and a lecturer at Kalinin University, **Golitsyn,** petitioned the Procuracy to grant Dyadkin bail. In May Gorbachëv was summoned for interrogation in connection with the Dyadkin case and threatened with arrest. He was arrested on 5 June.

Gorbachëv's mother, who had come to Kalinin from the Far East, was given two meetings with her son. She came on the advice of KGB officials. In Kalinin she was 'worked over', at first by female 'neighbours' and then by official KGB employees. Gorbachëv was characterized by them as the obedient instrument of the will of his wife, who had ordered him not to betray the anti-Sovietists, who were her lovers. They asked Gorbachëv's mother to try to use her influence on her son, and to this end allowed her to see him. She went to the meetings but refused to 'use her influence'.

The Case of Morozov

In mid-May exile **A. Podrabinek** was interrogated in connection with the Morozov case (*Chronicle* 56). KGB Investigator A. D. Kolmogorov from Yakutsk conducted the interrogation. Podrabinek replied to only one question — about whom he knew. He refused to answer the other questions, stating that he considered that the institution of a case against Morozov was 'incorrect'.

On 16 May in Moscow KGB Investigator Lt-Col G. T. Turkin interrogated **Irina Nagle** in connection with the Morozov case. Nagle refused to give evidence, saying that she did not like to take part in the investigation of a man 'in such a weak physical state'; she also wished to protest against the measure of physical restraint chosen for him. Turkin, all the same, put 12 questions to her: about Morozov, about Nagle's acquaintance with him, about his Vorkuta friends; what she knew about the anti-Soviet propaganda which Morozov was conducting in Vorkuta; about his unsanctioned visit from exile to Moscow in autumn 1979; about the search of I. Kaplun's home on 14 March, when a man arrived carrying papers from Morozov (*Chronicle* 56; an article by Morozov about the sending of Soviet troops into Afghanistan was confiscated from this man, an inhabitant

of Vorkuta; at an interrogation in the Procuracy he said that he had found the 'papers' and come to that flat by mistake; after the interrogation he was put on a train and sent back to Vorkuta). To each question Nagle repeated her refusal to answer; the questions were not even written on the record. Later, in July, two KGB officials visited Nagle at work; they 'chatted' to her about the Hebrew lessons which she was taking from P Abramovich (*Chronicles* 38, 39, 43, 44, 47) and about her 'bad' acquaintances, particularly Osipova, who 'began in the same way'; they 'reminded' Nagle that two of her colleagues (Osipova and Lavut) had already been arrested.

On 17 May Turkin visited **I. Kaplun** at home (she had not responded to his summons) and tried to interrogate her. He showed her a Xeroxed copy of a letter taken from the man who had come to her house during the search, which, according to Turkin, was intended for her. Kaplun refused to answer his questions.

On 19 May in Leningrad Investigator Cherkesov interrogated **N. Lesnichenko** (*Chronicle* 56). Formal questions about Morozov were put to her. At this interrogation Lesnichenko wrote a statement to the KGB informing them that she was giving up public activity and in future intended to devote herself to bringing up her child. Lesnichenko discussed the definition of public activity with the investigator and he agreed with her that it did not cover personal contacts.

The **mother of A. Yakoreva** (*Chronicle* 51), exile **V. Skvirsky** (*Chronicles* 53, 56) and many inhabitants of Vorkuta were interrogated in connection with the Morozov case (interrogations encompassed even acquaintances of his acquaintances). It is clear that several people in Vorkuta gave evidence about 'circulation'. Morozov is charged on the basis of his article on the sending of Soviet troops into Afghanistan and the circulation of *The Gulag Archipelago* in Vorkuta.

The Case of Kuzkin

When A. Kuzkin was arrested (26 March — *Chronicle* 56) materials for the defence of V. Zaitsev (*Chronicles* 54, 56) and a stencil which read 'Freedom to Sakharov' with traces of paint were found in his bag. A short while before this, painted graffiti about Sakharov had appeared in central Moscow, particularly on the Central Telegraph building. Kuzkin's wife was asked what he was wearing on the days leading up to his arrest and whether there were any traces of paint on his clothes. At the search of Kuzkin's home which took place on the day after his arrest (*Chronicle* 56) no traces of paint were discovered.

Kuzkin's mother was interrogated in June. Most of the questions were about her son's acquaintance with D. Dudko.

An Interrogation of A. Daniel

On 3 July Investigator Yu. A. Burtsev of the Moscow City Procuracy interrogated A. Daniel on the results of a search which had taken place at his home on 6 March 1979 (*Chronicle* 53). Daniel was shown the documents and other materials confiscated from him and, as each piece of paper was produced, Burtsev asked to whom it belonged, from whom it came and with what purpose it had been kept. Daniel replied that the documents and materials shown him by the investigator belonged to him; he either did not remember or did not want to say from whom he had received them; that the confiscated material had been in his possession because it had literary, historical or other value.

Two final questions were put to Daniel:

— Did he know **Belanovsky** and did he know how Belanovsky had got hold of an issue of the collection *Memory*?

— Was he, Daniel, involved in the publication of *A Chronicle of Current Events*?

Daniel replied that he did not know Belanovsky or how he had got hold of *Memory*. About the *Chronicle* Daniel said that it was not libellous and that he considered the investigation of the *Chronicle* to be illegal; therefore he refused to answer the investigator's questions.

The Case of Terleckas and Sasnauskas

Terleckas (arrest — *Chronicle* 54) and Sasnauskas (arrest — *Chronicle* 55) are accused of organizing two press conferences: one in 1976 in Terleckas's flat and one in 1979 in Ragaišiene's flat (*Chronicle* 54).

Terleckas is also charged with involvement in writing a collective letter to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (*Chronicle* 54), collecting signatures for it and circulating it. An investigator told Sasnauskas's mother that her son did not wish to renounce his convictions.

Vyacheslav Cherepanov (*Chronicle* 52) from Vilnius testified at an interrogation that Terleckas and Sasnauskas were the organizers of the press conference in 1979. **Vytas Bastis** (*Chronicle* 48) gave the same evidence. On 6 or 7 May a search was conducted at the home of **Angele Paškauskiene** (*Chronicles* 52, 54). After the search she was interrogated.

In Estonia **Erik Udam** (*Chronicles* 46, 47, 54) and **Endel Ratas** (*Chronicle* 54) were interrogated on 20 June. **Enn Tarto** (*Chronicles* 2, 47, 48, 54) was interrogated on 4 July. None of these three (all of whom had signed the collective letter mentioned above) gave any evidence.

On 2 July Investigator Katalikov (*Chronicle* 54) of the Moscow

KGB interrogated **Ivan Kovalëv** (on the morning of 2 July Katalikov woke Kovalëv with a telephone call to the friends with whom he was staying). Kovalëv refused to give evidence and refused to sign a statement that he would not speak about the interrogation.

Arrests

The Arrest of Milyutin

On 18 January Oleg Milyutin, who worked as a plumber, was arrested in Ufa. At a search of his home religious and philosophical literature, including books by Berdyayev, was confiscated. Milyutin has been charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code for distributing, on 16 January, near a Bashkir University hostel, leaflets calling for a struggle against the Communist Party.

The Arrest of Sarbayev

On 30 June Anatoly Sarbayev (*Chronicles* 51, 53, 55) was arrested in Kuibyshev. A short while before his arrest he was interrogated by the KGB, who demanded that he renounce his views, repent, and testify against Ryzhov-Davydov (*Chronicles* 51, 53, 55).

No warrant was shown when Sarbayev was arrested. His wife was only informed that he had been arrested two days later. The wives of Sarbayev, Bebko (*Chronicles* 51, 53, 54) and Ryzhov-Davydov are constantly being summoned to the KGB. They have been told that they will not be able to 'work normally'.

Sakharov in Administrative Exile (Chronicle 56)

On 4 May, in Gorky, A. D. Sakharov finished an article entitled 'An Anxious Time' (13 pages):

> I wish to express several thoughts I have about questions that are worrying me as they appear to me here in the depths of the USSR, in a city closed to foreigners where I live under the vigilant surveillance of the KGB.

The article consists of four sections: 1. International Questions; 2. Problems of the West; 3. Repressions in the USSR. A Few Thoughts on our Internal Problems; 4. About Myself.

In the third section the author writes:

> The defence of human rights has become a universal ideology, uniting people of all nationalities and the most varied beliefs on the basis of humanitarian concerns ... In the USSR the human rights movement in its present structure had been formed by the end of the 1960s, when the first issue of *A Chronicle of Current Events* came out. At the same time the first appeals of the Initiative Group appeared. The human rights movement has no political goals ... publicity is its only weapon. Its ethical commitment to non-violent methods is tremendously important.
>
> I am convinced that nationalistic ideology, even in its more humane and apparently 'dissident' forms, is dangerous and destructive ...
>
> The slogan 'The Party and People are One' which decorates one building in five is not completely meaningless. But it is from this very people that defenders of human rights have emerged. And they have had their say, which will not be forgotten, because moral strength and the logic of historical development are behind them. I am also convinced that their activities will continue, in some form or other and with some intensity or other. The important point is not the arithmetic but the fact that the psychological barrier of silence has been breached ...
>
> We are living now through difficult, troubling times, made worse by international tension and Soviet expansion, and still worse things are threatened.
>
> And inside the country? — times of heightened oppression.

In the section 'About Myself' he writes:

> There is no telephone in the flat and I cannot telephone to Moscow or Leningrad from the post office — the call is immediately cut off on orders from the KGB agents who constantly follow me. I receive very few letters, mainly ones which attempt to 're-educate' me or simply abuse me (it is interesting that some of these letters come from the West). However, sometimes post-cards arrive from the West with kind words and I am very grateful to the people who write them. Once I was escorting my wife's mother to Moscow and KGB agents with guns in their hands dramatically barred me from entering the train ... When my wife and I wish to listen to the radio we have to walk the streets at night with a transistor (and while we are 'walking' in this way, agents enter our flat, ruin a typewriter or a tape-recorder, riffle through our papers).
>
> In April the President of the New York Academy of Sciences, Doctor Lebowitz, visited Moscow. He presented to the President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician Aleksandrov, a demand from American scientists that the authorities revoke my exile and allow me to return to Moscow or, if I should express such a desire, to emigrate to the West. Aleksandrov replied that the

exile was in my own interests, since in Moscow I was surrounded by 'doubtful characters' through whom State secrets were being leaked. The answer to the point about emigration was also strange: 'We have made an agreement not to spread nuclear arms and we are observing that agreement to the letter'.

I am often asked whether I am ready to emigrate. I consider that the prolonged discussion of this question in the press and in many foreign radio broadcasts is inappropriate and inspired by a thirst for sensation. I recognize everyone's right to emigrate and theoretically I do not make myself an exception, but this question seems irrelevant to me now. The choice is not up to me ...

This article will be taken to Moscow by my wife, my constant helper who is sharing my exile with me and taking upon herself the numerous problems of journeys as my go-between with the outside world. In this way she is earning the ever-growing hatred of the KGB, who both now and formerly have concentrated the poison of their slander and insinuations more against her than me: significantly they have played, for internal consumption, on the fact that whereas I am Russian she is half Jewish. A short while ago a man who introduced himself as a KGB official appeared at my wife's mother's home at half-past-five in the morning and threatened that if my wife did not stop making these journeys to and from Gorky, and inciting her husband to anti-Soviet acts, they would 'take measures'.

Our only defence is publicity and the attention of friends throughout the world to our fate.

The article was printed in the *New York Times* Sunday supplement on 8 June and reprinted in a number of European newspapers.

* * *

On 15 May, when **R. G. Bonner** and **E. Alekseyeva** last tried to travel to Gorky, Liza [Elizaveta] Alekseyeva was detained on [Moscow's] Yaroslavsky Station and taken by force to the station police. She was told that she did not have the right to go to Gorky, did not have the right to be in Sakharov's Moscow flat, and must live with her parents.

(Since the eighty-year-old R. G. Bonner was unexpectedly left alone, **A. Podyapolskaya,** who had gone with her and Alekseyeva to the station, was obliged to go on with her to Gorky. At Gorky Station she had barely had time to greet the Sakharovs when she was pulled away from Sakharov and ordered to return immediately to Moscow. E. G. Bonner travelled to Moscow with her.)

On 16 May **E. G. Bonner** wrote 'A Statement for the Press':

For over two years Alekseyeva has been a member of our family. She lives with us; we are one household with one budget, which in Soviet law means that we are one family. What is the KGB after in taking this new action against our family? Do they want my eighty-year-old mother to drop dead? Do they want Liza Alekseyeva really to commit suicide? Incitement to suicide is a criminal offence (article 107 of the RSFSR Criminal Code). May I remind you that over a year ago Alekseyeva did make an attempt at suicide, brought on by what seemed to her the impossibility of solving the problem of emigrating to be with the man she loves, and it was only by chance, because I was at home and gave her first aid and called an ambulance, that her attempt was not successful. Now Alekseyeva is at the mercy of the KGB, who have torn her away from our family, and unfortunately we already know of more than one instance of the suicide of people driven to despair by these organs. At the time we did not publicize what had happened to Liza, out of a desire to smooth her return to normal life. But the KGB crudely used our personal tragedy to accuse Sakharov and myself of immorality and at the same time to play on the baser feelings of those readers of the Soviet press who are greedy for every lie, especially when it concerns someone's private life.

(Bonner is referring to an article entitled 'Bitter' printed in the newspaper *The Week* [*Nedelya*] No. 26, 1979 — *Chronicle* 53; on 17 May the newspaper *Gorky Worker* reprinted the article. See also the article 'Look Behind You, Man' in *The Week*, No. 11, 1980.)

In relation to Academician Sakharov these actions against Alekseyeva again bear witness to the fact that the organs of State Security are willing to pay any price, even the lives of members of our family, in order to isolate him completely and thus make it easier finally to destroy him. Recently only my mother, Liza Alekseyeva and I have had the right to visit Sakharov. In a few days time my mother is flying to the USA to visit her grandchildren, and yesterday Liza was forbidden to visit Gorky ...

I would also reiterate that Sakharov is still receiving humiliating summonses to go and register: these are absolutely unnecessary, as a policeman is stationed at the door of the flat day and night. Sakharov has refused to register, as he considers that this, like his exile as a whole, is unlawful. All radio broadcasts are prevented from reaching the house by special jamming, in order to isolate Sakharov totally from information. He is deprived of medical assistance, and his heart condition has deteriorated sharply over the past few days.

I appeal today to everyone who is trying to defend Sakharov to remember that in defending Sakharov you are forced to take on also the defence of his family. We do not know what more those who hold the law in their hands, but prefer lawlessness and Mafia ways in their every action, have in store for Sakharov and ourselves.

In a postscript to the statement she writes:

> I urgently ask the Western media to print and broadcast my statement ... , although I almost despair of their doing so.

On 19 May E. G. Bonner returned to Gorky. Only after her departure was E. Alekseyeva handed a telegram from A. D. Sakharov dated 16 May. In the telegram he asked her to try again to come to Gorky, in the hope that the incident at the station would not be repeated.

On 4 June KGB official Solovëv issued E. Alekseyeva a 'caution according to the Decree'.[15] According to the 'record of the caution' she meets foreign correspondents and gives them libellous information about the situation of the Sakharov family. If she does not stop, criminal charges will be instituted under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

Solovëv himself had visited Sakharov's flat (where Alekseyeva continues to live) on the evening before, and handed her a summons which read:

> In connection with an administrative investigation, an organ of the Committee of State Security requests you to come for a talk ...
>
> *An official of the organs of state security*

* * *

Gorky newspapers have reprinted practically all the 'anti-Sakharov' articles which were in the central newspapers in January and February 1980, as well as both articles from *The Week* (see above) and an article printed in 1973 in the newspaper for emigrants, *Voice of the Motherland* (only in 1973 it was called 'A Judas and a Simpleton', while in *The Gorky Worker* it became 'The Judases'; it was printed in two numbers of *The Gorky Worker* on 13 and 14 June; an unknown 'well-wisher' left the 13 June number at the door of Sakharov's Gorky flat).

An Italian newspaper containing an article 'exposing' E. G. Bonner (cf *Chronicle* 43) was sent to Sakharov's Moscow flat from the USA.

* * *

During May and June colleagues from the Physics Institute of the Academy of Sciences paid Sakharov two more visits.

* * *

On 7 July KGB officials made one of their secret searches of Sakharov's flat, but this time they were caught red-handed. On 8 July E. G. Bonner described what happened in a statement entitled 'How the "Owner" of the Flat where Sakharov is Lodged Earns her Wages':

> On the evening of 7 July Andrei Dmitrievich was summoned to the post office near the house where he lives for a telephone call from New York. He ran out of the flat and I went with him. The telegram announcing the call had been sent from Moscow at 11 am, but arrived at the post office only at 7.30 pm, ie at the exact time that the call was scheduled to be put through. I stayed with Andrei for several minutes and then went back for some cigarettes. As I entered the flat I saw two men — one was riffling through papers and the other was in the room where we sleep — I could not see what he was doing. I started screaming wildly. They took fright and made a dash for the room of the so-called 'owner'. It was only then that I noticed that her door, always locked, was open. They slammed the door, but in their haste they must not have turned the key properly and I managed to open the door in time to see the second of them jumping out of the window. In their haste they had half-overturned the divan and there were still bits of dirt from their shoes on the window-sill. I ran into the room, from which the 'support point' can be seen. Someone in uniform was standing on the steps; they ran past him, stopping for an instant, apparently to say something. I ran into the lobby and called the policeman who was on duty at the door. The policeman came back with me to the flat and very nervously looked at the traces of the men who had only just run away. He then went to the support point to summon the chief. However, when he returned he said that none of this had anything to do with him. I gained the impression that the policeman had not known what was going on behind the closed doors of the flat, and that in the support point they had assured him that it was not his problem. I left the flat open and went back to Andrei at the post office. By this time he had been told that the Moscow-Gorky line was out of order and the call would not take place.

'It is now clear', writes E. G. Bonner 'what her (the flat owner's) "work" consists of':

> She leaves the window of her room unfastened and goes out. People coming to make a secret search climb in through the window; they have a key to her room, they open the door and then they have the run of the flat; the policeman standing at the door does not even suspect what is going on inside. On the whole the 'owner' is earning her wages! However, this is not just a case of secret searches, which have been a fact of life for a long time. Where is the guarantee that, when these Gorky gangsters are bored with reading Sakharov's papers, they won't find themselves a more 'interesting' occupation inside the house — adding something to the food in the fridge, putting a pillow over the face of someone asleep, or ...

E. G. Bonner sent a telegram to the President of the USSR Academy of Sciences:

> The entry of KGB officials into the flat without the knowledge of the police guard constitutes a direct and real threat to the life of Academician Sakharov.
>
> I am asking you to intervene to defend the life and safety of a Member of the Academy of Sciences.

E. G. Bonner sent similar telegrams to the USA — to President of the National Academy of Sciences, P. Handler, and to President of the National Association of Physicists, H. Feshbach. On 8 July Sakharov sent a telegram to Head of the USSR KGB Andropov. Three days later he was summoned to the local KGB and told that there would be an inquiry.

When the 'owner' of the flat next appeared Sakharov told her what had happened and asked her to give him the key to her room when she went out — otherwise he would not let her back into the flat. Several hours later she went out without giving him the key. Sakharov put the chain on the door from inside. When the 'owner' next returned Sakharov reminded her of his warning and did not allow her into the flat. The policeman who was standing at his post at the entrance to the flat did not interfere. Since then the 'owner' has not been back.

* * *

On 27 July Sakharov sent an 'open letter' to Brezhnev (he addressed copies to the United Nations Secretary-General and to the heads of permanent member-states of the Security Council; E. G. Bonner delivered them to the US, British and French Embassies). In the letter he proposes a (seven-point) programme for a political settlement in Afghanistan and appeals for a political amnesty in the USSR. He concludes as follows:

> For many years already, every one of my public actions has led to reprisals against people dear to me, thus turning them into hostages. Elizaveta Alekseyeva, the fiancée of my son who was obliged to emigrate two-and-a-half years ago, is now in such a position. She cannot obtain permission to emigrate and be with the man she loves; she is subject to threats, blackmail and libel in the press. It is I, and only I, who should be held responsible for my words and actions (including this letter). The practice of taking hostages by any individual or group is insupportable, and even more insupportable and unworthy for a state. I repeat my request that Elizaveta Alekseyeva be helped to emigrate.

Persecution of Crimean Tatars

In 1978 there were about 700 unregistered Crimean Tatar families in the Crimea (*Chronicle* 51); in 1980 approximately 60 families remain. Those who are registered cannot find work in the fields for which they are trained; not one example is known where a Crimean Tatar with higher education has worked in an area appropriate to his qualifications.

In 1977 there were around fifty unregistered families in the Saki District; now nine are left. At the beginning of May all unregistered Tatars were informed in writing that they did not have the right to plant kitchen-gardens. In June six families were registered in the village of Voinka, Krasnoperekopsk District.

* * *

Village Soviet Chairman B. G. Peleshko issued summonses to the family of **Zeki Khalilov** (Zhuravli Village, Saki District) and **Zevri Ibadullayev** (Mikheyevo Village). The summons read:

> I ask you and all the members of your family to come to the Village Soviet at 9.30 am on 4 June 1980 to discuss the question of your residence permit with passport officials. Bring with you some proof of identity.

When they arrived they were met by Head of the Saki District Police Plyuta, Head of the Passport Office Zaitsev, Deputy Head of the Passport Office V. G. Eshkov and District OVD official S. I. Dudchenko.

They were informed that in connection with their violation of residence regulations they were being expelled from the Crimea. Zeki Khalilov, his wife Alia and Zevri Ibadullayev were taken to the district police offices. Thirteen-year-old Alim Khalilov was also brought there from home. They were then all taken to Simferopol and put in a special detention centre.

On the evening of 5 June they were put on a Simferopol-Baku train. The Khalilovs were given a 'group ticket by written order', valid for travel to Tashkent in an ordinary coach; 'expelled from the Crimean Region' was written on the ticket. Ibadullayev was given a similar ticket. Two policemen escorted them as far as Kerch. Their personal possessions, and money which had been taken from them when they were detained, were returned to them. The policemen were polite.

At the same time local vigilantes were driven to their houses and told that they would be having lessons in civil defence there. The things from the houses were driven away and put into store, the

houses were locked and no one was allowed in.

The Khalilovs and Ibadullayev returned. Dudchenko informed Ibadullayev that there was no appeal against the decision of the Saki District EC; he could live anywhere except in the Crimea. A KGB official told him to turn to him if he had problems with work or registration — they would set him up straight away.

* * *

On 20 May **Musa Aripov** (Zhuravki Village, Kirov District) was told to take back the money for the house he had bought from the former owner (a year ago a court had ruled that the sale of the house had been illegal), but Aripov refused. On 28 May two policemen evicted Aripov and his wife. The latter returned and moved into the boiler-house (they are no longer allowed into the house).

