A CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS

No 62

Journal of the Human Rights Movement in the USSR

Amnesty International Publications

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A Chronicle of Current Events

Number 62

Amnesty International Publications
10 Southampton Street London WC2E 7HF
1982

Subscription rates - see inside back cover
Russian original © Khronika Press 1981, New York
English translation © Amnesty International, 1982
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Published 1982 by Amnesty International Publications
Designed and produced by Index on Censorship, London and New York
Printed in Great Britain by Billing & Sons, Ltd, London
ISBN 0 86210 049 6
AI index: EUR 46/24/82
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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations

Preface

Abbreviations

Chronicle No. 62 (14 July 1981)
The Death of Kukk 1
The Arrest of Anatoly Marchenko 2
The Trial of Osipova 7
Persecution of the Working Commission on Psychiatric Abuse 19
The Trial of Koryagin 19
The Grivnina-Serebrov Case 26
Trials 33
The Trial of Azadovsky 33
The Trial of Georgy Shepelëv 33
The Trial of Erëmenko 34
The Trial of Sarbayev 34
The Trial of Zotov 35
The Case of the Journal Searches 36
The Arrest of Yakovlev 36
Gefter is Summoned 38
Arrests 38
The Arrest of Pavlov 38
The Arrest of Kuvakin 39
Searches, Interrogations 42
Searches at the Homes of Members of the Editorial Board of the Journal The Duel 42
A Search at the Home of Gotovtsev 43
An Interrogation of Vul 44
Case No. 50611/14-79 46
A Search at the Home of Legler 46
A Search at the Home of Romanova 47
A Search at the Home of Khodorovich 47
The 'Hothouse Case' in Tomsk 47
Interrogations Around Aleksei Smirnov 48
Sannikova and Probatova are Searched and Interrogated 49
Persecution of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled 50
Events in the Ukraine 50
The Trial of Altunyan 50
The Trial of Naboka, Milyavsky, Lokhvitskaya anc Chernyavskaya 55
Arrests 59
The Arrest of Didenko 59
The Arrest of Kandyba 59
The Arrest of Raisa Rudenko 60
The Arrest of Antsupov 61
Miscellaneous 63
Events in Armenia 64
The Trial of Manucharyan, Apikyan and Melkonyan 64
The Trial of Marzpet Arutyunyan, Vartan Arutyunyan, Mkrtchyan, Egiazaryan and Agababyan 64
Events in Estonia 66
The Trials of Kalep, Niitso and Madison 66

Events in Lithuania 67
The Trial of Vaiciunas 67
The Trial of Jurevicius 67
Persecution of Believers 69
Lutherans in Estonia 69
Catholics in Lithuania 70
Adventists 70
The Trial of Ivan Fokanov 70
The Trial of Ardzhevanidze and Sayapina 70
The Trial of Vladimir Fokanov, Kovalchuk and Kaduk 70
The Trial of Galetsky and Chulkova 71
The Trial of Didenko 71
The Trial of Genchu 71
Miscellaneous 71
Baptists 72
The Trial of Vladimir Khailo 72
The Trial of Boiko 73
The Trial of Lakatosh, Deshko and Fenchak 74
The Trial of Levtsenyuk 74
The Trial of Kozorezov 74
The Trial of Kozorezova 74
Arrests 74
Breaking up of Prayer-meetings 75
Miscellaneous 76
Orthodox 77
The Right to Leave 77
Moscow 77
The Trial of Kurnosov 77
The Trial of Brailovsky 80
The Case of Chernobylsky 83
Miscellaneous 86
Leningrad 93
The Arrest of Lein 93
Miscellaneous 93
Kiev 94
The Trial of Fridman 94
The Trial of Kislik 95
The Arrest of Zubko 98
Miscellaneous 99
Kharkov 103
Kishinëv 103
The Arrest of Lokshin and Tsukerman 103
Tbilisi 103
Dushanbe 107
The Arrest of Marsal 107
Estonia 108
Vilnius 108
Armenia 108
Have Left 109
In the Prisons and Camps 110
The Case of Airikyan 110
The Case of Ovsienko 112
The Case of Bolonkin 112
Chistopol Prison 113
The Mordovian Camps 113
The Perm Camps 115
In Other Prisons and Camps 117
Letters and Statements by Political Prisoners 124
In Defence of Political Prisoners 128
Releases 133
Sakharov in Administrative Exile 134
In Exile 136
Releases 137
In the Psychiatric Hospitals 138
In Special Psychiatric Hospitals 138
In Ordinary Hospitals 138
After Release 139
Miscellaneous Reports 140
Letters and Statements 146
Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group 147
Samizdat News 147
Addenda and Corrigenda 158
The Case of Lupinos 158
Corrections to the English Edition 160
Endnotes 160
Bibliographical Note 162
A Note on Photographs 163
Index of Names 164

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations are to be found between pages 86 and 87 .

1 Family of Estonian Jüri Kukk (1940-81) beside his prison grave
2 The ancient prison in Vladimir, which has held many political prisoners
3 Police barring access to the trial of Tatyana Osipova in Moscow
4 Anatoly Koryagin, psychiatrist given 12 years in Kharkov
5 Vasily Ovsienko, Ukrainian teacher given 15 years for dissent
6 Friends of Genrikh Altunyan, Kharkov dissenter sentenced to 12 years
7 Leonid Milyavsky, young Kiev translator: 3 years for leaflets
8 Sergei Naboka, Kiev student of journalism jailed with Milyavsky
9 Georgy Shepelëv (6-month sentence), Sergei Nekhotin, Evgeny Komarnitsky - Russian 'refuseniks'
10 Herbert Murd, young Estonian Lutheran jailed for religious activism
11 Tiit Madisson, Estonian worker given 6 years for dissent
12 Vytautas Vaiciunas of Lithuanian Helsinki Group: 2½ years in camps
13 & 14 Anatoly Lupinos, Ukrainian dissenter psychiatrically interned since 1972, seen here in a mental hospital
15 Galina Ukhtomskaya, Pentecostal activist eventually allowed to emigrate
16 & 17 Svetlana Probatova and Elena Sannikova, persecuted for supporting the disabled; with Probatova's family and Yury Kiselev

18 Faizulla Khusainov of Chistopol, disabled champion of the disabled
19 Rev Rostislav Galetsky, Adventist leader, baptizes a convert
20-22 Other Adventists sentenced at same time as Galetsky for religious samizdat activity: Vasily Kovalchuk, Ivan Fokanov, Vladimir Fokanov
23-24 Gathering of Jewish refuseniks in wood: in May 1981 the KGB mounted a big operation to prevent a repetition and arrested an activist
25 Irina Brailovskaya outside her husband's trial, with Ida Milgrom
26 Husband Viktor Brailovsky, exiled for 5 years as Jewish refusenik leader
27 Kim Fridman, Jewish refusenik for 9 years, jailed for 1 year
28 View of the multiple fences surrounding a camp in Donetsk City
29-30 Views of a camp in Donetsk Region, with prisoners. Among them: Baptist Valentin Naprienko
31 Alexandra Kozorezova, defender of Baptist prisoners: 3-year suspended term; with her ten children
32 Her husband Aleksei Kozorezov, Baptist jailed for 3 years in Ukraine
33 Nikolai Boiko, Odessa Baptist leader given 5 years in camps

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
OPH	Ordinary Psychiatric Hospital
OVD	Department of Internal Affairs
OVIR	Department (of the MVD) for Visas and Registration
SPH	Special Psychiatric Hospital
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic, of which there 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
UVIR	Administration (of the MVD) for Visas and Registration

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 62, is, like previous ones, a translation of a copy of the original typewritten text (which reached London on 22 April 1982). The editorial insertions are the endnotes (numbered) and the words in square brackets. Also added, to help the general reader, are: the list of abbreviations, the illustrations and all material relating to the illustrations, the index of names, the bibliographical note and the material on the inside and outside of the covers. None of this material appeared in the original text.

The endnotes have been kept to a minimum, partly because the text itself 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 judgments 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, August 1982

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 62 14 July 1981

Contents

The death of Kukk. The arrest of Anatoly Marchenko. The trial of Osipova. Persecution of the Working Commission: the trial of Koryagin. Trials: Azadovsky; Georgy Shepelëv; Erëmenko; Sarbayev; Zotov. The case of the journal Searches. Arrests. Searches, interrogations. Persecution of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled. Events in the Ukraine: the trials of Altunyan; Naboka, Milyavsky, Lokhvitskaya and Chernyavskaya. Events in Armenia: the trials of Manucharyan, Apikyan and Melkonyan; Marzpet Arutyunyan, Vartan Arutyunyan, Mkrtchyan, Egiazaryan and Agababyan. Events in Estonia: the trials of Kalep; Niitsoo; Madisson. Events in Lithuania: the trials of Vaiciunas; Jurevicius. Persecution of believers: the trials of Ivan Fokanov; Ardzhevanidze and Sayapina; Vladimir Fokanov, Kovalchuk and Kaduk; Galetsky and Chulkova; Didenko; Genchu; Vladimir Khailo; Boiko; Lakatosh, Deshko and Fenchak; Levtsenyuk; Kozorezov; Kozorezova. The right to leave: the trials of Kurnosov; Brailovsky; Fridman; Kislik. In the prisons and camps. Sakharov in administrative exile. In exile. In the psychiatric hospitals. After release. Miscellaneous reports. Letters and statements. Samizdat news. Addenda and corrigenda.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

THE DEATH OF JURI KUKK

On 2 March Jüri Kukk (for his trial see Chronicle 61), who was still on hunger-strike, arrived at a camp in Murmansk from Tallin. He was at once sent off to a hospital in Vologda (distension of the stomach was diagnosed), where he died not later than 28 March.

On 30 March his wife and five friends buried him in Vologda (the authorities would not permit the body to be taken to Tartu). Kukk's body was extremely emaciated and blackened. His wife and friends are of the opinion that he died as a result of his long hunger-strike and incorrect treatment during this time.

* * *

On 5 April a 'literary reading' took place in a Moscow flat in memory of Jüri Kukk. Moscow refuseniks A. Aberson, K. Balkhasyants, V. Vail, G. Vigdarov, V. Kats, B. Klots, V. Magarik, O. Popov, A. Radin, I. Sapiro, N. Fradkova and N. Khasina sent this statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

> We have learned with deep sorrow of the martyr's death of Estonian chemist Jüri Kukk, who gave his life trying to exercise his right to leave the USSR.
> In honour of the memory of the deceased, we, the undersigned, declare a one-day hunger-strike for 12 April 1981.

On 1 May an 'Open Statement from a Group of Estonian Citizens' was sent to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (with a copy to the USSR Procurator-General):

> Today, 1 May 1981, Jüri Kukk would have been 41 years old. Jüri Kukk's death is something which his numerous friends and students cannot accept without a feeling of protest.
> A healthy man, a scientist with an international reputation, is persecuted by the authorities because he openly expressed his views, is removed from his job at the university, is locked up in prison, and he dies a few months later after his trial, at the age of 40.
> On 8 January 1981 Jüri Kukk was sentenced to two years' deprivation of freedom for slander (under article 194-1 of the Estonian Criminal Code). Was Jüri Kukk capable of slander? Slander presupposes deliberate deception, and this was not in his nature. He was one of the few people who are capable of speaking the truth and of dying for it. He had a keen mind and a pure heart. Thousands of ordinary people, who are not charged with slander as he was, will not find anyone among them to equal him, a man who managed and dared to do so much.
> Jüri Kukk commenced his hunger-strike on 22 November 1980, while his case was under investigation, and maintained it right up to his death, which, according to some accounts, can be dated 24 March 1981. Jüri Kukk died. There have been cases when people have maintained a hunger-strike for over a year. His co-defendant Mart Niklus has been on hunger-strike since 23 August 1980. What is the price of a human being, as opposed to a statistical unit?
> Jüri Kukk is dead. Could a slanderer, deceitful by

nature, have staged a protest hunger-strike? A slanderer would have left someone else without food. Jüri Kukk was only superficially in captivity. His spirit was not subject to the measures prescribed by article 194-1; he disassociated himself from the bars, the jailers and the food they offered him. In addition to suffering the prohibitions imposed by the authorities, it is possible to reject that which the authorities themselves never refuse. A hunger-strike constitutes such a rejection. The prisoner who scratches at the locked door behaves as the authorities expect him to - a hunger-striking prisoner is an inaccessible force. Going on hunger-strike means denying oneself in the name of the idea of life. Only a few are capable of this.

During the trial Jüri Kukk weighed 47 kilograms (he was 172 cm tall), Mart Niklus not much more. Nevertheless, these two emaciated men were guarded by two dozen KGB officials, who barred the entrance to the courtroom to all but those whom the authorities had decided in advance would be present at the trial. The sentence - two years of ordinary-regime camp for Jüri Kukk and ten years' special-regime camp and five years' exile for Mart Niklus - proved a death sentence for Kukk.

Do we have the right to honour the memory of Jüri Kukk? Did Jüri Kukk die as a result of his hunger-strike? Or was he murdered? He was a healthy man, a fact borne out by the documents which accompanied his transfer to Murmansk on 2 March 1981. A sick person is not sent off under armed escort. Why was Jüri Kukk sent from Estonia to imprisonment in the RSFSR? Article 6 of the Estonian Corrective Labour Code states that his type of sentence should be served on the territory of the Estonian SSR. If Jüri Kukk had really been well, he would not have been buried on 30 March. A great man has been destroyed. Do not his friends, having recovered from their initial shock, have the right to ask questions?

Different institutions have given different reasons for Jüri Kukk's death. Vologda Prison Hospital said that his stomach was distended and that this caused heart failure and emphysema. The Tartu Register Office gave heart insufficiency as the cause of death. This too forces us to ask questions.

Will his widow's application for an investigation into the circumstances of Jüri Kukk's death be granted? Will it be possible to avert the danger threatening the lives of Mart Niklus and others who are similarly imprisoned?

THE ARREST OF ANATOLY MARCHENKO

Anatoly Marchenko was arrested in Moscow on 17 March. He was arrested when approaching his father-in-law's house. Marchenko was allowed to take home the bag of provisions he was carrying. At the same time, he purposely left his hearing aid at home (he suffers from double otitis of the inner ear - the result of meningitis contracted in camp). Marchenko has been charged under article 70 (part 2) of the RSFSR Criminal Code. His case, No. 41, is being conducted by a Senior Investigator of the Vladimir KGB, Captain

Krivov (Chronicle 55). Marchenko is being held in Vladimir Prison.

* * *

Marchenko (b. 1938) served his first sentence (1958-60) when he was convicted of participating in a brawl (he was, in fact, trying to separate the brawlers): his second (1960-6) after being convicted under article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (this period is described in his book My Testimony): his third (1968-9) for 'violation of the residence regulations' (Chronicle 3), and his fourth (1969-71) when convicted on charges under article 190-1 of the Code (Chronicle 9). Marchenko was sentenced for the fifth time for 'malicious violation of the rules of administrative surveillance' (Chronicle 35): the 'case' and his exile term lasted from 1975 to 1979 and are described in his book From Tarusa to Chuna.[1]. In April 1980 the authorities threatened him yet again with arrest, and encouraged him to leave the USSR (Chronicle 56).

* * *

On 17 March four searches were carried out in connection with Case No. 41. The search at Marchenko's home (in the town of Karabanovo, Vladimir Region) was conducted by Krivov. An English translation of Marchenko's book From Tarusa to Chuna, an open letter by Marchenko and his wife Larissa Bogoraz (Chronicles 3, 4) entitled 'Alexander Lavut is on Trial' (Chronicle 60), Marchenko's diary entries about Poland, issue No. 57 of A Chronicle of Current Events, a bulletin produced by the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled, and a typewriter were among the confiscated items.

The home of **Alexander Daniel** (L. Bogoraz's son) and his wife Svetlana Artsimovich was searched: issue No. 7 of the journal Searches, G. Pomerants's Unpublished Works[2]., photocopies of the book Exodus and of the samizdat journal Sintaksis (Nos. 1-3),[3]. a work of memoirs and a typewriter were confiscated.

Ekaterina Velikanova's home in Moscow was also searched and the following items confiscated: N. Bokov's[4]. book Bestseller, four issues of the newspaper Russian Thought,[5]. typed copies of Voloshin's and Gumilëv's poetry ('Don't you know that they are prohibited here?' the investigator asked Velikanova), an INION |Institute for Information on the Social Sciences| collection bearing the DSP |for Official Use| stamp and entitled Terrorism in the Contemporary World, a typewriter, a tape recorder, private correspondence, two notebooks, and credit notes for the foreign presents office amounting to seven roubles with a document regarding their receipt (in the name of L. Bogoraz).

Correspondence with M. Landa (Chronicle 56) and an article by V. Fëdorov, member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled, were confiscated from **Evgeny Pashnin** (Chronicle 54), who lives in the town of Strunino, Vladimir Region.

* * *

On 25 March a search was carried out in connection with Marchenko's case at the home of Marchenko's former campmate, **Valery Zaitsev** (Chronicle 4), in Alexandrov, Vladimir Region. A photograph of Marchenko was confiscated.

On 3 April Krivov interrogated Zaitsev: was he acquainted

with Marchenko? (yes); what did he know of his anti-Soviet activity? (nothing); had Marchenko given him literature of any kind? (no); which of Marchenko's works had he read? (none). Krivov wanted to know why Zaitsev had left his trade union three months previously; on hearing the reply: 'Because it does not defend my interests', Krivov said: 'Don't hope that it will be like Poland here!'

* * *

On 22 March E. **Bonner** and A. **Sakharov** issued an 'Appeal':

> Tolya Marchenko has been arrested again. This news is so terrible that it is difficult to accommodate it in one's mind. The story of Marchenko's life is known to the readers of his magnificent books My Testimony and From Tarusa to Chuna. It is a searing indictment of the blind cruelty of the machine of repression, and at the same time it bears witness to the true greatness of a human spirit, to the pride and honesty of a living, suffering person who resists this machine. The worker and writer Anatoly Marchenko, who has told the truth - so important to us all - about today's Soviet camps, is one of those individuals of whom the country and people who gave him birth may be really proud. Now, when the vindictiveness of its jailers has again turned against him, we are whole-heartedly behind him and his family. We ask all honest people in this country and in the world to do all in their power to defend and help them.

On 22 March **V. Fefëlov** wrote an article entitled: 'When Repression is Meaningless...'

> If we do not want our lives to become meaningless and empty, to become more enslaved, we will come to the defence of such remarkable and thinking people as Anatoly Marchenko, Viktor Nekipelov, Tatyana Velikanova, Felix Serebrov, Tatyana Osipova and many, many others who are today languishing in the depths of the bottomless Gulag, which continues to devour more and more victims.

On 30 March the **Moscow Helsinki Group** adopted Document No. 160: 'The Arrest of Anatoly Marchenko':

> A worker by profession, a writer by vocation, Marchenko openly defended people's civic and political rights. He is the author of two documentary works, My Testimony and From Tarusa to Chuna, and of numerous publicistic articles and letters...Anatoly Marchenko's works have been circulated in samizdat and also published abroad.
>
> Anatoly Marchenko's free outspokenness and his opposition to evil, injustice and coercion have resulted in the systematic persecution of this courageous and uncompromising defender of human rights. Since 1968 his home has been searched no fewer than 15 times, and manuscripts, rough drafts and outlines for future works, private correspondence, notebooks, and notes for his diary have been confiscated.
>
> This is already his sixth arrest. Between the age of 19 and the present day, when Anatoly Marchenko is 43, he has spent 15 years in prison and exile and only nine years at liberty, two of them under administrative surveillance...Anatoly Marchenko has a wife and an eight-year-old son. Deprived of his right to live in Moscow

> in his wife's flat, he has lived for the past two-and-a-half years in the village of Karabanovo, where he was in charge of running gas boiler-houses. At the same time, with his own hands, he was building a house for his family. Despite the fact that his health was undermined during his long years in prisons, camps and in exile (he has had meningitis, intestinal disease and has partially lost his hearing), he was always working, showing himself to be a worker not only by occupation, but in his inner consciousness...
>
> We know him and his life story. We know this courageous, honest, uncompromising man, who has suffered a great deal. We are convinced that only his struggle to preserve human rights and freedoms, only his high moral standard, his sensitive conscience and a heart responsive to the misfortunes of others were the inspiration behind all his actions. We know that, being opposed to any kind of violence, he opposed evil with words and only with words. Anatoly Marchenko is among the best people of our epoch. It is for this reason and for this reason alone that he is persecuted by the authorities.