* * *

In the village of Marino, Simferopol District, **Ikzakirova** and her little daughter were evicted in February. They returned. On 12 May the previous owner of the house was forced to sell it to someone else. A new family moved into the house and Ikzakirova's things were taken outside.

* * *

Invalids of the Great Patriotic War **Dani Osan** (who lost both legs; he lives in the village of Balki, Belogorsk District) and **Ismail Isatov** (who walks on crutches and lives in Belogorsk) and also war veteran **Gafur Tukhtarov** have now been trying to register for four years. A court recently ruled to fine Tukhtarov for the illegal purchase of a house for 1,200 roubles; he was told to sell the house and leave.

* * *

Eldar Shabanov's sentence (trial — *Chronicle* 53) was reduced to one year following his supervisory complaint. In March 1980 he was released. He was immediately given a residence permit, but it took him two months to find work as a driver. His wife, a physics lecturer, was asked by the District Education Department to work as a technician (see also 'The Case of Lavut').

* * *

At the end of January **Mukhsim Osmanov** (*Chronicles* 13, 31, 38, 42, 44, 47, 49, 53) began to receive anonymous letters.

On 24 January the Head of the Operations Section of the Crimean KGB, Colonel Pavlenko, visited Osmanov and told him that if there was any more Crimean Tatar activity anywhere, he would have to answer for it, since he was always surrounded by people and he sat and gave advice to them.

On 13 April Osmanov was visited by the master of ceremonies of a Crimean Tatar entertainment troupe in Central Asia, **Ablyamid Umerov.** Umerov read Osmanov a letter from communists to Brezhnev asking him to solve the Crimean Tatar question once and for all and to give Crimean Tatars the right to live normally. He spent only an hour at Osmanov's home, but when he left he was detained, taken to the police station, the letter was taken from him and he was told to explain in writing what he had been doing at Osmanov's home.

The following day Osmanov was summoned to the Procuracy. There he was interviewed by the Head of the Belogorsk District Division of the Crimean KGB, E. A. Ilinov (*Chronicles* 42, 44, 46, 49, 51-3). Ilinov screamed at Osmanov, beating with his fist and stamping: 'There's all sorts coming to consult you — we're sick of it! You're leading young people astray. After the Lenin Holiday we're going to call the Soviet EC together and we're going to pass a resolution — we'll send in a bulldozer, evict your family and demolish your house'. Ilinov told Osmanov's wife: 'We consider you a respectable woman, but even you are helping him'.

Osmanov sent telegrams to Brezhnev, Kosygin and Andropov complaining about Ilinov's behaviour. In reply to the telegram to Andropov, Osmanov was summoned to see a Deputy Chief of the Crimean KGB, Rumyantsev. Rumyantsev said that Osmanov was inciting people and organizing mass trips to Moscow. 'We've thrown you a life-belt. Now, if you don't stop, you may find yourself beyond the borders of the Crimea!' Rumyantsev took two subordinates to his talk with Osmanov, as witnesses: 'Or you'll be complaining again that we're shouting at you!'. Rumyantsev said that Osmanov and others were saying that they sent letters to Soviet organs, but in fact they were redirecting them to the West via Sakharov. Rumyantsev told Osmanov's wife: 'We felt sorry for you, so we let you register in the Crimea. Your husband's disabled (Osmanov is blind), but if this carries on we'll have no pity for your children or your husband'.

In reply to the telegram to Kosygin, a letter came to Osmanov from Crimean Regional Deputy Procurator V. M. Kuptsov:

> In spite of the official caution issued to you on 11 May 1979 you persist in engaging in antisocial activities. Because of this you were again interviewed on 24 January 1980. At the time you expressed no dissatisfaction and made no complaints about the visit to your house.
>
> There have been no violations of socialist legality in the actions of the officials involved.

Events in the Ukraine

The Trial of Kalinichenko

The trial of member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group V. Kalinichenko (*Chronicles* 54, 55, 56), charged under article 62, part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code) took place in Dnepropetrovsk in mid-May. Kalinichenko was sentenced to 10 years of strict-regime camps and five years' exile. Kalinichenko's previous term of imprisonment ended in March 1976 (*Chronicles* 41, 46).

Arrests

The Arrest of Kurilo

Vasily Kurilo was arrested in February in Lvov. At a search of his home books published abroad and Ukrainian nationalist publications were confiscated.

The Arrest of Stus

On 14 May member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group Vasily Stus was arrested in Kiev. He was detained at work and taken to his home for a search in connection with 'Case No. 5'. Much poetry, notebooks, a few letters, the judgment in his case of 1972 (*Chronicles* 24, 26 27), materials about the situation of political prisoners and an invitation to the USA were confiscated. It was written on the record that Stus had refused to sign it, since 'he does not wish to talk with representatives of an organization of murderers'. While Stus's home was being searched another search took place at his father-in-law's allotment.

Taking leave of his wife Valentina Popelyukh, Stus said that he would not take part in the pre-trial investigation or the trial; he would refuse a lawyer, would not appeal, and was ready to give evidence only at an open trial attended by representatives of Soviet and international legal organizations including the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (the SKVU). He added that he would not refuse to make a final speech in which, as a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, he would talk about his people. Stus was charged under article 62, part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). Stus finished serving his previous sentence in August 1979 (there is an inaccuracy on this point in *Chronicle* 54).

On 14 May worker **K. Semanyuk** was also searched. Only a letter from **V. Ovsienko,** sent from camp, was confiscated. On the same day

a search was conducted at the home of Ukrainian Helsinki Group member **Oksana Meshko.** Letters from her exiled son **Alexander Sergienko** (*Chronicles* 54, 55) were taken.

On 14 May Ukrainian KGB officials Major Pastukhov and Ensign Binder searched **Raisa Rudenko** on Kiev Station in Moscow. They were aided by another official, who refused to give his name. The warrant for a body-search and examination of personal effects was made out by Pastukhov and signed by Ukrainian SSR Procurator Glukh. The search took place in connection with Case No. 5, which Pastukhov said he knew nothing about. An open letter from **Yu. Badzë** to Russian and Ukrainian historians (December 1978), a notebook, a scrap of paper with foreign addresses, notes on the arrests of V. N. Shevchenko (*Chronicle* 56) and A. E. Shevchenko (*Chronicle* 56) and three letters were confiscated. Binder [a woman] asked Rudenko to undress for a body-search. Rudenko refused. Binder did not insist.

In June searches of Ukrainian exiles took place in connection with the Stus case (see 'In Exile').

Psychiatric Arrest of Meshko

On 12 June two police officials appeared at the home of member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group O. Meshko, saying that they had to take her to a KGB interrogation. They took her, however, not to the KGB but to the Pavlov Psychiatric Hospital (No. 21). The duty doctor refused to admit Meshko without papers, but she was then hospitalized on instructions from head doctor Revenok. The head of her department is Yastreb; the doctor treating Meshko is Natorzhinskaya. The doctors say that nothing depends on them: since Meshko has been admitted to the hospital they, the doctors, are obliged to treat her. However, no special 'psychiatric' treatment has been authorized. Meshko's friends and relatives have not been allowed to visit her.

In a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Procurator-General written on 8 July Meshko writes (translated from Ukrainian):

> I am not a patient: I am a prisoner of Psychiatric Hospital No. 27. I am being kept in a locked ward with 67 people who are chronically or seriously mentally ill ...
>
> By imprisoning me in a psychiatric hospital the KGB has dealt with me without the need for a trial, an investigation or any inconvenient anti-constitutional charges.
>
> My mental state is such that I am responsible, so let them punish me if I have committed a crime.

* * *

With the arrest of V. Stus and O. Meshko the destruction of the

Ukrainian Helsinki Group, begun in February 1977 with the arrests of N. Rudenko and A. Tikhy (*Chronicle* 44), is practically complete.

The Arrest of Mazur

On 7 July, in the village of Guta-Loginovskaya, Zhitomir Region, a search was conducted at the home of Dmitry Mazur. Letters, a radio and extracts from [the 19th-century writer] Saltykov-Shchedrin's writings were confiscated. The home of Mazur's sister Galina in the town of Malin, Zhitomir Region, was also searched. On 30 July Mazur was arrested. On the same day, in connection with his case, a search was conducted at the home of the mother of V. Ovsienko (*Chronicle* 52) in the village of Lenino, Zhitomir Region.

Dmitry Mazur (b. 1939) could not find a job when he graduated from teachers' training institute and was sentenced for 'parasitism'. He is now charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). The investigation is searching intensively for his work entitled *Instead of a Last Word*.

The Arrest of Prikhodko

In July Grigory Prikhodko (*Chronicle* 52) was arrested in Dnepropetrovsk Region. In 1978 he completed a sentence under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). He is now charged under part 2 of the same article.

Searches in Kharkov

On 30 May searches were conducted in Kharkov in connection with the **I. Sokulsky** case (*Chronicle* 56) at the homes of **G. Altunyan** (*Chronicles* 11, 22, 49), **Yu. Dzyuba** (*Chronicles* 51, 56), **A. Zdorovy** (*Chronicles* 54, 56) and **A. Zinchenko** (*Chronicles* 34, 39, 56), whose addresses and letters were found, according to the investigation, at Sokulsky's home.

Thirty-seven items are listed on Altunyan's search record. These include the second volume of *The Gulag Archipelago*, bound into a jacket from *A Social Science Reader*, a copy of A. Solzhenitsyn's Nobel Speech, two copies of an appeal to Amnesty International (1973), *Chronicle* No. 49, articles by Zh. Medvedev, V. Nekipelov and V. Albrekht, a draft of Altunyan's statement about Sakharov's exile, material about P. Grigorenko, a statement by Yu. Dzyuba about emigration, a photograph of Dzyuba and Zinchenko holding a placard demanding permission to leave the USSR, Altunyan's account of two conversations with the KGB, poetry by Mandelshtam and Brodsky, personal letters and a notebook. Altunyan did not sign the record.

A letter from Dzyuba to Carter requesting help in emigrating from the USSR, a prayer-book in Ukrainian, a notebook containing prayers and sermons, letters, a stereoscopic post-card from the USA, carbon paper, tapes, 87 copies of the photograph of Zinchenko and himself mentioned above, films containing portraits of acquaintances, negatives and a notebook were confiscated from Dzyuba's home, as well as a copy of the [Soviet] journal *New Times* containing an article explaining that citizens of the USSR can emigrate freely, and a railway atlas. In all there were 16 items on the record.

From Zdorovy a copy of the judgment in the case of **I. Kravtsov** (a co-accused of Zdorovy — *Chronicle* 48), a few old books bought in a second-hand book shop, a typewritten copy of Byron's *Mazeppa*, extracts from the works of [the 19th-century writer] Belinsky on Ukrainian subjects, a few copies of recent books and articles (for example of A. Chernov's article on the poetics of *The Tale of Igor's Campaign*, in *Youth* [*Yunost*], No. 1, 1980), typewritten copies of the article 'Judaism in the History of Religion' and G. I. Petrovsky's address to the Fourth Duma, a karate course (photocopy and negatives), a summary of the book *Contemporary Sexual Techniques*, photographs and postal receipts were confiscated. A manuscript by Kharkov historian **Evgeny Antsupov,** who has written a dissertation about the probable participants, times and military theatre of a future war, was also taken. Antsupov had sent copies of his dissertation to the Party Central Committee, the KGB, the Ministry of Defence and various research institutes. There were 19 items in all on Zdorovy's search record.

There were 39 items of Zinchenko's search record. These included statements to official organizations about emigration and replies to these statements, appeals to international organizations on the same subject, a statement to the Free Inter-trade Association of Working People about the violation of his rights, statements to the editors of Soviet newspapers and journals (one of the themes of which is the exile of Sakharov), postal receipts, letters, carbon paper, cassettes and a notebook. Zinchenko refused to sign the record.

Students from the Kharkov Law Institute were involved in all the searches as witnesses. On the evenings before the searches they were told to go to the KGB the next day to participate in investigative actions. Their passports were taken from them and returned only after the searches. During these 'practicals' the students played an extremely active part, going well beyond their duties as witnesses. At the search of Dzyuba's home, witness Zaitsev listened to tapes and read notes in English, telling the investigators what to confiscate. Witnesses Bigun and Redzsepnazarov, who took part in the search at Altunyan's home, went through his papers and possessions and suggested what should be confiscated. The investigator did not respond to Altunyan's critical remark about this.

* * *

After the searches, interrogations in connection with the Sokulsky case took place. **Antsupov** and his wife were summoned to the KGB for 'chats'.

Persecution of the Sichko Family

Stefania Petrash, the wife of Pëtr and mother of Vasily Sichko (trial — *Chronicle* 55), was summoned to Director of the Dolina District Agricultural Machinery Plant A. Martynyuk at the end of April. He asked her to resign. (S. Petrash, who has worked for the organization as an engineer for 12 years, has only 15 years of service in all. She is petitioning for ten years of work in Stalin's camps to be added to her total.) Petrash refused to resign. Martynyuk then told her that he would find '20 reasons' to dismiss her. On 6 May an inspection of Petrash's work was organized. No mistakes were found. On 10 May S. Petrash wrote a complaint about the actions of her chief and sent it to official organizations, to the newspaper *Labour* [*Trud*] and to the radio journal *Man and the Law*.

* * *

See also the events in Kiev described in the subsection 'Jews' of the section 'The Right to Leave'.

Events in Armenia

The Arrest of Manucharyan

On 13 May Alexander Manucharyan, a teacher of Art History at the Erevan Teachers' Training Institute, was arrested in Erevan. He is charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. KGB Investigator Sukhiasov is conducting the case.

The Case of M. Arutyunyan

On 21 May a search was conducted in Erevan, in connection with a case of 'circulation of slanderous materials', at the home of Marzpet Arutyunyan, the brother of Shagen Arutyunyan (trial — *Chronicle* 48). Photographs of Zatikyan and Stepanyan (*Chronicle* 52) and several telephone numbers on pieces of paper were confiscated. M. Arutyunyan was detained, but several days later released — for Saturday and Sunday. He was then arrested on a charge of selling narcotics (some hashish was taken out of his pocket at the time of the arrest, which, according to relatives, had been planted by officials 'of the organs'.) A second search was made on 3 June, this time with the purpose of finding narcotics. Nothing was found. The trial took place in the summer. M. Arutyunyan was found guilty and sentenced to eight years.

Events in Estonia

In pre-war Estonia 24 February was a state holiday — Independence Day. This year (the 62nd anniversary of the Estonian Republic), on that day, blue, black and white strips of cloth (the national flag of the pre-war Estonian state) were hung out in various places in Estonia. The flags appeared in Tallin, in the village of Mestalus (near Kohtla-Jarve) and on the ruins of the Dom Cathedral in Tartu. Next day the flag was hoisted on the church of St Lawrence in the town of Kingisepp (on the island of Saaremaa).

In Tartu political slogans such as 'Long live the anniversary of the Republic!' and 'All troops out of Afghanistan!' appeared on 24-25 February. In Tartu some fourth-year students at the Tallin Polytechnic — **Raivo Hermlin, Olev Tiitson, Vello Sostar and Viljo Vilba** — were arrested. On 15 May the Tartu City Court sentenced Vilba to two years' imprisonment and Hermlin, Tiitson and Sostar to one-and-a-half years each in camps. All four were charged with 'malicious hooliganism' (article 195, paragraph 2 of the Estonian SSR Criminal Code). Judge Rakhi presided and the prosecutor was Kiris. The trial was effectively held in closed court.

* * *

Mart Niklus, arrested in Tartu on 29 April 1980 (not 28 April, as stated in *Chronicle* 56) is being held in Tallin Prison. He has been charged under article 194-1 of the Estonian SSR Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code). In concrete terms Niklus was accused of the following:

— in 1977 he gave a book, published in Sweden, to Valdman (*Chronicles* 33, 38);

— in 1978 he sent a letter to Professor J. Saarma (*Chronicle* 48), which slandered the Soviet health service (Prof. Saarma is psychiatrist and has taken part in psychiatric examinations of persons arrested on political charges);

— in October 1979 he listed to 'Voice of America' broadcasts with his pupils (until November 1979 Niklus worked as an English language teacher — *Chronicle* 54);

— in the spring of 1980, in a telephone conversation, he slandered

the elections to the Supreme Soviet which had taken place on 24 February of that year.

* * *

In July an 'Open Letter' about the arrest of Mart Niklus was sent to the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the Estonian SSR. The authors of the letter also call attention to the increased political oppression all over the country and express some misgiving that this might lead to 'a return to the bloody Stalinist terror'. They demand, first, the release of Niklus and his reinstatement at work, or permission for him to emigrate to Sweden; secondly, the release of all those recently arrested on political or religious charges. In addition they suggest that a general political amnesty should be proclaimed. Copies of the letters were sent to Amnesty International. The text bore the signatures of 21 residents of Estonia and 15 Lithuanians.

Julius Niklus, M. Niklus's father, has appealed to the authorities a number of times. He also asks for his son to be released or allowed to emigrate. On 9 May a protest about the arrest of Niklus was sent to the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR by **Jaans Kuldsepp** and **Tiit Madisson.**

* * *

Madisson, in connection with the declarations he had made (in April he protested at the arrest of Juri Kukk — *Chronicle* 56 — and later against the 'Communist working Saturday'), was interviewed by the management of the fishing collective 'Saari kalur', where he was employed as a worker. In July he was arrested 'on suspicion of parasitism' (although he was still fully employed) and kept in Preliminary Detention Cells until the Olympic Games were over.

* * *

Issues 7 and 8 of the 'Additional Materials on the Free Dissemination of Ideas and Information in Estonia' (*Chronicles* 52, 54 and 56) have appeared in samizdat.

Events in Lithuania

On 30 January **Gintautas Ješmantas** was arrested in Vilnius. Ješmantas is charged with working on the journal *Alma Mater* (*Chronicle* 53). Ješmantas graduated from Vilnius Teachers' Training Institute after specializing in Lithuanian Studies. He worked in the editorial office of the journal *Kommunist,* from which he was dismissed at the

beginning of the 1970s, after he left (or was expelled from) the Party. From that moment until his arrest he worked as a bibliographer in the Palace of Books.

* * *

On 20 May **Vytautas Abrutis** was arrested in Moscow. He is now being held in the Vilnius KGB Prison. He has been charged under article 199-1 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code). The investigator in his case is Ju. Vilutis.

In his final year at secondary school Abrutis (born 1952) was questioned by the KGB (because he had hung the flag of pre-war Lithuania from the school building). During his Army service he wrote a declaration renouncing his convictions, under pressure from the Special Section. After returning home Abrutis worked as a restorer at the Lithuanian SSR Restoration Trust. In 1979 he and his wife **Edita Abrutiene** renounced Soviet citizenship and applied to emigrate to the United States. They received permission to emigrate not long before Abrutis's arrest.

On 8 April 1980 a search was carried out at the Abrutis home. The search was conducted by officials of the Section for Combating Pilfering of Socialist Property and Speculation (the reason for the search is unknown). Many documents in Russian and a typewriter were confiscated. On 9 April Abrutis travelled to Moscow, where he met foreign journalists.

His family were informed of Abrutis's arrest only a week later. Edita Abrutiene, who had gone to Moscow to search for her husband, was detained on 27 May at the Belorussky Railway Station and searched. Her relatives informed E. Abrutiene that if she too were arrested, they would not assume responsibility for the Abrutises' six-year-old child.

* * *

In the middle of May, flowers were laid on the square in Kaunas where **Romas Kalanta** burnt himself to death in 1972 (*Chronicles* 26, 27). **Aurelia Užleistaite, Loreta Užleistaite, Vladas Kukulskis, Laisve Vaitiekunaite** and **Paulius Vaitiekunas** were arrested for this. All five were charged with hooliganism.

* * *

On 11 July **Jadvyga Stanelyte** was arrested in Vilnius. The investigator in her case is Jucys.

* * *

In connection with the case of **Vitkauskaite** (*Chronicle* 56) and **Navickaite** (*Chronicle* 56), the priest **Albinas Deltuva** was interrogated

on 29 May, **Bernadeta Mališkaite** on 2 June, **Gene Liaukaite** and **Birute Briliute** on 23 June, and **Ona Kavaliauskaite** on 26 June.

* * *

In June **Sigitas Tamkevičius**, a member of the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights, was twice summoned to Moscow for interrogation by Investigator Kapayev in connection with the case of **T. Velikanova** (*Chronicle* 54). He did not go.

* * *

In the case of **Povilas Pečeliunas** (in *Chronicles* 55 and 56 his surname is mis-spelt), his fiancée **Danute Keršiute** (*Chronicles* 55, 56) is constantly being summoned for interrogation. At an interrogation on 14 December 1979 an attempt was made to take her fingerprints. Keršiute refused to undergo a dactyloscopy and, when Major Urbonas tried to force her to submit, she began to resist him. Then a charge was made out against her, alleging that Keršiute had 'behaved like a hooligan' during the interrogation and had kicked one of the KGB officials.

On 12 June a search was carried out at the home of Keršiute's sister. On 24 June Investigator Marcinkevičius summoned Keršiute for questioning. The investigator again tried to make her undergo a fingerprint test. When Keršiute resisted again, Marcinkevičius summoned a police detail. The policemen took Keršiute to the Preliminary Detention Cells, where she was beaten up in the presence of Marcinkevičius. Afterwards, on the order of a judge of the October District of Vilnius, Keršiute was kept under arrest for 15 days for 'hooliganism'.

* * *

At the beginning of July the latest term of administrative surveillance imposed on former political prisoner **Vladas Šakalys** (*Chronicle* 54) came to an end. In the middle of July his telephone was cut off. There were rumours that Šakalys would soon be arrested in connection with the case of Terleckas and Sasnauskas.

In the second half of July Šakalys disappeared. After that, notices were put up in Vilnius for a while, seeking information on the whereabouts of the 'highly dangerous recidivist Šakalys (Vladas)'. Some persons were searching the system of underground passages in the city centre.

At the end of July foreign radio-stations announced that Šakalys had crossed the Soviet-Finnish border and, without turning to the Finnish authorities (the USSR has an extradition agreement with Finland), crossed the whole country and asked for political asylum in Sweden.

Persecution of Religious Believers

Orthodox Christians

On 13 June the hieromonk **Savva (Kolchugin?)** was arrested at the Arzamas railway station. Over a year ago he was prevented from continuing his work as a priest in the church of the town Vetluga, Gorky Region. In November 1979 Savva was forcibly interned in one of the psychiatric hospitals in Gorky, where he remained till the end of the year. Articles appeared in the newspapers *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and *Leninskaya Smena* (Gorky), in which hieromonk Savva was attacked for saying in his sermons that a believer could not join the Komsomol.

* * *

In Diveyevo (Gorky Region) the police authorities are carrying out constant surveillance of pilgrims who visit the ditch dug — according to tradition — by Saint Serafim of Sarov. The worshippers are detained, taken to the District OVD, their passports are scrutinized and their fingerprints taken, and they are threatened with a beating and imprisonment.

* * *

For many centuries pilgrims visited the spring in the village of Velikoretskoye, Kirov Region, where according to tradition a vision of the miraculous icon of Saint Nicholas was seen. In 1967 the church in Velikoretskoye was closed, the chapel above the spring was demolished, and the pine-tree in which the icon had appeared was chopped down.

On 3 June 1980 police from Kirov stopped worshippers on the road to Velikoretskoye and turned them back. About a thousand believers who nevertheless reached the village were met by ranks of policemen. The bank of the River Velikaya was guarded by a row of police cars and tractors. The believers were told to disperse through loudspeakers. Policemen beat up the pilgrims.

That night the police called several times at the house where worshippers usually stay. The owners had to sign a statement promising not to let visiting pilgrims into the house. The next day shops would not sell bread to believers who were visiting Velikoretskoye. The road to the village where there is a functioning church (10 km from Velikoretskoye) was blocked.

* * *

In the spring of 1979 the Spiritual Council of the Pochayev Monastery

sent appeals to the Church and State authorities, asking for the return of the monastery's garden and guest-houses and also for permission to register novices at the monastery (*Chronicle* 51).

The appeals point out that the garden, which now belongs to various state bodies and private persons, is being destroyed and the necessary care is not being taken of it; a polyclinic and a museum of atheism have been set up in the guest-houses and the monastery has no right to admit and register novices, even those who have been picked for monastic service on Mount Athos (in Greece). These appeals resulted in various official commissions being sent to the monastery. The worshippers are now not even allowed to spend the night in the church, and ten novices have been expelled from the monastery.

Pentecostalists

In June a special issue of the Pentecostal almanac *The Red and the Black* came out.[16] The issue opens with a report about the formation, on 17 May 1980, of a group to defend the rights of evangelical Pentecostal Christians in the RSFSR, consisting of seven people whose names are not given. It includes a statement by the group, declaring one of its basic aims to be the exposing and publicizing of all illegal actions by the Soviet authorities with regard to Pentecostal believers. Further on, documents from the group are given — a telegram to the President of the USA and material on the history of Pentecostalists in Russia. Then come items of information and documents on the persecution of believers (they have been used in this section). The issue ends with photographs illustrating the material in the almanac.

* * *

The Group to Defend the Rights of Pentecostalists in the RSFSR states that recently Pentecostalists have been put under pressure to register 'autonomously', ie congregations are not allowed to have a centralized leadership and must not form links with one another.

On the eve of the 1980 Olympics an official prayer-house was opened for a registered Pentecostal congregation in Kosino (in the Moscow suburbs). It is a two-storey brick building. No rent is levied on it. The presbyter of the congregation is S. I. Marin [see the illustrations].

* * *

Moscow. On 6 June Pentecostal **Anatoly Vlasov** (*Chronicles* 46, 47, 49, 51) was summoned by KGB officials and warned 'according to the

Decree'[17] that if he went on giving foreigners information about the position of believers in the USSR, a criminal case would be instituted against him under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The warning notes that in May 1977 Vlasov gave 'foreign emissaries' Sareld and Engström slanderous material on the position of believers in the Soviet Union (*Chronicles* 47-9).

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Maloyaroslavets (Kaluga Region). The wife [Varvara] of bishop I. P. Fedotov (*Chronicle* 56) has been dismissed from her work-place because of staff reductions.

* * *

On 23 May **presbyter V. G. Murashkin** and **G. Barkhatova,** owner of the house where a prayer-meeting took place on 24 April (*Chronicle* 56) [see the illustrations], were summoned to the Town Soviet EC. An administrative commission talked to them for an hour, trying to persuade them to register their congregation. Barkhatova handed the chairman of the commission a declaration, in which the reasons for the congregation's refusal to register were outlined. In the same declaration, signed by the believers, facts were given concerning the violation by the authorities of the laws on the rights of citizens to freedom of conscience and inviolability of the home. The commission promised to give an answer to the declaration later and read out a decision fining Murashkin and Barkhatova 50 roubles each. On 9 June eight of those who had signed the declaration were summoned by the commission; they were handed resolutions fining them 50 roubles each. When Murashkin asked: 'Is this the answer to our declaration then?', he was again fined 50 roubles. Three of those fined asked the commission to give the reason for the penalty in the resolution, or at least to mention the prayer-meeting, which was the reason for the charge against them. The secretary failed to do this. They then refused to accept the resolutions fining them. The secretary said he would impose the fines through the courts.

* * *

On 10 May the police tried to break up the wedding of **N. Kuznetsov.** When the believers prevented this, the police withdrew.

* * *

On 18 June a meeting held by a group of believers in the home of **V. Rybakova** was broken up. At the same time **N. Kuznetsov** was taken to the police station, where he spent the night; in the morning he was given a 15-day sentence.

* * *

During the months April to June, the Pentecostal congregation in Maloyaroslavets suffered a number of raids by police and officials during religious services. The believers whose names were taken during these raids were summoned by the town administrative commission, which drew up charges against them of 'illegally holding religious services'. On these charges the believers were fined 930 roubles. The presbyter was fined four times — 200 roubles altogether. In three months 14 people in all were fined.

* * *

On 30 June, at the Maloyaroslavets railway station, police detained **G. N. Ukhtomskaya,** a member of the Moscow Pentecostal congregation, together with her 11-year-old son and **O. Murashkina** (wife of presbyter V. Murashkin), who was accompanying her and with whom Ukhtomskaya had stayed as a guest. They were taken to the railway police station, searched and interrogated. The disappearance of some property was given as an explanation of their detention. During the search 'A Bible-study Course for Sunday Schools', an article, 'Expelled for their Faith' by V. Puzankov, and notes Murashkin had made on the article were confiscated from Ukhtomskaya. The interrogation lasted four hours. The police chief tried to find out to where and by what channels information on the position of believers in the USSR was sent.

* * *

On 11 July **Aleksei Semeryanov** was detained and taken to a police station, where he was questioned for 24 hours. The authorities are afraid that he was in Moscow and met foreigners in order to give them information on the repression of the Maloyaroslavets congregation.

* * *

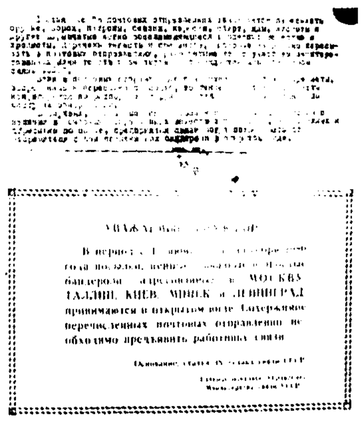
Ternopol. On 3 April a prayer meeting at the home of **Ya. A. Sokol** was interrupted by the local police chief Kupchak, the vigilantes Kovalenko, Kokhan and Myasnoi, the chairman of the public commission on the care of minors and an official of the City OVD. Lieutenant Kupchak came into the room and told those assembled there to stop the service and disperse. The owner of the house suggested that they should wait until the end of the service. When he went up to the door to see who else was on the verandah and outside in the court-yard, Kovalenko struck the door so hard that it came off its hinges. Sokol tried to shame him. He said that he would open the other half of the door, so that people could see what the viligantes were doing. Then Kupchak thrust him aside. A report was drawn up on the proceedings, in which it was merely stated that religious believers, among them children, had met in the house.

1 Viktor Nekipelov — poet, pharmacist and Helsinki Group member — and his wife Nina Komarova, who was kept in ignorance by officials about his trial. Sentence 12 years of imprisonment and exile.

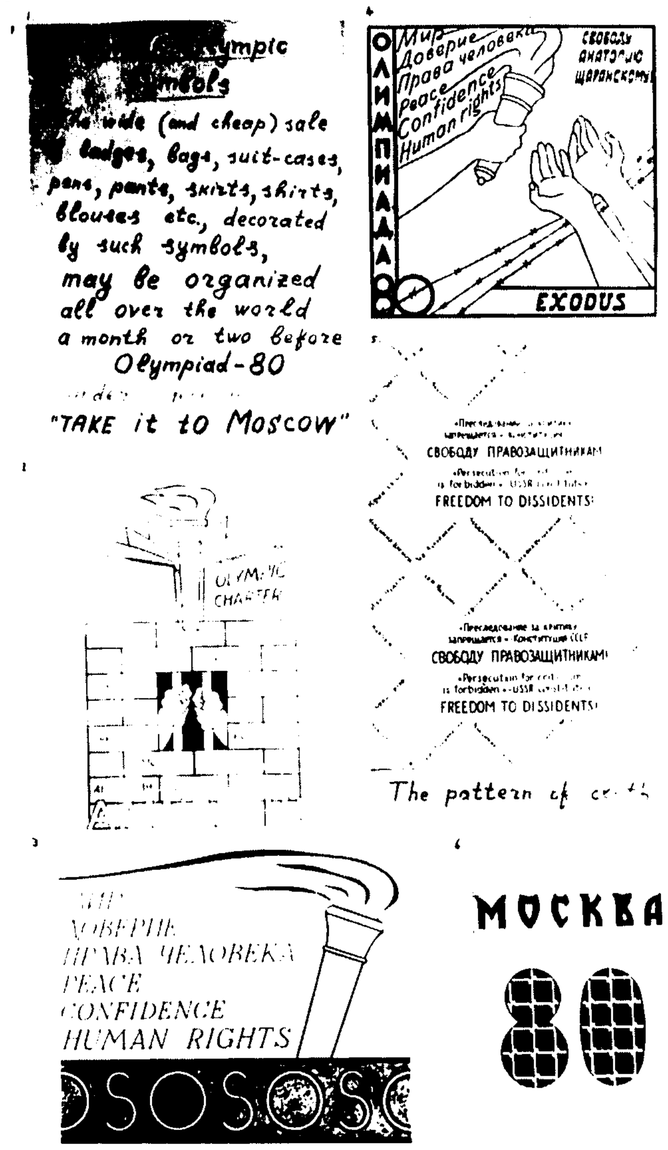
2 Yuly Kim sings, while Tatyana Osipova, left (arrested in 1980), Anastasia Podyapolskaya-Nekipelova, right, and Alla Khromova-Podrabinek (father-in-law and husband, respectively, arrested in 1979/80) listen. Second from left, Petr Starchik.

3 Public meeting in London on May 15, 1980, to support Nekipelov, Bakhmin and Ternovsky, following defence hearing conducted by L Blom-Cooper. Speaking Gen P Grigorenko; others, from right, S Glick, E Moonman, P Cadogan, B Nahaylo, Z Grigorenko, P Reddaway

4 Irina Kaplun (1950 1980), longstanding human rights activist, with her son, 1979; she died in a car crash just after her husband Vladimir Borisov had been forcibly deported abroad



5 Notice hung in Soviet post offices before the Olympic Games (cf Olympics item in 'Miscellaneous reports') 'Dear Citizens! From 15 June to 1 September 1980 parcels and insured, registered, and ordinary packets addressed to Moscow, Tallinn, Kiev, Minsk and Leningrad [the Olympic venues] are to be handed in unsealed. The contents of the dispatch categories listed must be shown to a postal official'



6 Drawings by Moscow samizdat artist linking peace, human rights, the Olympics and 'SOS', early 1980. No 2 calls for amnesty for certain political prisoners, No 4 for free emigration and the release of A Shcharansky

7 Vladimir Gusarov, Moscow actor and writer psychiatrically interned during the Olympic Games, with Larissa Bogoraz and, right, Valentina Savenkova, *c* 1970.

8 Valentin Smirnov (with camera), Leningrad photographer and art collector similarly interned, at private art exhibition, *c* 1978. On left, Georgy Mikhailov, sentenced to 4 years in 1979 (*Chronicle* 54).

9 Dmitry Dudko, dissenting Orthodox priest arrested in 1980, induced to recant in public, released; he then denounced his recantation.

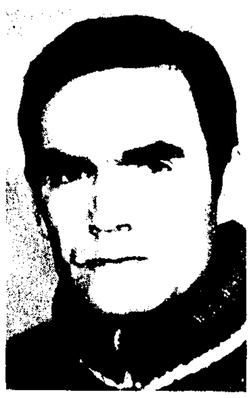
10 Vladimir Gershuni, veteran Moscow dissenter forcibly interned in mental hospital during Olympics; he nearly died through medical neglect.

11 Petras Cidzikas, left (*Chronicles* 34, 39, 46), visits Voldemaras Karaliunas, a Lithuanian psychiatrically interned since 1975 for a strike call, in Kaunas mental hospital (75 Kuzmos St), 1980.

12 Bogdan Chuiko, Ukrainian construction engineer rearrested in 1980, aged 60, and given six years on trumped-up charge

13 Vitaly Kalinichenko, Ukrainian Helsinki Group member given 15 years, with his grandmother

14 Zinovy Antonyuk, Ukrainian dissenter in chronic bad health after seven-year camp term, persecuted in exile in 1980



15 Vasily Lisovoi, Ukrainian philosopher rearrested in exile in 1980 and given 1 year

16 Eduard Arutyunyan, Armenian Helsinki Group member given 2½ years

17 Group of Kharkov dissenters, 1980 Left to right, standing Igor Kravtsov, Anatoly Zinchenko and wife, Anatoly Zdorovy; sitting Genrikh Altunyan, Vladislav Nedobora, Yury Dzyuba In 1980 Dzyuba, Altunyan, Zdorovy and Zinchenko were searched and interrogated about arrested I Sokulsky

18 Moscow foodshop notice saying in large letters 'Disabled served without queueing' The small print limits this privilege to World War Two invalids

19 Yury Kiselev, a leader of pressure group for the disabled, persecuted in 1980

20 Bishop Ivan Fedotov preaching at a Pentecostal service in the woods, May 25, 1980. The cassette-player is for the music for hymns.

21 Pentecostal leaders at the service. In centre: Fedotov, on his right: Stepan Kostyuk (*Chronicle* 56), on his left: Vasily Ryakhovsky.

22 A wider view of the service.

23 Three Pentecostals refused higher education because of their religion. left to right, Presbyter Vladimir Murashkin, Pavel Savelev, Veniamin Puzankov.

24 Two police officers try to enter the home of the Pentecostal Barkhatovs in Kaluga region, prior to breaking up a prayer meeting there, April 24, 1980, (*Chronicles* 56, 57).

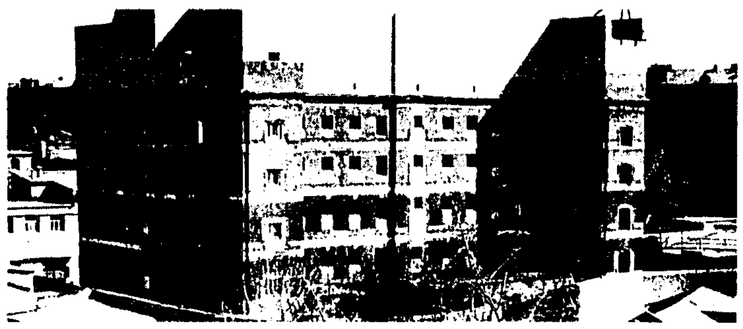
25 A. A. Borisenkova displays bruises acquired on that occasion

26 Varvara Fedotova, the Bishop's wife, sacked from her job

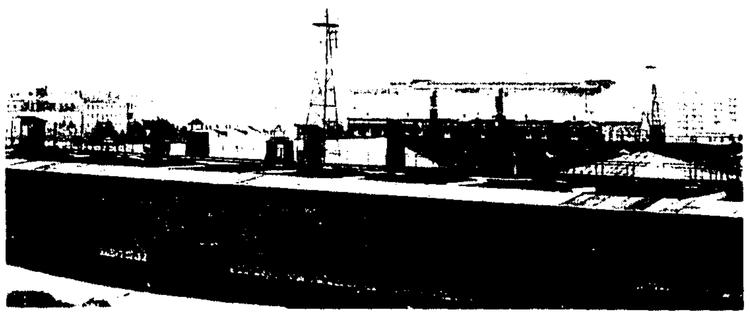
27 Tatyana Ivanova, Leningrad Pentecostal refused emigration and persecuted.

28, left, Natalya Malakhovskaya and **29**, centre, Tatyana Mamonova, Leningrad feminists pressured into emigration as the Olympics began, on pain of immediate arrest

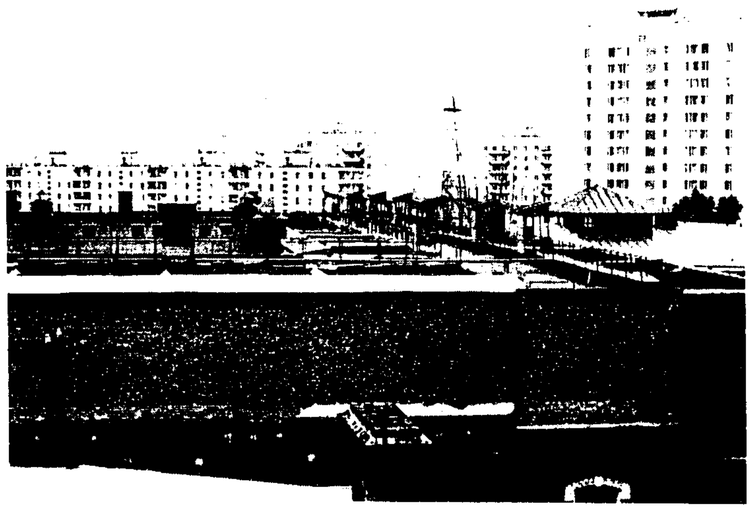
30 Tamara Samsonova-Egides (*Chronicles* 14, 15, 56, 57) Moscow dissenter who followed her husband into forced emigration



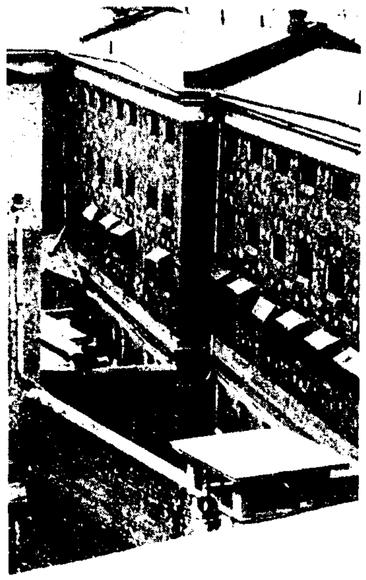
31-5 The Butyrka investigations prison of the MVD in Moscow (postal address, Moscow K-55, p/ya IZ-48/2) situated beside the Savelevsky railway station on the streets Butyrsky val and Novlesnaya ulitsa.
31 A new block of the prison, photographed in early 1980 while in process of conversion from residential flats. Note the high wall, the semi- and wholly bricked-up windows, and the windowless new superstructure.



32 The main prison with, behind, the back of the new block. The outer walls with round towers and observation huts, can be clearly seen.



33 View to the right of 32.

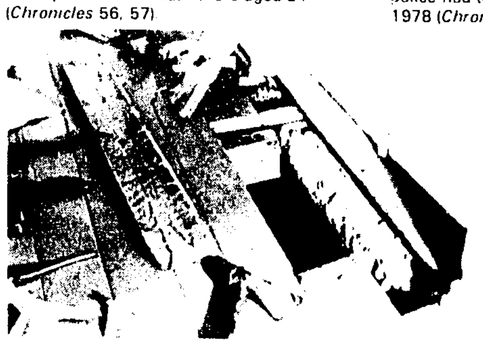


34 View further right and down, showing a watch-tower on the outer wall

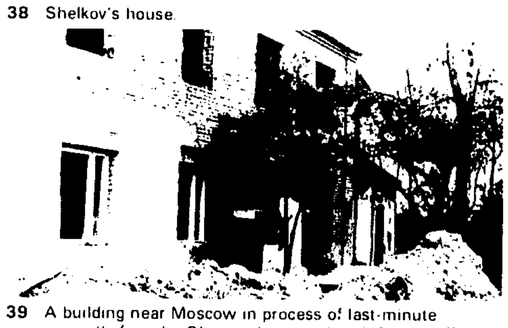
35 Some windows close up

36 Rev Vladimir Shelkov, Adventist, photographed in a NE Siberian camp in 1979, shortly before his death there aged 84 (*Chronicles* 56, 57).

37 Shelkov's house in Tashkent after the police had torn it apart on March 14-17, 1978 (*Chronicle* 49).



38 Shelkov's house.



39 A building near Moscow in process of last-minute conversion (before the Olympics) into a church for the officially recognized Moscow community of Pentecostals and for foreign visitors.

40 Serafim Marin, presbyter of the community.

Later a criminal case was made out against Sokol. The indictment stated that Sokol had pushed Kupchak away, and, with the aim of compromising the police and the vigilantes, had tried to throw open the door, create an uproar and summon other people. He had then torn the door itself off its hinges and pushed Kovalenko away. After receiving a copy of the indictment, Sokol appealed to the Procurator in a declaration stating that the evidence given by the witnesses and the victim was false; this was backed up by the fact that the report of 3 April did not say a word about Sokol being guilty of anything.

Nevertheless, a court hearing took place on 25 June. The chief witness and the 'victim' Kovalenko were not even called by the court. Nor were the believers — 60 witnesses — questioned. Sokol was sentenced under article 188-1 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code ('Resisting a police officer or a people's vigilante') to one year of imprisonment in ordinary-regime camps.

* * *

Vinnitsa. On 10 May a policeman and an official of the District Soviet EC interrupted the wedding of **L. Vorona** and **I. Derun.** They tried to interfere with the performance of the marriage ceremony, which was accompanied by a religious service. L. Vorona and **N. Polyakov** were fined 50 roubles each. A presbyter from Zhdanov, **V. Prudnikov** (*Chronicle* 47), who performed the ceremony, was summoned by the commissioner of the Donetsk regional Council for Religious Affairs.

* * *

Estonia. P. A. Melnichuk, a resident of the town of Kiviili, in Kohtla-Jarve District, received a warning on 11 July from the Kohtla-Jarve Town Soviet EC about violating the 'statutes on Religious Associations' in that he organized meetings of unregistered religious congregations. In particular the warning stated:

> You are also warned not to organize trips to the Moscow Olympic Games, either personally or with members of your religious group, and not to carry out religious propaganda among visitors to the Olympics.

Adventists

The Council of the All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh Day Adventists [SDAs] reports that, according to the evidence available up to July, over 200 searches have been carried out in the last two years in Adventist homes, with confiscation of religious and human rights literature, and that 39 people have been imprisoned.