* * *

On 23 March a medical commission ruled that Marchenko's hearing was adequate. On 24 March KGB officials tried to obtain his hearing aid, without which he cannot hear, from his family.

On 9 April L. Bogoraz was summoned to Vladimir for interrogation by Investigator Zotov, who said that he wanted a sample of her handwriting. Bogoraz refused to participate in the investigation of her husband's case, giving the following reason:

> I consider that the case which the KGB has brought against my husband, A.T. Marchenko, is illegal for the following reason: a citizen's views and beliefs, expressed in verbal or written form, cannot constitute grounds for prosecuting him as a criminal. Therefore I refuse to participate in any investigative action in this case.

On 24 April Bogoraz concluded an agreement with Vladimir lawyer L.D. Fradkin that he would 'carry out the requirements of article 201 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure' - i.e. that he would study the case materials once the pre-trial investigation was over.

Between 20 and 30 April **E. Velikanova, A. Daniel** and **S. Artsimovich** were summoned for interrogation. Daniel and his wife refused to give evidence until the typewriter confiscated during the search was returned to them. Velikanova was ill and did not go to the interrogation.

Pashnin was interrogated on 6 May (he had already been summoned on 3 April, but did not turn up, having sent a statement refusing to take part in the investigation). He was asked about Marchenko, Landa and Fefëlov. Pashnin refused to answer the questions, giving as his reason the fact that the KGB were spreading 'absurd rumours' about him in Strunino.

On 11 May Zotov interrogated **Sergei Nekipelov** (Chronicle 57). Nekipelov said that in 1977 he was doing his military service in the village of Chuna and that he met Marchenko there. He described Marchenko as 'a very decent, honest and responsive man'. Zotov asked several questions about the charges which had been brought against Nekipelov during

his military service. In particular he asked: 'What have you to say about the interrogation record, signed by you, in which you state that you supplied Marchenko with military information and also information defaming the Soviet state?' 'I deny having signed that record; after I had signed a caution, I was given a piece of paper to sign, which I did not read because I thought that it was also a caution. In the event the piece of paper turned out to be the record to which you are referring'.

On 13 May S. Nekipelov wrote a statement:

To the Head of the Investigation Department of the Vladimir KGB, P.I. Pleshkov.

On 11 May 1981 I was interrogated by Senior Investigator Zotov in connection with the case of A.T. Marchenko.

In the course of the interrogation I was shown a piece of paper which bore my signature. As I realized immediately from its content, this was the record of my interrogation of 31 May 1978, drawn up by an investigator from the Special Section of the Transbaikal Military District, in connection with charges which had been brought against me and were later dropped.

I consider it necessary to state that I did actually sign this paper, but I had not read it, and I never gave the evidence contained in this 'interrogation record'. I deny the information written in this record, since it does not correspond to the truth. I also consider it necessary to explain why I signed the document without having read it.

In May 1978, before I was demobilized from the Army, I was attached to a military unit stationed in the village of Chuna, Irkutsk Region. I was arrested and charged with collecting compromising evidence about offences committed by commanding officers of Unit 445. I was detained under guard in the investigation cell of the garrison guardhouse, in appalling conditions: at night the temperature did not rise above 7°C, I had a wet plank bed to sleep on and no warm clothing, there was no glass in the window of the concrete-floored cell and a gap of 15-20 centimetres under the door. During this time (about two weeks) I did not sleep at night, I only dozed on the stone bench in between interrogations, which took the form of a series of uninterrupted threats. I was fed miserable portions of soup.

All this reduced me to such a state that I did not quite realize the significance of my actions, and when I was informed that I had to sign a caution and then my case would be closed, I signed all the papers I was presented with, without reading them.

Please attach this statement to the record of my interrogation of 11 May 1981.

On 28 May Investigator Feofilaktov interrogated L. Bogoraz (Pleshkov came in several times during the interrogation). Bogoraz was asked about 30 questions. She answered only the question about whether Marchenko wished to emigrate. She explained that he had submitted his documents to OVIR in 1974. When asked why she answered this question, Bogoraz replied that if they released him, she intended to persuade Marchenko that it would be wise to emigrate. (At this point Pleshkov intervened: 'Who's going to let him go? When he's sat it out - he can leave!' He also told Feofilaktov: 'What are you asking her for, she's an accomplice, the results

of the handwriting examination show that'). The remaining questions concerned the papers confiscated during the search, which, according to the handwriting examination, had been edited by Bogoraz.

* * *

In mid-May an official of the Karabanovo Town Soviet EC and a policeman forbade Bogoraz to go on building the house her husband had started, as Marchenko had not registered the permission of the local authorities (he had permission to build from a central organization).

THE TRIAL OF OSIPOVA

On 27 March **B. Altshuler, E. Bonner** and **I. Kovalëv** sent the following letter:

To the World Medical Association, the International Association of Women Doctors, the World Psychiatric Association, the International Union of Medical Journalists, TO ALL DOCTORS!

On 31 March the trial of Tatyana Osipova will begin in Moscow. She is a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group and a member of the human rights movement in the USSR, the aims of which include pressing for a proper medical service in Soviet prisons and camps and defending the victims of psychiatric repression...

At the moment the Soviet press is giving extensive coverage to the work of the international conference 'Doctors of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War', which opened in Washington on 21 March.

The conference adopted the appeal 'To All Doctors of the World', which describes the terrible consequences of nuclear war. It is difficult to expect a state machine which violates fundamental human rights and permits the madness of psychiatric repression to behave rationally in other matters, including the crucial question of war and peace...

Soviet defenders of human rights have never resorted to violence and have not incited others to violence: by publicizing the facts about violations of human rights, they have striven to create an atmosphere of trust and frankness in society, without which peace on earth is unthinkable.

Therefore we appeal to the doctors who have united to try and avert nuclear war. Help Tatyana Osipova and other members of the human rights movement in the USSR, and in the first instance - the arrested women.

* * *

From 31 March to 2 April the Moscow City Court, presided over by V.G. Lubentsova (Chronicle 58), heard the case of Tatyana Semënovna Osipova (b. 1949; arrested 27 May 1980 - Chronicle 57), who was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Deputy Procurator-General of the USSR, M. Polyakov; the defence lawyer was V. Shveisky (Chronicles 17, 23, 61).

* * *

The trial took place in the People's Court of the Lyublino District of Moscow. Besides the 'special public', Osipova's mother, stepfather and grandmother were present in the courtroom (after they had given evidence). They were brought to Lyublino in a car by KGB officials. They walked freely into the courtroom and took their places in the front row. They did not greet Osipova and did not look at her. Eight or nine staff members from the Centre for Geophysical Expeditions [CGE], where Osipova worked until her arrest, whom she hardly knew, were also in court (see 'Miscellaneous Reports').

On the first day of the trial Osipova's husband, **Ivan Kovalëv**, was stopped by a police cordon at the approach to the court building and ordered to 'clear off'. Kovalëv said that if his wife did not see him in the courtroom 'the trial would not take place', and that very soon 'everyone would know' about this. A few minutes later Kovalëv was allowed through into the court building. There the usher, who introduced himself as 'Ivan Sergeyevich Ivanov', and his assistant, who did not introduce himself, imposed the following condition: Kovalëv would be allowed into the courtroom if he left behind his bouquet of flowers and let himself be searched for 'sound-recording devices'. Kovalëv agreed, but demanded and received a receipt for the portable tape-recorder they confiscated from him. 'Ivanov' promised to return the recorder after the trial. On the first day Lubentsova imposed another condition: Kovalëv must not take notes. When Kovalëv went out into the street during the recess, 'Ivanov' stated yet another condition: it was permitted to leave the court only during the long dinner-time recess. Every day, before the trial began and when Kovalëv returned after the recess, 'Ivanov' searched him.

On the last day of the trial (when only the reading of the judgment took place) Lubentsova interrupted the reading of the judgment in mid-word (an unprecedented occurrence) and shouted at Kovalëv to place his notepad on the table in front of her immediately and leave the courtroom. When Kovalëv had placed the notepad on the table, 'Ivanov' escorted him out of the courtroom and the reading of the judgment continued behind firmly closed doors. Before Osipova was escorted from the courtroom, 'Ivanov' and his assistant ejected Kovalëv from the corridor as well, so that he could not see his wife.

Subsequently, when escorting Kovalëv out of the building, 'Ivanov' showed him the tape-recorder which he had confiscated on the first day and demanded the receipt back. When he was given it, he pulled back the hand holding the recorder and said that he would not give it back - 'to teach you not to bring a tape-recorder next time'. Then two policemen escorted Kovalëv to the corner of the block, not letting him look round when his wife was put into the Black Maria.

On the first day of the trial, Osipova's friends were able to stand by the fence around the yard surrounding the court building. Then they were pushed away by police to the corner of the block (the police let passers-by through freely). On 1 April **Rafael Oganyan** (Chronicle 56) and **Sirvard Avakyan** (Chronicle 56) were detained near the court building. They were released the same day.

* * *

Osipova's 'case' consists of 36 volumes. She was charged

with:

- preparing, keeping and circulating Moscow Helsinki Group documents: No. 49 - 'On the violation of collective farm workers' rights to emigrate and to leave the collective farm' (Chronicle 49), No. 55 - 'To the International Olympic Committee and the President of the ICC, Lord M. Killanin' (Chronicle 51), No. 58 - 'Ten years later' (Chronicle 51), No. 63 - 'Jewish collective farm workers in the village of Ilinka are forcibly tied to the land and refused permission to emigrate' (Chronicle 51), No. 69 - '30 years of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' (Chronicle 52), No. 70 - 'On instances of politically motivated persecution' (Chronicle 52), No. 85 - 'Violation of socio-economic Human Rights in the USSR: The Right to Work' (Chronicle 53), No. 93 - 'Freedom for all the Helsinki Group members imprisoned in the USSR!' (Chronicle 53), No. 100 - 'Arrests for ideological reasons, August '78-August '79' (Chronicle 54), and No. 199 (on the invasion of Afghanistan - Chronicle 56);
- writing (together with V. Nekipelov - Chronicle 57), keeping and circulating three articles in the series 'Oprichnina-78' (Chronicles 48, 51);
- writing (together with A. Podrabinek), keeping and circulating 'An Appeal to the US Congress' (Chronicle 61);
- reproducing and circulating the 'Memorandum of the 45' (it was signed in all by 48 people from the Baltic republics; Osipova and eleven others signed a postscript to the document in which they expressed their support of the demand for a real exercise of the right to self-determination - Chronicle 54), the letter 'On Those who Tolerate International Gangsterism and Remain Tough in their Fight against Free Thought', Information Bulletin No. 8 of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled (Chronicle 56), and issue No. 54 of A Chronicle of Current Events;
- possessing and intending to circulate Avtorkhanov's Technology of Power and volumes One and Two of Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago, a manuscript copy of 'If you are Ill with Freedom, or a Report from the Stomach of a Cannibal' by A. Shatravka (Chronicle 57),[6] a few copies of the newspaper Russian Thought,[7] two issues of the journal Kontinent, two issues of the journal Possev, a letter by the NTS [People's Labour Alliance, based abroad] entitled 'This is My Country', an NTS appeal 'Decide According to your Conscience', and issues 33, 34, 40 and 43-52 of A Chronicle of Current Events.

The indictment also states that Osipova acted on the recommendations of the NTS, that she did not give any evidence during the pre-trial investigation, and that she also ignored the measures of re-education which were applied to her. The indictment referred to the evidence of numerous witnesses, including that of S. Kalistratova (although Kalistratova refused to give any evidence whatever).

The First Day

Osipova presented over 30 petitions to the court (most of them with the support of her lawyer): she requested the production of documents and information by Soviet institutions, supplementary expert examinations and the calling of extra witnesses. All her petitions were rejected.

After this, Osipova began to read out a statement she had written, in which she described the motives, forms and methods of her activities and the activities of the Moscow Helsinki Group as a whole, and she also demonstrated that the charges against her lacked substance. Osipova noted in particular that the main charge against her was her participation in the Helsinki Group. Lubentsova immediately began disputing this assertion. She did not allow Osipova to read her statement in full and refused her petition to include it in the trial record.

Osipova totally denied any guilt and also denied any anti-Soviet intent in her actions or the actions of the Helsinki Group as a whole. She said that the trial was essentially a trial of the whole Group.

Osipova confirmed that she was a member of the Helsinki Group and the co-author of the documents cited against her; also that she had circulated them. She confirmed that she was a co-author of the 'Oprichnina-78' articles and the 'Appeal to the US Congress', that she had signed the 'Memorandum of the 45' and the letter 'On Those who Permit International Gangsterism...'. She did not deny that much of the material confiscated from her, which, according to the findings of an expert examination, had been retyped on typewriters confiscated from her, may have been typed by her. She did not deny that she kept copies of A Chronicle of Current Events and intended to circulate them.

Osipova explained that the 'Appeal to the US Congress' was only a rough draft, which was not sent anywhere or circulated. She refused (as she did in response to similar questions relating to other points in the indictment) to name her co-author. As regards the content of the aforementioned 'Appeal', Osipova explained that, under the influence of Academician Sakharov, she had changed her point of view and now thought that in comparison with any internal problems the question of nuclear disarmament had first priority and must be the first to be resolved.

Concerning the books by Avtorkhanov and Solzhenitsyn, she said that they were anti-Stalinist and not anti-Soviet (at this point the Judge interrupted her and forbade her to talk about the content of the books). The Technology of Power had been in Osipova's home for several years and had not been circulated. She had borrowed the Gulag Archipelago to read a month before the search in 1978, during which the book was confiscated (Chronicle 50); having read it, she had intended to return the book to its owner.

Osipova had been given Shatravka's manuscript to read two or three weeks before her arrest. She had finished it after the investigation finished |i.e. when reading the case materials in prison| and did not consider it anti-Soviet when taken as a whole. The newspaper Russian Thought did not have, in Osipova's opinion, a specific political tendency and she found it interesting simply as a free newspaper.

Osipova regarded Possev and the NTS documents as anti-Soviet; she was given them three days before her arrest for her own personal reading. Her interest in this material had been aroused when, for example, the investigator who interrogated her in connection with Velikanova's case said that dissenters were in league with the NTS and acted on its recommendations (Chronicle 56); Osipova therefore wanted to know what sort of organization it was. The journal Kontinent interested Osipova from a purely literary point of view, and as a journal which published the work of

writers with very different outlooks. Osipova obtained the Chronicle as often as she could. She kept all these materials without intending to circulate them. The only exception was the Chronicle of Current Events.

The witnesses were then questioned. **G.L. Osipova** and **A.G. Maiorov**, Osipova's mother and stepfather, stated that they had little to do with their daughter's upbringing: at first she had been 'completely one of us, a Soviet person' and then she had fallen under an 'alien influence' and now she had 'slid down into the dock'. In describing Osipova's childhood, her mother said: 'She liked reading best of all. The greatest punishment for her was to take away her book'. Finally she began to reproach her daughter for disgracing her family and 'betraying the Motherland'. Her stepfather said that he had told Osipova: 'Well, what's the point of struggling against shortcomings? Where will you find a country without any!', but Osipova had not agreed and remained obstinate.

Psychiatrist Budkevich of Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital described the mental illness of Terelya (Chronicles 47, 48, 51, 54, 56): they, the doctors, only just managed to force him to take his drugs. She |Budkevich| asserted that there had not been a single instance of a sane person being placed in a Special Psychiatric Hospital 'specially'. It was true, there was one, Lutsik (Chronicle 51), who had been admitted 'not specially', she began, but the Judge interrupted her and said that she was being asked only about examples of sane people being sent to hospital 'specially'.

The Deputy Chairman of the 'Rossiya' collective farm, **Zheltov** (the village of Ilinka is part of this farm - Chronicles 48, 49) said that there were no obstacles for those who wished to leave. After Osipova had questioned him, it turned out, however, that the farm workers had in fact not been allowed to leave the farm, and precisely because they wished to emigrate. Despite being shouted down by the Judge, Osipova managed to explain that those who wished to leave the country needed a reference from the farm: since they were not given such a reference they began campaigning to leave the farm. Replying further to the Judge's deluge of questions, Zheltov 'corrected' his evidence, explaining that the farm workers were refused permission to leave the farm in the first instance for reasons related to production, and only in the second instance because they wanted to emigrate. When the defence lawyer asked him under which article of the collective farm statute the workers had been refused permission to leave the farm, Zheltov was unable to answer.

The evidence of several absent witnesses was read out. **B. Mordvinov**, Osipova's 80-year-old neighbour in their communal flat (Chronicle 57: on 17 April 1980 he wrote to the KGB denouncing Osipova, and on 27 May, the day Osipova was arrested, he was interrogated), testified that Osipova collected information about antisocial elements and then passed it on to someone, but he did not know to whom.

V. CHamovskikh (Chronicle 57) testified that he had picked up The Technology of Power in Osipova's flat, without asking her permission, had looked through it and put it back in its place.

V. Kapitanchuk (Chronicle 58) gae evidence mainly about the way in which the Helsinki Group conducted press conferences. He himself had been present at some of them and

had seen Osipova there. However, he had not seen her address the journalists or give them any papers.

Gainichenko (see 'The Mordovian Camps') described the good conditions in which prisoners lived and said that some of them (for example V. Osipov, S. Soldatov) obstinately did not wish to 'start out on the road to reform'; they broke regulations and deliberately failed to fulfil the norm, when others fulfilled it by 120%.

One of the 'absent' witnesses turned out to be **Vyacheslav Bakhmin**, who had been transferred from his camp and was in Lefortovo Prison during Osipova's trial (see 'In the Prisons and Camps') - the court had 'no documents relating to this transfer'.

* * *

On the evening of 31 March **I. Kovalëv** issued a statement entitled 'On the First Day of the Trial':

> Today my wife Tatyana Osipova is on trial. She is a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group and this is actually why she is being tried. Shamelessly violating its own norms and regulations, the court is not letting her defend herself. Tanya is constantly being interrupted, she is not allowed to finish what she wants to say, and she is not allowed to call essential witnesses or demand the production of essential documents. The court shows little interest in the facts contained in the Group's documents; it concentrates all its efforts on discovering the names of the authors of 'anti-Soviet libel' and the circumstances in which this was written.
>
> This is a closed kangaroo court. None of Tanya's friends who have come are being allowed even to approach the court building. The authorities even tried to stop me attending the trial. I was forbidden to take notes in court on pain of expulsion from the courtroom.
>
> This court does not recognize humane principles. I cannot even show my wife a bouquet of flowers: I was forbidden to take them into the courtroom. I cannot smile at my wife - this is against Judge Lubentsova's ideas of morality and she threatens to expel me from the courtroom.
>
> Nevertheless, despite everything, my fragile little Tanya gives battle. 'Today the whole |Helsinki| Group is in this dock', Tanya said. Today the court, with its 'special public', is testing the reality of the principles proclaimed in the Helsinki Agreement. And in this court those principles are represented and defended by my wife.

In a foreign communique TASS correspondent Konstantin Andreyev wrote:

> Today in Moscow the open trial on criminal charges of Tatyana Osipova began. 32-year-old Tatyana Osipova, who worked as an engineer at the Centre for Geophysical Expeditions in Moscow, is charged with the fact that, during the past three years she - alone and with the help of accomplices - prepared, kept and circulated slanderous materials, harmful to the Soviet political and social system...
>
> Present in the courtroom were workers from Moscow enterprises and staff of the capital's institutions, including Tatyana Osipova's colleagues from her former place of work.