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'Open Letter' No. 12 (see the section 'Addenda and Corrigenda') reports arrests and searches in Frunze and Kattakurgan. On the night of 13-14 February a search took place at the home of **A. L. Lysenko** in Frunze. The owner had been arrested the day before. His young wife was at home. She had her arms twisted, the light was switched off and she was ordered to take her child out on the street.

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On 28 February in Kattakurgan (Uzbekistan) a search was carried out at the home of **T. A. Razdymakha,** who had been arrested before the search. During the search, floors were taken up and people searched for something in the yard and the plot of ground next to the garden. A Bible and other religious literature, a tape-recorder and a savings book were confiscated. No search record was left.

A. N. Sporykhin (also an Adventist), an invalid of the Second Group, who was driving on a motorcycle past Razdymakha's house, together with his son, was seized and dragged into the house, in the course of which action his clothes were torn. Investigator Khalikulov, a participant in the search, kicked Sporykhin on his injured leg, brought him to the ground and, placing his foot on his chest, ordered him to keep quiet. Sporykhin's son tried to call for help to the neighbours — but his mouth was covered.

* * *

On the same day KGB officials carried out more searches in Kattakurgan. In one of them the searchers broke into a house which **N. I. Voropayeva** and **E. S. Kireyeva** were visiting. Voropayeva tried to protest against the search being carried out in the absence of the owner. Akhmedov, who was in charge of the search, hit her on the face and began to beat her head against the wall. The 73-year-old Kireyeva was taken ill at this point. Akhmedov would not allow her to take any medicine.

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On 1 July **Rostislav Nikolayevich Galetsky** (*Chronicle* 49), leader of the Group of the All-Union Church of True and Free SDAs for Legal Struggle and Investigation of the Facts of Persecution of Believers in the USSR, was arrested in Moscow on the day of his arrival there.

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On 7 June a group of Adventists in Riga (30 adults and three children) met together in the house of **V. Darguziene** to hold a Sabbath morning service. At 11 o'clock a minibus drove up to the house. Two men in police uniform and 15 in civilian clothes got out of it. Jumping over

the fence, they began to knock at the door. Then they broke it down and forced their way into the house. A KGB official known to them from previous searches asked those who had assembled to give their names and show their identity documents. The believers insisted that the invaders should first show their documents. One of them then named himself as MVD Captain Vorobëv. A search record prepared in advance was read out; the mistress of the house was asked to sign it. After receiving a refusal, on the grounds that the men who had broken into the house had not given proof of their identities, Vorobëv called out an operations unit of 25 police cadets. They arrested nine men and took them out to the bus. While this 'operation' was being carried out, the house was surrounded by the men in plain clothes and the flow of traffic on the street was brought to a halt. During the raid, when the mistress of the house began to have a heart-attack, an ambulance was called, although the raiders had expressly forbidden it. Those arrested were taken to the Riga UVD and attempts made to force them to sign statements prepared in advance by KGB officials, which read: 'I (name) admit that I am guilty of attending an illegal assembly of unregistered believers which took place at 59 Sejas Street and where minors were also present, and I promise not to do so again.' The believers refused to sign such a text and offered to write their own statements. This was refused. Seven believers, who had filled out forms giving personal details, were released but **G. E. Nikolayev** and **A. S. Dembitsky** were detained and taken to a special detention centre. There they were forced to give their fingerprints. They refused to do so. Nikolayev was put in a cell with criminal prisoners. The next day they were taken to the People's Court of the Lenin District in Riga. Nikolayev's wife, who had appealed to the head of the special centre for news of her husband's fate, was told to come back the next day. When she arrived at the appointed time, she was informed that her husband and Dembitsky had already been sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment each. Evidence in court was given only by Captain Vorobëv. Nikolayev and Dembitsky were accused of singing anti-Soviet hymns (they had sung religious hymns) and shouting anti-Soviet slogans (they had quoted Lenin's Decrees, the Constitution and the international covenants).

The Right to Leave

Officials of Moscow OVIR told **Yu. Yarym-Agayev** (see 'Have Left') that the average waiting time for a reply to a request for permission to emigrate is one-and-a-half years.

* * *

Moscow Region. In 1978 **Seram Dmitrievich Evsyukov** (b. 1933) began to petition for permission to emigrate. He received no reply to his applications. With one of his statements to Brezhnev he enclosed all the documents which have to be submitted to OVIR except for an invitation from abroad. The documents were sent to the Moscow Regional OVIR but were not examined because an invitation was missing.

S. D. Evsyukov was dismissed from his job (in January 1978, after 25 years' work as a navigator in civil aviation, he had retired, although he had continued to work as an engineer). His daughter Lyudmila (b. 1961) was charged with 'betrayal of the Motherland and amoral behaviour' by the Komsomol College Committee and expelled from her college.

In 1980 Evsyukov's son Serafim (b. 1962) was called up to join the Army. **S. S. Evsyukov** replied with a request to be excused from military service; not receiving any answer, he sent a telegram to Brezhnev. On 23 May he was arrested for 'evasion of call-up for active military service' (article 80 of the RSFSR Criminal Code); on 27 July Domodedovo Town People's Court sentenced him to two-and-a-half years of ordinary-regime imprisonment.

S. D. Evsyukov has appealed to Captain Holden and Captain Gerard, with whom he flew in 1956 and 1959, and also to the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization?], to airline companies, to trades unions of workers in aviation, and to private individuals, asking them to send him 'an invitation for permanent settlement in a Western country'.

* * *

In 1966 **Leonid Pavlov** (b. 1936), who was about to become a member of the Communist Party, suddenly refused to join. By 1976 Pavlov had defended his doctoral thesis, had over 70 printed works and certificates of authorship and had submitted his higher doctoral thesis. In December 1976, in a letter to Brezhnev, Pavlov requested release from Soviet citizenship and permission to emigrate to a capitalist country.

On 30 August 1977 Pavlov was arrested. On 6 April 1978 the October District People's Court in Leningrad sentenced him under article 195, part 1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('theft ... of official stationery') and article 196, part 1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('... preparation ... of counterfeit documents') to two years' deprivation of freedom: from February to May 1977 Pavlov, using deceptive letters which he wrote on stationery filched by him from places where he had formerly worked, gained access to special closed sections of the USSR Academy of Sciences Library and read sociological literature, *The New York Times* and the magazine *Time*. Using credentials

prepared in the same way, Pavlov took away three notebooks of extracts from the literature he had read. The court added an extra three years to its sentence — so that he would finish serving a sentence he had received on 7 February 1969. (In 1969 Pavlov was sentenced under article 211, part 2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code to eight years of ordinary-regime imprisonment for a motor-vehicle offence; in 1973 he was released on parole). Pavlov was therefore sentenced to a total of five years in strict-regime camps.

In September 1979 Pavlov was given a conditional release 'with the obligation of working under official direction'. He started to fulfil his 'obligation' in Mtsensk, but in punishment for a visit to Moscow without permission in March 1980 he was transferred to Sterlitamak.

On 25 October 1979 Pavlov sent a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, again requesting to be released from Soviet citizenship and allowed to leave the USSR.

* * *

Feodosia. In January **Vladimir Vyrkin** (b. 1940) applied for permission to emigrate. In mid-July he was arrested on a charge of 'parasitism'.

* * *

Uzhgorod. On 17 April **Galina Maksimova** (b. 1932), the mother of Alexander Maksimov, who was arrested on 25 February (*Chronicle* 56), sent her passport and a statement renouncing her citizenship to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. She demands to be informed of her son's whereabouts.

Jews

Moscow. In summer 1979 **Leonid Diky,** a Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences and an assistant professor at the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty of Moscow University, applied for permission to emigrate to Israel. He was immediately forbidden to hold more than one job and at the beginning of the new academic year he was not given any teaching. The department arranged with him that although he would formally remain an assistant professor he would be working only according to an individual plan of scientific work.

In May 1980 Diky was dismissed; the order said that because of his desire to leave the Motherland he had done no teaching for a year and was merely sitting around the department. Diky applied to a court to be reinstated. By 3 August his statement had not been examined, although according to article 99 of the RSFSR Code of Civil Procedure it should have been examined within ten days.

* * *

Leningrad. Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences **Yury Kolker** has for four months been unsuccessfully trying to submit his documents for emigration. He works in a stoke-hole. On 19 April KGB officials had a talk with him and threatened him with prosecution under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code for his poetry, which has been circulating in samizdat.

* * *

Riga. Only in October 1979, after **Kh. Kilov** and his wife **Sh. Elman** had submitted numerous appeals to the central organs, did OVIR accept their applications for emigration without a prior move to a one-roomed flat (*Chronicle* 52). In April 1980 their application was refused on the grounds that their relatives in the USSR were closer to them than those abroad. In a statement to the Chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, A. P. Shitikov, Kilov and Elman point out that 'such grounds for refusal contravene the provisions of the Final Act' of the Helsinki Agreement, and express the hope that they will be able 'in the near future ... to exercise their inalienable right to emigrate from the USSR'.

* * *

Kiev. Saturday meetings of refuseniks outside OVIR are 'monitored' by KGB officials Novikov and Odintsov. Sometimes the meetings are broken up. On Thursdays 'silent demonstrations' are held outside the Ukrainian MVD. On 10 April, when over 150 people were attending the demonstration, Lt-Col Vasilev ran out of the MVD building and started to shout that the demonstrators were paralysing the work of the Ministry and that if they did not leave within six minutes he would summon a police squad. After about 20 minutes the demonstrators went to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee building. There they were given an appointment for Monday 14 April. On Saturday 12 April the refuseniks discovered that there was a possibility of some kind of trap being set for them on 14 April. They therefore sent a telegram to the Central Committee to say they would not attend on the Monday. On the morning of 14 April the street in front of the Central Committee building was cordoned off with cars, policemen and KGB officials.

* * *

Kiev refuseniks' first joint complaint was handed to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and to the USSR MVD on 7 February 1980. 97 people had signed it. On 18 February a group of Kiev women refuseniks handed in a statement with 102 signatures to the same organizations.

On 18 March a new delegation of Kiev refuseniks (about 40 people) arrived in Moscow from Kiev. On 19 March the Head of the USSR MVD OVIR, K. I. Zotov (*Chronicle* 56) received a group of five of them; they handed Zotov an appeal (117 signatures); he promised to examine the cases of the Kiev refuseniks and to 'sort it out'.

On 23 April representatives of the Kiev refuseniks **I. Gonchar, M. Mikhlin, I. Shelkova** and **N. Yankelevich** went to the USSR KGB. The head of one of the departments, Yu. A. Kazamanov, received them. They asked him not to try to stop the Kiev refuseniks appealing against the actions of official persons. At the end of their talk Kazamanov said: 'But why have you come to us? Go and appeal to your Zionist organizations'. On the same day an official of the Central Committee's Administrative Organs Department, A. A. Glukhovtsev, received several refuseniks (*Chronicle* 56). They were unable to obtain an audience at the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On 26 April, when they had returned to Kiev, **Liliana Varvak** (*Chronicles* 53, 56), **Leonid Korsunsky,** the married couple **Iosif and Fanya Berenshtein** and **Izolda Shelkova** wrote 'An Appeal to the Jewish People' (*Chronicle* 56):

> ... Kiev is the only city in the USSR which has replied to mass refusals to grant permission to emigrate with mass collective protests and collective actions.
>
> And therefore it is the first city in which mass reprisals will be visited on the refusenik families ...
>
> Jews throughout the world, help us!
>
> We are defenceless. The Soviet Union has effectively turned us into hostages. We do not know what ransom the Soviet state is prepared to accept for us, but we beg of you, help us, we will perish!
>
> Pay our ransom or set us free!

By 15 May 34 more people had signed the appeal.

* * *

Since the end of April about 100 refuseniks have been summoned to the police and the KGB for talks intended to scare them. The leitmotif of the talks has been: do not sign collective letters, and stop these collective trips to Moscow. District OVD Senior Inspector Baranets informed **the Berenshteins:** 'I won't give you a moment's rest. We'll find a criminal charge for you!. A KGB official told **Leonid Kheifets:** 'Although you are not breaking any laws, your behaviour is antisocial. Anyway, the laws don't apply to everyone.'

Many of the refuseniks have received warnings 'about the unacceptability of leading a parasitic way of life'. These include people who have an official source of income (for example Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences **Valery Kanevsky** is registered as a coach) and married women (**Fanya Berenshtein, Lina Brailovskaya**).

The head of the Kiev UVD Yu. L. Titarenko has said that anyone who is not at work from 9 am to 6 pm will be tried for parasitism. Without the sanction of a Procurator, searches have been conducted at the flats of **Kanevsky** and **Valery Pilnikov** and body-searches of **Kheifets** and **Varvak** were conducted at the railway station.

On 7 May two policemen and seven KGB officials blocked the entrance to **Shelkova's** flat when she was expecting guests. As people arrived they were told: 'There's been a robbery in this flat. Show us your documents!. No one was allowed into the flat.

* * *

On 3 May **Semën Makhlis** was taken straight from a 'chat' at a police station to a courtroom. Here he discovered that during his conversation with an inspector he had been abusive. He was given 15 days in the cells. Makhlis has an ulcer. He is serving his sentence in a special detention centre where they have twice had to call on ambulance for him. Because of his health he refused to work and was put in a punishment cell for 24 hours.

On 5 May, after a 'chat' at a police station, **Ilya Knizhnik** went into a shop. A man ran up to him with the cry: 'Why did you hit me?'. 15 days. Out of solidarity with Makhlis, Knizhnik refused to go out to work — again 24 hours in the punishment cells. Titarenko once said of Knizhnik: 'That swine hates everything here. Even if all of them get permission to leave, I'll do all I can to make him stay!' On 6 May **Stanislav Zubkov** received a ten-day sentence for 'slanderous utterances' ('There's no meat in the shops').

At about 7 pm on 11 May Sokolov, a detective inspector from the Radyansky District OVD, and two policemen visited **Kanevsky**'s flat. Sokolov handed Kanevsky a summons for 7.30 pm. The line 'You are summoned in the capacity of ... ' was left blank: 'Just come and we'll tell you about it then'. When Kanevsky arrived at the police station at the appointed time he was shown a statement according to which he had been detained by the police and had put up resistance. Kanevsky was put in the cells (seven men in an area of six square metres). On the morning of May 12 Kanevsky was taken to the Radyansky District People's Court. The first question Judge Mironenko put to him was: 'So you want to emigrate to Israel?' Kanevsky petitioned for his wife (who was in the court building) and his mother to be summoned to testify that he had not been detained by the police and had therefore not put up resistance. The Judge rejected his petition. Then Mironenko had Kanevsky removed from his office. After consulting with President of the Court Novgorodsky, Mironenko gave Kanevsky 15 days on a new charge — that of refusing admittance to his home to District OVD Inspector Sokolov, who was delivering a summons.

On the morning of 13 May, just after **I. Berenshtein** had left his house, a man came up to him, grabbed him by the sleeves and started shouting that Berenshtein was using obscene language. A policeman and a police van 'happened' to be close by. Head of the Darnitsky District OVD Gvozdetsky greeted Berenshtein with the words: 'Why did you sign the "Appeal to the Jewish People"?' The Judge at the Darnitsky People's Court who was asked to examine the 'case' against Berenshtein refused to do so; also, the chief witness renounced his 'evidence' (for which act he was threatened with 15 days). They found another judge and another witness. 15 days.

* * *

Beginning on 10 May the authorities once again started to detain **Kiev refuseniks** and take them off trains. All the same, 47 refuseniks had arrived in Moscow by 13 May.

On 13 May they went to the Party Central Committee building, where they were told at the reception that interviews would not be granted either to the group as a whole or to its representatives; they would receive two people only on condition that they were husband and wife, and furthermore they would not discuss 'global issues' with them. Albert Ivanov (*Chronicles* 48, 50, 55) promised the group that they would be received by the MVD the following day.

On 14 May about ten people delivered statements to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in which they renounced their citizenship. After this they went to the MVD. MVD officials told them that they would not discuss the situation in Kiev with them, but that the emigration cases of the 47 who had come to Moscow would be examined.

On 15 May the group went to the USSR Procuracy. The Head of Reception, N. V. Tsybulnik (*Chronicles* 48, 52), received them. They told him about the persecution of people who desired to emigrate. Tsybulnik promised 'to sort it out and take measures'. To their complaint about the numerous refusals of permission to emigrate he said that these were not violations of law and they would have to appeal to the MVD. Tsybulnik's comment on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was: 'It's for us, not for you'. At the end of their talk the group expressed their fears of reprisals against them and members of their families when they returned to Kiev. Tsybulnik objected that the USSR Procuracy would allow nothing of the sort. On 16 May the group returned to Kiev.

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On the evening of 16 May, when one of the members of the group, **Pilnikov**, was about to get off a trolleybus, four men in civilian clothes attacked him. They tied him up, took him off the trolleybus

and started to accuse him of insulting an old man who had been sitting near the exit. They dragged Pilnikov to a Zhiguli car which was waiting by the bus stop and drove him away. The 'victim' was left standing at the bus stop.

On 17 May Pilnikov's wife **Olga Dudnik** and several other refuseniks turned to Deputy Procurator of Kiev's Moscow District L. V. Malik. During the conversation Malik said: 'These are traitors; they are capable of anything'.

(On the same day five cars containing policemen and dogs tore up to the place where Kiev refuseniks were meeting. One dog was even let off his lead. At an order from Captain Odintsov they pushed **Gennady Olshansky, Boris Faktorovich, Sergei Gorodissky, Igor Boretsky, David Chërny** and **Larissa Klimenko** into the cars. At the police station their passport details were written down. They were released after three hours.)

On 19 May the Procurator of Moscow District sanctioned the arrest of Pilnikov on a charge of 'malicious hooliganism' (article 206, part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code).

On 20 May O. Dudnik, S. Gorodissky and **Pëtr Kats** flew to Moscow. Tsybulnik assured them that Ukrainian Deputy Procurator S. F. Skopenko had received instructions regarding the Pilnikov case. He advised them to apply to Skopenko and to refer to him, Tsybulnik. He also said that the Ukraine had 'gone too far', but that instructions had been given and measures would be taken immediately. (On the same day G. Olshansky, D. Chërny and **Solomon Yurist** were seized on the street in Kiev. They were detained by the police for five hours.)

On 21 May Andreyev, Head of Reception at the Ukrainian Procuracy, categorically refused to make an appointment for Olga Dudnik to see Skopenko. On the telephone Skopenko denied that he had received any instructions from Moscow regarding the Pilnikov case.

Dudnik appealed to the City Procuracy. On 23 May she received a written answer from them: the measures chosen by the District Procurator had been correct.

(By 28 May 16 people, including Leonid and Liliana Varvak, V. Pilnikov and O. Dudnik, L. Korsunsky, B. Faktorovich, P. Kats, S. Gorodissky and D. Chërny had sent statements to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet renouncing their citizenship.)

Pilnikov's trial was set for 20 June. On that day the defence counsel invited by Olga Dudnik, **N. Ya. Nemirinskaya** (*Chronicle* 53) from Voroshilovgrad, arrived in the courtroom. The trial was unexpectedly postponed. The Secretary to the Court asked Nemirinskaya when she would be able to come again. Nemirinskaya replied: 'Any day except June 27'. The trial was set for June 27. It took place, however, on

June 25 (Nemirinskaya discovered this from Olga Dudnik the evening before, but had already made other plans). The sentence was the maximum — five years in camps.

Dudnik still wished to engage Nemirinskaya, if only for an appeal. On 30 June, when setting off to fly to Voroshilovgrad, she was searched at the airport and all the papers connected with her husband's case were taken away. (V. Pilnikov is Russian, O. Dudnik is a Jew; they are both refuseniks.)

* * *

At the end of March a woman from the Guardianship Council visited **Liliana Varvak** to inspect how her three children were being brought up. It turned out that Liliana's mother L. M. Sergeyeva had sent a statement to the Council saying that Liliana was bringing her children up incorrectly (Sergeyeva categorically objects to the idea of her daughter leaving the USSR).

At the end of April three people from the Guardianship Council visited Liliana Varvak. They said that emigration to Israel was contrary to the children's interests and that as L. Varvak was a believer she seemed to be giving her children a distorted view of reality. They asked her: 'Do you hear the voice of God?'. Liliana replied that this was like a psychiatric examination. She said that it was not her intention to give her children a specifically religious upbringing, but that she did read the *Children's Bible* and prayers to them.

On 28 April the Guardianship Council issued a positive report ('the children are cared for, their mother gives them attention'), but it then issued another, contradictory report (in which Liliana is made out to be at fault because of her religion). Liliana Varvak was taken to be examined at the district psychiatric clinic. Their report says that she is 'socially dangerous'.

* * *

On 3 July **Vladimir Kislik** (*Chronicles* 45, 47, 53, 54) was detained by the police in the street. On 4 July the Judge of Kiev's Svyatoshinsky District arrested him for 15 days for 'pestering foreigners'. Kislik had heart pains several times during the 15 days. On one occasion an ambulance was called. After his release Kislik was sent to the Pavlov Psychiatric Hospital for a week (the Olympic competitions in Kiev finished on 27 July).

Germans

For two years already **Alexander Bous,** a resident of Chelyabinsk, has been trying to emigrate with his father, mother and brother.

On 1 and 2 April an article entitled 'Spiritual Emigrés' was published

in the newspaper *Chelyabinsk Worker*. The main attack in the article was directed against Bous. Here is an extract from the article:

> A man with a broad forehead, with thinning hair tinged with red and bright blue eyes ... And suddenly I remembered my war days. Even now I remember those other helmets. The dark, poisonously green colour, the brims slightly lowered and bent at the back. With a swastika ... And the eyes under those helmets. The eyes which went especially well with those helmets were blue like ice ... Nordic eyes — an attribute of the master race.

Anatoly Arendar (*Chronicle* 56) and **Ya. I. Bekker** sent letters to the newspaper and to the Party Regional Committee in defence of Bous. On 16 July the newspaper *Chelyabinsk Worker* stated, in an article entitled 'Our Life Position', that 'A. F. Arendar has come forward in defence of spiritual émigrés'.

Pentecostalists

On 1 July **B. Perchatkin** (*Chronicle* 56) was arrested in Nakhodka.

* * *

N. G. Bobarykin from Starotitarovskaya Village (*Chronicle* 56), on behalf of Pentecostalists who had renounced their Soviet citizenship and submitted papers for emigration from the USSR, has sent a letter to participants of the Madrid Conference with a request for help. The letter recounts how the people summoned to the KGB for interrogation after the arrest of **N. Goretoi** (*Chronicle* 56) were told that they too would be tried if they continued to appeal for help to foreign governments and organizations and to the people of the world; and also how they have been forbidden to leave their village, especially during the Olympics.