> The indictment was read out in court. In it Tatyana Osipova is charged with the fact that in 1978-80 she - alone and with the help of accomplices - prepared, kept and circulated slanderous materials, defaming the Soviet political and social system; these falsifications were circulated not only in the USSR but were sent abroad with foreigners to be used there by anti-Soviet centres and the organs of bourgeois propaganda, to the detriment of the USSR's political interests. In the indictment these actions are described as premeditated and undertaken with the aim of undermining and weakening the Soviet state.
>
> After the reading of the indictment, defendant Tatyana Osipova was questioned: she admitted the facts set out in the indictment: it is quite obvious from Tatyana Osipova's testimony that, acting with the aim of undermining and weakening the Soviet state, she conducted anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda in 1978-80, she compiled, gave to others and sent abroad slanderous 'statements', 'letters', 'petitions' and 'appeals', in which the reality of Soviet life was maliciously distorted.
>
> The defendant did not deny that among the items which were confiscated from her and included in the case as material evidence were notepads of foreign production on which one can write self-erasing notes: she was unable to refute that her actions were deliberate and purposeful and harmful to the Soviet system, and she also did not deny her awareness of the fact that her falsifications, which grossly distorted Soviet reality, were used by Western reactionary propaganda organs, including the radio stations 'Liberty' and 'Free Europe', which are financed and controlled by the CIA, by the publication Possev, published by the fascist emigrant 'People's Labour Alliance', by the anti-Soviet newspaper Russian Thought, Khronika Press, Kontinent, and the Samizdat Archive...
>
> The material evidence presented to the court included a letter from the anti-Soviet publication Possev, which had been brought into the USSR illegally, and an appeal from the so-called 'People's Labour Alliance', which recommends particular ways and methods of combating the Soviet authorities; the defendant acted according to these recommendations.
>
> Warnings had been given to Tatyana Osipova: she was warned on several occasions by state officials and social representatives about the inadmissibility of her illegal activities. Nevertheless, Tatyana Osipova tried to present matters in court in such a way as to make it appear that she saw nothing illegal in the activities she was engaged in before her arrest.
>
> However, the examination of witnesses demonstrated the groundlessness of such claims. Witnesses Maiorov, Osipova, Zheltov, Budkevich and others testified that Tatyana Osipova showed them the documents she had compiled, and they confirmed that these documents contained gross slander of the Soviet system.

The Second Day

During the process of 'examination of the documents', which was formal in nature, Osipova asked the court to read out 24 documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group which contained

facts to corroborate the truth of Document No. 69. The court refused her request.

Then, on the court's initiative, Osipova's grandmother, **V.F. Sheshina**, who had been in court on the first day, was unexpectedly summoned as a witness. Her testimony corroborated that of Osipova's mother and stepfather, although she gave details and expanded the thesis of the 'alien influence' to which her granddaughter had succumbed. Sheshina testified that the change in Osipova's behaviour occurred after she married Ivan Kovalëv (her mother and stepfather had noted this change earlier, and they also spoke of the noticeable intensification of the 'alien influence' on Osipova in connection with her marriage).

The Procurator also took the 'alien influence' as the starting point of his speech. He then explained that in reality there was no 'Helsinki Group', but the name was used as a cover by a small handful of malicious 'so-called' dissenters, who sought out the 'facts of our negative reality' (true, he immediately corrected himself to 'negative facts') and sent these to the West. These people did not need to verify any information, because they sucked all their information out of their own pens. They distorted, slandered and besmirched everything. Their documents were malicious libel, and the 'Oprichnina' articles were anti-Soviet lampoons. For him the fundamental proof of the slanderous and anti-Soviet nature of the documents was: their character was simply clear to everyone. Noting the moral purity of the investigators, the Procurator demanded for Osipova, taking into account her age and that this was her first conviction, five years in camp and three years' exile.

The defence lawyer began his speech by describing Avtorkhanov and Solzhenitsyn's books as 'anti-Soviet', then went on to say that the charges had not been proved. He said that if he were fully to agree with what was stated in the indictment and consider the charges proven, he would nevertheless demand redefinition of the charges under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. However, whatever the charges, he could find no grounds on which his client had committed a crime.

After this, Osipova was permitted to make her final speech. 'I consider the defence of human rights my life's work, because violation of these rights causes human tragedy', she said.

'What do you ask of the court?' interrupted Lubentsova.

'I don't ask anything', replied Osipova.

The court immediately rose and left, thus depriving Osipova of the right to make a final speech.

* * *

Andreyev wrote (extracts):

> Osipova admitted openly in court that she - alone and with the help of accomplices - compiled and kept materials containing slanderous fabrications, defaming the Soviet political and social system, and that she circulated them among a wide circle of people in the USSR and sent them abroad, where they were used by organs of anti-Soviet propaganda.
>
> During the pleadings Procurator Mikhail Polyakov, upholding the state charges, noted in his speech that Osipova ignored several warnings by state officials and representatives of society about the inadmissibility

> of her illegal activities: the Procurator emphasized that Osipova's criminal activity was of a premeditated nature and was aimed at undermining and weakening the Soviet state...
>
> Lawyer Vladimir Shveisky, for the defence, admitted in his speech that the charges were justified: he stated that Tatyana Osipova's crime had been proven and had been correctly defined under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The lawyer also drew the court's attention to the fact that Tatyana Osipova had no previous convictions, and had received favourable reports on her work as a specialist from the places where she had worked: on the strength of this, and also noting Osipova's sincere behaviour in court, the lawyer asked the court to make allowances.
>
> Having heard the defendant's final speech, the court rose and withdrew to confer.

The Third Day

On 2 April Lubentsova announced the sentence: five years in ordinary-regime camps and five years' exile. The text of the judgment was effectively a repetition of the indictment.

* * *

Andreyev wrote:

> The judgment was announced today at the end of a three-day open trial...those present in the courtroom greeted the judgment with approval.

* * *

As regards the official record of the court hearing, (1) it contains the full statement which Osipova was not permitted to read out in court; (2) the petitions she presented to the court are recorded not in the form in which she presented them, but as taken from her rough draft (confiscated in a secret search); (3) Osipova's replies and the testimony of witnesses are distorted (for example, the sentence 'They did not allow them to go, not because they wanted to leave the country, but for another reason, which I have already mentioned', was attributed to Zheltov - see above); (4) the lawyer's speech ends in the record with the words: 'All that has been said gives me grounds to ask you to bring in a lawful verdict' (see above); and (5) a 'final speech' has been invented for Osipova.

After the Trial

On 2 April the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 161, '"I Consider the Defence of Human Rights my Life's Work" (the trial of Tatyana Osipova)'. On 3 April **A. Sakharov** sent a telegram to Moscow from Gorky:

> The sentence imposed on Tanya Osipova, an infinitely honest and courageous young woman, who has selflessly and voluntarily concerned herself with the fate of suffering people, with obtaining openness and justice,

is a new and monstrous cruelty on the part of the organs of repression, a new lawlessness to alert the whole world. Honest people, do all you can to obtain her release! I appeal to the Heads of state who signed the Helsinki Final Act, to Amnesty International, to scholars, writers and workers.

(Sakharov was notified that his telegram had been delivered to E. Bonner personally - his wife did not receive it.) On the same day **M. Petrenko-Podyapolskaya** issued a letter entitled 'Who is Guilty?':

She came to our house five years ago, already a mature person. She came to help at a difficult moment... She brought us the active goodness and the inexhaustible warmth of her heart. I love her very much.

I belong to the generation of Tanya's parents. We share a common historical experience. Today the investigators do not beat political prisoners with their own hands: they frighten witnesses with the loss of life's comforts, but do not beat them either.

But there is a bright spot in the midst of this whole nightmare - it consists in the personalities of Tanya Osipova and her husband Vanya Kovalëv...

* * *

On 9 April Osipova had a half-hour visit from her husband. She said that during the investigation she was threatened with charges under article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (the maximum penalty is execution) if she persisted in refusing to give evidence, and that Investigator Gubinsky (Chronicles 48, 57, 60) tried to blackmail her by saying that she would not receive the medical treatment prescribed as necessary after a medical examination, and as a result she would never be able to have children.

After the visit Kovalëv issued a statement entitled 'Blackmail':

Shortly before her arrest, doctors told Tanya that she would have to undergo gynaecological tests: she had barely begun having these. During the investigation doctors confirmed that it was essential to continue the tests and the related treatment. Then Gubinsky told Tanya that the tests would continue only if she began to give evidence. When Tanya asked him whether he realized that he would thus be depriving her of the possibility of having children later, Gubinsky replied: 'Everything is in your hands'. Tanya said that she considered needles under the nails a more humane way of conducting an investigation, and declared a hunger-strike in protest, which she maintained for five days.

After this the blackmail stopped

On 16 April Kovalëv issued a letter entitled 'Leniency':

Formally, the court showed...leniency by imposing an ordinary rather than a strict-regime sentence. In actual fact this is an even crueller punishment for Tanya. Our friend Sirvard Avakyan spent just over six months in such a camp. She spent three months in the camp prison and about two months in the cooler.

She was beaten. Men - camp officials - and women prisoners did the beating. Five to eight people took part in

these beatings. They struck with their hands and feet. This continued until there was foam on the victim's lips, and she vomited and lost consciousness.

Sirvard left the camp barely alive, black and blue, having lost 32 (!) kilograms in weight. She is still unable to relax completely. As soon as she closes her eyes, she imagines that they will throw her into the cooler again, will give her nothing to eat. That they will again beat her, beat her, beat her...Sirvard spent about six months in the camp. Tanya is faced with about four years. What will become of her?

I cannot exclude the possibility that they will arrest me, too (it has become known that evidence against Kovalëv, defined under article 70 of the Code, has been extracted from the investigation of Osipova's case - Chronicle).

In that case, there will be no one to go and visit Tanya in camp and later describe the conditions she lives in. Then their hands will be completely free...

On 16 April the administration of Lefortovo Prison asked Osipova, 'for a moment', for her copy of the judgment, which she had been given in accordance with the law. She was given back her copy amended - it now stated 'serve in a camp with strict regime'.

On 20 April Osipova sent a letter (through the prison administration, as the law permits) to the Chairman of the USSR KGB, Andropov:

Citizen Andropov!

It has long been a good tradition in the Committee for State Security, of which you are the Head, to stage little surprises when arresting and searching members of the human rights movement, sparing neither trouble, nor conscience: for example, planting foreign currency in Ginzburg's toilet, or cartridges in K. Podrabinek's room. And now your 'boys' want to indulge in some sport on the judicial field.

Even in your work, slips occur, and so it was that the court sentenced me, under article 70, to an ordinary-regime camp. They even gave me a copy of the judgment, where it is printed in black and white. And then, it seems, they realized: how can one let such a goat into such a garden! Legality, there, is a delicate matter: no one squeals, but then she turns up and starts to insist that everything be done according to the regulations. It won't be long before the whole herd is contaminated!

It can, of course, be done legally: repeal the judgment, stage a new trial (we are good at that!): but it's not a good idea, comrades, not a good idea! If there's a new trial, then it means the defendant will have to be there again, and she, comrades, doesn't march in step with our company: she is always trying to say something. And then Europe might not keep quiet. Europe still has such an unreliable thing as public opinion, and we must bear this in mind as we want to obtain various things, even quite a lot, from that quarter. And Europe is still not entirely in the hands of our organs, although great work is being done in that direction. There would be publicity again. We'd allow that, of course: openness is not still an infant here. Let it function in the courtyard, but there's no way it will get into the courtroom. With us the courtroom is for the public, a public all

our own, a selected public which is not in its first year of working for the organs |KGB|. But we have to think of these people as individuals too! We cannot subject their steadfastness to such a test again; they will see and hear their fill, and might remember that KGB identity cards are not the only things they possess. And even that these people are their compatriots, as it were. And they might start to write slanderous statements demanding that the so-called rights of a so-called human being be observed.

And what would happen to security, comrades, and especially to our personal comforts? The show-trial stage manager would have to go and be a metal-worker in a factory: you wouldn't be able to find a job as a watchman, for that you have to have at least a doctorate, or they won't take you. No, a new trial or any sort of legality are not for us. I have another idea, which is more suited to the sportive spirit of our organization. This is what we will do...

I cannot guarantee that just such a monologue took place, but on 16 April I was asked for my copy of the judgment 'for a minute'...and by sleight of hand...it was returned to me containing the words: 'to serve in a camp with strict regime'. Well, your 'boys' can be fast movers too!

Osipova, 20 April 1981

Osipova sent a complaint to the USSR Procurator-General about the alteration of her sentence. In answer she was shown a note from Judge Lubentsova stating that the typist had made a mistake in the text of the judgment (according to the Code of Criminal Procedure the judgment is written in longhand in the judges' consulting room and it is this which is read out in court - only later is the text copied out by a typist).

On 19 May the appeal was heard in the USSR Supreme Court. Lawyer Shveisky said that when the judgment was read out in court, it had stated 'five years' ordinary-regime'. Procurator Polyakov stated that following Osipova's complaint, a check had been made, but 'her statements were not confirmed'. He also said: 'I heard the sentence - strict regime - being passed with my own ears, and later saw it with my own eyes in the text of the judgment'. The sentence - five years' strict regime plus five years' exile - was left in force.

That day Kovalëv told foreign journalists that he regarded the change in the sentence, even though it had involved such infringement of the law as falsifying the judgment, as an achievement. He explained that he had been afraid that his wife would be sent to a criminal camp; in his view, the increased severity of regime was an illusion, since the usual practice of camp punishments easily reduced the advantages (basically: more visits and unlimited correspondence) of ordinary regime to nothing.

* * *

On 29 May Kovalëv delivered two statements to the City Court. In the first he asked for permission to correspond with his wife until such time as she was sent to a camp.

In the second he said that the court had passed judgment in Osipova's case stating, in particular, that confiscated money, possessions and food had to be turned into revenue for the state, in accordance with article 86 point 4 of

the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, and the dictaphones and other things had to be destroyed, in accordance with point 3 of the same article. Kovalëv wrote that these things had been confiscated in breach of article 171 and used as material evidence (in breach of article 83 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure), and that the court had not proved that the money, possessions and food had been obtained by criminal means. He therefore asked that they be returned to him. He also asked for the return of the dictaphones and all the books, documents and other materials confiscated earlier, which had not been accepted as material evidence by the court. Lubentsova accepted the statements.

The same day Lubentsova gave Kovalëv permission to visit his wife (a few days earlier she had said she was busy and refused to give permission). But it turned out that on the evening of 28 May Osipova was sent off to camp. When he found out about this, Kovalëv immediately telephoned Lubentsova. She told him that the court did not inform relatives when prisoners were sent to camp, it only let them know the address of the place where the prisoner would serve his sentence (this is in contravention of article 359 of the Code of Criminal Procedure). A few days later Kovalëv received notification that Osipova had been sent to Mordovian Camp 3.

PERSECUTION OF THE WORKING COMMISSION |ON PSYCHIATRIC ABUSE|

The Trial of Koryagin

On 22 February a statement was sent to the 26th Congress of the CPSU (with copies to: the UN Human Rights Commission, the governments of the countries taking part in the Madrid conference, the world Psychiatric Association and the National Association of French Psychiatrists):

Anatoly Ivanovich Koryagin is a man of wide knowledge, irreproachable honesty, steadfast principles and great kindness. He is a highly qualified psychiatrist, loved and respected by his numerous patients. He was literally born for his profession - he possesses the art and wisdom to see into the soul of his patients, to discover and keep their secrets, to feel and ease other people's pain. His diagnoses are always objective, based on the mental state of the patient and nothing else. He considers that neuroleptic drugs and sulphur are inadmissible forms of 'treatment' when administered to undeniably healthy people, whose brains a certain someone wants to 'set right'. He sees an abyss opening up before our society as a self-seeking Mafia |of psychiatrists| uses the admission cards of mental patients - stamped 'socially dangerous' - as a weapon of repression and imprisonment. He is the father of three children aged 13, 10 and three. His principles render him incapable of doing anything which might be classed as a crime.

We demand the immediate release of Anatoly Koryagin and the restoration of all his rights as a citizen and a doctor! We call on the delegates to the 26th CPSU

Congress not to allow a lawless act to take place, and to bring the rampant tyrants of Kharkov to a halt!

We are appealing to world public opinion to organize the most extensive possible campaign in support of Dr Koryagin! May his suffering serve as yet another serious warning to all: the theme of human rights remains a real and burning issue for the USSR, even if it should in the next few years disappear from the pages of the world press.

|blank in the original| signatures (for the information of the Congress delegates: our names are familiar to those who do not imprison their fellow-citizens for composing similar protests).

* * *

At the beginning of April a search was carried out at the home of Koryagin's sister, who lives in Kursk Region. Before the search began, her husband M.F. Blagikh handed over a sawn-off hunting gun, saying that Koryagin had given it to him to look after. At about this time a search was carried out at the home of Koryagin's mother-in-law in Abakan. Nothing was confiscated. After this, Investigator V. Sidelnik told Koryagin's wife during a meeting with her that her husband had been charged with trying to 'overthrow the Soviet state'.

In Kalinin, **Vladimir Golitsyn** (Chronicles 57, 58) was interrogated in connection with Koryagin's case. Golitsyn said that he did not know Koryagin. When asked how he came to have the manuscript text of a psychiatric examination of Butko (Chronicle 51), signed by Koryagin, he refused to answer.

* * *

On 5 April the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 162, 'The Arrest of Anatoly Koryagin': (extract)

> The arrest of Koryagin puts a definite end to the humane and legal activity of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, and gives rise to the fear that the authorities intend to increase their use of psychiatric persecution for political reasons.

* * *

From 3 to 5 April the Kharkov Regional Court, presided over by Navalny, heard the case of Anatoly Ivanovich Koryagin, consultant to the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, and Doctor of Medical Sciences (b. 1938; arrested 13 February - Chronicle 61). He was charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code) and article 218 part 1 of the RSFSR Code ('Illegal... possession...of a fire-arm'). The prosecutor was V.I. Popov, Senior Assistant to the Kharkov Regional Procurator; the defence lawyer (officially appointed) was A.P. Misevra. Koryagin refused to accept the services of the appointed lawyer: 'I do not want anyone to play the role of my defender here'. Nevertheless, at the demand of the Procurator, his petition was turned down (this contravenes the Code of Criminal Procedure).

Koryagin was charged with:

- authorship and circulation of the following: the article 'Unwilling Patients', published in the journal Possev No. 2/1981, which 'defames the Soviet state and the CPSU'; the article 'Good, Evil, Violence', published in The Lancet |not correct[8]. |, which was 'malicious and slanderous in content'; a psychiatric report on his examination of A.A. Butko, in which 'anti-Soviet slander is presented in the form of an interview with a patient';[9].
- authorship of the following: a letter to Yu. Belov (Chronicle 54), defaming 'the Soviet system, the peace-loving policies of the USSR, democratic principles, and the CPSU'; notes defaming 'Soviet democracy and such outstanding expressions of the political consciousness and enthusiasm of the Soviet people as communist Saturdays |days on which people voluntarily work without pay| and |defaming| the heroic past of the USSR and the CPSU in the Stalin period; notes containing 'slanderous fabrications about the democracy and the administrative machinery of the Soviet state'; extracts copied out from A.I. Solzhenitsyn's libellous work giving advice on how to conduct oneself during interrogations, when arrested and under investigation; the poem 'In the World of Deformity', which is 'of an anti-Soviet nature and contains malicious slander of the Soviet state'; a letter to his grandfather, Ya. Blagikh, in the USA, in which he 'slandered democracy, the Soviet system, the CPSU and the collective farm peasantry, and expressed a desire for the restoration of private ownership and capitalism in the USSR'; his 'Autobiography',[10]. in which he 'slandered Soviet reality', 'Statement in Case of my Arrest' (Chronicle 61), which was 'maliciously slanderous in nature'; the document 'A Hypersensitive Psychopath', comprising 'malicious slander of the peaceable policies of the USSR and the CPSU, anti-Soviet views and calls for the overthrow of the Soviet state';
- possession of the following: foreign journals containing 'articles slandering the Soviet state and social system, in particular - an article by General Grigorenko about the poet Rudenko, two articles concerning the state authorities and the health system in the USSR, an article about Bukovsky, and the column "The USSR Today"'; a letter from Yu. Belov 'including extracts from A.I. Solzhenitsyn's anti-Soviet lampoon The Gulag Archipelago'; tape-recorded extracts from the book On the Possibilities of Russian Thought by the German writer Dahm; D. Dudko's book About our Hopes, containing 'malicious slander about the persecution of priests and believers in the USSR'; and a letter from A. Vorona containing 'malicious slander of the KGB and the Soviet state';
- oral anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda aimed at undermining and weakening the Soviet state, and 'criminal connections with anti-Soviet individuals in the USSR and abroad'. Koryagin was also charged with 'illegal possession of a sawn-off hunting gun, confiscated during a search at the flat of M. Blagikh'.

The First Day

Koryagin refused to answer any personal questions (the judge announced that during the pre-trial investigation Koryagin had refused to read the indictment or to sign it). Koryagin stated: 'I do not consider myself guilty, and I refuse to speak because this is not a trial but punishment for cooperating with the Working Commission... I wish to give an evaluation of the indictment and to answer two questions - about my detention in prison and about

the investigation - and to make my final speech.'

Then the witnesses were examined. **V.P. Rudometov** (an official from the military registration office where Koryagin was employed as a psychiatrist on the medical commission) said: 'I think that Stalin was a great person, and although he made mistakes, he nevertheless did a lot of good. Koryagin, however, was very critical of him': 'Often, when I came to see him, he would hide something under a newspaper - some book': 'He spoke highly of Solzhenitsyn'. When the Judge asked him whether he had read Solzhenitsyn's works, Rudometov replied: 'I - no. I just know that he fought in the war, left his company in 1942 and gave himself up as a prisoner[11] and that after his release he was convicted'.

M.F. Blagikh said that the gun which Koryagin had left with him was 'old, useless and rusty'.

Chernikov (a driver from the clinic where Koryagin worked) described Koryagin as 'conscientious' and said that 'people who worked with him had a good opinion of him'.

Serik (chairman of the clinic's trade union committee) said that Koryagin refused to do propaganda work and that he, Serik, had reported this to the chief doctor. 'As for the political information sessions he conducted...everything he said was correct and as it should be'.

Yu. V. Dzyuba (Chronicles 57, 60, 61) said that he 'knew nothing of Koryagin's anti-Soviet activities' and that he therefore refused to give evidence and considered his 'summons to the court to be provocative'. Then the evidence which Dzyuba had given during the pre-trial investigation, in which he described the circumstances of his acquaintance with Koryagin, was read out.

Dmitrieva (a doctor from [an ordinary psychiatric hospital in] Dnepropetrovsk) said that Koryagin used to come and visit a patient named **P. Vlasenko**, who suffered from chronic schizophrenia. 'Vlasenko was a psychiatrist. He was some sort of believer, or belonged to a sect. He used to go round the houses in the settlement of Pyatikhatki, talking about something: they say he painted slogans on fences... Koryagin's conduct and manner of speaking were abrupt. He said that a healthy person had been admitted to hospital because of his views...The following day a commission met and decided to discharge Vlasenko, since they considered him well'. 'But surely you wanted to discharge him in the next few days anyway? Yes? Yes?' asked the Judge. 'Yes', answered Dmitrieva, 'he may have stayed another two or three weeks, perhaps, and then he would have been discharged'.

Varshavsky (head of the hospital in Dnepropetrovsk): 'At first Vlasenko was in the acute section...' 'Oh, can schizophrenia be cured in a month?', asked the defence lawyer. 'Not in a month, but in six weeks. There are various courses the illness can take', answered Varshavsky.

After the witnesses had been questioned, Koryagin's references were read out: from school ('he avoided social work'); from the Medical Institute ('he avoids social work, is egotistical, sometimes rude to his comrades, cunning'); from his job in Abakan ('he took an active part in social work'); from his job in Kyzyl ('he concerned himself only with his own affairs - hunting', 'he encouraged his colleagues to have rows with the administration and to write complaints to various bodies, including newspapers and journals and the Supreme Court'); from the Kharkov clinic ('he was conscientious in his duties as a doctor,

but took no part at all in social life'). The judge then read extracts from Koryagin's letter to his grandfather and his article 'A Hypersensitive Psychopath'.

The Second Day

Witness **G.A. Nikitin** (the clinic's chief doctor) testified that Koryagin kept up with his work but refused to engage in propaganda work. Nikitin said of the meeting in the clinic on 5 February (Chronicle 61): 'Everyone condemned Koryagin's harmful activities, which we had learned about from the Procurator's letter'.

Regarding **A.K. Zdorovy** (Chronicles 57, 60, 61), who did not appear in court, the Procurator said that his testimony was not necessary, since 'during the investigation he did not give any evidence concerning Koryagin's anti-Soviet activities. In view of the fact that he has already served a sentence for exceptional crimes against the state, I do not think that he would say anything material or necessary to this case'.

In his speech **the Procurator** repeated several times that Koryagin 'conducted anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, and pursued evil designs'. He particularly emphasized that Koryagin had been aware of what he was doing. The Procurator demanded for Koryagin a sentence of seven years in camp and five years' exile under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code and five years in camp under article 218 of the RSFSR Code.

The defence lawyer began his speech by referring to Koryagin's conscientious attitude to his duties as a doctor. Then he said: 'In his statements Koryagin says several times that he does not consider himself guilty and did not intend to undermine or weaken the Soviet state. Neither the pre-trial investigation, nor the court hearing, nor the evidence of the witnesses has shown that Koryagin pursued such an intention... As regards the possession of a fire-arm, neither the investigation nor the court has proved that he owned it, nor that it was in his custody'.

Then Koryagin made his final speech (quoted here from memory):

> I began to cooperate with the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes as a consultant psychiatrist in 1979, and immediately experienced persecution by the KGB. Since that time, I have been searched three times (first in December 1979, on Kharkov Station; second - see Chronicle 60; third - see Chronicle 61), and I have been arrested.
>
> The day I was arrested, I was not allowed to sleep all night. I was subjected to an intensive night-time interrogation, which I regard as the exertion of psychological pressure on me.
>
> I was not told of any charges against me. In protest against this, I declared a dry hunger-strike - no food or water - from the first day, demanding either that I be released immediately, or that charges be brought against me. Nevertheless, I was not charged, and at the end of every 12 hours I was informed that I was being held for the next 12 hours, which, as a psychiatrist, I regard as torture. Keeping a hungry man in a state of nervous tension and ignorance for several days, letting him hope that he may be released within the next few hours - this is severe Jesuitical torture.
>
> On the fourth day I was taken to the KGB, where my

investigator, Lieutenant-Colonel Sidelnik, and Babusenko, Head of the Investigation Department, and Popov, Senior Assistant to the Regional Procurator, subjected me to an intensive eight-hour interrogation, although they knew I was on hunger-strike. This did not deter them from interrogating me and trying to obtain the evidence they needed. During the interrogation I sat on a hard, uncomfortable stool. I was in poor physical shape and at one point I felt so ill that I had to lie down on the floor in the interrogation room: only then was I told of the charges against me.

As soon as I was told of the charges, I refused to take part in the investigation and stated that I would not answer any questions. Nevertheless, I was summoned from my cell in the usual way and taken to the KGB for regular interrogations.

During the interrogations no method was disdained: I was threatened and humiliated, and my feelings for my sons, my wife and father were exploited. Literally from the first interrogation, Investigator Sidelnik threatened to let me 'rot' in prison, or, if necessary, to destroy me altogether. In particular, the Head of the Investigation Department, Babusenko, informed me (these are his exact words): '...I will send you to the cooler.' and I have no reason to disbelieve him. Once, when I categorically refused to go for interrogation, the warders forcibly dragged me out of my cell, beating me on the way, put me in handcuffs, pushed me into a car, showering me with abuse, and still took me to be interrogated. Just like in South Africa. I submitted a complaint about this to the Regional Procurator, but the Assistant Head of the prison informed me that he had witnesses to the fact that it was I who had behaved like a hooligan. These were those same subordinates of his who had trampled on me and put me in handcuffs. I was put in the cooler for ten days, and only after two days was I informed that my complaint had been sent to the Regional Procurator. Furthermore, I have not received a reply to this day, neither to this complaint, nor to another that I sent to the Regional Procurator.

Now about the cooler. A man is locked in a cement-floored prison cell, where the temperature is 12-13°, he is fed on bread and water and is only half clothed - this is an example of the methods used by the KGB to make a person behave in the way they require. As a doctor, I maintain that this is physical torture, aimed at the mind, in order to break a man.

The prison authorities coordinated their actions with those of the KGB. The methods and behaviour to be found in prison do not greatly differ from KGB methods: humiliation, threats, insults, mockery and foul language, only in a worse form than at the KGB. No earlier than yesterday, a block warder informed me: 'If they order me to, I will force you to keep walking round the cell doing goose-step', when I objected that conditions in the cell were similar to those in the cooler. We were made to roll up our straw mattresses and put them on the top bunks, then we ourselves to lie on the bare iron bars. They probably think we have grown fat on the prison grub and it doesn't hurt us to lie like that. I was even given the national newspapers Pravda and Izvestiya once or twice a week. For six weeks I was unable to obtain the works of Marx, Engels or Lenin, although I knew they

were in the prison library. I could say much about the KGB's methods and procedures, but do not see any point in doing so here, to this kangaroo court. I only wish to say, paraphrasing their motto, that they do not have such clean hands, burning hearts and cool heads as Felix Dzerzhinsky wanted to see in his crack Chekists [original name for the KGB: Dzerzhinsky was their head].

When I began to work for the Commission, I became thoroughly convinced of this (and I will repeat it once more): 'In our country mentally healthy people are placed in special hospitals because they are dissenters: they are kept there for years and subjected to compulsory "treatment" with drugs'.

I have sat here for a long time and reflected: I have analysed my actions and do not consider myself guilty - I have in no way gone against my conscience or my duty as a psychiatrist. I am not surprised by what is happening, because all the five other members of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes - Vyacheslav Bakhmin, Leonard Ternovsky, Alexander Podrabinek, Irina Grivnina, Felix Serebrov - are already in prison, and so it is now my turn.

I am charged with circulating anti-Soviet documents - with the aim, furthermore, of undermining and weakening the present system, as the Procurator stated several times in his 'spirited' speech. However, not a single instance of my having circulated these documents has been proved by the investigation or the court, and the Regional Procurator knows this. It is true that some pieces of paper and foreign publications, as well as officially published works, were confiscated from me during a search. But who has proved that these papers were circulated? And even the letter from The Lancet, enclosing a copy of my article (which, incidentally, was removed from my letter-box by KGB officials), does not prove that the article was circulated, since no one has demonstrated how it reached The Lancet. So, not one instance of my having circulated these documents has been proved. It is impossible to prove anything, since there is nothing to prove.

I am charged with oral anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. But not one witness has confirmed that I engaged in such agitation or propaganda. It was never my aim to undermine or weaken the Soviet state. I did not engage in agitation, nor did I call for any action aimed at undermining the state. I had definite ideas and views, my own ideas, ideas which were critical of several negative aspects of our life. Let us suppose that I shared my ideas with someone. Let us suppose, even, that these ideas had a political aspect. We talked, just the two of us, and then in some way our conversation became everyone's property, so much so that the person was summoned to this place as a witness. What happens? He circulates the information; I am here as the defendant, but no one touches the witnesses!

My investigation and trial do not constitute an act of justice, but a means of suppressing me for my views. I know that the sentence will be harsh. I do not ask anything of this court. Regardless of the sentence imposed on me, I state that I will never accept the situation which exists in our country, where mentally healthy people are imprisoned in psychiatric hospitals for trying to think independently. I know that long years of physical

imprisonment, humiliation and mockery await me. Fully aware of this, I embark on it in the hope that it will increase the chances for others to live in freedom. I know that a hard life, full of material deprivation, bitterness and perhaps direct persecution by the authorities, awaits my family: but I cannot change anything. I am convinced that all the cases of people charged with so-called anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda will in the very near future be reviewed, and will receive the genuinely just and objective evaluation they deserve. I believe in a bright future for my Motherland...

The Third Day

The sentence was announced: seven years in camp and five years in exile under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, and two years in camp under article 218 of the RSFSR Code: combined: seven years in strict-regime camps and five years' exile (Koryagin: 'The greater the sentence, the more disgraceful the trial').

The court judgment deprived Koryagin of the rank of 'Senior Lieutenant'. In addition, the court announced two further decisions: to submit a request to the Higher Degrees Commission that Koryagin be deprived of his doctoral degree, and that criminal charges would be brought against **Yu. Dzyuba** for refusing to give evidence in court.

After the Trial

Koryagin refused to appeal. His wife tried for several days running to obtain permission to visit him. Finally she was told that she could visit him on 25 June. However, on 23 June she was told in the prison that Koryagin had already been sent off to camp. In June Koryagin arrived at Perm Camp 37.

The Grivnina-Serebrov Case (Chronicle 61)

On 19 March **B. Smushkevich** (Chronicle 60) and **L. Kardasevich** (Chronicles 29, 32) were summoned for interrogation by Investigator Konovalov of the Moscow KGB. Smushkevich was interrogated by Investigator Kapayev, Kardasevich by Investigator Popov. They both said that they knew I. Grivnina (for her arrest see Chronicle 60) and F. Serebrov (for his arrest see Chronicle 61), but that they would not answer the other questions (concerning the Working Commission's Information Bulletin and the signatures on a letter in support of Vyacheslav Bakhmin - Chronicle 58). Kapayev told Smushkevich that it would be a good thing if the authorities could 'impose a two-year sentence for a refusal to give evidence'. Kardasevich tried to write into the record her opinion of Grivnina and Serebrov and her complaints against Popov, but Popov refused to let her do this. Kardasevich then refused to leave. In order to get rid of her, Popov actually had to resort to the help of some Procurator or other.

* * *

On 2 April searches were carried out at the homes of **V. Kuvakin** and **V. Shepelëv**; they were afterwards interrogated (see 'The Arrest of Kuvakin'). On 9 April a search was carried out at the home of **V. Bykov**; on 11 April **E. Alekseyenko**'s home was searched. After the searches they were

both interrogated (see 'Searches, Interrogations').

* * *

On 14 April Senior Investigator A.A. Levchenko of the Moscow KGB conducted a search at the home of **I. Kovalëv**. The search took place in the flat of Valentin Mitskevich (Chronicle 60), a friend with whom Kovalëv had lately been staying (his real place of residence, according to the record). KGB officials K. Yakovlev and V. Aleksandrov also took part in the search.

Issues 52 and 58 of A Chronicle of Current Events, a bundle of issues of the bulletin USSR News Brief (edited in Munich by C. Lubarsky - on whom see Chronicle 47), 12. Moscow Helsinki Group documents, informational documents, Searches and Reflections No. 5 and No. 8, various samizdat and tamizdat items, articles by Kovalëv himself, notebooks, letters and a dictaphone with cassettes were among the confiscated items. In addition, a radio-cassette belonging to Mitskevich, a knife inherited by him from his grandfather, and six 16-calibre hunting cartridges were confiscated.

During and after the search Kovalëv made statements that he did not confirm, but nor did he deny ownership of the books that were found, and that he asserted with perfect confidence that the Mitskeviches were in no way connected with the confiscated printed and manuscript material.

Kovalëv also stated that the confiscated documents contained correct information and that he therefore protested against their confiscation. Mitskevich demanded the return of his radio-cassette and Kovalëv of his dictaphone and cassettes. Levchenko did not allow Kovalëv and Mitskevich to enter their observations in the record in full or in their own hand.

During the search the Mitskeviches' neighbours, convinced that thieves had broken into the flat, called the police. A police detail arrived in two cars. Aleksandrov went out 'to explain'. He did not let the policemen into the flat, but went out to the forecourt and then escorted them on to the street.

* * *

On 14 April searches were also carried out at the homes of **Yu. Denisov** and **A. Gotovtsev**; they were both interrogated afterwards (see 'Searches, Interrogations').

* * *

On 17 April Kapayev and KGB officials Belov and Lebedev conducted a search at the home of **S. Kalistratova**. Confiscated items included Moscow Helsinki Group documents, documents containing information, samizdat and tamizdat, letters, notebooks, photocopies of M. Zotov's paintings (for his trial see this issue), drawings by V. Sysoyev (Chronicles 53, 54, 57, and 'Letters and Statements' in this issue) and a typewriter. In addition, what was described in the record as a 'plaster bas-relief with a portrait of Stalin' was taken (the bas-relief depicted a donkey with large eyebrows, wearing a suit, and, above it, a small portrait of Stalin; the inscription read: 'Every donkey dreams of being decorated').

During the search **V.V. Ogurtsov** and **E.M. Derevenskova** (I. Ogurtsov's parents), **S. Zheludkov** and **Yu. Zhukov** came to see Kalistratova. They were subjected to body-searches. Nothing was confiscated from them. Kalistratova signed

the record, stating that all the confiscated items belonged to her, and noted in the record that 'the confiscated... documents, letters, books and objects have no connection with any criminal case'.

* * *

On 22 April Kapayev interrogated **Kalistratova**. The questions concerned Serebrov, V. Kuvakin (arrested on 14 April - see below), M. Zotov, V. Sysoyev and the confiscated documents. Kalistratova did not answer any of the questions. In addition, an off-the-record conversation took place between Kalistratova and the investigator:

Kalistratova Why was Kuvakin arrested?
Kapayev Why, he's a militant anti-Sovietist.
Kalistratova Why have you joined Serebrov, Grivnina and Kuvakin together in one case?
Kapayev Just as we've joined them, so we'll separate them: everything is in our hands...
Kapayev I feel very sorry for Grivnina.
Kalistratova Only for her?
Kapayev She has a young daughter.
Kalistratova People have been saying lately: 'Now the KGB has gone after the women'.
Kapayev There is no one else left to take.
Kalistratova Well, if you're so sorry for her, let her go: you yourself say that everything is in your hands.
Kapayev I can't - I'm only an official.

* * *

On 20 May KGB official Tikhonov issued **Kalistratova** with a 'warning according to the Decree'.[13]. 'From the items confiscated from you we have learned that you compile, duplicate and circulate politically harmful documents', he said. Kalistratova signed the warning, but objected that her human rights activity was of a legal and open nature.

* * *

On 24 April Kapayev interrogated **A. Ivanchenko** (Chronicle 53). Ivanchenko said that he did not know Grivnina and that he knew Serebrov and Kuvakin only slightly: he did not remember where he had met them and did not know anything about their activities. Kapayev replied that they 'gave longer sentences' to people like Ivanchenko; if Ivanchenko had a bad memory and had previously done badly in his studies, perhaps he was on the out-patients' list at a psychiatric clinic? 'Other people have had their memories refreshed'. Ivanchenko protested at Kapayev's threats, to which the latter replied: 'Go ahead and complain!'

* * *

On 29 April Kapayev turned up at the house of **V. Tolts** (Chronicles 56, 60) and interrogated him as a witness in 'the Grivnina-Serebrov case'. Kapayev explained to Tolts that he had come in person to interrogate him, since Tolts was an invalid and would have found it difficult to get to the Lubyanka |prison|. Kapayev asked about Grivnina, Serebrov, Kuvakin, Bakhmin and Ternovsky. Tolts did not answer any of his questions and refused to sign the record.

Off the record, Kapayev said that during 'our' (i.e. the KGB's) investigation of actual cases mentioned in the Working Commission's documents, it had become clear that

these people really were mentally ill and in need of treatment. When KGB officials had pointed this out to the abovementioned people, who were under investigation, they had said each time that mistakes did occur. In Kapayev's opinion, everyone was free to think whatever they liked about psychiatry: 'We don't punish people for that'. However, compiling documents about it, especially with mistakes, was a crime: after all, these documents were used as hostile propaganda. Other people claimed in other documents that there was 'totalitarianism' and a 'lack of democracy' in our country; Kapayev thought it permissible to think like this and to discuss it in private, although it was a mistake: 'Full democracy does not exist anywhere, it's only an ideal'. Therefore, to write about 'the absence of democracy' in documents was 'deliberate slander'.

When Tolts asked about Kuvakin, Kapayev replied that he was 'a legal consultant to the Working Commission'. Kapayev also stated that, the evening before, he had returned to Grivnina's husband everything confiscated from her during searches (except a typewriter), and advised Tolts to ask Investigator Zhdanov again to return the things confiscated from him during a search a year ago (Chronicle 56).

* * *

In April **M. Utevsky** (Chronicle 61) was interrogated by Investigator 'Vladimir Pavlovich'. Utevsky said that he had known Grivnina since 1979 and Serebrov since 1975-6, and that he thought they were good people: he knew nothing about their 'slanderous activities'; he had heard (from whom he could not remember) that they belonged to the Working Commission: he was familiar with the Information Bulletin. Utevsky was shown a copy of the collective letter in defence of Bakhmin, which had his signature on it. The investigator wanted to know whether Utevsky had signed the letter himself, or whether Grivnina had done it for him; several of the signatures (so the investigator thought) were in her hand. Utevsky replied that he had signed it himself.

* * *

On 23 April the telephone was disconnected at the home of **V. Neplekhovich**, Grivnina's husband. The same day Kapayev informed Grivnina's mother that the investigation was concluded and it was time to look for a lawyer. On 4 May Kapayev imparted similar information to **Serebrov**'s wife, V. Serebrova.

* * *

On 14 May Popov interrogated **E. Alekseyeva** (Chronicles 56, 57, 60). Alekseyeva refused to answer his questions 'for personal reasons'. Popov said: 'Why is it that some people place themselves above the law and do not consider it necessary to observe it? If you do not wish to answer questions today, we can meet tomorrow, then a few times more, even every day; whatever happens you will answer, for example when you are interrogated by us in another capacity... No one behaves like this, everyone talks'.