* * *

T. V. Ivanova of Leningrad, who has on several occasions handed in applications for emigration from the USSR, had talks, on 5 and 10 January, with KGB officials about these applications. The talks took place at her home. Her visitors introduced themselves as Sasha and Yura, and Yura said that he was a believer. They wanted to know why she wished to emigrate, her attitude to registration of her community, who was the community's administrator, who was the leader, who taught, and who had connections abroad. Not receiving the desired information, her guests turned to threats and talked of the misery, unemployment and hunger which prevailed in the West. Nor did they steer clear of rudeness. They then started to talk of the necessity of having an invitation from close relatives abroad. During 1979-80 two

invitations were sent to Ivanova from Israel, but she did not receive either of them.

Have Left

In May the Muscovites **Sergei Alekseyev** (*Chronicle* 56), the son of Lyudmila Alekseyeva (*Chronicle* 44), and member of the Council of Representatives of the Free Inter-trade Association of Working People (*Chronicle* 51) **Evgeny Nikolayev** (*Chronicle* 56), with his wife **Tyan Zaochnaya**, left the USSR. From Leningrad the poetess **Yulia Okulova-Voznesenskaya** (*Chronicles* 43, 46, 55, 56) and **Dzhemma Kvachevskaya** (*Chronicles* 6, 9), with her husband **Pavel Babich** emigrated in May. The German **Genrikh Reimer** (*Chronicles* 44, 54) left the USSR in May.

In June **L. Olkhova** (*Chronicle* 45) from Voronezh, her son **G. Olkhov** (*Chronicles* 47, 52) and **T. Samsonova** (*Chronicle* 56), wife of member of the editorial board of the journal *Searches* P. Egides (*Chronicle* 56), left the USSR.

In July former political prisoner **Vyacheslav Repnikov** (*Chronicle* 47) left for the West. In July **Vasily Aksënov** (*Chronicles* 52, 54, 55), one of the compilers of the *Metropol* almanac, left to lecture in the USA for two years.

* * *

On 2 May member of the Moscow Helsinki Group **Yury Yarym-Agayev** sent a statement to the State Committee on Science and Technology, the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in which he wrote that he had been dismissed from his post as a research officer at the Institute of Chemical Physics on account of his activities as a defender of the rule of law, and that he had been unable subsequently to find permanent work in his field. He then said that he had had several invitations from American universities, and that so far as he could see, his only chance of continuing his scientific work lay in accepting one of these invitations. In view of this Yarym-Agayev asked to be allowed to visit the USA for two to three years.

On 28 May Yarym-Agayev received a post-card with no return address, in which he was asked to telephone Dergachëv. Dergachëv turned out to be the Head of the Science Department of the Moscow Party City Committee, and he had been sent one of Yarym-Agayev's statements. Dergachëv said that Yarym-Agayev could not be sent to work in America because he had no permanent post and because there was no one to send him. Yarym-Agayev objected that he was asking to visit the USA precisely because he could not find a permanent post in the USSR and he did not need anyone to send him, he just

needed an exit visa. Dergachëv replied that he would have to apply to OVIR for that.

On 30 May Yarym-Agayev was detained on the street by KGB officials (including B. B. Karatayev — *Chronicles* 32, 45, 47, 51, 54). He was taken to the police station near his registered place of residence. At first the station chief tried unsuccessfully to accuse him of parasitism. Then a KGB official interrupted and said that now he would have a talk with Yarym-Agayev. 'Should I leave?' asked the chief. 'You can stay' was the reply. The KGB official then said to Yarym-Agayev: 'As you know, Tatyana Osipova was arrested on 27 May. You were, and are still, engaged in the same activities as she, and we have all the grounds for your arrest. We won't discuss your views now; we know that you stick hard to them; but you won't be able to live here with them. We know that you've submitted a statement in which you say that you want to go and work in the USA for two or three years. You won't leave here that way. However, you may leave in the usual way. Only we'll have to agree right now on the date — you mustn't be here when the Olympics start. We'll say July 1 provisionally. If you have any problems, let us know'. Afterwards, 'so that all this doesn't remain just words' (this from a KGB official), Yarym-Agayev was issued a caution 'according to the Decree' (see 'A Warning to the Group'). After Yarym-Agayev had signed the caution record, KGB officials advised him not to discuss their conversation and released him.

On 3 July, when Yarym-Agayev went to OVIR for his visa, he was met there by Karatayev, who told him that he would have to be interrogated before receiving his visa (see 'The Arrest of Osipova').

On 8 July Yarym-Agayev flew abroad. After his departure five members of the Moscow Helsinki Group remained at liberty: E. Bonner, S. Kalistratova, I. Kovalëv, N. Meiman and F. Serebrov.

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When the almanac *Women and Russia* (*Chronicle* 55) came out in December 1979 its editors were warned that, in the event of a second number being issued, a criminal case would be brought against them under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

On 5 May 1980 the almanac *Maria* appeared in Leningrad. (In April **S. Sokolova** — *Chronicles* 55-6 — was detained and searched several times; at one of the searches a mock-up for the almanac was confiscated.)

Just before the Olympics **T. Goricheva** (*Chronicles* 55-6) was told that if she did not leave within a few days she would be arrested. They gave her a visa the next day. (Earlier she had applied to emigrate.) She left the USSR, with **T. Mamonova** and **N. Malakhovskaya,** during the first days of the Olympics.

In the Prisons and Camps

In accordance with new regulations confiscated letters are now destroyed.

Chistopol Prison

On completion of their prison terms **R. Zograbyan** and **I. Mendelevich** (in April) and **G. Sheludko** (in July) were sent to camps. In February **Konstantinovsky** (*Chronicle* 40) returned (see *Chronicle* 51) to the prison. In camp he had refused to work and been put in the punishment block.

Boleslav Lizunas (b. 1920) from Lithuania has arrived at the prison. In 1944-6 he was a partisan, one of the leaders of the group 'the Forest Brothers'. He was arrested in May 1979 (he had earlier evaded arrest by living under an assumed name). He was sentenced to 15 years' deprivation of freedom for 'betrayal of the Motherland' (with the first ten years to be spent in prison). He was accused of taking part in the execution of Communists — Lizunas denies this. He is unable to bend his fingers (a salt deficiency); in spite of this he has been banned from using the shop, for not fulfilling his work norm.

Yu. Bogin (b. 1959), **Yurev** (b. 1957) and **Ivlyushkin** (b. 1959), all sentenced in the same case, have arrived at the prison. They were arrested in the Army in the period December 1978-January 1979. The charge was attempted espionage (articles 64 and 15 of the RSFSR Criminal Code). Bogachëv (b. 1959), who was sentenced on a similar charge, has also arrived here.

* * *

During the spring the prisoners were given a mixed salad on Sundays — the only dish which contained fresh vegetables. (Before this they had been served fresh vegetables only in September 1979 — one piece of cucumber on three days.) Since May they have started serving pasta instead of salad. The prison library contains around 4,000 books; however a special list (of around 200 books) has been drawn up for political prisoners — they are allowed to order only books off this list.

* * *

On 24 December 1979 **Yu. Shukhevich** and **V. Balakhonov** sent the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet a protest against the sending of Soviet troops into Afghanistan.

On 5 March Balakhonov was given six days in the cooler for refusing to hold his hands behind his back during exercise. In response Balakhonov staged a total hunger-strike and started shouting to

prisoners through the door of the cooler, telling them about political prisoners. Prison officials, including the head of the prison, threatened Balakhonov that they would put him in a cell with prisoners who would rape him. When that did not work they chained him with his back pressed against hot radiators. Two hours later one of the warders, noticing that Balakhonov did not seem to be suffering pain, tightened the chains. They released him after six hours. On 10 March Balakhonov was let out of the cooler 'for medical reasons'.

In April Balakhonov started to send statements to various Procuracies protesting against the theft of food from prisoners' rations and the theft and confiscation of letters. In June the prison administration began to confiscate these statements: the majority began to 'go astray' at the end of warders' shifts. Letters addressed to Balakhonov are also 'disappearing'.

Parcels sent to **Kazachkov** and Balakhonov when they ended their hunger-strike in October 1979 (*Chronicle* 54) were returned to their senders. It transpired that the head of the prison, Malafeyev, when he returned from holiday, cancelled the permission for the parcels given by his deputy.

In January-February 1980 Kazachkov was put in the cooler for 15 days and then placed in solitary confinement. Malafeyev's report on this said that a warder had seen Kazachkov go to a part of his cell which was out of sight and eat the rations of his cell-mate, Balakhonov, who was fasting at the time, thus endangering his life.

On 14 June Kazachkov, in protest against the prison administration's suppression of his correspondence not only with his family but with official organizations and lawyers, and its opening of his letters to the Procuracy, again (*Chronicle* 53) started a hunger-strike. On 29 June he agreed to end his strike on condition that his demands for normal correspondence were met. A KGB major from Kazan promised him this. Kazachkov agreed with a deputy head of the prison the text of a telegram to his mother in which he hinted that he had ended his hunger-strike, but Malafeyev forbade it to be sent. Kazachkov then resumed his hunger-strike.

On 26 July Procurator Galimov from Kazan visited the prison and, according to several reports, told the administration that they must not confiscate whole letters; they should either give them back to be rewritten or delete the impermissible passages.

On 17 September 1979 **M. Ravinš** was taken to Riga for 're-education'. On 29 November he returned to Chistopol. At the end of April 1980 he was given 15 days in the cooler for shouting an appeal through the door of his cell to political prisoners to protest against the way **Lizunas** was being treated (Lizunas was not allowed to go to the prison shop even though he was working nine hours a day and had money in his account; this money was being drawn on for

his upkeep and prison clothes). On 20 May Ravinš sent a statement to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet renouncing his citizenship — the statement was confiscated. On 1 June he sent a similar statement via the Procurator-General. On 17 June Ravinš sent the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet a statement requesting that it permit the conducting of propaganda in favour of the independence of the Baltic republics. In support of his statement, and as a sign of protest against the occupation of Latvia on 17 June 1940 by Soviet troops, he staged a one-day hunger-strike.

In June **Shukhevich** had an operation for a stomach ulcer. **F. Trufanov** is ill with sclerosis, high blood pressure and a stomach ulcer; since January 1979 he has been partially paralysed on the right side of his body. On 24 July he appealed to Zaitsev, the Chistopol Procurator, with a statement saying that he was suffering from scurvy due to lack of vitamins.

From August 1979 to January 1980 about 20 letters addressed to **I. Ogurtsov** were confiscated. He refuses to work, demanding work in his specialist field (literature). Consequently he has not once been able to use the prison shop. Apart from Ogurtsov, Kazachkov and Balakhonov are not working. The others sometimes work.

On 23 July **Balakhonov, Kazachkov, Ravinš, Petkus** and **Shukhevich** started their third (*Chronicles* 51, 53) 'Ten days of Struggle by Oppressed Peoples against Russian Communist Imperialism' (as in 1979 the word 'Russian' in the title was replaced by the word 'Soviet' in Ravinš's statements). On 23 July they appealed to contestants in the Olympic Games 'to support the struggle of oppressed peoples' (the statements were sent via the Procurator-General). On 25 July they protested against national discrimination in the prison; in particular they demanded the right to send and receive letters in their native languages without delays. On 29 July they protested against the forty-year occupation of the Baltic states. On 1 August statements were sent in connection with the fifth anniversary of the Helsinki Agreement.

The Mordovian Camps

Camp 3

V. Osipov's wife V. Mashkova issued an open letter appealing to people to take part in a 'week of universal repentance' from 18 to 25 July. On a short visit to her husband at the beginning of July she appealed to him to take part in the 'week'.

* * *

In July **R. Nazaryan, Yu. Badzë, S. Soldatov** and **V. Osipov,** in a statement 'to the Soviet Government and World Society', stated that

in protest against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and against the intensification of oppression within the country they would stage a hunger-strike on the opening day of the Olympics and a work-strike throughout the Games. Nazaryan was put in the punishment block (he was already there by July 19). Badzë was taken to hospital.

On 2 July KGB officials theatened to deport Soldatov from the USSR. He was given five days in the cooler and then put in the punishment block. Soldatov has coronary sclerosis, high blood pressure, low acidity, oedema and progressive loss of vision. His prison term ends in January 1981. Osipov has been given five days in the cooler.

The Perm Camps

Before the Olympic Games all taxi-drivers in the town of Chusovoi (all three Perm camps are situated in Chusovoi District) were given an order not to take passengers, in any circumstances, to Vsesvyatskaya (Camp 35), Kuchino (36) or Polovinka (37). It was explained to them that during the Olympics and for a short time afterwards foreigners might want to visit the camps.

Camp 35

N. Matusevich has been taken from the cooler to hospital.

On 4 June **P. Airikyan** was given 12 days in the cooler for a statement protesting against the confiscation of letters from I. Nudel, I. Stasiv-Kalynets and N. Sadunaite. While he was in the cooler his temperature went up, but the doctor said that she would examine him when he came out. However, after serving his 12 days he was immediately given another 15 — for using abusive language.

V. I. Sverdlov (*Chronicle* 52) has been transferred to Camp 36.

Camp 36 (special-regime zone)

On 1 March special-regime prisoners from Mordovian Camp 1 were transferred to Perm Camp 36, to a specially created special-regime zone half a kilometre away from the strict-regime zone (*Chronicle* 56). Before the transfer **Yu. Fëdorov** and **B. Rebrik** had their personal possessions confiscated.

The cells in the new zone all have running water, a wash-basin and a lavatory pan (in Mordovia there was only a latrine bucket). The cells the prisoners work in are opposite those in which they live. The prisoners are taken out to work cell by cell, so that there is no contact between prisoners from different cells (in Mordovia all the prisoners worked together). The prisoners are also taken out for exercise (in a small yard with bars over the top) and to the bath in turn, one cell

at a time. The work consists of making components for electric irons. In contrast to Mordovia, here administration officials avoid giving their surnames and functions.

* * *

There are 32 prisoners in the zone. Among them is [Anatoly] **Filatov**, whose trial was deliberately timed to coincide with Shcharansky's. He was sentenced to death for 'espionage', but his sentence was commuted by an act of clemency to 15 years' imprisonment.

A. Murzhenko, L. Lukyanenko, three 'policemen' [under the Nazi occupation] and a common criminal share a cell. Originally, **D. Shumuk** and **B. Rebrik** were in the same cell. On 1 May Shumuk was taken to hospital (he was suffering from retching, dizziness and fainting) and **A. Berdnik** was transferred to Rebrik's cell (in *Chronicle* 55 it was erroneously stated that Berdnik was given strict regime; according to the judgment in his case, one of the incidents with which he was charged took place before the time when his previous sentence could no longer be referred to — hence he is on special regime).

In June, in accordance with article 51 of the RSFSR Corrective Labour Code, **Fëdorov** was transferred to a barracks. (One of the 'incentives' listed under article 51 is 'transfer of prisoners in a Corrective Labour Colony of special regime ... from a cell-type premises to ordinary living quarters in the same colony'). On 1 July **Shumuk** returned from hospital. He too was put in a barracks.

Camp 36 (strict-regime zone)

At the beginning of June the wife of **Z. Krasivsky** (*Chronicle* 56) was not granted a 'long' visit, due to 'repair work' and she left, having made a fruitless journey.

* * *

In December 1979 **S. Kovalëv** was sentenced to six months in the punishment cells (*Chronicle* 56). In the punishment cells, for refusing to work, he was sentenced to 15 days in the cooler in both December and February, to 10 days in both March and April and to another 15 days in May.

The parcel **L. Boitsova** had sent to her husband in December was returned to her (when the parcel arrived in camp, Kovalëv was already in the punishment cells). On 26 January Kovalëv was deprived of his regular parcel and on 2 June he was deprived of his next parcel — for 1981, his last year in camp. Kovalëv's camp sentence ends on 27 December 1981, after which he will have to serve three years in exile.

In July, Boitsova received back a package containing baked items, which she had sent to her husband in May. In answer to her enquiry,

Camp Head Zhuravkov informed her that the parcel had been returned 'because it contained unpermitted items', although the contents had been the same as usual.

Between November 1979 and May 1980 at least five letters from Boitsova were confiscated (the reason: 'code words in the text' and on one occasion: 'dubious content'). A letter from her son was also confiscated.

In response to several telegrams, Zhuravkov informed Boitsova that S. Kovalëv's health was 'satisfactory' and that she should address her other questions (she had asked about her husband's sentence in the punishment cells and about the parcel) to Kovalëv himself. Zhuravkov also referred I. Kovalëv, who had enquired about the delivery of his own letters to his father, to S. Kovalëv (Zhuravkov had replied to such enquiries on previous occasions).

In July Kovalëv was sent to the central hospital (Camp 3) for observation. In a letter dated 18 July Kovalëv wrote that he had been ill for some time, but that his condition had noticeably deteriorated recently: since the end of December he had had a persistent subfebrile temperature, for several months his legs had been continually swollen, his left hand had been numb since the beginning of June, the muscles in his left leg ached, he suffered from frequent, nauseous headaches, he had attacks of weakness and dizziness to the point of almost passing out, in June his temperature rose to 38° for a short time, and in June and July his blood pressure remained at 180 or higher.

Camp 37

On 15 May **Yu. Orlov,** founder of the Moscow Helsinki Group, declared a two-day hunger-strike to mark the fourth anniversary of the Group's foundation and the second anniversary of his own trial. He demanded an amnesty for political prisoners and an end to the suppression of public organizations acting in defence of human rights.

Orlov appealed to the forthcoming conference in Madrid:

> Aggravation of international relations worsens the situation of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union. Therefore, all of us who act in defence of human rights have a stake in a détente which acknowledges that public monitoring of governments is an important factor in world peace. I call on the Madrid conference to support this principle in its work.
>
> I propose that heads of state should meet at the Madrid conference, and I appeal to them to make every effort to return to their previous — pre-crisis — positions.

Orlov was deprived of his scheduled 'short' visit (it was to have taken place in June or July) for falling asleep at work. In actual fact, he had dozed off after finishing work and was waiting for the escort guards. When the guards arrived, the prisoners wanted to wake

Orlov, but the commander forbade them to do so and made out an official report.

While Orlov was in the punishment block (*Chronicle* 54) some drunken warders threatened to kill him. When he left the punishment block in April, Orlov informed the Camp Head about this. In July Orlov was deprived of access to the camp shop.

In Other Prisons and Camps

Eduard Arutyunyan (for his trial see *Chronicle* 56) has arrived in a camp with the address: 663850, Krasnoyarsky krai, pos. Verkhnyaya Yaugusha, uchr. UP-288/28.[18]

* * *

V. Burtsev (for his trial see *Chronicle* 56) is serving his sentence in Smolensk Region. The camp administration advised him to put his religious faith into store along with his belongings. He has been sent to work as an orderly in the Sychëvka Special Psychiatric Hospital [SPH].

* * *

In May **I. Polyakov** (for his trial see *Chronicle* 54) was given a conditional release 'with compulsory labour'; he works in a brick factory in the town of Balakovo, Saratov Region, as a metal-worker. In June he was given permission to go home for a week.

* * *

In May **A. Gotovtsev** (for his trial see *Chronicle* 54) was transferred to a new camp (see *Chronicle* 56) with the address: Moskva K-575 (this is Zelenograd), uchr. UU-163/2V. His one-year sentence ends on 12 September.

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At the beginning of July **Yu. Litvin** (for his trial see *Chronicle* 55) was again (*Chronicle* 56) transferred to a new camp. The address is: Kherson-32, uchr. 17/90.

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As a result of a clash with a camp KGB official, **Shagen Arutyunyan** was deprived of a visit (it was to have taken place in May). His sentence ends on 22 December 1980.

* * *

In March-April **Kirill Podrabinek,** who is suffering from tuberculosis,

was transferred from Elets Prison to a prison hospital in Usman (*Chronicle* 56).

In his June letter Kirill asked his father to come and collect him from Usman on Saturday 28 June. Ten days later **P. A. Podrabinek** received another letter from his son; despite official assurances that Kirill Podrabinek would be released at the end of his sentence from Usman, the letter came from Elets Prison.

At 6 am on 28 June P. A. Podrabinek was told at Elets Prison that Kirill would be released 'today, at 8 am'. At 8 am an administration official told P. A. Podrabinek that his son had been charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code: 'Two days ago he received and signed the warrant for his arrest' (during the investigation of his previous case Kirill Podrabinek had not signed a single piece of paper). When asked what Kirill had done, the Major replied: 'He refuses to admit his errors'.

On 29 June P. A. Podrabinek appealed to the International Committee to Defend the Podrabinek Brothers, Amnesty International, the Moscow Helsinki Group and 'All People of Good Will', asking for help in obtaining the release of **Alexander** (see 'The Arrest of Alexander Podrabinek') and Kirill Podrabinek.

On 1 July P. A. Podrabinek received the following reply to his telegram of enquiry: 'In the matter of your son's release apply to the Elets City Procurator. *Institution Head.*'

* * *

From a letter by **A. Bolonkin** (*Chronicle* 56):

On 5 February I was released from the punishment cells and territorization began again (the Head of OV-94/2, L. A. Drui).

On 29 February I was sent to the cooler for 15 days for writing 'Stolen by Warders from Bolonkin' on the front of a notebook. Two days after leaving the cooler I was sent back for another 15 days, for sending innocent letters requesting a parcel.

From 4 to 15 April I was ill (hypertension). On 15 April I was sent by the Special Section to work in the packaging shop, where I am physically unable to fulfil the norm; on 13 April, for twice failing to fulfil the norm, I was deprived of access to the camp shop and of a parcel, and sentenced to 15 days in the cooler (from 18 April to 3 May) and on 3 May I was put in the punishment cells for six months.

I am in a cell measuring 7.7 square metres, where there are four of us. One (Viktor Smogin) is crazy and may kill at any time.

In a letter dated 6 May and addressed to the USSR Procurator-General and the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, Bolonkin writes:

The Head of OV-94/2, L. A. Drui, is terrorizing me in the most blatant fashion because he is afraid I will reveal his criminal dealings

involving the theft of State property and its use for bribes (as a result of which the State has suffered a loss of about half a million roubles) ...

As a result of these tortures I have contracted chronic bronchitis, sciatica, gastritis, a duodenal ulcer, paraproctitis and other complaints.

The administration openly says that during my last year in prison they will send me to my grave, or totally ruin my health, or fabricate a new case against me. For this reason they have once again put me in the camp prison for six months.

I ask you to stop this terror and transfer me to another Corrective Labour Colony, outside the Buryat ASSR.

In an appeal 'To People of Good Will', Bolonkin writes:

It is impossible to describe what I have experienced and witnessed ... in Communist prisons and concentration camps.

I appeal to all people of good will to help me escape from the Communist torture chambers and to leave the 'developed socialist paradise' for the 'capitalist hell'.

On 19 May Bolonkin was sent to the cooler (where he spent 30 days). In the punishment cells he contracted dysentery. From 30 May to 9 June he was in hospital, where he alone was not allowed out for exercise and was taken to the toilet under guard.