On 19 May Alekseyeva was interrogated by Kapayev (both interrogations were in connection with 'the Serebrov case'. Kapayev said that this was Case No. 6; probably Serebrov's case had by this time already been assigned a separate number).

The same day Alekseyeva wrote a letter describing the course of the interrogation and addressed to Brezhnev (with copies to Rekunkov and Andropov):

Deeply Respected Leonid Ilich!

On 13 May I sent you a letter about the fact that I had been illegally refused a visa to leave the USSR. The following day I was brought a summons from Investigator V.N. Kapayev to come for interrogation as a witness to the Investigation Department of the Moscow KGB. I refused to answer questions for personal reasons (the interrogation was conducted by Investigator Popov and concerned the case of Felix Serebrov). A year ago I was detained by KGB officials and taken to a police station, where, without any explanation, I was forbidden to travel to Gorky: they shouted and threatened. 'You know who we are and we do not throw our words to the winds', they said at the end of the 'talk'. It was then, having experienced the lawless behaviour of this organization, that I decided never to have any dealings with its representatives, not to talk to them and not to give evidence in connection with any cases. The events of the last interrogation have only strengthened my conviction that I had chosen the right course. Investigator Popov behaved correctly and I politely refused to answer. He warned me of the consequences of refusing to give evidence and said that I might be interrogated in another capacity (that of an accused?), but, I repeat, he behaved quite politely.

Today I went for a second interrogation, which was conducted by Investigator Kapayev. While he was going through the information from the previous interrogation, I took a book out of my bag, a small volume of Pushkin's poetry. Kapayev immediately, I repeat, immediately, shouted: 'Put that book away!' I was very frightened and only managed to say 'No'. Then he rushed up to me and shouted: 'I'm telling you to put the book away!' And in my fright I also shouted: 'I won't, I refuse!' The Head of the Investigation Department, Balashov, so he introduced himself, came into the office. I told him that Kapayev was shouting at me. Balashev replied: 'I came when I heard you shouting'. It seems that there is nothing out of the ordinary in an investigator shouting, and no one takes any notice of it. Although I wanted to, I was unable to shout louder than Kapayev, who bellowed so loudly that I was at first rendered speechless; this was a natural reaction to an insult. Kapayev sat down, and Balashov began speaking. He warned me that I was obliged to give evidence under article 73 of the Code of Criminal Procedure and that I could be charged under article 182 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Nevertheless, I refused to give evidence, in view of Investigator Kapayev's behaviour and Head of Department Balashov's complete indifference to the violation of the same Code of Criminal Procedure, article 158: 'When interrogating a witness and also when interrogating an accused person, "methods" involving physical coercion, threats, false statements and promises are not admissible'; Balashov also said that I had to give evidence if I did not wish to lose my job. In my agitation, which was natural in such circumstances, I began to leaf through the book, which I was still holding in my hands. Kapayev again began to shout: 'I'll throw you out into the corridor

with your book; I'll push you down the stairs, throw the book out of the window, and you can then crawl about and pick up what's left of it'. And he began to tear it out of my hands. I could not give him the Pushkin after his promise to throw it out of the window. Furthermore, when asking questions, Investigator Kapayev talked about Serebrov's 'criminal activity'. I regard this not only as juridical illiteracy, but as evidence that the investigation is obviously prejudiced. This circumstance gives me additional grounds for refusing to take part in the investigation of this case. And after all this, my behaviour was described in the record as 'provocative'. I did not sign the record, I did not even enter my comments in it, because Kapayev and Balashov acted illegally, threatening to deprive me of my job and to take me to court, deciding the punishment in advance - 'To start with, we'll fine you 50 roubles' - and thus taking the court's function upon themselves. Kapayev shouted at me, threatened to use physical force, and addressed me in the familiar form.

It is certainly not up to me to define the extent of Kapayev's and Balashov's guilt, but it is up to me to draw attention to the bullying lawlessness of their actions, which are described in article 179 of the RSFSR Criminal Code: 'forcing |someone| to give evidence by means of threats or other illegal actions on the part of the person conducting the inquiry of pre-trial investigation'. Unfortunately, threats, and insults, and mockery all occurred. Kapayev also shouted: 'She's mindless!', which is both an insult and mockery. I ask you to take note of Balashov and Kapayev's activities, so that similar incidents will not happen again, to me or to anyone else.

* * *

On 18 May Kapayev interrogated **E.A. Kosterina** (Chronicles 26, 30, 38, 39, 58) in connection with 'the case of Serebrov, charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code'. Kosterina said that she had met Serebrov a few years ago, probably at Grigorenko's: she knew nothing about Serebrov's 'dissident activity'.

Kapayev showed Kosterina the letter 'Who has been Convicted?' (Chronicle 58) about T. Velikanova and G. Yakunin and asked who had been involved in compiling it. 'As far as I am concerned, you are not allowed to ask this question: as far as Serebrov is concerned - I don't know'.

When Kapayev exclaimed that the letter contained slander, since Yakunin had 'repented', Kosterina replied that she had the right to sign her name as she wished, since she was thus expressing her personal opinion. Kapayev stated that Kosterina's son (**Aleksei Smirnov** - Chronicle 61 and 'Searches, Interrogations' in this issue) should take note of his threats; these recent letters would no longer be tolerated; they had found a letter with original signatures on it in Kalistratova's possession: 'You can leave the country'. In answer to Kosterina's question as to whether this latter statement constituted a proposal, Kapayev said: 'Whoever has wanted to leave has left'. When Kosterina expressed her indignation at the investigator's rudeness, he said: 'I have always talked like this - you can complain if you like'.

* * *

On 25 May **Grivnina** and her lawyer A.A. Sarne-Rubanova con-

cluded their study of the case. Neplekhovich sent the following letter to the Chairman of the German Social-Democratic Party, W. Brandt:

Mr Chairman!

My wife Irina Grivnina will soon appear in court on charges of slandering the Soviet system. She was a member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes. The Commission's work was exclusively humane and non-violent in nature, and did not contravene the USSR Constitution, which guarantees Soviet citizens the right to criticize. Irina's arrest has inflicted a severe trauma on our eight-year-old daughter.

I ask you, during your forthcoming visit to the USSR, to intervene with the Soviet leaders and ask them to release my wife Irina Grivnina and the other members of the Working Commission.

* * *

On 22 May KGB official Korolëv returned some of the items confiscated during the search to **V. Serebrova**. On 25 May Kapayev returned some more of the confiscated items to her. He demanded a receipt from Serebrova, to the effect that everything had been returned to her intact. She wrote out the receipt, but when she checked she discovered that several items (letters, Serebrov's poems) had not been returned. Kapayev then confirmed that the charges against her husband came under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

On 29 May Balashov and Yakovlev had a 'chat' with Serebrova in Lefortovo Prison. As a preliminary, they led her through the basement to the part of the investigations building where prisoners are interrogated.

The investigators were interested in how the news of Serebrov's arrest had reached Western radio-stations and whether his wife had informed them. They asked a similar question about Serebrov's poems, which had been published in Kontinent and Possev. Serebrova was also asked about her contact with the Helsinki Group. She refused to answer. From the way the questions were asked it was clear that the investigators' hypothesis was that Serebrova sent information to the West via the Group. The 'chat' became threatening on several occasions.

Serebrova tried to find out whether the article under which her husband was charged had been changed (there was a new investigation team, her summons had come from the KGB's all-union headquarters and not from its Moscow branch, etc). The investigator refused to answer these questions, telling Serebrova to ask the lawyer.

During the 'chat' Serebrova asked about a visit to her husband. She was granted one the same day. It soon became known that Serebrov had been charged under article 70 of the Code. On 18 June Serebrov and his lawyer, E.A. Reznikova, concluded their study of the case.

TRIALS

The Trial of Azadovsky

On 16 March the Kuibyshev District Court in Leningrad, presided over by A.S. Lukovnikov, heard the case of Doctor of Literary Science Konstantin Markovich Azadovsky (b. 1941; arrested 19 December 1980 - Chronicle 60). He was charged under article 224 part 3 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Illegal...acquisition, possession...of narcotics').

The case featured a note which Azadvosky had sent illegally to his fiancee S. Lepilina, who was arrested on 18 December 1980 on similar charges (Chronicle 60). In the note Azadovsky asked Lepilina to 'stick firmly to the evidence you gave at the investigation regarding the powder on the fourth shelf of my bookcase and the fact that you were putting on my jacket. This will not harm you in any way, but it is very important for me... I tried to help the investigation and the organization supervising it to find a way out of the situation which has developed, at the price of a small lie...' Azadovsky was sentenced to two years in ordinary-regime camps. He was sent off to camp on 14 June.[14].

The Trial of Georgy Shepelëv

On 30 March the People's Court in the Gagarin District of Moscow, presided over by Danilov, heard the case of Georgy Ivanovich Shepelëv (b. 1950; arrested 24 February - Chronicle 61). He was charged under article 96, part 1, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Petty theft of state... property').

Neither Shepelëv's family, nor his lawyer were informed in advance of the date of the trial. On the morning of 30 March, Shepelëv was informed by telephone that the trial would begin in 25 minutes. Lawyer G. Padve was also contacted by telephone, and immediately went to the court to study the case (he had not been permitted to do so earlier).

G. Shepelëv pleaded not guilty, saying that he had found the bottles outside the factory grounds, and that when detained he was on his way to the police station to hand them in. He was sentenced to six months' deprivation of freedom (the maximum under this article).

* * *

On 31 March **V. Shepelëv** (Chronicle 61), **S. Nekhotin** (Chronicle 60), **N. Krylova, A. Naidenovich** and **E. Komarnitsky** (Chronicle 60) issued a 'Statement for the Public':

Despite logical and convincing evidence for the defence, despite the absence of sufficient evidence, despite the defendant's denial of his guilt, Judge Danilov pronounced sentence...

Georgy Ivanovich Shepelëv has not been sentenced in accordance with the article under which he was charged by the authorities. The real reason for this lawless act is Georgy Shepelëv's part in writing the novel Enych

(Chronicle 60).

The Trial of Ermenko

At the beginning of April the Magadan Regional Court, presided over by Deputy Court Chairman P.A. Rybachuk, heard the case of Arnold Alekseyevich Ermenko (arrested 12 December 1980 - Chronicle 60). He was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

* * *

In 1964-74 Ermenko served a ten-year sentence in a hard-regime camp under article 88 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Violation of the regulations on currency transactions'). He later graduated from the Magadan Teachers' Training Institute; until his arrest he taught evening classes at this Institute. In 1977 a manuscript entitled 'Turned by the October Revolution' was confiscated from Ermenko. He spent 40 days in prison, wrote a 'confession', signed a warning 'according to the Decree'15. and was released.

In the spring of 1980, before going on holiday, Ermenko gave a manuscript of his to **Gennady Bogolyubov** and asked him to send it 'to the mainland' |i.e. central Russia|. In June, however, when Bogolyubov tried to give the manuscript to an acquaintance who was flying out, the manuscript 'burned' - it fell into the hands of the authorities. In September Ermenko returned from his holiday. On 12 December he was arrested.

On 22 December searches were carried out at the homes of **Boris Mukhametshin**, in the settlement of Palatka, Magadan Region, where he is serving his exile sentence (Chronicle 55), and his sister **Roza Fedyakina** in Moscow, in connection with Ermenko's case (Chronicle 60). Nothing was confiscated from Mukhametshin. From 22 to 29 December Mukhametshin was interrogated by Magadan KGB officials.

* * *

The courtroom was full of 'special public'. Ermenko pleaded not guilty, stating that his work was not slanderous and had been written from a Marxist point of view. He listed the numerous mistakes and inaccuracies which had occurred when his work was quoted from. He was interrupted and not allowed to speak. He was sentenced, 'taking into account his family circumstances', to two-and-a-half years in strict-regime camps (a few days later Ermenko's wife gave birth to a daughter).

The Trial of Sarbayev

On 28 April the Kuibyshev Regional Court, presided over by A.V. Dunayev, heard the case of Anatoly Andreyevich Sarbayev (b. 1955; arrested 30 June 1980 - Chronicle 57). He was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Procurator L.M. Nazarova, the defence lawyer V.N. Tershchukov.

Sarbayev was charged with:

- producing the articles 'The Foundations of Anti-communism', 'Soviet Society according to the 1977 Constitution' and 'The Constitution of Society Behind the Iron

Curtain (1977); works 'on questions of terrorism' (1978), 'Information Leaflet' No. 1 of the Middle Volga Group for the Defence of Human Rights (1979), and the article 'A Word for Viktor', dedicated to V. Davydov (on his trial see Chronicle 58);

- circulation of the articles 'The Phenomenon of Totalitarianism' and 'There Will Be No Second Coming', which he had received from Davydov.

It was stated in the judgment that in 1974 Sarbayev 'developed a negative attitude to Soviet reality', and that the Kuibyshev KGB officials gave him a 'prophylactic' talk on the subject of his 'politically harmful statements'. Then Sarbayev 'became an active member of a negatively disposed group of young people: he took part in discussions on the founding of an illegal organization in Kuibyshev'. On 27 February 1978 the Kuibyshev KGB issued him with a warning 'according to the Decree'.16.

The court took into account that Sarbayev 'has no previous convictions, has a small child to support, and has fully admitted his guilt and repented of what he has done, and that he suffers from chronic bronchitis', and sentenced him to ten months in ordinary-regime camps. Sarbayev was released on 30 April.

The Trial of Zotov

On 25 March Mikhail Zotov (Chronicle 61) was dispatched under guard from Syzran Prison to Chelyabinsk, for a forensic psychiatric examination.

He wrote in a letter:

> This is already the third month that they have tormented me by shunting me around detention cells and prisons. Yesterday Syzran Prison, today - Kuibyshev. A transit cell... The cells are overcrowded - up to 40 or 50 people lying side by side. Stuffiness, tobacco smoke, stench... On Saturday and Sunday (28 and 29 March) I asked a duty warder to notify the doctor and at least get me something to lower my temperature, an aspirin or something - but in vain. They just said that I was in Kuibyshev Prison, which means, apparently: 'Forget about charity!'
>
> I am ill. Everything aches. I have not eaten bread for two months - an ulcer. My heart flounders... And on top of it I have caught cold - I have had a temperature for three days... To end up in a psychiatric hospital in this state means to take the path to death.

On 10 April Zotov arrived at the Forensic Department of Chelyabinsk Regional Psychoneurological Hospital No. 1. The examining commission declared him not responsible (their diagnosis was 'infectious traumatic schizophrenia') and 'socially dangerous'. It recommended compulsory treatment.

An ideological examination was also conducted in Zotov's case. The 'experts' from the Faculty of Scientific Communism at Tolyatti Polytechnical Institute decided that his paintings and manuscripts 'constitute a social danger'.

* * *

On 13 April the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 165, 'The Arrest of Mikhail Zotov':

Zotov enjoyed painting from his early youth and by the time he was arrested he had completed over 100 canvases. For many years he tried to arrange an exhibition of his work in Tolyatti...he was refused permission on the grounds that the themes of his paintings were unsuited to the purposes of Soviet pictorial art.

The indifference of official bodies, and their inability properly to guarantee and defend the rights of citizens, brought him into the ranks of the human rights movement.

He...began to sign protests against illegal arrests and other violations of human rights in the USSR. He published critical articles in samizdat. As a result, the authorities began to persecute him regularly.

In the second half of March another search was carried out in Zotov's flat, during which five of his paintings were confiscated: these included a self-portrait, depicting the painter himself entangled in chains.

Zotov's arrest is evidence of the fact that the authorities are trying to crush, not only free speech, but any manifestation of free creativity, including pictorial art.

* * *

On 13 and 14 July the Kuibyshev Regional Court heard the case of Mikhail Vasilievich Zotov (b. 1923; arrested 27 January), charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Zotov himself was not in court, since he had been declared not responsible. The court decided to send Zotov for compulsory treatment to a psychiatric hospital of ordinary type. The court also ordered that the manuscript of Zotov's novel The Dissidents, and nine of his paintings, be destroyed.

THE CASE OF THE JOURNAL 'SEARCHES' (Chronicles 52-8, 60)

The Arrest of Yakovlev

On 4 December 1980 a case was instituted against Mikhail Yakovlev, under article 181, part 1, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Perjury'; the charges relate to Yakovlev's interrogation during the trial of Grimm - Chronicle 58).

In December, Senior Investigator Yu. A. Burtsev of the Moscow City Procuracy informed Yakovlev that the case was nearly completed and it was time to find a lawyer. (On 16 December V. Sorokin was sentenced to one year in camp on similar charges - Chronicle 60; however, the judgment was later annulled and Sorokin was released - Chronicle 61).

After this, Yakovlev disappeared from his home, telling his friends that he wanted to finish his novel before he was imprisoned. At the end of December Burtsev told G. Pavlovsky that Yakovlev had 'disappeared' in vain, since they wanted to 'come to an amicable agreement' with him (Chronicle 60). In mid-April Yakovlev was awarded the 1980 V. Dal prize (France) for promising writers.

On 28 May, as Yakovlev came out of a cinema, he was approached by his case officer from the KGB (the one who

had frightened him in the witness room during Abramkin's trial - Chronicle 58). Yakovlev was arrested and sent to the investigations prison on Matrosskaya Tishina Street.

On 10 June **V. Tomachinsky** (Chronicles 58, 60) sent the Moscow Procurator (with a copy to the Chairman of Moscow City Court) a 'Statement of Complaint':

> On 3 June I gave evidence as a witness in the criminal case against citizen M. Yakovlev, charged under article 181 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Senior Investigator Yu. A. Burtsev of the Moscow City Procuracy, ignoring my demand that the interrogation be conducted according to current legislation, did not keep a record of the interrogation. At first he arbitrarily said that the facts and circumstances I described were generally irrelevant to the case, and then, agreeing that the facts I had mentioned gave a general picture of the circumstances in which M. Yakovlev was placed immediately before and in connection with his giving evidence as a witness in court, he still refused to make a record of the interrogation and proposed that I should recount directly to the Procurator all that I knew in connection with this case.
>
> I find, however, that Y. Burtsev's failure to observe articles 20, 21, 58, 68, 69, 70, 71, 102, 109, 118, 128, 140, 141 and 158 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure amounts to a crime, one defined in article 172 of the RSFSR Criminal Code as negligence. I am therefore including in my statement a complaint against Burtsev (in accordance with article 22 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure) and demand that he - Yu. A. Burtsev - be prosecuted. I am also including an account of the circumstances in which M. Yakovlev was 'forced to give evidence by means of threats...by the person conducting the examination or pre-trial investigation' - see article 179 of the Criminal Code.

Further on, Tomachinsky describes in detail the aforementioned incident in the witness room during the trial of Abramkin. In conclusion he writes:

> ...the most serious cause for alarm is the fact that a court acts, not according to the law, but in response to orders from sources outside the court. This is evident from the fact that Yakovlev's 'questioner' knew Sokirko's fate even before the Moscow City Court had reached its decision to bring criminal charges against Sokirko. It is evident from the fact that the 'questioner' carried out his threat to M. Yakovlev by arresting him personally, on the authority of a Moscow City Court decision made seven months previously. It is evident from the fact that the court does not take any action when the staff of the punitive organization break the law and commit serious crimes. The court is obviously in league with the punitive organs.
>
> Our history has already demonstrated the dangerous consequences of conceding the prerogative of the Law to the punitive organs. As a responsible citizen, I cannot allow myself to remain silent about fatal trends. I therefore insist:
>
> 1. that I be officially interrogated as a witness;
> 2. that all the questioners, investigators, procurators and judges who are guilty of the crime I have described

above be punished for it:
3. that M. Yakovlev be released immediately.

Gefter is Summoned

Burtsev had tried since the spring of 1981 to get M. Ya. Gefter (Chronicles 52, 55-8), Doctor of Historical Science and contributor to the journal Searches, to come for interrogation. Gefter's interrogation was delayed for a long time, however, because he was ill (he is 62).