On 6 June the Buryat ASSR Ministry of Justice informed Bolonkin that on 24 December 1979 a court had rejected his suit for 952 roubles against the Bagdarin village post office for loss of correspondence (a copy of the court's decision was not sent to Bolonkin, so he was unable to appeal).

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E. Buzinnikov was put in the punishment cells not later than June.

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In April-June **Iosif Zisels** suffered a periodic intensification of pain from his stomach ulcer, but he was not even let off work. During such acute periods Zisels is given an extra 30 grams of meat and 17 grams of butter daily, and a glass of milk or some milky gruel twice a week. During a visit Zisels said that in future during an acute period he would refuse all treatment unless he was put in the medical block.

Recently, the majority of letters sent to Zisels have been confiscated. Sometimes an official report is issued, stating that the letters have been confiscated due to the presence of undesirable information; the remaining letters are confiscated without reports or reasons being given. Often Zisels is not even informed that letters have been confiscated. Zisels complained about this to the Deputy Regional

Procurator, M. K. Pashkovsky, but the situation did not change, although the latter had promised to sort things out.

The administration tries to turn the other prisoners against Zisels, saying, for example, that he has an account in a Swiss bank. Several prisoners with whom Zisels was on friendly terms have been transferred to other camps.

* * *

In institution YaS-3/3 (address: Dushanbe 33, mikroraion) prisoners who send statements and complaints to higher organs are put for a day or two in a cell where the floor has been sprayed with chlorine and water poured over it. The Head of Camp 3 is Dzhalolov and the Head of Regime is Lapshin.

In Exile

After seven years' imprisonment **Zoryan Popadyuk** arrived from the Perm camps to serve his five-year exile sentence in Magadan Region (he was arrested on 28 March 1973). He suffers from tuberculosis (which he contracted in Vladimir Prison).

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In April, after three years' imprisonment, **Merab Kostava** (for his trial see *Chronicle* 50) began his three-year exile sentence. His address is: Irkutskaya oblast, Taishetsky raion, s. Kvitok, ul. Chapayeva 26. He lives in a hostel and works in the club there (Kostava is a musicologist by profession).

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On 27 April, a month before the end of his exile term, **Razmik Markosyan** was arrested in Tselinograd. He is charged under article 170-1 of the Kazakh Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code) and article 198 of the Kazakh Code ('Escape from Place of Exile ... ').

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Zinovy Antonyuk now lives at the following address: 666910, Irkutskaya oblast, Bodaibo, ul. Poruchikova 4, obshchezhitie, komn. 33. He works as a dispatcher at a power station.

On 6 June Lieutenant-Colonel Dubyansky, Head of the Investigation Department of the Irkutsk KGB, questioned Antonyuk in connection with the case of **T. Velikanova.** Antonyuk said that to his great sorrow he did not know T. M. Velikanova, but he would consider it a great

honour to meet her one day. When Dubyansky tried to write this down in his own way, Antonyuk refused to talk to him any longer; he said that participation in the investigation of T. Velikanova's case bordered on immorality. Dubyansky began to threaten Antonyuk with 15 days' imprisonment for 'hooliganism', to which the latter replied: 'Let it be 15 years, but you won't make me do something immoral'. The basis for questioning Antonyuk was that a piece of paper with his address had been confiscated from Velikanova during a search.

On the same day Antonyuk's room was searched in connection with Case No. 5, **Stus**'s case (see 'Events in the Ukraine'). Letters from Stus, **I. Stasiv-Kalynets, V. Balakhonov, I. Kandyba, V. Isakova** and **M. Makarenko** were confiscated. A notebook of poems, which had passed all prison and camp censorships, and a photo of **Yu. Dzyuba** and **A. Zinchenko** (see 'Events in the Ukraine') were also taken.

* * *

On 13 June officials of the Aktyubinsk KGB carried out a search in connection with Stus's case at the home of **Valery Marchenko.** Letters from **S. Gluzman** and **V. Chornovil,** a letter which Marchenko intended to send to **M. Simchich,** an unopened letter addressed to **Valentina Pailodze** from England (it arrived after Pailodze had been released from exile and had been entrusted to Marchenko), cuttings from *Foreign Literature* and *The Times*, and a translation made by Marchenko of the US Declaration of Independence were confiscated. In June Marchenko was taken to hospital (suffering from hypertension).

* * *

Searches in connection with the Stus case were also carried out at the homes of **I. Stasiv-Kalynets** and **Evgeny Pronyuk.**

* * *

On 24 May an article by V. Mikhailov entitled 'The Face and the Mask' was published in the newspaper *Socialist Yakutia*; it was reprinted in *Soviet Kolyma* on 30 May. The article contains a letter to the editor from A. Z. Sharafutdinov, a welder at the repair shops in the river port of Zyryanka. Sharafutdinov states that **Mustafa Dzhemilev** has broken up his son's family, 'making two children orphans'. The article goes on to give what is already the standard newspaper biography of Mustafa; it says, for example, that in Tashkent, after his last sentence, he carried on

> stormy 'public activities', aimed principally at extorting money from close and distant acquaintances.

The article ends with the assertion that from such a person it was difficult to expect

what has become the norm for Soviet people — honesty, friendship, honour, conscience.

On 12 June a search was carried out at Mustafa Dzhemilev's home.

* * *

On 4 May **Malva Landa,** who was arrested on 7 March and sentenced to five years' exile (*Chronicle* 56) arrived under guard in the town of Dzhezdy (Dzhezkazgan Region, Kazakh SSR).

On 19 June Senior Investigator for Especially Important Cases Kayukov from the Investigations Department of the USSR KGB, who had arrived from Moscow, tried to interrogate Landa. From the very beginning Landa stated that she would neither talk to him nor answer his questions since she did not trust the KGB, which was directly responsible for instigating and organizing the persecution of people because of their beliefs and their attempts to ensure the observance of human rights, and for fabricating (either personally or through the MVD and the Procurators) trials on false charges. Kayukov told Landa that he had come in connection with her visit to Erevan in March 1979 (after the execution of **Zatikyan, Bagdasaryan** and **Stepanyan** — *Chronicle* 52 — Landa went to Erevan to talk to their families and friends). The people she had met in Erevan were planning to commit terrorist acts during the Olympic Games, Kayukov continued, an investigation was being carried out, and they were giving evidence. 'Do you support such acts?' he asked. 'Have you heard of plans to commit such acts?'. Landa replied that she did not believe that the people she had met were planning acts of terrorism or sabotage. She then made a written statement:

> I, personally and together with my friends, including the non-governmental Public Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR, have often stated that I reject any form of terror, whatever its motives. I categorically repudiate terror and sabotage, for whatever cause and by whomsoever it is perpetrated. I would also point out that I have never been aware of any plans involving terrorism or sabotage anywhere. Discussions of plans to commit acts of terrorism or sabotage have never taken place in my presence. This statement is written in the presence of Senior Investigator for Especially Important Cases of the Investigations Department of the USSR KGB, citizen Kayukov.

In answer, Kayukov presented Landa with a record of the interrogation which had been prepared in advance, in which his questions alternated with her 'answers' (for example: 'Which language will you give evidence in?' — 'I will testify in Russian'). He now categorically stated that Landa had been present at discussions of plans to commit terrorist acts and that in order to prevent them, she should give truthful evidence about the people whom she met in Erevan. Kayukov

also wrote into the record the question: 'Do you know of your responsibility under article 88-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ("Non-reporting of Crimes against the State")?'. In reply, Landa repeated her statement.

The following day Kayukov again informed Landa that it was officially known that she had participated in discussions of plans to commit terrorist acts during the forthcoming Olympic Games. She had to prove her non-participation, to help the investigation to arrive at the truth. Landa stated that an investigation which was based on falsification was not interested in truth and that she would not help such an investigation. The remainder of the interrogation consisted of threats and insults ('You do not realize the full seriousness of your situation!', 'You are cowardly and lazy, like all women').

On the first day Kayukov had asked Landa whether she wished to emigrate. She had replied in the negative.

* * *

Semën Gluzman expresses gratitude to the American Psychiatric Association, which has made him a Distinguished Fellow, and thanks everyone who has sent him their congratulations on this event. (He has still not received the Association's official communication).

The Trial of Chornovil

From 4 to 6 June the trial of V. Chornovil on charges of attempted rape (*Chronicle* 56) took place in the town of Mirny.

During the investigation Chornovil declared a hunger-strike 'until my release' and took no part in the investigation or the trial. However, he did not refuse to make a Final Speech:

> Citizen Judges!
>
> I am not quite sure whether I will be able to finish my short final speech, although I will speak on the true substance of the case and the courtroom is empty. Nevertheless, I will begin with what I should have left to the end.
>
> I am quite indifferent to the length of the punishment which you will mete out to me. This is not bravado, which would be out of place here. Both the minimum and the maximum sentence are unreal to me, since I have declared a hunger-strike for the duration of my prison sentence under this dirty article, and since my life is being supported artificially. For even now I am not so far from the lower limits of my physical strength. However, I see no other way out. It may still be possible to vindicate one's principles and to spare oneself at the same time, but in the present circumstances it is

impossible for me to vindicate my honour and dignity in any other way than by sacrificing not only my health, by my very life.

At times I wonder: was it worth dropping my earlier boycott of the investigation and trial to take part in the finale of this filthy case? And I decide that it was, nevertheless. Until now an open battle has been waged against me and my beliefs (I leave aside various petty insinuations like anonymous letters or spreading rumours). Now, having demonstrated their undeniable weakness and their fear of a face-to-face confrontation, my opponents have hidden behind an agent staging an 'attempted rape' scene. I did not have the right to deprive myself of the chance to investigate through my own experience how the whole thing is done and to tell people about it.

I will not engage in polemics with the Procurator, nor delve into the sordid details of the trumped-up case. This thankless task has been assumed by my lawyer, who has well demonstrated the groundlessness of the criminal façade of this essentially political trial, and I am extremely grateful to him for this, whatever the results of his efforts may prove to be. On the subject of the charges I will only say that the investigation and the indictment could well become a classic example — for study by student jurists — of juridical illiteracy and bankrupt justice. What cannot be found in this one volume of a far from richly documented case! The records of interrogations drawn up in some corner were inserted later in the most inappropriate part of the case file; examinations by experts were not conducted in accordance with legal forms and are therefore invalid; elementary rules governing the preservation of the scene of the incident for examination were violated (of course there was actually nothing to preserve). The records of the interrogation of various witnesses were identical, not only regarding facts, but literally; the principle that a person is innocent until proved guilty was violated (from the day of my arrest I was called a criminal and my guilt is clearly stated in the investigation documents), etc, etc.

I am even a little insulted. However cruel the times may be, I feel that after 15 years of fundamental resistance, I deserve at least a literate investigator and a somewhat more respectable article of the Code.

Even Blokhina, the principal protagonist, having carried out the initial stage of the operation quite well and lured me into a trap, later, during the trial and investigation, got hopelessly embroiled in contradictions and took her bosses along with her, marring the trial. The case was not clean — its whole surface is spattered with dirty marks.

Although the attempt was made to give my trial a purely criminal

character and the fact that I am an exile is not even mentioned in the charges, the real reasons behind this criminal comedy emerged here and there. It transpires, from the testimony of the *agent provocateur*, that I threatened her with a bottle, shouting: 'Do you know who I am? I am in agreement with **Sakharov** and if you don't stop shouting, I'll slash you!' As I was shoved into prison for the umpteenth time, the statement 'I see no meaning in my life apart from imprisonment or exile' was attributed to me with cannibalistic cynicism. During a routine confrontation, the 'unfortunate victim' (who was, incidentally, a healthily glowing, well-built young girl and could have dealt with several such 'assailants' as me — exhausted by prisons and camps, emaciated and with an injured arm) openly described the reasons behind her slanders: 'They told me who you are; people like you should not be allowed to walk on Soviet soil!' Then a reporter is suddenly invited to attend the closed trial of a quite insignificant case and is commissioned to put together an article exposing the 'dissident-assailant' (look, this is what they're like!). A witness, forgetting what I am being tried for, begins to testify that I have retained my former beliefs.

They tried hard in court to discredit the idea that there was a plot against me, but there's no getting away from the facts. I, one of the 'worst' (how valuable was the description of me as an exile, which was sent to the court), I alone among political exiles, was given permission for a minor reason to travel on business to a town which, for the far North, is of sizeable proportions. At the same time, from the Ukraine — with a short stop (perhaps even a fictitious one) in Ashkhabad to lend credibility — Tatyana, daughter of Colonel Vadim Blokhin, military attaché in an African country (ie a member of the KGB, directly or indirectly), arrives in Mirny 'in search of work'. For some time she was cast (most probably, judging by the case file, fictitiously) as a simple worker, so that the story of a decadent dissident attacking a proletarian girl could be acted out. Having flown to Mirny, she chances to meet the very supplier whom I was visiting on business. She 'accidentally' meets us as we are going to have dinner and makes herself our companion, turning on both feminine charm and politically provocative remarks, lures me to her hotel room and there, quite clumsily, acts out the scene of 'attempted rape', with stupid details such as threats with a bottle, mysterious scratches on her breast, and undressing. Her assistants (who had arranged things with her in advance or later — that is unimportant) — the woman on duty at the hotel and a police detail — behave like clowns at the trial, turning somersaults over their poorly-learned version of the events. And Blokhina herself, very significantly, arrives from Ashkhabad via Kiev, where she evidently had a consultation with Fedorchuk. Chairman of the

Ukrainian KGB, or with one of his subordinates, people who are already practised hands at such fabrications and have imprisoned almost the entire second membership of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group on criminal charges.

Having expressed these thoughts, I feel doubtful that the court will decide my fate dispassionately. Nevertheless, as an incurable optimist, I believe that sparks of justice, decency and personal responsibility glow in every soul and that they sometimes flare up despite all circumstances and possible consequences. Therefore, but unfortunately only theoretically, I assume that by drawing your conclusions only from the facts of the case you have examined and forgetting all the insinuations and play-acting, you, citizen Judges, will show civil courage and will not swell the ranks of the conspirators, and will give me a just verdict.

The court found Chornovil guilty and sentenced him to five years in strict-regime camps.

The Trial of Lisovoi

On 11 June, two hours after **Vera Lisovaya** and her children had boarded the plane for Buryatia in Kiev (there was an error in *Chronicle* 54) to join her husband Vasily Lisovoi, the latter was arrested and charged with 'parasitism'. He was then beaten and robbed (and undressed) by his cell-mates.

The trial took place on 16 and 17 July. Vera Lisovaya was allowed to appear in court as a defender. She told the court that her husband was on five occasions unable to get the job he wanted (the Head said: 'I'm taking him!', the personnel officer: 'I won't have him!') and that he was four times offered work which he could not take on because of his health. The court sentenced Lisovoi to the maximum sentence under article 209 of the RSFSR Criminal Code — one year's imprisonment. He must serve his sentence in a strict-regime camp.

Releases

At the beginning of July **Nijole Sadunaite** (*Chronicles* 37, 47) was released at the end of her three-year exile term. When she got off the plane from Krasnoyarsk in Riga, she was met by KGB officials from Vilnius, who put her in a car and took her to Vilnius. A Lithuanian friend of hers, who had flown with her, was also made to get into the car.

In the Psychiatric Hospitals

This section is compiled from the *Information Bulletin* of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, No. 23 (21 May 1980).

Voldemaras Karaliunas (*Chronicles* 46, 51) has been transferred from Chernyakhovsk SPH to a hospital of ordinary type in Kaunas (75 Kuzmos Street). His doctor is Berner. He is being treated with aminazin and tizertsin. Karaliunas is in poor health.

Biographies

A. I. Lupinos

Anatoly Ivanovich Lupinos was born in 1938. In October 1956 he was arrested for his poems and conversations; at that time he was a second-year student in the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty of Kiev University. In July 1957, having been convicted under article 58 of the old Criminal Code, Lupinos arrived in Mordovian Camp 7. In September he was sentenced to 10 years for being chairman of a strike committee (2,000 prisoners took part in the strike). In 1962, in Vladimir Prison, Lupinos fell ill with polyneuritis, for which he was given no medical treatment, and this resulted in paralysis of the legs. In later years a stomach ulcer, miocardiac dystrophy, gallstones and a disease of the liver were also diagnosed. Returning to Mordovian Camp 10 (special regime) from prison, Lupinos spent most of the rest of his sentence in hospital (Mordovian Camp 3).

In 1967, having served out his sentence, Anatoly was brought home to his parents on a stretcher (his legs were paralysed). A Medical Work Fitness Commission immediately accorded him Group 1 invalid status for life — without the necessity for annual review. Two years later he learned to walk on crutches.

In 1969 Lupinos applied to the Philosophy Faculty at Kiev University. Having read his application form, Taucher, the Dean of the Faculty, sent Lupinos to Podoprigora, Deputy Chairman of the Party Control Committee attached to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Podoprigora said that even if Lupinos got 20 marks out of 20 in the entrance examination, he would not be admitted as a student. He advised Lupinos: 'Go to work in a factory or workshop, absorb proletarian ideology, gain the confidence of the workers' collective, then ... ' In December 1969 Lupinos became an external student at the Economics Faculty of the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy.

In the spring of 1970 Lupinos abandoned his crutches. He started working as an administrator of the Kiev Concert and Choral Society. On 22 May 1971, at the traditional Shevchenko [10] evening, Lupinos read the poem 'I Watched as they Dishonoured my Mother' beside the poet's memorial statue. On 28 May he was arrested. A psychiatric commission chaired by D. R. Lunts at the Serbsky Institute declared Lupinos not responsible (at the time of his first arrest a psychiatric commission at the Pavlov Psychiatric Hospital in Kiev pronounced him healthy).

The trial took place in December. When **A. Sakharov, I. Svetlichny** and **L. Plyushch** appeared, the trial was cancelled. Three days later the court decided to send Lupinos for compulsory treatment in a Special Psychiatric Hospital. In January 1972 Lupinos arrived at Dnepropetrovsk SPH. He was given haloperidol, triftazin, tizertsin, sulfazin and insulin shock treatment (40 shocks).

In January 1974 a medical commission recommended Lupinos's release, but the recommendation was turned down by a court. He was given haloperidol again. Two months later Professor P. M. Rybkin, Chief Psychiatrist at the USSR MVD, observed Lupinos and concluded: 'The treatment should be stopped and the patient released as soon as possible'. In June 1974 Lupinos's release was again recommended by a medical commission and the recommendation was again rejected by a court.

Lupinos sent complaints to the Ministry of Health, the Medical Administration of the USSR MVD and the Presidium of the Society of Neuropathologists and Psychiatrists. This resulted only in Lupinos's transfer to another section and an enquiry into how he had managed to write and send the complaints; members of the hospital staff who were suspected of having helped him were dismissed. Six months later a medical commission once again recommended that Lupinos be released — the court once again refused. Section Head Kamenetskaya refused to treat him with haloperidol and he was transferred to another section.

In 1976 Lupinos was transferred to Alma-Ata SPH. Since Dnepropetrovsk SPH had not sent on his medical history, treatment began all over again. In February 1977 a medical commission decided to put the question of reversing Lupinos's diagnosis to a general hospital conference. The doctors requested his medical history from Dnepropetrovsk and received in reply the information that he was an especially dangerous State criminal. The doctors wrote three more times, with no result.

In 1978 a medical commission recommended that Lupinos be released and the court decided that compulsory treatment should be prolonged in a psychiatric hospital of ordinary type. In April 1979, in the Pavlov Psychiatric Hospital in Kiev, Lupinos was assured: 'In June you will be at home'. In May he was sent to Cherkassy Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 1 (in the town of Smela); at this time he was again assured: 'From there you will be discharged immediately'.

On 26 November 1979 the hospital submitted the documents necessary for procuring Lupinos's release to the Kiev Regional Court. There was no reply; the hospital staff said: 'We'll write again after the Olympic Games, then we won't have to wait'.

On 21 June 1980 Lupinos was suddenly taken to Dnepropetrovsk SPH — so quickly that the necessary papers were not made out properly; consequently the hospital refused to admit him and he was brought back to Smela. It turned out that on 16 June the Smela District Court (Cherkassy Region) decided to send Lupinos to Dnepropetrovsk for attempting to escape (Lupinos's family, not to mention Lupinos himself, knew nothing of the court hearing). His 'escape' consisted in once spending a few hours with friends outside the hospital, with the orderly's permission. He had returned to the hospital, of course, at the time appointed by the orderly.

N. G. Plakhotnyuk

Nikolai Grigorevich Plakhotnyuk was born in 1936. In 1955 he finished school. In the same year he contracted tuberculosis, for which he underwent treatment for two years. He still suffers attacks of the disease.

In 1959 Plakhotnyuk completed his training as a doctor's assistant in medical college in Kiev, afterwards working as a village doctor's assistant. During this period he was elected Secretary of the collective farm Komsomol organization. In 1960 he entered the Medical Faculty of the Kiev Institute of Medicine, where he was a Komsomol group organizer responsible for the cultural section of the faculty union office.

In 1963 he read in the newspaper of the work of 'Suchasnik', a Club for Creative Young People (CCYP), and went to see them. The club's members organized literary and musical evenings, and also art exhibitions. CCYP formed an intercollegiate circle for folklore and ethonography, and a touring choir called 'The Lark'. CCYP also created the tradition of holding readings of Shevchenko's poetry on 22 May in front of the monument to the poet, and were often visited by **I. Svetlichny, E. Sverstyuk** and **V. Chornovil.**

In summer 1963 Plakhotnyuk sent a letter to the Ukrainian Ministry of Higher Education in which he proposed that tuition in the Institute of Medicine should be conducted in Ukrainian. To justify this he referred to the fact that most of the Institute's students were Ukrainian or had studied Ukrainian at school. The letter was passed on to the Rector of the Institute, Professor V. D. Bratus, who summoned

Plakhotnyuk and told him in Ukrainian that it was impossible to use Ukrainian because some of the Institute's students came from abroad and required tuition in Russian. After this talk both Bratus and Plakhotnyuk attended a Komsomol conference where the Rector gave a speech in Russian, despite the fact that no foreigners were present. Then Plakhotnyuk mounted the rostrum. He noted that everyone in the hall understood Ukrainian and said that it was wrong for members of the Komsomol to scorn their native language. He called on the Komsomol to make preparations for the 150th anniversary of Shevchenko's birth (due in 1964).

At the end of August 1965 there were a number of political arrests in the Ukraine. Among those arrested were I. Svetlichny and Yaroslav Gevrich, a fifth-year student from the Dentistry Faculty at Kiev Institute of Medicine. (Gevrich and Plakhotnyuk lived in the same hall of residence, both attended meetings of the 'Lark' choir, and together they organized a group of carol singers at the Institute. Gevrich also organized the Institute's bandura ensemble.) When he heard that Gevrich had been arrested, Plakhotnyuk telephoned Gevrich's parents for confirmation. Then he took a parcel to the prison for him, found him a defence counsel, and insisted on being called as a witness at his trial.