In June, after another summons, Gefter went to the Procuracy and handed Investigator G.V. Ponomarëv a 'Statement for the Record on the Occasion of a Summons to the Moscow City Procuracy':

1. I consider illegal any actions which hinder citizens of the USSR in expressing their views in oral or written form, as long, naturally, as publicly expressed views do not include incitement to violence.
2. From this point of view I regard the persecution to which the editors of the journal Searches have been subjected as groundless and illegal.
3. I have noticed that the procedure described by law is being systematically violated during the trials of the editors of Searches (de facto closed trials, restriction of the defence, etc); among these violations I include the refusal of the Moscow City Court to grant my petition to appear as a witness in the case of V.F. Abramkin (and also Abramkin's own petition in this connection).
4. I am still ready to give evidence at an open court hearing of the Searches case.
5. In view of all I have said above, I cannot regard my summons for interrogation as part of a 'pre-trial investigation'.
6. This circumstance also determines my position. In essence it is this: it is impossible for me to participate in actions which I am deeply convinced are illegal and injurious to society and the state.

ARRESTS

The Arrest of Pavlov

Nikolai Sergeyevich Pavlov (about 40 years of age: an invalid from childhood, he walks with the aid of crutches: he has a previous conviction under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) was arrested in March in the town of Alekseyevka, Belgorod Region, after a search. He was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code with 'preparing, keeping and circulating leaflets defaming the Soviet political and social system'. Major Romanovsky, an investigator of the Belgorod KGB, is in charge of the case.

On 20 March Senior Investigator Captain Krivov of the Vladimir KGB conducted a search in connection with Pavlov's

case in the town of Yurev-Polsky, at the home of V. Fefëlov (Chronicles 57, 60: the search warrant was dated 9 March), who is a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled. Confiscated items included a letter from Pavlov to Fefëlov, dated 23 May 1980, the Initiative Group's Document No. 15 (Chronicle 57) and seven copies of Document No. 18 (Chronicle 60), five copies of the information produced by the Group for the twentieth anniversary of the Olympic Games for the Disabled, Fefëlov's letter to the 26th Party Congress, and some used carbon paper.

The Arrest of Kuvakin

On 2 April Investigator Kapayev of the Moscow KGB conducted a search in connection with the Grivnina-Serebrov case (see above) at the home of Vsevolod Kuvakin (Chronicles 57, 60). The confiscated items included files and exercise books of typed and handwritten documents, Kuvakin's manuscripts, Solzhenitsyn's The Calf Butted the Oak (a photocopy), 49 issues of A Chronicle of Current Events, a typewriter, notebooks, a 'dagger with a bone handle, decorated with a fascist swastika' and bullets for a sporting air gun (30 items were listed in the record).

While the search was going on, one of the KGB officials engaged on it entered the next room, where Kuvakin's sister M. Blazhenova lives, and told her that the KGB knew that she had a brown briefcase belonging to her brother: if she did not surrender it, they would have to search the whole flat. Blazhenova recalled that the previous evening Kuvakin had gone out on to the balcony. The briefcase was found there and a 'record of voluntary surrender of goods' was drawn up. The briefcase was found to contain letters to V. Fainberg and V. Borisov, documents by the Moscow Helsinki Group and SMOT |Free Inter-trade Association of Working People - FIAWP|, a selection of documents stamped 'For official use', containing a description of production crises in the USSR, the samizdat journals Variants, Socialism and the Future and Left Turn, and five stamps from various institutes (the record has 12 entries).

After the search Kuvakin was taken to the Lubyanka, where Investigators Yakovlev and Balashov interrogated him in connection with the Grivnina-Serebrov case. Kuvakin said that he knew Grivnina and Serebrov only slightly and had not received any documents from them. He had found out that they were members of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes from radio broadcasts. He did not consider the Working Commission's activities illegal.

The remaining questions concerned Kuvakin himself. He was asked about the confiscated briefcase and its contents. Kuvakin confirmed that the briefcase and its contents belonged to him, and that the letter addressed to Fainberg was actually intended for the latter. He also said that he had not given anyone any papers for safe-keeping.

Yakovlev showed Kuvakin the record of M. Ikonnikov's interrogation (he was interrogated while Kuvakin's home was being searched - see 'Searches, Interrogations'), where it was stated that Kuvakin had asked Ikonnikov to type out the text of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet's Decree concerning the procedure for examining complaints (as it later turned out, the investigator who interrogated

Ikonnikov had told him that Kuvakin's home had been searched the day before, and that a number of anti-Soviet documents had been confiscated). Yakovlev informed Kuvakin that Ikonnikov had described Kuvakin's intentions to form a group called 'Publicity', which would publicize violations of the procedure for examining complaints and statements. Kuvakin confirmed this evidence, pointing out that he could see nothing illegal in his intention.

The final part of the interrogation was devoted to the question of Kuvakin's contacts with foreigners and, in particular, with diplomats. Kuvakin confirmed that he knew some foreign journalists, but he did not know any diplomats. He had not given any documents to foreigners, and had not received any from them.

V. Shepelëv (Chronicle 61), who was visiting Kuvakin at the time, had been present during the search. He was taken home, and a search was carried out there. Investigator Levchenko conducted the search. Six pages of addresses and telephone numbers were confiscated.

After the search Levchenko drove V. Shepelëv to the Lubyanka, where he interrogated him. Shepelëv stated that he knew neither Grivnina nor Serebrov; when Levchenko asked him who else had been visiting Kuvakin the previous evening, Shepelëv replied that the question had no bearing on the case. Levchenko also tried to find out who wrote the statement in defence of G. Shepelëv and who collected the signatures for it (see 'The Trial of Georgy Shepelëv').

* * *

On 14 April KGB officials fetched Kuvakin away from work. The next day it became known that he had been arrested and charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

A 'Statement for the Press', which Kuvakin wrote on 12 March in case of his arrest, is circulating in samizdat:

> In view of the real possibility that I will be arrested by the KGB, I consider it necessary to make the following statement:
>
> I find it difficult to foresee what sort of actual 'crime' I will be charged with. Probably the standard one in our country: 'preparing and circulating slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet system'. I state in advance that I have committed no crime and have not prepared or circulated any 'slander'.
>
> The only thing I have done, quite consciously and deliberately, is to write about how I see today's 'most progressive, democratic and humane system', which, due to a misunderstanding, was called Soviet and - even more mistakenly - socialist.
>
> I do not deny authorship of certain manuscripts and I do not disown them, neither those published in samizdat and foreign publications, nor those which have not yet found publishers or readers.
>
> I do not conceal that my aim was to try, at least in some measure, to facilitate the earliest possible disintegration of the political and social system which has arisen in my country against the wishes of my fellow-citizens.
>
> In my opinion this system is neither legal, nor Soviet, nor - finally - constitutional, and I therefore do not admit that my actions contravened the law and I do not regard them as anti-Soviet, since there is no Soviet system in the USSR.

> All that I have done and am doing, I have done and am doing consciously and deliberately. If there is anything I will regret after my arrest, it will be that I managed to do so little. But I am deeply convinced that I have acted and am acting in a just, right and noble cause, which will not be destroyed by arrests, trials, prison and camps, exile and banishment. Others will undoubtedly replace us, and they will differ from us only in that they will be more courageous, more consistent, more decisive, more uncompromising.
>
> This is all that I can and wish to say to my friends and like-thinkers, my fellow-citizens and all who empathize with the struggle for human rights and the democratization of our country. I will say this after my arrest, for until one's very last day of freedom, one can and must, honestly and silently, do one thing: serve our Motherland, serve Russia.

* * *

In April people interrogated in connection with the Grivnina-Serebrov case were also asked about Kuvakin (see 'The Grivnina-Serebrov Case' and 'Searches, Interrogations').

* * *

On 16 June at 2.30 pm **Irina Nagle** (Chronicles 57, 61) was approached at work (she works at the Centre for Geophysical Expeditions (CGE), where A. Lavut and T. Osipova were employed) by L. Stolyarova of the special section, who said: 'Ira, come and see me at four o'clock - I need you'. Stolyarova refused to explain the reason for the summons, so Nagle refused to go. At 4 pm A.S. Kashik (Chronicles 57, 60, 61), Head of the CGE, summoned Nagle to his office over the public address system. When asked why he was summoning her, he said: 'If you do not come immediately, you will find out from your dismissal notice'. Nagle did not go. (On 22 June Nagle was issued a reprimand 'for violating the established regulations concerning registration of working time, and failure to appear at an interview with CGE management in this regard').

On 17 June Nagle received a telephone call from the KGB asking her to come and see them. She replied: 'I do not come in response to a summons by telephone'. In the personnel department on 30 June Nagle was handed a summons to a meeting with Captain A.A. Levchenko, Senior Investigator of the Investigations Department of the Moscow KGB, on 1 July.

On 1 July Levchenko interrogated Nagle in connection with Kuvakin's case. Nagle refused to answer his questions, but Levchenko did not enter the reasons for her refusal in the record. For example, Nagle's reply to the question: 'What do you know about the preparation, duplication, signing and circulation by Kuvakin of any articles?' was 'I do not understand how this can have any bearing on a criminal case'; in the record Levchenko wrote: 'There was no reply'. Levchenko also tried to question Nagle about the collective appeal 'To People and Organizations of Good Will', dated 15 July 1980 (about the 'Olympic' hospitalization of V. Gershuni - Chronicle 57), which Nagle, among others, had signed; he got no response. When Nagle tried to make some notes in the record, Levchenko took the pen out of her hand. Nagle did not sign the record.

When the interrogation was over, Levchenko left his office at the disposal of two KGB officials who did not introduce

themselves. They explained that they had tried 'to talk to Nagle at work', but since she had stubbornly refused to see them, they had been forced to 'make use of the kindness of the Investigation Department'. They warned Nagle of the 'consequences' of her actions, without being very specific as to what actions they had in mind.

SEARCHES, INTERROGATIONS

Searches at the Homes of the Editors of the Journal 'The Duel'

On 2 April Investigator Popov of the Moscow KGB conducted a search at the home of **Mikhail Ikonnikov** (Chronicle 61). Popov stated that the search was connected with the case of Kuvakin. Ikonnikov was detained at work, where he voluntarily gave Popov the following: a Bulletin of the Moscow Soviet, which contained a resolution about work on citizens' complaints; copies of Kuvakin's complaint about shoddy work at a glass reception point, which he had sent to Evening Moscow, and replies to it from the newspaper and the District Food Trading Organization (five copies); and an anonymous samizdat article on socio-economic problems. Ikonnikov was not given a copy of the record of his voluntary surrender of these items. He was then taken home, where a search was carried out, but nothing was confiscated. The record of this search was confiscated on 14 April during a search at the home of Yu. Denisov (see below).

When the search was over, Ikonnikov was interrogated 'in connection with Kuvakin's case'. Ikonnikov said he had met Kuvakin once at Denisov's (Chronicles 57, 61) and then twice at Kuvakin's home. He had not seen any 'literature' at Kuvakin's, and the latter had not given him any. When asked by the investigator to characterize Kuvakin, Ikonnikov replied that he had no antipathy towards him - he could say no more on the subject. He became acquainted with Kuvakin because the latter was a lawyer and could advise him how to design the bulletin Publicity: Ikonnikov intended, together with Kuvakin, to organize a group called 'Publicity': its bulletin was to be 'exclusively official in nature' and unconnected with dissidents and 'abroad'. They had intended to send it only to official bodies.

* * *

On 3 April **Yury Denisov** was interrogated at the Moscow Procuracy by Investigator Melekayev, in connection with the Grivnina-Serebrov case. He was questioned about the journal The Duel and about Ikonnikov. Denisov refused to give evidence.

* * *

On 9 April a search was carried out in connection with the Grivnina-Serebrov case at the home of **Vladimir Bykov** (Chronicle 61), and on 11 April (in connection with the same case) at the home of **Elena Alekseyenko**. A large quantity of tamizdat and 40 copies of the 55th issue of A Chronicle of Current Events (in typescript) were among

the items confiscated. After the searches, Bykov and Alekseyenko were interrogated. The questions concerned the journal The Duel and Kuvakin.

* * *

On 14 April Investigator Nikitin conducted a search at **Denisov**'s home, in connection with the Grivnina-Serebrov case. The confiscated items included works by Solzhenitsyn, several issues of A Chronicle of Current Events, material for The Duel No. 6 (the record lists 34 items).

On 15 April Kapayev interrogated Denisov. Once Denisov had stated that he did not know Grivnina and Serebrov, Kapayev began asking questions about Kuvakin. When Denisov stated that he did not know Kuvakin either, Kapayev showed him Kuvakin's testimony, written in his own hand, stating that he had given Denisov various samizdat and tamizdat materials (these being the documents confiscated from Denisov during the search the day before). After this, Denisov, who had at first said that he did not remember where he had obtained the confiscated documents, confirmed Kuvakin's testimony.

* * *

At this time the editorial board of The Duel consisted of Bykov, Yu. Denisov, N. Denisova, M. Ikonnikov and E. Osipova (Chronicle 61) and also E. Alekseyenko and V. Shepelev.

A Search at the Home of Gotovtsev

On 14 April a search was carried out at the home of Alexander Gotovtsev (Chronicles 54, 60) in connection with the Grivnina-Serebrov case. Two packets of 'typed and handwritten documents', part of a typescript copy of Solzhenitsyn's 'Letter to Soviet Leaders', personal notes, postal receipts and old prescriptions were confiscated. Gotovtsev confirmed that all the confiscated items belonged to him. He refused to sign the record. After the search Popov interrogated Gotovtsev. Kapayev came into the room several times during the interrogation. Popov said that the accused in the case were Grivnina, Serebrov and Kuvakin.

Gotovtsev stated that he did not know Grivnina or Serebrov. Popov then questioned him for two hours about Kuvakin and read out evidence given by the latter during interrogations on 2 and 14 April. The evidence centred on who was keeping various papers belonging to Kuvakin. Popov also read out Kuvakin's testimony that on the evening of 1 April Gotovtsev had returned to him a packet addressed to Fainberg (Kuvakin named witnesses of the handing over of the packet): Kuvakin had given this packet to Gotovtsev in January to send abroad.

Gotovtsev refuted Kuvakin's testimony, saying that he did not remember any incident involving the handing over of a packet, although he had been visiting Kuvakin at the time. He demanded a confrontation with Kuvakin. This brought the interrogation to a close.

The investigators did not conceal the fact that Kuvakin was being interrogated in the next office at the same time, or that his evidence might influence their attitude to Gotovtsev. Gotovtsev formed the impression that Kuvakin really was giving the evidence attributed to him, for whole

paragraphs of it were being included in the record of Gotovtsev's own interrogation. When Gotovtsev asked whether Kuvakin had been arrested, Popov replied: 'I don't think you will see Kuvakin for a long time'.

An Interrogation of Vul

On 3 April a KGB official, introducing himself as 'Anatoly Ivanovich', came to see the wife of Leonid Vul (Chronicle 61) at work. He asked her to 'save her husband' and said that as soon as the administration found out about the search, they would scarcely want to keep her at work. On 6 April Vul was dismissed 'because of staff reductions' (he worked in a dining-room as a worker).

On 10 April Vul's wife again met 'Anatoly Ivanovich', who said that her 'husband's fate depends on the position he adopts'. At the end of their conversation 'Anatoly Ivanovich' handed her a summons for interrogation on 13 April with Senior Investigator Captain A.A. Levchenko of the Investigations Department of the Moscow KGB.

* * *

At 10.30 am on 10 April Levchenko telephoned Vul and asked why he had not come for interrogation, as he had been sent a summons - perhaps it was still lying in his mail-box. Going downstairs, Vul found the summons in the mail-box - it was for 10 am on 10 April. He went to the interrogation. He was asked 18 questions. When he was asked his purpose in keeping the documents confiscated from him in his home, Vul replied that the question placed him in the position of suspect, which would limit his rights as a witness. When asked whether he had given anyone the Khronika Press documentary publications which had been confiscated from him, whether he had sent anything to this publisher, and whether he had taken part in the preparation, duplication and circulation of A Chronicle of Current Events, Vul referred to his reply to the previous question. When asked who owned the items confiscated from him during the search, Vul replied that everything except the typewriter belonged to him; the typewriter belonged to his wife, who was its sole user - she needed it for her work.

'It is obvious from the Khronika Press collections and from the issues of A Chronicle of Current Events which were confiscated from you during the search, that the aim of these publications is to defame the Soviet political and social system, discredit socialist democracy and the Soviet way of life, falsify communist ideology, and present the reader with a distorted impression of the Soviet Union, in particular by making it appear as though individual people are groundlessly subjected to various types of persecution on account of their political and religious beliefs. Furthermore, the aforementioned collections popularize the hostile activities of anti-Soviet elements and various types of renegade. What is your opinion of the content of these documents?' In reply to this question, Vul said that he did not agree with the investigator's appraisal; he considered that the documents contained correct information and were intended, not to discredit, falsify or defame anything, but on the contrary - to publicize what took place, in order to correct shortcomings; this could only serve to strengthen socialist democracy.

When asked when, where and from whom he had obtained the publications, Vul refused to answer on moral and ethical grounds.

Levchenko showed Vul several sections from issue No. 59 of A Chronicle of Current Events, in Vul's handwriting (there was also one among them in Shikhanovich's hand; when Levchenko came to this he said, as if to himself: 'No, this is not your writing, but his'). Levchenko asked whether Vul had been instrumental in commpiling these sections. Vul referred to his reply to the first of the questions. Levchenko wrote in the record against one of the questions: 'It can be seen from the material in the case that the documents shown to you, as well as other hand- and typewritten texts confiscated from you during the search, were compiled with your personal participation, together with other people, and were intended for inclusion in an issue in the series of so-called Chronicles of Current Events'.

Vul was also asked whether he knew F. Serebrov and I. Grivnina (he replied that his personal acquaintances were his own affair), and what he knew about Serebrov's part in compiling and circulating a number of the documents which had been confiscated from Vul - Serebrov having been named as one of the authors (the reply: 'I don't know anything about it').

* * *

On 13 April Vul's wife was interrogated.

* * *

On 17 April Vul had a 'chat' with Moscow KGB official 'Nikolai Borisovich', who had spoken to him at the police station on 20 February before the search of his flat.

At the beginning of the 'chat', 'Nikolai Borisovich' asked Vul to keep their conversation secret. Vul replied that he would not buy a pig in a poke. If his interlocutor wished him to keep some part of their conversation secret, he should say - in advance of that part of the conversation - what it would be about, and Vul would then decide whether to promise or not.

The greater part of the conversation was devoted to an explanation of Vul's views on domestic and foreign policy (Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, Chile). Vul answered the questions, without concealing his views. For the remainder of the interview, 'Nikolai Borisovich' tried to convince Vul that 'your Chronicle' contained a great deal of slander. He gave an example: the Chronicle had stated that Jews in Petrozavodsk wished to emigrate and that they had been dismissed from their jobs; however he, 'Nikolai Borisovich', had made special inquiries and found out that the Jews had submitted statements asking to be dismissed. Vul objected that in many places it was necessary to be dismissed in order to obtain a reference from one's place of work to submit to OVIR.

Vul gave an example of an obviously unjust conviction. 'Nikolai Borisovich' promised to look into it and asked Vul not to publicize the person's name yet. 'Nikolai Borisovich' asked Vul again whether he did not intend to leave the USSR. When Vul protested that KGB officials had confiscated his invitation from Israel, 'Nikolai Borisovich' replied to this effect: 'They took it away - they can also give it back'.

At the end of the conversation 'Nikolai Borisovich' said

that they had not finished their discussion and would probably have to talk again. Vul said that there was no point: if, for example, he were a witness or defendant, he would not give any evidence and would not answer any questions, so why should he answer questions during a 'chat'?

* * *

In May Vul received in the post a new invitation from Israel (his friends had asked, after 20 February, for the invitation to be sent; very few invitations are getting through to Moscow at present).

Case No. 50611/14-79 (Chronicle 60)

A Search at the Home of Legler

On 17 March Investigator Larichev of the Moscow Procuracy carried out a search at the home of Viktor Legler, Doctor of Geological and Mineralogical Sciences (the search-warrant was signed by Yu. A. Burtsev). The confiscated items included: a manuscript dealing with the position of scientists and the state of scientific research in the USSR, which Legler had been working on for several years: tamizdat and samizdat, including copies of books by Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn and of Pasternak's Dr Zhivago: Searches and Reflections Nos. 1 and 2: A Chronicle of Current Events No. 58: and a typewriter (about 50 items were listed in the record). Legler wrote in the record:

> I presume that a number of confiscated items, such as my wife's school diary, photocopies of books published in the USSR and my personal notes on geology, cannot in principle have any connection with a criminal case, and that their confiscation will only be temporary. I have no further grievances.

After the search Legler was driven off for interrogation. When asked where he had obtained Searches and Reflections and the Chronicle, he replied that since he had not been told anything about the case in connection with which he was being interrogated, and as he did not consider the documents incriminating, he refused to answer the question.

* * *

On 13 May Legler and his wife were summoned for interrogation to the Moscow Procuracy. Burtsev interrogated Legler, G.V. Ponomarëv interrogated his wife. Legler said that he did not know the editors of Searches, or those of Searches and Reflections, and that in his opinion the material they published was 'not criminal'. In conclusion, Burtsev stated that some of the items confiscated from Legler would be returned to him.

* * *

On 2 June B.B. Karatayev (Chronicle 57, 61) and escorts came to Legler's home unexpectedly. Karatayev demanded that Legler and his wife come with him 'for a chat'. Legler replied that he would not go without a summons. Karatayev then called the police. When a policeman arrived, Legler agreed to go. While they were all getting into the car, Natalya Legler, choosing her moment, ran off. Seeing that

she was not there, Karatayev began shouting at his fellow-passengers. Nevertheless, they and Legler got into the car and drove off. When she returned home, Natalya Legler saw a figure dash away from the doors to her flat. They soon came for her again, and she submitted.

Karatayev talked to the Leglers in the reception room of the USSR KGB building. He tried to persuade them to tell him where they had obtained the literature that had been confiscated from them, and threatened them. He also kept looking openly at his watch and spun things out. At the end of their talk he invited Legler to come for another talk the following day. On 3 June Karatayev had a similar talk with Legler.

A Search at the Home of Romanova

On 17 April Police Captain Gordeyev and an 'official' who introduced himself as Shukhov, came to see Avgusta Romanova (Chronicles 56, 57) at work. They drove her home, where a search had been going on since the morning (Burtsev had signed the search-warrant). Senior Investigator L.P. Kornakova of the Moscow Procuracy conducted the search. The confiscated items included: tamizdat and samizdat, notes on political prisoners, correspondence, notebooks, postal receipts. In addition, Romanova's personal summaries of books by Averintsev and Plutarch were confiscated (the search record listed 38 items).

Romanova wrote in the record:

> 1. Two people took part in the search: a man and a woman; their names are not mentioned in the search record.
> 2. During the search, items which have no connection with any criminal case were confiscated.

Romanova also made a strong oral protest about the confiscation of her personal summaries of works by authors published in the USSR, and the way in which the searchers mocked her work. On 4 May Romanova's telephone was disconnected. On 8 June two policemen (one of them a district policeman) turned up at Romanova's home after 10 pm, 'to check that her passport was in order'. They also tried to find out where she worked.

A Search at the Home of Khodorovich

On 17 April Investigator Krylov of the Moscow Procuracy conducted a search at the home of the administrator of the Political Prisoners' Aid Fund, Sergei Khodorovich (Chronicles 56, 57). Items confiscated included: tamizdat and samizdat, notebooks, private notes, notes on political prisoners (about 200 pages), photocopies of A Chronicle of Current Events, two cameras and films, cassette tapes and a radio (the search record listed 44 items). Khodorovich refused to sign the record. At the end of April Khodorovich's telephone was disconnected.

The 'Hothouse Case' in Tomsk

At 6.30 am on 1 April, five KGB officials arrived at the orangery in the Tomsk flower nursery, to conduct a search at the home of the orangery's watchman, S. Bozhko. In Bozhko's presence, photocopies of an issue of the |Paris| journal Kontinent, an issue of the |Paris| journal The

Herald of the Russian Christian Movement and Platonov's novel Chevengur were confiscated. Bozhko admitted that the confiscated items belonged to him. He was then taken to the KGB building, where Captain N.G. Sapozhkov interrogated him until 11 pm (Sapozhkov was in constant communication with the orangery, where the search went on until 8 pm).

At the same time five of Bozhko's acquaintances, including the writer **N.V. Serebrennikov** and university sociologist **V.M. Kandel**, were brought to the KGB building. During the night of 1-2 April, searches were carried out at the homes of Serebrennikov and Kandel. Literary papers were confiscated from Serebrennikov and religious and scientific ones from Kandel. A search was also carried out at the home of another person involved in the 'Hothouse Case'.

While Bozhko and Serebrennikov were being interrogated, direct contact was maintained with Novosibirsk, where **I.N. Gemuyev** and **V.M. Klimov** were being interrogated. Gemuyev's testimony was shown to Serebrennikov during his interrogation.

Bozhko was accused of circulating anti-Soviet fabrications, of inciting anti-Soviet activity - 'as shown in his attempt to organize political disturbances on board a ship of the Ob steamship company in 1970', of protracted agitation among students in Tomsk, and of defaming the cultural and economic policies of the CPSU's Central Committee.

Serebrennikov was threatened with psychiatric sanctions: attempts were made to persuade the rest of those being interrogated to say that he was mentally abnormal.

When the interrogations were over, Bozhko was issued an 'Official Caution', according to which, if Bozhko should again commit the actions cited against him, he would be brought to trial under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, and the existing investigative material would be used. The interrogations went on from 1 to 6 April. The total time taken to interrogate eight people came to 250 hours.

Interrogations Around Aleksei Smirnov

Towards the end of March a number of A. Smirnov's (Chronicle 61) colleagues at work were interrogated in Moscow. Smirnov works at the District Computer Information Centre of the RSFSR Ministry of Supplies. The investigators wanted to know whether Smirnov typed during working hours and what he had typed. From his colleagues' replies it transpired that Smirnov had told them that he was typing poetry, although he would not show them the text; he used to cover it up and hide it.

At the end of May a KGB official from Moscow came to 'chat' with **A. Shuvalov**, who was in an army hospital in Gorky (until he was called up for the Army in autumn 1980, Shuvalov had worked on the same shift as Smirnov). The KGB official wanted to know if Smirnov had used a typewriter during working hours, and whether he had voiced opinions on political matters. Shuvalov replied in the negative. The 'chats' continued for two days.

Sannikova and Probatova are Searched and Interrogated

On 14 March, at about 10 pm, Svetlana Probatova (b. 1949) and Elena Sannikova (b. 1959) were detained by several policemen and 'plain-clothes' officers on Nelidovo Station, where they were waiting by the 'October' railway line for the train to Moscow.

At the police station they were shown a statement about a robbery on the Riga-Moscow train: it contained an accurate description of the appearance of the two women. After this they were asked to turn out their bags: they were told that people were often detained on suspicion of one thing, and then something else was discovered.

The following were confiscated: Probatova's manuscript on social security in the USSR, documents of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled, N. Ya. Mandelshtam's memoirs and some notebooks. Sannikova and Probatova were not given a copy of the search record. They were released around 1 am.

A few days later, Sannikova went to the village (in the vicinity of Nelidovo Station) where she rented a room and worked in a kindergarten. She discovered that her landlady had taken the papers she had in her room and handed them over to 'the organs' [the KGB]. She said that it had been her duty, 'as a communist', to do so.

A typewriter and some papers had been taken from the left luggage office at the station. Station employees said that 'officials' had taken them.

On 30 April Probatova received a reply from the Kalinin Transport Procuracy to the complaint she had sent:

> ...In the course of our inquiry it was established that a warrant was issued to search for a woman who had stolen a passenger's belongings.
>
> Due to the fact that citizen Sannikova somewhat resembled the description of the wanted woman, she was asked to come to the duty police office to establish her identity. You were also asked to come, since Sannikova had tried to give you a parcel.
>
> At the police office you and Sannikova were found to be in possession of anti-Soviet literature. You were not actually detained, you were taken to the police office to establish your identity.

* * *

On 11 May Sannikova was detained in a sanatorium for the disabled near the town of Saki in the Crimea, where she was 'conducting a survey' of the inmates. She was driven to the Crimean KGB in Simferopol, where she was held and interrogated for three days. On 14 May Sannikova was transferred to Crimea Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 1, where she was examined by three commissions.

On 25 May she was taken to the airport and put on a plane back to Moscow (at the state's expense). At the time of her discharge she was told that she had been pronounced healthy, but that she was mentally unstable and if she continued her 'activities', she could easily go mad.

PERSECUTION OF THE INITIATIVE GROUP TO DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF THE DISABLED

In December 1980 Group member **Olga Zaitseva** (Chronicle 60) travelled to Chistopol (Tatar ASSR) to see **F. Khusainov** (Chronicle 60), another member. On 23 December several men in army uniform and civilian clothes detained her in the street, took her off to the prison and took away her camera. The developed film contained only pictures of Khusainov. Zaitseva then had a 'chat' with a man who introduced himself as 'KGB official Teleshin'. 'Have you brought the Bulletin?' he asked, and began to shower Zaitseva with all manner of threats. She was not released until late evening.

On 5 January Zaitseva addressed an inquiry to the Chistopol Procuracy as to the reason for her detention by the KGB. In addition, she demanded her confiscated film back.

On 26 January V. Danilov, Assistant Procurator of Chistopol, replied:

> ...You were detained by security officials in the grounds of a secret establishment, while you were trying to photograph this institution. Your camera has been returned to you, but the film was spoiled when it was developed.

On 9 March Zaitseva's husband, Group member **V. Fefëlov** (Chronicle 60), received a reply from E.A. Dmitrievsky, Senior Assistant Procurator of the Tatar ASSR:

> ...citizen Zaitseva...was detained in the act of photographing a state establishment, which is out of bounds for such purposes. Zaitseva's actions constituted a gross violation of point 1, par. 69, of the relevant regulations laid down by the USSR Council of Ministers. It is evident from Zaitseva's own explanation that she was actually holding a camera at the time she was detained and was using it. The actions of the Internal Affairs officials who detained Zaitseva were quite lawful. Your claim that KGB officials took part in this is not borne out by the facts. There are no grounds on which you may be refunded the film's value of 35 kopeks, since it turned out to be spoiled.

EVENTS IN THE UKRAINE

The Trial of Altunyan

From 26 to 31 March the Kharkov Regional Court, presided over by First Deputy Court Chairman Chernukhin, heard the case of Genrikh Ovanesovich Altunyan (b. 1933; arrested 16 December 1980 - Chronicle 60). He was charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the Russian Code). The prosecutor was Procurator M.F. Akhtyamova; the defence lawyer was V.P. Korablev.

* * *

In 1968 Major Altunyan was expelled from the CPSU and dismissed to the reserve (Chronicles 5, 7). In 1969 he was a founder-member of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR (Chronicle 8).

In 1969 Altunyan was sentenced to three years in ordinary-regime camps under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the Russian Code - Chronicles 9, 11, 22). After his release from imprisonment, Altunyan, who is a radio engineer, got a job repairing cinematographic equipment.

* * *

Apart from the 'special public', only Altunyan's family were allowed into the courtroom (but their documents were not checked). The defence lawyer submitted a petition for inclusion in the case of the following: a certificate from the investigations prison concerning Altunyan's state of health (he has a duodenal ulcer which has become acute): the 16 proposals on how to increase production which Altunyan drew up in a camp: the 1 December 1979 issue of the newspaper Lenin's Successors, which contained a photograph with the caption: 'Best cinematographic equipment mechanic G.O. Altunyan before the start of the show'.

Altunyan submitted the following petitions: that he be given time to sort out his copy of the indictment (its pages were out of order and corrections had been made in pencil and in ink), by comparing it with the copy in the court's possession: that the following be summoned as witnesses: S.K. Podolsky (in connection with a conversation with Dr Gritsenko), S.Z. Karasik (in connection with the search on 30 May 1980 - Chronicle 57), B. Ya. Ladenzon and A.A. Tulchinsky (in connection with the charge of 'circulating deliberately false fabrications' - Chronicle 61); that the forensic expert be called to clarify the bill for his report: and that the letters, photographs and documents which had no bearing on the case be returned to him. The court granted the defence lawyer's first petition and Altunyan's first (for which he was given 20 minutes) and last.

Altunyan was charged that:

- in June 1975 he had described the sending of troops into Czechoslovakia and Mongolia as an invasion, and said that it would be better for the Soviet Union to employ the resources it allocated to socialist and developing countries for helping its own people (Kosulin's testimony);
- in May 1977, while visiting V. Borovsky (Chronicles 45-7) in a psychiatric hospital, Altunyan had said that sane people were kept in mad-houses in the USSR (Dr Gritsenko's testimony);
- Altunyan had given the father of V. Borovsky's mother a photocopy of an article in French about Borovsky, which included his photograph (Zinchenko testified that he had seen this photocopy in Altunyan's home; it was confiscated from V. Borovsky's father);
- in September 1979 Altunyan had told Zinchenko and Nedobora that the Helsinki Agreement would benefit only the Soviet Union, and he had spoken favourably of Sakharov and Grigorenko (Zinchenko's testimony; 'witness Nedobora does not corroborate the testimony of Zinchenko, but Nedobora's testimony should be disregarded, since he has a personal interest in the case');
- Altunyan had given Turovets a copy of The Gulag Archipelago by Solzhenitsyn and Living History from 1917 to

1975 by Koryakov[17]. (Turovets's testimony: Kozoruk and Solomko testified that Turovets had given them these books: during the search of Altunyan's home Living History and the first two volumes of The Gulag Archipelago were not found):

- in February 1978, Altunyan had told his colleagues Petrenko, Tuniev and Titov, in the presence of KGB Captain Shafranyuk (Chronicle 49), that the state had delegated its responsibilities in the field of domestic policy to the KGB (testimony of Petrenko, Tuniev and Titov):

- Altunyan had 'fabricated a slanderous text entitled "A Short Note on Two Conversations" and sent it abroad for publication, as is confirmed by its appearance in A Chronicle of Current Events, published in New York' (in actual fact, 'A Short Note on Two Conversations' was not published in the samizdat Chronicle of Current Events, nor, naturally in its foreign edition: it is simply referred to in Chronicle 8: the article was confiscated from Altunyan in 1969 and was not cited against him at his last trial):[18].

- Altunyan had enclosed 'slanderous poems by N. Rudenko' in a letter to Yury Dzyuba, who was then imprisoned.

Regarding the indictment, Altunyan said:

...First of all, I protest against the actions of the KGB: not all of the KGB, but the Kharkov KGB, and not all of the Kharkov KGB, but specifically Babusenko, Yakovenko, Sidelnik, Murzin and Drotenko: I wish to state that I went on hunger-strike for 25 days in the investigations prison in protest against actions of these officers committed before this case was instituted. They interrogated many witnesses before the case was instituted. without keeping a record: they put great pressure on them, they carried out a search without any foundation, during which the law was grossly violated - before the case was instituted. The case has been completely fabricated by these KGB officials.

Citizen Podolsky was present when I talked to Dr Gritsenko during my visit to Borovsky, but Investigator Yakovenko did not even wish to know his name, and threatened to search his home when I mentioned it. The testimony of Borovsky's mother cannot be taken as proof of what was said during my talks with Gritsenko, since she was not there: all she said in her evidence was that Borovsky really was there for examination. Gritsenko herself said, during our talk, that Borovsky had been brought to the clinic illegally, in a police car and without a doctor's certificate, and that a certificate had appeared the following day, signed by drug specialist N., who had entered the diagnosis 'schizophrenia', although such a certificate should be signed by a psychiatrist and not a drug specialist. She described all the members of the medical commission and discussed the possibility of resolving the problem of Borovsky's non-accountability. I did not talk about anything except Borovsky's health. I did not make any anti-Soviet generalizations. If you called Podolsky as a witness, you would be convinced of this.

Zinchenko testified at five interrogations that he had seen a photocopy of the article about Borovsky in April 1980, yet Borovsky's mother testified that her father had received the photocopy in January of that year (her father died in March - Chronicle). Subsequently, at his sixth interrogation (evidently at the request of the investigator), Zinchenko testified that he had

seen the photocopy between January and May. I deny that I gave the photocopy to the father of Borovsky's mother and that Zinchenko saw the photocopy in my home. Borovsky's mother does not admit that I gave her father the photocopy. All that Zinchenko had said about my statements concerning the Soviet Union's incorrect foreign policy, the Hensinki Agreement, etc., is slander. I did not say this. I request that you take into account Nedobora's evidence, in which he denies that this whole conversation took place. We talked only about Zinchenko's emigration. I am disturbed that Nedobora's evidence is to be disregarded on the grounds that he is an interested party.

I never had similar conversations with Kosulin: we have little in common. Kosulina's evidence proves nothing, since she says only that she and her husband visited us at home on that day, but she did not hear our conversation...I did not have the first and second volumes of the book The Gulag Archipelago: consequently, I did not give them to anyone.

Judge Do you say this because they were not confiscated from you?

Altunyan I say it because I really did not have them. I did have the third volume, but I did not give it to anyone.

Judge How do you explain the fact that Turovets gave such evidence against you?

Altunyan By the fact that he was interrogated for four days, several hours per day. He himself later told me about the KGB's threats. He denied that he obtained the books from me, and his wife denied it. Then they asked his wife to name their friends, they interrogated these people, and Kozoruk testified that he got the book - volumes 1, 2 and 3 - from Turovets, after which Turovets testified under pressure that he got the books from me.

Judge Have you read these books? Altunyan Yes.

Judge Where did you get them from?

Altunyan I don't remember...

Judge Did you say that the state had delegated its responsibilities in the domestic policy field to the KGB?

Altunyan I said that it had delegated its educational functions. Incidentally, not one witness has testified that I held anti-Soviet conversations.

Judge What have you to say about the document 'A Short Note on Two Conversations'?

Altunyan I vouch for every letter of that document. Everything in it, down to the last full stop, is true, but I did not send it abroad.

Judge What have you to say about the fact that you sent Rudenko's slanderous poems to Dzyuba?

Altunyan Those 'slanderous' poems were published in the USSR. I know Rudenko |Chronicle 47| personally, I am proud to know him, and I consider him a fine poet. I set the poems to Dzyuba because he was in Russia and would have liked to read something in Ukrainian...

Judge The New York-published Chronicle of Current Events, containing a slanderous article about you, was confiscated from you. How did this article arrive abroad?

Altunyan Firstly, it is all true and not slander, and secondly, the Chronicle is published in Moscow and the article was reprinted without my knowledge...

Altunyan Why do our libraries not have back numbers of newspapers and journals? I could not even obtain copies of Pravda from 1961. Solzhenitsyn tries to interpret

everything independently. I wish to know about different points of view.
Judge Why?
Altunyan To arrive at the truth.
Judge So you are a truth-seeker?
Altunyan Do you want to provoke me with that remark?
Judge No, I want to know.
Altunyan Then take the answer as yes. But there is no intention to undermine the Soviet state involved in that...
Judge Why did you keep photographs of varous anti-Sovietists?
Altunyan I kept photographs of people near and dear to me. There is no intention to undermine the Soviet state in that. The photographs were confiscated during the investigation because it was biased. I ask you to return the photographs, they are a family treasure. I am proud of knowing Sakharov, Grigorenko and Nekipelov.
Judge Why are you so single-minded in your choice of literature?
Altunyan I have various sorts of literature at home, yet you talk only about one sort. Of all that was confiscated from me, only ten items figure in the indictment (38 items were confiscated).
Lawyer What percentage of the total literature did this literature constitute?
Altunyan Well, I don't know - a thousandth?

Zinchenko (for his trial see Chronicle 61), five of Altunyan's colleagues (the director of 'Kinotekhprom' Cinema Technology Industry, Petrenko, party organizer Tuniev, foremen Titov and Kalinichenko, and Altunyan's fellow-worker Klimenko), Kosulin - husband of a cousin of Altunyan's wife, Solomko, Kozoruk, Turovets, V. Borovsky's mother, Yu. Dzyuba and Nedobora were all questioned in court. Dr Gritsenko did not appear in court - but her testimony to the pre-trial investigation was read out.

The Procurator upheld all the points of the indictment in her speech, and demanded the maximum penalty for Altunyan - seven years' strict-regime camps and five years' exile.

The defence lawyer noted that none of the points in the indictment had been proved, except Altunyan's conversation with his colleagues. He pointed out, in particular, that Dr Gritsenko was not in court and that Podolsky, who had taken part in the conversation, had not been summoned. He concluded by asking the court to take into account that Altunyan and his wife were seriously ill, and that Altunyan's father was dying.

Altunyan concluded his final speech thus:

I do not consider that I have committed any crime under any point in the indictment. My guilt has not been proved, I do not admit any guilt, and so I do not ask for leniency.