Gevrich was tried in March 1966. When Plakhotnyuk entered the courtroom and saw only the Judge, the assessors, the Procurator, the defence counsel, a number of soldiers and Gevrich, instead of giving evidence he said: 'A trial behind closed doors is in my opinion unlawful'. He then turned to the accused with words of support.

The following day he was called into the Institute Party Committee. After a discussion lasting four hours Committee Secretary Sidelnikov said: 'It has been a pleasure talking to you, and I am pleased to see that there are still some intelligent students left'. Plakhotnyuk's actions on Gevrich's behalf were later cited in Kazan SPH as the beginning of his illness.

In 1966 he completed his studies at the Institute. In the following year the traditional Shevchenko celebrations were interrupted by the police, who began seizing members of the crowd and putting them in police cars. The crowd protested and started shouting 'Shame!'. Then they began singing the 'Internationale', and the police withdrew. Plakhotnyuk addressed the crowd:

> Today in Moscow the Congress of Soviet Writers opened. Today in Kiev we have been paying tribute to the memory of the Ukraine's greatest poet, Taras Shevchenko. Students have today been reading poems which brought Shevchenko ten years in exile. Today these same poems have brought more brutality, and some students have been arrested. We came here with flowers, but they put handcuffs on us and take us away in police vans. Therefore I ask all of you here today to go to the Party Central Committee building, to protest against the brutal treatment we have received, to demand the release of those who have been arrested, and to insist that those responsible for this savage brutality are brought to justice.

At about 10 pm that evening several people broke through a police cordon to reach the Central Committee building, despite being sprayed with water from fire hoses. The demonstrators were met by Golovchenko, Minister for the Preservation of Public Order, who was wearing an embroidered shirt. After listening to them he gave orders for the release of those who had been arrested and the crowd dispersed.

(Each year after this the authorities organized a festival in Kiev on May 22, entitled 'Kievan Spring'. The performances by the invited artists were usually followed by 'unofficial' poetry readings and singing.) In November 1968 Plakhotnyuk made the acquaintance of the poet **Ivan Sokulsky** (*Chronicle* 56). They spent the evening of November 7 together singing.

In summer 1969 A. A. Yarosh, head of the Department of Neuropathology in the Kiev Institute of Medicine, invited Plakhotnyuk to work for the department as a laboratory assistant. On 1 September he began work for the department. In June 1969 Sokulsky was arrested (see *Chronicles* 8, 10, 11). Plakhotnyuk was interrogated in connection with his case, in particular concerning the evening they had spent together; but there was nothing for him to say about it. After this interrogation Plakhotnyuk was asked to leave the department. The party organizer of the department told him that there were no complaints about his work. On the contrary, the department had not had such a diligent worker as Plakhotnyuk for ten years; 'but we have had orders from above to dismiss you'. Plakhotnyuk replied that he was not prepared to leave. He was finally dismissed on grounds of redundancy.

In January 1970 Sokulsky stood trial in Dnepropetrovsk with two of his friends (*Chronicle* 12). Three Dnepropetrovsk newspapers printed 'denunciatory' articles. Plakhotnyuk sent an open letter to these newspapers, with copies to Sokulsky's mother and to the newspaper *Radyanska Ukraina*. At his trial in 1972 the sending of this letter to Sokulsky's mother became Plakhotnyuk's main 'sin' ('circulation! ').

On 12 January 1972 Plakhotnyuk was arrested under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). In September 1972, after psychiatric examination at the Serbsky Institute, he was ruled not responsible. On 13 November 1972 the Kiev Regional Court sent Plakhotnyuk for compulsory treatment to a special psychiatric hospital, and on 24 November 1972 he arrived in Dnepropetrovsk SPH.

In April 1974 a commission headed by Professor V. P. Blokhina, Head of the Department of Psychiatry at the Dnepropetrovsk Institute of Medicine, and including P. M. Rybkin, Chief Psychiatrist of the USSR MVD, and I. A. Vashchenko, Chief Psychiatrist of the Ukrainian MVD, decided that Plakhotnyuk should be sent to the Serbsky Institute for re-examination. Kiev Regional Court, however, overruled this decision.

In July 1975 Plakhotnyuk was told by a doctor, V. I. Katkova: 'Until you are open with us we cannot release you'. In August 1976 Plakhotnyuk was transferred to Kazan SPH. In November 1976 a commission at the Serbsky Institute, comprised of Shostakovich, Landau and Dobrogayevsky, decided that in view of his satisfactory health Plakhotnyuk could be discharged and he should be prepared for discharge by the next meeting of the commission.

In June 1977 the commission (including Shostakovich and Landau) decided that Plakhotnyuk could be transferred to an ordinary psychiatric hospital, but the commission's petition was rejected by Kiev Regional Court. In December 1977 the commission (including Shostakovich and Landau) proposed that compulsory treatment should be discontinued. On 20 February 1978 Kiev Regional Court transferred Plakhotnyuk to an ordinary psychiatric hospital. On 8 August 1978 Plakhotnyuk arrived at Cherkassy Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 1 (in the town of Smela).

On 5 March 1979 a commission recommended that Plakhotnyuk should be released, but their petition was rejected by Kiev Regional Court on 6 July. The court's decision states in part:

> In view of his vigorous anti-Soviet activities during the years 1962-72 ... Kiev Regional Court decided on 13 November 1972 that Plakhotnyuk should be committed for compulsory medical treatment.
>
> The administration of Cherkassy Regional [Psychiatric] Hospital No. 1 has recommended that this compulsory treatment should be discontinued and Plakhotnyuk transferred to a course of out-patient treatment, citing as their reasons for this their belief that his mental condition has improved as a result of treatment and that he no longer represents a danger to society.
>
> The court has heard the Chairman's report, the speech by defence counsel Gretsky supporting the administration's recommendation, the opinion of Procurator Markova that the hospital's petition should be rejected, and the results of a medical re-examination have been studied. The court considers that the petition should not be granted for the following reasons:
>
> The results of the medical re-examination performed by Cherkassy Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 1 show that Plakhotnyuk is suffering from mental illness in the form of paranoid schizophrenia.

> A long course of treatment has brought about an improvement in his mental condition. He is taking part in production activities and his behaviour has now been corrected. However, the results of the medical re-examination do not describe Plakhotnyuk's mental condition fully enough. There is no clear description of some aspects of his mental activity, particularly his thought processes, will and emotional state.
>
> The medical commission has neither described nor evaluated the patient's behaviour, nor his views or his attitude to the socially dangerous activities he conducted.
>
> The conclusion that Plakhotnyuk does not present a danger to society should have been reached only after giving consideration to the possibility of a repetition of the socially dangerous activities which he previously conducted.
>
> The record shows that Plakhotnyuk was for a long time involved in socially dangerous activities, and there is no indication in the report on his mental condition that he will not repeat these activities ...

On 11 July 1979 **Gretsky,** Plakhotnyuk's defence counsel, sent an appeal to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR:

> ... I consider the court's decision to be incorrect and that it should be overruled for the following reasons:
>
> As the report of the forensic psychiatric team of 5 March 1979 indicates, Nikolai Grigorevich Plakhotnyuk has been undergoing treatment for a long time, more than seven years, and as a result his mental condition has shown a *considerable and persistent improvement*. The report also shows that N. G. Plakhotnyuk now presents no danger to society; he is able to make productive contact with others and he answers questions correctly with direct answers. His behaviour is normal and he has made realistic plans for his future.
>
> N. G. Plakhotnyuk's views and behaviour were not described in the report because this information is contained in the report of the Central Forensic Psychiatric Commission of 15 December 1977, which was ignored by the court.
>
> The above report states that even in 1977 N. G. Plakhotnyuk already showed a *definite* improvement and was taking part in working activities and was calm in his behaviour. He showed no tendency towards antisocial behaviour. He was sufficiently critical of his state of ill health. He was aware of his situation and regretted his past activities, which were the result of his illness.
>
> I consider it necessary to add that after the above report was made N. G. Plakhotnyuk was transferred from a special hospital to an ordinary hospital in accordance with a ruling made by a Judicial Board of the Kiev Regional Court on 20 February 1978.

This is in itself an indication of the progressive improvement in his health.

An appeal for Plakhotnyuk's release was also made to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR by **Plakhotnyuk's brothers Vasily and Ivan** in conjunction with his **sister Anna.** They signed themselves respectively: 'collective farm worker, father of five children, soldier in the War; worker; pensioner, collective farm worker, mother of six children. Their appeal ended with the words: 'Our toil-hardened hands allow us to appeal to you ... We call for justice and humanity'. On 2 August 1979 the Ukrainian Supreme Court approved the decision of the Kiev Regional Court.

A new commission met on 11 January 1980. The hospital's chief doctor, P. G. Derevyanchenko, stated that a new petition would be made for Plakhotnyuk's release. This application was typed but not sent. One of the doctors said that they were not the only authorities involved.

Forcible Hospitalizations

On 15 April **Petras Lukoševičius** (born 1917), who lives in Panevežys, was forcibly interned in a hospital near Vilnius. In 1944 Lukoševičius was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment under article 58 of the old Criminal Code. In 1955 he was released in an amnesty. In 1975 his memoirs about life in the camps came into the possession of the KGB. In November 1978 a search was conducted at his home and many items of samizdat were confiscated (the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, Aušra, Devos ir Tevinja*). He was told then by KGB Major Urbonas that he would be placed in a psychiatric hospital. In 1980 another search took place.

* * *

On 29 April **Mikhail Ivanovich Berozashvili** (born 1922) was forcibly placed in a hospital. Berozashvili spent 17 years in Stalin's camps. Shortly before his internment he had sent a petition to the Supreme Soviet renouncing his Soviet citizenship. Three weeks later he was released from hospital after being diagnosed as suffering from 'asthenia and paranoid tendencies'.

* * *

On 1 June nonconformist artist **Valentin Smirnov** (pseudonym 'Valentin-Maria') was arrested and interned in Section 10 of Leningrad Psychiatric Hospital No. 5. Smirnov (born 1928) was arrested half an hour before a street exhibition of nonconformist artists was due to begin. He had helped organize the exhibition

and was exhibiting his work in it. The exhibition — near the Peter and Paul Fortress — took place nonetheless.

Smirnov was first placed in a psychiatric hospital in December 1956 for taking part in a discussion about Picasso. He was kept in hospital for two years. In 1960 he was interned for one-and-a-half years for his involvement in an unofficial seminar at which he spoke about the nature of communism. He was diagnosed as 'a psychopathic personality with a tendency towards decompensatory activities'.

Smirnov also took part in the exhibition held on 5 September 1979, entitled 'Paris-Moscow-Leningrad' (*Chronicle* 53). Since September 1979 he had been living in hiding because he was afraid of being hospitalized again. In September 1979 and February 1980 police and doctors from a psychiatric clinic came to his flat.

Smirnov was educated as a literature specialist. He is a photographer, graphic artist and collector of modern art. His work has been exhibited in France and Italy.[20]

* * *

On 25 June **Ivan Adrianovich Bykovsky** (born 1909), a pensioner, was taken from his home in Podolsk and placed in the Yakovenko Psychiatric Hospital (at Stolbovaya Station near Moscow). He had done nothing to provoke this action. In 1963 he spent 20 days in a psychiatric hospital after his wife took his memoirs to the KGB.

* * *

On 11 July **Vladlen Stolpner,** who lives in Moscow, was forcibly placed in a hospital. In 1963, as a result of letters he had written to the government, he was placed under psychiatric observation. It is three years since he was last called to the clinic. In January 1980 he applied to emigrate. The head of his hospital section, I. I. Flerov, has told him that he will be allowed visits only if he is not mentioned in Western radio broadcasts.

* * *

In July **Vladimir Gusarov** (*Chronicles* 7, 11, 12, 15, 17, 19, 25), who lives in Moscow, was placed in a hospital.

Releases

On 15 April **G. Yankov** (*Chronicle* 56) was released from hospital.

After Release

On his release from psychiatric hospital (*Chronicle* 53) **Alexander Shatravka** (*Chronicle* 51) went from Krivoi Rog to Tyumen Region and began work as a forester. On 27 May, during a search at the home of T. Osipova (see 'The Arrest of Osipova'), his book about psychiatric hospitals was confiscated.

On 23 June the head of his work unit received a written order from a psychiatric clinic in Urai to send Shatravka for examination. Shatravka did not go. He presumed that they wanted to keep him in hospital during the Olympic Games, and decided to sit it out in the forest. At about the same time he received a letter from his mother, informing him that the Krivoi Rog division of the Dnepropetrovsk KGB had received a request from Dnepropetrovsk for information on his place of residence.

On 22 July the foreman of his unit received notification by radio that three additional workers were being sent to his unit. The 'workers' turned out to be a local police inspector, a psychiatrist and an auxiliary doctor. When they failed to find Shatravka the visitors conducted a search in his hut, from which they confiscated some scraps of discarded letters. They then asked the other workers where Shatravka might be, what he talked about, which radio programmes he listened to, and whether he was contemplating fleeing abroad again. They told the workers that Shatravka was seriously ill and should be taken to hospital. At their demand Tikhonin, a worker, wrote that Shatravka regularly listened to Western radio and compared living conditions in the West with ours.

On the following day the policeman and the psychiatrists tried to creep up on Shatravka while he was working, but he noticed them and ran away into the forest. On 26 July Shatravka returned to his hut to find that his possessions, including some bedclothes which had been given to him, were missing. He reported this to the local police.

* * *

On 30 April **[Ivan] Kareisha** (*Chronicle* 56) was visited by a KGB officer who asked him to submit an application to return to work on the collective farm. The visit was in response to a letter which Kareisha wrote 'to the highest authorities'. On 5 May he gave the proposed statement to the farm administration.

On 8 May Kareisha was visited by some police officers who took him to the District OVD office. It was entered in the record that Kareisha had violated article 204 of the Belorussian Criminal Code ('Parasitism'). He was then taken to Vitebsk Regional Psychiatric

Hospital, but since Zorka, the chief doctor, was absent, the police officers had to take him back. He was warned that he would be sent to a psychiatric hospital on 13 May. He left home.

On 22 May **F. Serebrov**, a member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, sent a letter to Zorka:

> An examination by a consultant psychiatrist on behalf of the Working Commission has ascertained that Ivan Timofeyevich Kareisha is mentally healthy and does not require treatment.
>
> If he is placed in your hospital again for treatment the Working Commission will be forced to consider this as a case of the use of psychiatry for the purposes of criminal repression.
>
> The Working Commission wishes to draw your attention to the Resolution of the Congress of the World Psychiatric Association, which met in Honolulu in 1977, condemning such instances of the use of psychiatry, and calls on you henceforth not to violate the Resolution.

* * *

K. Matviyuk (*Chronicle* 48) is working as an engineer on a collective farm in the village of Pyrogovtsy, Khmelnitsky Region.

The Trial of Chuiko

On 12 June the trial took place in Michurinsk of Bogdan Chuiko, who had been arrested on 24 March. The court was presided over by V. A. Karuskevich, the prosecutor was Assistant Procurator of Michurinsk Yu. A. Sakharovsky, and defence counsel was S. M. Flisher, a member of the Moscow Regional Bar.

Chuiko was found guilty of offences under article 93, part 3 (as a 'particularly dangerous recidivist'), and under article 15 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. He was sentenced to six years in special-regime camps. (His 'crime' is described in *Chronicle* 56).

The Trial of Khramtsov

On 3 June the trial took place in Tarusa of Yu. Khramtsov (*Chronicles* 51, 56), who was charged with 'malicious violations of the rules of administrative surveillance' (article 198-2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code).

The trial was to have been held in the town of Ferzikovo in Kaluga Region (the Tarusa Judge refused to examine the case because he had already fined Khramtsov twice for surveillance violations). On 2 June Cherkassky, a Judge at Ferzikovo District People's Court, informed

Khramtsov's friends of the date and time of his trial, but 'forgot' to tell them that it would take place 40 kilometres away from Ferzikovo. When Khramtsov's friends arrived at the court building for the trial they were officially informed that Khramtsov had been taken to Tarusa, where an assizes session of the Ferzikovo court had been arranged in order to accommodate the witnesses, who were all from Tarusa.

The court sitting lasted less than an hour. The court ruled that Khramtsov should be sent to Kursk for psychiatric examination. The reason given for this was Khramtsov's refusal to take part in the investigation or in the court proceedings. When his friends finally reached Tarusa the sitting was already over. They looked for Cherkassky, the Judge, and found him as he was running for a bus. He refused to sign an authorization for Khramtsov to be sent a parcel.

An appeal by **N. Lisovskaya** in defence of Khramtsov states in part:

> The story of the trial's change of venue to Tarusa and the refusal to sanction a parcel forces one to believe that the authorities in Tarusa (or elsewhere) are trying to cut Khramtsov off from the outside world, to prevent him from seeing his friends, and so arrange things that he is unaware of what is said about him or what is being done to help him. Healthy, bloated bureaucrats find it necessary to finish off a feeble invalid who can hardly stand on his feet, a man whose entire conscious life has been spent behind barbed wire. They have not succeeded in breaking him, but they are able to torture him. And their consciences will not be stirred when they are rewarded for such 'work' with prizes and promotions.

Miscellaneous Reports

On 17 May **E. Kuleshov** (*Chronicle* 56) was sentenced to two years in strict-regime camps. His sentence is due to end 6 December 1980.

* * *

In May **A. Osipov** (*Chronicles* 55, 56), who lives in Leningrad, was sent for two years' compulsory treatment in a work and therapy clinic.

* * *

On Saturday 5 July policemen and plain-clothes officers seized **M. Zotov,** a resident of Tolyatti (*Chronicles* 49, 51-3, 56). He was driven to a psychiatric hospital. The doctor on duty refused to admit him as a patient because he had a blood pressure of 240/140. He was then taken to an ordinary hospital.

The next Monday the chief doctor of a Tolyatti psychiatric clinic, A. A. Kurbatov, visited Zotov and told him that if he tried to leave the hospital he would be placed in the 'madhouse'. Zotov requested the administration of the factory where he works to reassure 'the organs' that he would not leave Tolyatti during the Olympic Games. He was visited in hospital by representatives of the management committee, who told him they were unable to help him.

On 22 July Zotov declared a hunger-strike, which would end 'only with my release or my death' (to quote his statement to the doctors). On 26 July he was released from the hospital. He was immediately summoned to the psychiatric clinic, where they told him that if he tried to leave Tolyatti he would be placed in a psychiatric hospital.

* * *

In July 1962 **Yury Kashkov** (born 1938), a resident of Kovrov, was arrested under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. He was charged with producing leaflets and relaying Western radio broadcasts over the Kovrov radio network. The investigation was conducted by Major Evseyev (*Chronicle* 54). At his trial in September 1962 Kashkov was sent to a special psychiatric hospital. He was released from the Leningrad SPH on 31 December 1963.

At the beginning of November 1979 Kashkov was arrested and placed for one month in a detention centre in Vladimir for his identity to be ascertained (he had refused to give his name). A search was conducted at his home and several documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group were discovered. He was sent to the psychiatric hospital in Vladimir, but escaped from the hospital reception wearing hospital clothes.

In June 1980 Kashkov was detained at the trial of Nekipelov (see 'The Trial of V. Nekipelov'). He was again sent to a psychiatric hospital, and again he escaped.

* * *

On 7 July the chief doctor of Moscow Psychiatric Clinic No. 15 telephoned **V. Senderov** (*Chronicle* 56) and asked him to come to the clinic. Senderov refused. On 8 July he received military call-up papers (he had been granted exemption from military service). On 9 July he was visited at his home for some reason by the police. His mother refused to let them in.

* * *

At the end of December 1979 **E. V. Maziliauskas** returned to Arkhangelsk after a journey to Moscow to lodge complaints with the

MVD against her local authorities. She also took her complaints to **Tatyana Osipova.** When she returned she was summoned to a psychiatric clinic (she had been on the psychiatric register since 1959), where she was 'worked over' for several hours. She was told that if she did not withdraw her complaints she would be hospitalized.

Several days later Maziliauskas was summoned to the police station, where she was presented with a record of an act of 'petty hooliganism' committed by her before her trip to Moscow. The record stated that she had insulted a policeman who had rebuked her. On 20 December she was fined 20 roubles. This decision was challenged in January by the Chairman of the Regional Court, Yashkin.

Police Chief Reshetov told Maziliauskas: 'Never mind. This time we failed, but next time we'll get you'. He led her to believe that this meant she would be punished for her complaints.

* * *

On 16 April a search was conducted at the home of Leningrad poet **Lev Druskin** (*Chronicle* 56). On 20 April Druskin sent a telegram to Israel requesting an invitation to emigrate. The following day (there was an inaccuracy here in *Chronicle* 56) Druskin, who is a Group 1 invalid (his legs are paralysed), was visited at his home by two KGB officers, one of whom was Captain P. K. Koshelëv. They requested Druskin and his wife to give written 'explanations' of where they had obtained the tamizdat literature * which had been confiscated in the search. They wrote: 'It was left behind by people who have now left the country'.

On 27 June Druskin was visited by the same officers at his country cottage. They 'cautioned him according to the decree'[21] for possessing 'harmful' literature, and said that a book of his poetry which was about to be published would not now appear.

On 10 July, 'for actions violating the Statutes of the Union of Soviet Writers, including the circulation of anti-Soviet literature received from abroad, for hypocrisy and slander of the Soviet State and of Soviet writers' (evidently a reference to remarks written in a diary confiscated during the search), Druskin was expelled from the Writers' Union.

Several days later Druskin was told by his doctor that on orders from Chief Doctor G. Ya. Likhachëva he would no longer be allowed to receive treatment in the polyclinic of the Literary Fund [of the Writers' Union]. His wife, who is a Group 2 invalid, was denied treatment at the Literary Fund's polyclinic in April, shortly after the search at their home.

[* Ie literature written in the USSR, sent abroad, published there, and sent back in.]

On 28 July the Director of the Leningrad Section of the Literary Fund telephoned Druskin at his country cottage to tell him that he had been expelled from the Fund, and said that he had to leave the cottage within three days ('otherwise we'll have the police evict you'). Druskin then telephoned Koshelëv. Two days later he was visited by the Director, who apologized to them and said that nobody was going to evict them. In July Druskin and his wife received an invitation from abroad.

* * *

On 20 May a stranger delivered a letter to **Sergei Khodorovich,** an administrator of the Political Prisoners' Aid Fund, which read:

Sergei,

We know you can help us. We're in a desperate situation. If you'd done a term you'd know what I mean. Don't bother wondering who gave me the idea of coming to you. I only need five thousand. I know you won't tell the cops, as you're in trouble yourself and I've nothing to lose. Once I sort things out I'll give it back. Give the money to one of your boys within the next three days. On 23 May a man will come to the kiosk and ask if Sergei gave him the parcel for Stepan. No threats, but if I don't get the money you'll get a bullet in the side.

Khodorovich told the police about the letter. Nobody came to the kiosk on the day stated in the letter.

* * *

Former members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists **Vladimir Zatvorsky** and **Lina Soroka,** who live in Inta, have had their memoirs stolen.

* * *

Yury Gastev (*Chronicles* 45, 47, 48, 51, 52) was saying farewell to **V. Aksënov** (see 'Have Left') at Sheremetyevo Airport, when he was approached by **B. B. Karatayev** (see 'Have Left'), who told him that he should stay out of Moscow during the Olympic Games and that in his own interests he should sever all contacts with foreigners and consider leaving the country after the Olympic Games.

* * *

Shortly before the Olympic Games the inhabitants of Dorokhovo Settlement ([near Moscow] on the railway line to Belorussia) received roofing slates from the village soviet to repair their roofs. The slates were given only to those whose homes were near the motorway which would be used by visitors to the Olympic Games. They were given only enough slates for the side of the roof facing the road.

Letters and Statements

79 signatures: 'In defence of Valery Abramkin' (31 December 1979)

E. Bonner-Sakharova: 'To Mr Armand Hammer' (8 July 1980)
A plea to help E. Alekseyeva (see 'Sakharov in Administrative Exile') to obtain permission to emigrate to the USA.

V. Sysoyev: 'An Open Letter to Cartoonists'
The author (*Chronicles* 53-4) calls for the creation of the committee 'Cartoonists to Defend Civilization'. He writes:

> My name is Vyacheslav Sysoyev. I am a cartoonist and I live in Russia. I have been expelled from the Union of Graphic Artists. Now they are searching for me as if I were a common criminal. If I am found I shall be put in a concentration camp. It is two years since I last lived at home.

Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group

Document No. 128 (11 April 1980): 'Searches at the Homes of Members of Unofficial Groups and Associations'. Describes searches which took place in Moscow on 10 April 1980 (*Chronicle* 56).

Document No. 130 (5 May 1980): 'The Arrest of Alexander Lavut' (*Chronicle* 56).

Document No. 131 (5 May 1980): 'On the Violation of the Right to a Defence Counsel in Cases of Prisoners of Conscience'.

Document No. 133 (28 May 1980): 'The Arrest of Tatyana Osipova' (see present issue).

Document No. 134 (8 June 1980): 'Persecution of members of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled' (see present issue).

Document No. 135 (9 June 1980): 'On the Declaration of the Moscow Helsinki Group to be a Hostile Grouping' (see 'A Warning to the Group').

Document No. 136 (17 June 1980): 'The Arrest of Alexander Podrabinek' (see present issue).

Document No. 137 (17 June 1980): 'The Trial of Victor Nekipelov' (see present issue).

Samizdat News

A. Belyakov: 'The Russian Tradition' (10 pages)
An article on drunkenness, largely based on official statistics.

A. Belyakov: 'Some Aspects of Our Economy and the Problems of Automating Management' (39 pages)
This article is divided into two sections. The first describes the introduction of automatic control systems and stresses the evidence of opposition by present management structures to the development of automation. The second examines the reasons for this opposition and concludes that our economy belongs to a category of contradictory systems. It lists, and briefly describes, a number of phenomena resulting from the contradictions. It also briefly examines the effect of such an economic system on the personality of the individual.

A. Ioffe, N. Meiman, G. Freiman, G. Khasin: 'Problems Set for Jewish Students in Moscow University Entrance Examinations'
The authors, 'mathematicians, mostly refuseniks who have not received permission to emigrate to Israel, held seminars in Moscow and Leningrad to examine the extra problems set only for Jewish final-year pupils in mathematics, and compared with those normally set in such examinations'. They 'concluded that intentional discrimination had taken place against Jews seeking admission to the mathematics faculty'.
The solutions to eight 'Jewish' problems are explained and discussed (see *Chronicles* 51, 53). Seven 'non-Jewish' problems are included for comparison.

Bulletin No. 9 of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled (July 1980, 23 pages)
There are two names on the title page: Yu. Kiselev and V. Fefëlov.
The *Bulletin* includes: a plea to the government entitled 'Public Transport and Invalids' (Document No. 15 of the Initiative Group); 'Holidays for Invalids in the USSR' (Document No. 16); 'An Open Letter to A. N. Kosygin, President of the USSR Council of Ministers' (Document No. 17), which also concerns the subject of holidays; and the articles 'The Twentieth Anniversary of the International Paraplegic Olympic Games'; 'Sport, the State and the Invalid'; 'Brief Remarks on the Importance of Holidays for Invalids in the Developed Countries'; a letter 'In Defence of Victor Nekipelov'; 'An Appeal to Invalids' concerning an unsigned document calling for the creation of an All-Union Society of Invalids; a request made to A. N. Kosygin concerning the problem of cars for invalids; and a statement concern-

ing the assaults on A. D. Sakharov and E. G. Bonner which took place on 15 February (*Chronicle* 56).

The *Bulletin* also relates an example of what has happened when the Initiative Group has given help to an invalid. The Group sent a letter in reply to his request, but it never reached him. However, he immediately received a holiday warrant.

Further (cf *Chronicle* 56) persecution of several members of the Group is also mentioned, including the cases of V. Fefëlov, O. Zaitseva and Yu. Kiselev (see present issue).

Searches and Reflections (1980, 25 pages)

Underneath the title appear the words 'A Moscow Journal of Literature and Society No. 9(1)'.

The editors' foreword states in part:

The editors of the journal *Searches* have been struggling for one-and-a-half years now against the all-powerful KGB. There have been police searches, surveillance, threats, and finally arrests. Owing to the arrests of V. Abramkin, V. Sokirko and Yu. Grimm, the forced emigration of P. Egides and the illness of R. B. Lert, the editors of the journal have ended their activities (*Chronicle* 56) ...

The aim of this new journal is to preserve the public platform created by *Searches*. We consider it necessary to defend the very idea of a periodic, non-governmental, non-party publication. The editors therefore consider their activities as the direct continuation of the work of *Searches*.

However, we intend our journal to circulate mainly as samizdat, and we are unable to adopt the overtly heroic position which the editors of *Searches* took. This position is no doubt a noble one, but in practice it appears untenable ...

We should like to invite A. D. Sinyavsky to undertake 'supervision' of the journal's publication abroad.

The section entitled 'Events and People' contains documents about the exile of A. D. Sakharov (*Chronicle* 56); expulsions and resignations from the Soviet Writers' Union (*Chronicle* 56); a statement by L. Z. Kopelev explaining why he refused to give evidence (*Chronicle* 56); statements by Kopelev in defence of I. Ogurtsov and by M. Gefter in defence of T. Velikanova (*Chronicle* 55); information on the arrest of Father D. Dudko (*Chronicle* 56); and an 'Open Letter' by B. Birger to Heinrich Böll.

The section entitled 'Publicism' contains the unsigned article 'We're All "For"', which describes the obvious falsity of official [Soviet] election results, and an article by Moscow refusenik M. Novikov, entitled 'What the New Law on Soviet Citizenship Conceals'.

The section entitled 'Debate' prints replies by V. Ya. Lakshin and I. A. Sats to an article by F. Svetov, 'The Division ...', which appeared in the *Herald of the Russian Christian Movement* No. 121.

The section entitled 'Leafing through Various Newspapers' contains 'cuttings from newspapers of the future'.

The section 'Letters, Memoirs and Diaries' includes previously unpublished letters written by B. L. Pasternak.

Searches and Reflections No. 10(2) (1980, 74 pages)

The editors' foreword states in part:

The basic aim of the journal *Searches and Reflections* is to continue the tradition of a free-thinking periodical publication.

The editors consider it their duty to publish articles sent to them, as well as literary documents of as wide a range of political persuasions as possible, and will strive to avoid giving preference to any one set of political, religious or philosophical ideas.

The editorial article 'Thoughts on the Threshold of Communism' compares Soviet reality with the programme adopted by the CPSU at its 22nd Congress [in 1961].

The sections are entitled: 'Events and People', 'Publicism', 'Debate', 'Poetry', and 'Parodies'.

Tape-recording 'In Defence Of', Issue No. 1: 'Valery Abramkin' (Moscow, 1980). Duration: 40 minutes

This collection contains a letter in defence of Abramkin (see 'Letters and Statements'), excerpts from the record of a search at his home on 4 December 1979 (*Chronicle* 55) and from petitions submitted by his friends at the time his case was being investigated, and poetry, prose and songs by Abramkin.

Official Documents

Not for publication

Decree
of
The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

1. The following, serving sentences of up to five years inclusively, shall be released from places of deprivation of freedom:

a) all those who served in the Great Fatherland War of 1941-5 in the Armed Forces of the USSR, in partisan detachments and in the people's volunteer corps, and also all those who have seen military action in defence of the Soviet Motherland;

b) invalids of Groups 1 and 2;

c) men aged over 60 and women aged over 55;

d) women with children not yet seven years of age, and also pregnant women.

2. No further action is to be taken in investigations and cases which have not yet reached the courts at the time this Decree comes into force concerning persons who are for the first time facing charges for minor criminal offences for which the law stipulates sentences not exceeding two years' deprivation of freedom or punishments which do not entail deprivation of freedom.

Investigation should continue in cases concerning persons who have committed offences under any of the following articles of the RSFSR Criminal Code: 115, part 1; 115-1; 142, part 1; 190-2; 191-1, part 1; 193, part 1; 207; 209, part 1; 218, part 2; and under the corresponding articles of the Criminal Codes of the other Republics of the USSR.

3. The following shall be released from places of deprivation of freedom on condition that they shall be required to perform officially directed work, with the exception of those affected by the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Decree:
a) those serving sentences of up to three years inclusively;
b) those serving sentences of between three and five years inclusively who have already been deprived of their freedom for not less than one year.

4. Persons qualifying in the categories described in paragraph 1 above shall be relieved the banishment or exile to which they have been sentenced as an additional punishment.

5. The following do not qualify for amnesty:
a) those convicted of particularly dangerous state crimes, and also those convicted of offences under articles 14, 14-1, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 24 and 25 of the Law 'On Responsibility for State Crimes'; and under paragraph 'b' of article 2, paragraphs 'b' and 'c' of article 4, paragraph 'a' of article 6, paragraphs 'a' and 'c' of article 11, paragraph 'a' of article 13, paragraph 'b' of article 15, paragraph 'e' of article 19 and paragraph 'c' of article 21 of the Law of the USSR 'On Responsibility for Military Crimes';
b) those convicted as particularly dangerous recidivists;
c) those convicted of the following offences: premeditated murder (with the exception of those convicted of murder occasioned by taking excessive measures to defend themselves or others); premeditated grievous bodily harm (with the exception of those who inflicted such harm by taking excessive measures to defend themselves or others); attempted murder of a police-officer or a people's auxiliary police-officer; rape; theft in aggravating circumstances; large scale robbery; misappropriation of State or public property in especially large amounts; misappropriation of firearms, ammunition or explosives; receipt of bribes or acting as an intermediary for the purposes of bribery in aggravating circumstances; especially malicious hooliganism; and also for offences under articles 142, 190-1, 190-2, 190-3, 207, 209, 210, 213-2, 224, 224-1, 227 and 228 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and under the corresponding articles of the Criminal Codes of the other Republics of the USSR;
d) those sentenced more than twice to deprivation of freedom for premeditated offences, and those previously sentenced to deprivation of freedom for offences mentioned in paragraphs a) and c) above;
e) those previously absolved of criminal responsibility and those whose punishment stipulated by a court has been reduced, either in part or in full, by amnesty or by reprieve, who have again committed a premeditated offence;
f) those who have maliciously violated the regulations while undergoing punishment.

6. No person included in the categories described in paragraph 5 above shall be released under the provisions of paragraph 3 above. Release shall also be refused:
a) to those serving a sentence who have not yet completed their course of treatment for alcoholism, drug addiction or venereal disease;
b) to those who will have completed their sentence within six months;
c) to those who have been officially adjudged invalids of Group 3, and those who have not yet attained the age of majority;
d) to those who have committed offences while performing their military service, and to all those serving terms of punishment in colony-settlements;
e) foreign citizens and stateless persons.

7. This Decree shall come into force on the date of its publication.

Moscow, 27 June 1980

Addenda and Corrigenda

Chronicle 54 (in the section entitled 'In the Prisons and Camps') referred to an article by **Dovganich.** In fact the journal *Towards a New Life* contained an article written by its special correspondents G. Vasilev and R. German, entitled 'Prisoners of Conscience? No! People without Honour!'. It includes a letter written by Dovganich to the editors of the journal and an interview with prisoner **Voloshin.**

* * *

During the demonstration in Tbilisi on 14 April 1978 concerning the adoption of the new Constitution of the Georgian SSR (*Chronicle* 49), several girls from the medical institute ripped up their white coats and wrote slogans on them in lipstick demanding that Georgian be declared the State language. The demonstration took place right outside Government House. Only the most active demonstrators at the front managed to break their way through, and were then separated from the others by a police cordon. Most of the police in Tbilisi are Ossetians. On the day of the demonstration, however, the cordon was made up of Georgian police who had been called in from the provinces. There were about 10,000 people in the square outside Government House. The cordon furthest from the building consisted of bread vans, one of which was lifted by the demonstrators and carried away. The other cordons were formed of policemen linking arms, and these cordons were 'taken by storm' when men from the crowd surged forward and tore the cordon apart with their bodies. Word went round the square: 'Not a foot on the pavement or on the steps'. It was later discovered that riot troops with machine-guns at the ready were standing behind the final cordon of unarmed policemen.

The demonstrators began to chant their demands. Copies of article 75 of the new Constitution, which describes Georgian as the language of the Republic, were brought from Government House and distributed. The crowd then began shouting 'State!' [to replace the term 'Republic'], and burnt the copies. Shortly afterwards loudspeakers were switched on in the square to relay the proceedings of an extraordinary sitting of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR. When Shevardnadze reached article 75, saying that the government had spent a long time deliberating the issue and had consulted with Moscow, his voice was drowned by the whistling. The announcement that the paragraph concerning language had been adopted without any changes from the previous paragraph was greeted with rejoicing. Delegates at the sitting gave him a fifteen-minute ovation.

* * *

N. Gorbal (*Chronicle* 56) is now in this camp: 329222, Nikolayevskaya obl., s. Olshanskoye, uchr IN-316/53. He is working as a lathe operator.

The Death of Shelkov

On 2 July 1979 the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR examined the appeal made by **V. A. Shelkov, I. S. Lepshin, A. A. Spalin, S. P. Furlet** and their lawyers, and approved the sentence passed by Tashkent City Court (*Chronicle* 53). On 22 July 1979 Shelkov was transferred to a camp (in *Chronicle* 55 this was reported inaccurately) near the village

of Tabaga in the Yakut ASSR, 40 kilometres from Yakutsk.

Shelkov was at first placed on a diet of half a litre of milk and twenty grams of butter per day. In December 1979 this diet was changed. Then Shelkov was denied the use of the camp shop. Shelkov, who was a vegetarian, then began to live on bread and tea.

On 5 January 1980 Shelkov was taken ill. He was not admitted to hospital until 17 January, but even then he was refused treatment because there were no medicines available in the hospital. He began constantly vomiting. On 27 January Shelkov died (*Chronicle* 56).

On 28 January his wife received the following telegram:

> We inform you that your husband V. A. Shelkov died on 27 January. Telegraph time of your arrival for funeral.
>
> *Gavrilov*, Head of Institution YaD, p/ya 40/7

Shelkov's children flew out to the camp, but Gavrilov refused to give them their father's body. He said: 'You can take his body in three years and bury him where he wished to be buried'. He also refused to delay the funeral in order to give other relatives time to arrive after receiving telegrams inviting them.

The relatives left Tashkent by plane on 31 January, but they only reached the camp on the evening of 4 February, when Shelkov's body had already been buried. On 5 February, after persistent requests, they were allowed to exhume the coffin and perform a burial according to religious rites.

'Open Letter No. 12' (12 May 1980) states in part: 'The villainy of the State atheist dictatorship is the reason for the death of Vladimir Andreyevich Shelkov, Chairman of the All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh Day Adventists'. The council of the Church expresses the suspicion that the authorities gave Shelkov something which was having a 'mysterious effect' on his organism. To justify this suspicion they refer to the following evidence:

1. When Shelkov was arrested (*Chronicle* 49) Procurator G. V. Ponomarëv stated that the authorities now had at their disposal the means to make a man talk and say things contrary to his will.
2. In his last letters Shelkov complained that for some inexplicable reason he was becoming progressively weaker.
3. **S. F. Bakholdin** (born 1929), arrested on 15 April 1978 (*Chronicle* 49) and sentenced to seven years in hard-regime camps and three years in exile (*Chronicle* 53), is dying in a camp hospital in Solikamsk from inexplicable loss of weight and weakness.
4. **R. A. Spalin** (born 1937), arrested in September 1978 (*Chronicle* 51) and sentenced to seven years in camps (*Chronicle* 54),[22] has developed epilepsy.
5. **N. P. Ruzhechko** (born 1927), arrested on 2 December 1979 in Yurga, Kemerovo Region, died on 1 January 1980 during the pre-trial investigation of her case from an 'infarct of the cerebral blood-

vessels'. In the opinion of people who saw her body, she had been tortured during the investigation.

Corrections to the English edition

Chronicle 55-6: Omission from the Index of Names: Lakshin, V. 221. Page 177: T. Prokopchuk should read Prokopchik.

Endnotes

1. A way of referring to the KGB. The Cheka was the original name for the Soviet security police.
2. Venue for the annual Human Rights Day demonstration staged by dissenters since 1965.
3. See *Chronicle* 32, pp 64-7.
4. Russian initials for the Popular Labour Alliance, a Russian anti-Soviet group based in Frankfurt and Paris.
5. Secretary in USA: Dr D. Shiman, College of Education, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont 05401; in Holland: R. van Voren, Postbus 51049, 1007 EA Amsterdam.
6. See note 3.
7. While this information is correct in itself, Shibayev must in fact have been referring to Nikolai Ivanov's later imprisonment. On 21 April 1980 he was sentenced to one year in camps for alleged parasitism.
8. Lavrenty Beria, Stalin's head of the secret police; he was executed soon after Stalin's death, apparently for planning to seize power in a coup.
9. Wrongly called Natalya on p. 169 of *Chronicle* 54 (index of illustrations).
10. See note 3.
11. See note 3.
12. In August, after the Olympic Games, he was released.
13. See note 3.
14. Wrongly called Vladimir on p. 168 of *Chronicle* 54 (index of illustrations).
15. See note 3.
16. A copy of this finely-produced book is available at Keston College, Heathfield Rd, Keston, Kent BR2 6BA, England.
17. See note 3.
18. The *Chronicle*'s address has been made fuller by adding the post-code and the 'UP-288'.
19. Taras Shevchenko was the leading Ukrainian national poet of the 19th century and was persecuted by the tsarist authorities.
20. Smirnov was released soon after the Olympic Games. He is referred to in *Chronicle* 53 (page 170) only by his pseudonym Valentin Mariya.
21. See note 3.
22. Corrected here from 'four years' (an error in *Chronicle* 54 repeated in No. 57).

Bibliographical Note

The original Russian text of *Chronicle* 57, of which this book is a translation, appeared as a booklet without annotations, *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*, Khronika Press, New York, 1981.

Earlier issues of the *Chronicle* are available in English from two main sources. Numbers 16-56 have been published by Amnesty International Publications with annotations and indexes of names, all issues except number 16 being still in print (see inside back cover). Numbers 1-11 appeared in full, with annotations and 76 photographs, in Peter Reddaway's *Uncensored*

Russia: the Human Rights Movement in the Soviet Union, London and New York, 1972.

Future issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events* will be published in English by Amnesty International Publications as they become available.

The most comprehensive source of current, up-to-date information on the sort of events reported with some delay by the *Chronicle* is the fortnightly *USSR News Brief: Human Rights* edited by Dr Cronid Lubarsky and available from *Cahiers du Samizdat,* 48 rue du Lac, 1050 Brussels, Belgium. This address provides the English and Russian editions. In addition, a Japanese edition is available from the Soviet Coordination Group of Amnesty International, 2-3-22 Nishi-Waseda, Shinjuku-ju, Tokyo 160, Japan; a Dutch edition from Stichting Comité V. Boekovski, Postbus 51049, 1007 EA Amsterdam, Netherlands; and a German edition from GFM, Kaiserstr. 40, 6000 Frankfurt/Main 1, Germany. A French edition is planned. (Dr Lubarsky has featured in many issues of the *Chronicle* since 1972, where his name is spelled Kronid Lyubarsky. He emigrated in 1977.)

Many texts referred to briefly in the *Chronicle* have appeared in full in *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR,* Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10018, quarterly (separate Russian and English editions), and (documents of Helsinki groups) in the volumes listed in endnote 2 of *Chronicles* 43-5. *The Samizdat Bulletin,* P.O. Box 6128, San Mateo, California 94403, USA, monthly, is also a useful source, as are, for Ukrainian Helsinki Group documents, several booklets published in English by Smoloskyp Publishers, P.O. Box 561, Ellicott City, Maryland 21043, USA. In French the best source of samizdat texts is *Cahiers du Samizdat,* 48 rue du Lac, 1050 Brussels, Belgium, monthly; in German: *Samizdat: Stimmen aus dem 'anderen Russland',* Kuratorium Geistige Freiheit, Postfach 277, 3601 Thun, Switzerland (12 occasional vols to date), and *Menschenrechte-Schicksale-Dokumente,* Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte, Kaiserstr. 40, 6000 Frankfurt/M, Germany, bimonthly; in Italian: *Russia Cristiana,* via Martinengo 16, 20139 Milan, Italy, bimonthly; and in Dutch: *Rusland Bulletin,* Fijnje van Salverdastraat 4, Amsterdam-W, Netherlands, bimonthly, and the series *Rusland Cahiers,* Stichting Comité V. Boekovski, Postbus 51049, 1007 EA Amsterdam, Netherlands.

For many religious texts, see *Religion in Communist Lands,* Keston College, Heathfield Road, Keston, Kent BR2 6BA, England, quarterly. For Jewish texts see *Jews in the USSR,* 31 Percy Street, London W1P 9FG, England, weekly.

For Lithuanian texts see translated issues of *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* (published as booklets), 351 Highland Boulevard, Brooklyn, New York 11207, USA; also translations of this and other Lithuanian samizdat in *ELTA,* 1611 Connecticut Avenue NW, suite 2, Washington D.C. 20009, USA.

Other books and periodicals in which readers can find more details about many of the people mentioned in the *Chronicle* are listed in the annotated bibliographies in the Amnesty International editions of numbers 22-23 and 27, and also appear in the endnotes in each volume.

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