Citizen judges, today the officials of the Kharkov KGB have thrown down a dangerous challenge to the organs of justice. I cannot recall such a challenge. I am afraid that you may commit a judicial mistake. If you convict me today, you will pave the way for massive repressions: that would be a dangerous form of innovation. The KGB will prove its total immunity from punishment and control. I am afraid that Kharkov justice will pioneer the way for a return to the sort of Stalinism under which one

unsubstantiated denunciation proves sufficient to convict someone. They only have to mark down the victim and the rest will be done by people like Babusenko, Drotenko and Yakovenko. The KGB will acquire the right to break into any flat, carry out illegal searches, and shadow people. Today they are shadowing me, tomorrow they will shadow you (turning to the Procurator), and the day after tomorrow they will shadow you (turning to the judges). I am in the dock today, tomorrow it will be you.

Recent mistakes are still fresh in our minds. Before you go to confer, I ask you: do not make a mistake, think before you reach your verdict. If I have offended anyone here, I beg their pardon, I am like that. Although my wife manages my impulsive temperament beautifully.

I thank all my friends and family who have come here: I know how difficult it was. I ask my family's forgiveness: I am guilty before them, for I have ruined their lives: but God sees that I did not wish to.

One more thing, citizen judges. Before you go to confer, I would like to remind you that last time you did not let me bring up my young children - this time you may not let me be with my elderly parents as they embark on their last journey.

The judgment reiterated all the points of the indictment. The court sentenced Altunyan to seven years in strict-regime camps and five years' exile. It deprived Altunyan of his rank of major and requested the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to deprive him of his medals. The court issued decisions to extract from the case file the evidence incriminating Yu. Dzyuba and Turovets, for action to be taken.

* * *

On 7 April the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 164, 'The Trial of Genrikh Altunyan':

...It is perfectly obvious from the text of the judgment itself that Altunyan did not commit any criminal offence, and that he has been severely sentenced for free thought and free speech, and for a book.

In his final speech Altunyan said, turning to the judges and the Procurator: 'Today I am being tried on the strength of a denunciation, tomorrow it will be the turn of my friends and the day after tomorrow, yours. This is a very dangerous undertaking... This is actually a trial against free thought and books: one can fight books only with books, not with truncheons and prison bars'.

Genrikh Altunyan's conviction shows that the persecution of all dissenters in the USSR has intensified.

The Trial of Naboka, Milyavsky, Lokhvitskaya and Chernyavskaya

Chronicle 61 announced the arrest of five people from Kiev. This announcement was somewhat inaccurate. Sergei Naboka, his wife Natalya Parkhomenko, Leonid Milyavsky, Larissa Lokhvitskaya and Inna Chernyavskaya decided that, in memory of the arrests of 1972 (Chronicle 24), they would paste up leaflets in Ukrainian, of approximately the following content: 'Compatriot! 12 January is Ukrainian Political

Prisoners' Day. Let us support it.'

On 11 January, on their way back from a friend's birthday party, they pasted up one leaflet along the way. Naboka, Lokhvitskaya and Chernyavskaya put up another leaflet in a practically empty trolleybus. A man rushed up to them, shouting 'They put people in prison for this!', and seized one of them. At this moment the trolleybus reached a stop, at which a policeman was standing. He detained all three of them. Milyavsky and Parkhomenko, who arrived in the next trolleybus, were also detained. They were all taken to the police office at the metro station, where they were subjected to body searches. One leaflet was found on Naboka and a second on Parkhomenko. On the arrival of a KGB official they were taken to various police stations, put in separate cells and interrogated the same night.

Searches were carried out on 12 January. The following was confiscated from Naboka: his own poems and stories (in Ukrainian), |Mikhail| Bulgakov's Devilada and The Fateful Eggs, his father-in-law's archive (he was a script writer), two issues of the journal KhLAM (Cultural and Literary Almanac: it was produced by a circle of friends: two issues had appeared since 1979), and a typewriter. Stories (in Russian), diaries and a typewriter were confiscated from Lokhvitskaya. The search at Milyavsky's home was carried out without a warrant, record or witnesses. A Retro Dictionary (words used in the period 1920-50), which Milyavsky had compiled himself, and an issue of the newspaper Israel Today were confiscated. A radio and a typewriter were confiscated from Chernyavskaya. The same day Parkhomenko was released: 'Pray for your child, we are letting you go for her sake' (Parkhomenko and Naboka have a daughter, born in 1979).

Senior Investigator V.B. Tantsyura of the Kiev Procuracy was in charge of the case. The accused did not deny the actions with which they were charged, nor their critical attitude to Soviet reality: they related many facts about their lives, a number of which were used by the investigation as material for the indictment. For example, Milyavsky testified, and the others confirmed, that they had read an issue of the journal Kontinent. The accused also testified that in the summer of 1980 they had tried to make a hectographic plate for printing leaflets (about Afghanistan) for the Moscow Olympics, but were unsuccessful.

The investigator tried to persuade the accused to recant, promising to close the case if they did so: he also threatened that he would charge them with 'malicious hooliganism'. Witness **Andrei Goryn** gave extensive evidence.

* * *

From 25 to 29 June the Kiev City Court, presided over by V.N. Maibozhenko, heard the case of Sergei Vadimovich Naboka (b. 1955: he was in his final year as an external student at Kiev University's Faculty of Journalism: he was employed as an editor by the publishing house 'Mistetstvo'); Leonid Izrailevich Milyavsky (b. 1951: a graduate of the Spanish Department of the Institute of Foreign Languages: he worked as a translator from German at the Ukrainian Technical Information Research Institute); Larissa Yurevna Lokhvitskaya (b. 1954: a graduate of the Cybernetics Faculty of Kiev University: she was employed as a programmer at the Computer Centre of the Railway Administration); and Inna Borisovna Chernyavskaya (b. 1954: a graduate of the Biology Faculty of Kiev University: she worked at the Endocrinology

Institute and was preparing to defend her thesis). They were charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the Russian Code). The state prosecutor was Procurator L.M. Abramenko: the social accusers were S.N. Tkach and L.D. Gogolev (from the publishing house 'Mistetstvo'). The defence lawyers were: Makarenko (for Naboka), Fedorenko (for Milyavsky), Karpenko (for Lokhvitskaya) and Safonova (for Chernyavskaya).

Only a 'special public' was allowed into the courtroom. The families of the defendants were summoned as witnesses and were not questioned until the penultimate day of the trial |this prevented them attending the trial earlier|.

* * *

According to the judgment, Lokhvitskaya was guilty of the following:

- in 1977-9 she compiled 'Notes of a Radio Listener' (a commentary on Western radio broadcasts she had heard), 133 pages:
- at the beginning of 1980 she wrote an article entitled 'To Choose Freedom', in which she claimed that there was no political freedom in the USSR, human rights were violated, dissenters were persecuted, and the state was 'founded on political oppression, economic adventurism and illiteracy':
- in 1980 she 'prepared for circulation' an article entitled 'The Future of Our Society: Trends in its Development'.

Lokhvitskaya was also charged with discussing the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968, disapproving of the incursion of troops into Afghanistan, and approving of 'Solidarity' (according to the testimony of Shcherbakov, Pilipenko, Golovan and Lementarchuk).

Naboka was charged that:

- in 1976 he wrote the poem 'Grant Us, O Lord', in which he claimed that there was a lack of freedom in the USSR:
- in 1977, 'on an unidentified typewriter, he prepared for circulation the miscellany Insight, in which he adopted a slanderous point of view and tried to make the reader think that democratic freedom was lacking in the USSR, for which purpose he included in the said miscellany a number of texts in the form of decadent poems, their themes being linked to the 60 years of Soviet rule':
- in 1977, 'in collaboration with a person unknown, he prepared for circulation the slanderous document "At the Crossroads: Pseudosocialism", which contained deliberately false fabrications to the effect that the mass media in the USSR did not depict the truth about Soviet life, but poured out an "avalanche of fine appearances, prosperity and self-satisfaction"':
- at the beginning of 1980 he wrote a poem entitled 'Praise Be to Thee', in which he claimed that the USSR was an empire:
- in 1980 he wrote the document 'Not a Few Hopes', in which he claimed that the slogans 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity!', in the name of which the October Revolution was carried out, 'were and have remained empty words'.

Chernyavskaya 'listened systematically to radio broadcasts hostile to the USSR' in 1979-81. It was cited against Milyavsky and Naboka that at the end of 1978 they 'circulated' issue No. 8 of Kontinent (the only criminal item found in it was Solzhenitsyn's 'Spanish Interview').

Lokhvitskaya and Chernyavskaya were charged that:

- in 1980 they 'prepared and circulated a text in the form of a slanderous poem', in which they claimed that dissenters were persecuted in the USSR and tried to 'justify the activity - hostile to the USSR - of renegades from the ranks of ordinary citizens';
- in 1980 they 'compiled a document of slanderous content' entitled 'Charter', in which they claimed that society in the USSR was being militarized, dissenters were suppressed, great power chauvinism and enmity between the USSR's peoples were being kindled, and the economy had fallen into decay.

It was cited against Naboka, Milyavsky, Lokhvitskaya and Chernyavskaya that:
- in July 1980, in Chernyavskaya's flat, they prepared a leaflet calling for support for a boycott of the Olympic Games, on the grounds that the USSR had occupied Afghanistan (in fact, the defendants were unable to carry out their plan and they described the incident themselves during the investigation);
- at the beginning of autumn 1980, in Naboka's flat, they compiled the document 'The Prospects for Filling' (these are the words of the judgment; the full title, 'The Prospects for Filling the Spiritual Vacuum of Soviet Society', was not included in the judgment), in which they claimed that the USSR lacked democratic freedom, that the Soviet state system was one of 'Soviet imperialism', and where they compared it to a fascist regime;
- in 1980 they compiled a 'Manifesto', in which they claimed that a 'usurpation of power' had taken place in the USSR, and 'all the power of the Soviets has passed into the hands of the communist party'; 'demagogic demands' were put forward for an extension of human rights and democratic freedoms in the USSR. 'It proved impossible to find out what happened to the said document in the course of the investigation. A second copy of the "Manifesto", made by Naboka, was confiscated from him during the search of his flat' (in actual fact, only Naboka's note 'Some Reflections' on the 'Manifesto' was confiscated during the search of his flat: this note was all that was known to the investigators about the 'Manifesto').

It was charged that in 1981 Lokhvitskaya compiled the text of a leaflet entitled 'Compatriot' and, with Chernyavskaya's help, duplicated it at the latter's home for circulation. 'In the leaflet it is slanderously claimed that the Ukraine, as part of the Soviet Union, is not an independent, sovereign republic' (the leaflet contained nothing of the kind - see above). 'Twenty' leaflets were referred to in court, although only two were put up and two more confiscated.

* * *

At the start of the trial, Naboka presented a petition requesting that the court proceedings be conducted in Ukrainian - this was denied. The defendants pleaded not guilty. According to the judgment, the defendants:

> do not dispute their part in preparing the works cited against them, however they believe that none of the documents cited against them contains deliberately false fabrications which defame the Soviet political and social system.
>
> The defendants' claims that the episodes referred to in the charges did not involve deliberate fabrications as such, do not correspond to fact: the slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet political system contained in the works they compiled, are obvious, and they knew them to be false, since they live in the Soviet Union, make use of the privileges, rights and freedoms of its citizens, and are aware of our country's peaceable policies, of the extensive rights of its citizens, and of its national minorities policy; nevertheless, they circulated in their documents deliberately false, untrue and invented statements intended to defame the Soviet political and social system.

In their final speeches the defendants said that they intended to study politics and economics, so that they could criticize the state system from a position of knowledge. Naboka also said in his speech: 'I did not for a second doubt that we would be convicted. And our conviction is the best argument in our favour'. From Milyavsky's final speech: 'One is not usually held criminally responsible for one's views. History will show that we were right'.

The court sentenced each of the defendants to three years in ordinary-regime camps. The judgment referred to the radios confiscated during the searches, as well as the typewriters, as being instruments of the crime. The defendants refused to appeal.

ARRESTS

The Arrest of Didenko

On 19 March Pëtr Pavlovich Didenko |an Adventist| was arrested in the town of Vinnitsa. He was charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the Russian Code). |For his trial see 'Persecution of Believers' below.|

The Arrest of Kandyba

On 24 March former political prisoner and Ukrainian Helsinki Group founder-member Ivan Alekseyevich Kandyba (Chronicles 39, 42-53, 56) was arrested in the village of Pustomyty, Lvov Region, where he was living under surveillance.

The same day searches were carried out in Lvov at the homes of **Mikhail Goryn'** |Horyn| (Chronicles 35, 51, 56), **Yaroslav Dashkevich** (Chronicle 54) and **Elena Antoniv** (Chronicle 56), wife of political prisoner Z. Krasivsky (Chronicles 56, 60). During the search at Goryn's home, carried out by eight people, an envelope containing an appeal to the Madrid Conference, supposedly compiled by the Helsinki Group, was surreptitiously placed on the table. Goryn and his wife immediately told the searchers about this. 'Damn whoever planted that there!', exclaimed Goryn. The witnesses were forced to admit that the envelope had not been there at the start of the search.

In March a search was carried out at the home of **Krasiv-**

sky, who is serving his exile sentence in Tyumen Region. On 26 March a search was carried out at the home of **N.V. Surovtseva** (Chronicle 54) in Uman. Her memoirs and notes on her reminiscences of Soviet writers were confiscated. On 28 March a search was carried out at the home in Kiev of Surovtseva's niece, **L. Domogitskaya.**

On 1 April a search was carried out at the home of |the imprisoned| **L. Lukyanenko** in Kiev, where Surovtseva usually stayed when she came to the city. Surovtseva's memoirs, tapes of her oral stories, and documentary material relating to Surovtseva's mother were confiscated.

* * *

On 29 April a search was carried out at the home of **Atena Pashko** (Chronicle 61), wife of political prisoner V. Chornovil (see 'In the Prisons and Camps' in this issue). Chornovil's letters to his wife from exile and camp, and statements by the Chornovil family to official bodies, were confiscated.

In May Atena Pashko was summoned by the KGB - at a day's notice - for interrogation. She is being threatened with arrest. On 14 May (the eve of her wedding), **Irina Pashko**, Atena's daughter, was summoned for interrogation. In May Pashko's mother (who is about 80) was summoned for interrogation in connection with Kandyba's case. She was questioned about the papers confiscated during the search at her daughter's.

* * *

On 6 April the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 165, 'In the Ukraine Ivan Kandyba has been Arrested':

> ...We are unable to find out what charges have been brought against Ivan Kandyba. But we are convinced that I. Kandyba would not have done anything contravening the USSR Constitution, or anything illegal.[19].

The Arrest of Raisa Rudenko

On 21 March Raisa Rudenko (Chronicles 57, 61), took a bus from Kiev to the Koncha Zaspa district, where she lived, and was walking home along a path. An unknown man (the neighbours said that he had been hanging around in the small grove near their homes for a few days), grabbed her handbag and ran off towards the main road, where a car was waiting for him: he got into it and drove off. The handbag contained her passport and some poems by N. Rudenko (Chronicle 61) which had evaded the camp censorship.

On 15 April a search was carried out at Raisa Rudenko's home, after which she was arrested. Letters and typewritten texts were confiscated (about 60 items were listed in the record). R. Rudenko was charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the Russian Code).[20].

* * *

On 16 April a search was carried out in Kiev at the home of former political prisoner **Grigory Gerchak** (Chronicle 48) and his wife **Lyudmila Litovchenko** (Chronicle 54). KGB officials refused to explain which case the search was connected with, mentioning only the article - article 62

of the Ukrainian Criminal Code. Gerchak himself was not at home - he had been collected from work and taken for interrogation. Litovchenko was interrogated after the search. The questions were mainly about R. Rudenko.

* * *

On 16 May a search was carried out at the home in Kiev of **Lyubov Murzhenko**, wife of political prisoner A. Murzhenko (see 'In the Prisons and Camps' in this issue). Her husband's letters, a typescript, and photographs were confiscated.

On 29 May Senior Investigator Captain Zinich of the Kiev KGB interrogated L. Murzhenko in connection with R. Rudenko's case, on the orders of Senior Investigator Captain Fakhno of the Ukrainian KGB.

L. Murzhenko said that she had known Raisa Rudenko for several years and they were on good terms: 'I know nothing about her keeping, preparing or circulating...literature of anti-Soviet content'.

L. Murzhenko was then shown the items confiscated from her during the search. She said: 'My husband's letters were typed out by an acquaintance named Maia Kaganskaya, and I gave them to her as she was leaving the USSR for Israel'. She said she did not remember how she came to have the two handwritten sheets.

After the interrogation, KGB Senior Lieutenant N.F. Sheremet (Chronicle 53) issued L. Murzhenko with a warning 'according to the Decree'[21].

> regarding the fact that she maintains written contact with persons who have been convicted of anti-Soviet activities. She compiles, and sends to various departments of state organs, ideologically harmful letters and statements.

* * *

On 26 June an investigator from the Ukraine tried to interrogate **T. Velikanova** in Mordovian Camp 3. She refused to answer questions: 'I consider that to take part in such a case in any capacity - as witness, investigator, judge, defendant, etc. - immoral'.

The Arrest of Antsupov

On 20 March Evgeny Antsupov (Chronicles 57, 60, 61) sent a statement to the USSR Procurator-General demanding the return of the academic works confiscated from him during a search on 22 August 1980:

> Today the Kharkov KGB has no legal grounds whatsoever for continuing to hold my works in such thieving fashion. In a country such as ours (and this is the most advanced democracy in the world), such 'freedoms' with regard to the law are inadmissible. I suggest that you should not wait a year, or 18 months, while the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet examines the question of my renunciation of Soviet citizenship, but settle the matter swiftly and categorically: arrest E.M. Antsupov, charge him with all the articles in the 'special category' of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, turn his works into material evidence in the case, and thus, once and for all, bury

them in the archives. I think that after this, not one dog in the USSR will remember that before Antsupov's arrest his work was for seven months kept - when all's said and done - illegally by the KGB.

In mid-April Antsupov sent a statement to the Kharkov Regional Procurator demanding that he check on the activities of Kharkov OVIR, which had for six months refused to issue emigration forms to the Antsupov family. In the statement the following prognosis was put forward:

> Most likely, I will be subjected to arrest and conviction. In our country any method, any delay or trial must be used to hinder emigration - this has been well mastered in the localities. A bitter country, a bitter government, a bitter people, bitter laws, bitter customs!

On 24 April Antsupov was detained in Penza Region, where he had gone to earn some income. On 27 April S.M. Storozhenko, an Investigator for Specially Important Cases of the Kharkov Regional Procuracy, informed Antsupov's wife, E.L. Semyannikova, by letter that her husband had been arrested on the authority of a warrant Storozhenko had issued on 24 April, and that he would be held in the investigations prison of the Kharkov Region UVD.

* * *

On 16 December 1980 Antsupov had written a 'Statement which I Ask to be Published in the Event of my Arrest':

> Everyone!
> The institution of a criminal case against me is an act of reprisal for my political and scholarly beliefs... I am the victim of the most genuine, most gangsterish political reprisal... I ask my family, friends and enemies to bear in mind that I refuse to take part in the comedy of the investigation and trial, and that I will not give any evidence. If, after my arrest, I am not convicted by a court but put away in a 'mental home', I ask you to regard this action by the authorities in the same way as if I had been convicted - as revenge, reprisal, persecution and punishment for dissent.

* * *

On 28 April the Head of the Investigations Department of the Kharkov Regional UVD, Novikov, informed Semyannikova that Antsupov had been charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the Russian Code).[22].

The same day, Semyannikova submitted a statement to the Kharkov Regional Procurator (with a copy to the USSR Procurator-General):

> On 24 April 1981, after numerous appeals and statements, our documents renouncing our citizenship were finally accepted. However, due to a strange combination of circumstances, my husband, Evgeny Mikhailovich Antsupov, was arrested on this same day, 24 April.
> I demand his immediate release and an end to the persecution of our family. I ask you to exercise supervision over the transmission of our documents for leaving the USSR to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, over the observation of time limits (this same Presidium laid

> down the limit of two months), and the examination of our statements, and I ask you to make sure that the decision taken is justified.

On 30 April Semyannikova wrote in a statement to Brezhnev that she considered her husband's arrest

> direct persecution of a man for his political and scholarly beliefs, and also for his wish to emigrate... As a protest against this I insist on the swift granting of my request to give up my Soviet citizenship and I ask that I and my children be allowed to leave as soon as possible to go and live permanently in another country.

On 30 April Antsupov's brother, **S. Antsupov**, appealed to the USSR Procurator-General in a statement:

> It is my profound conviction that criticism of the work of official Soviet, party, social, economic and other organs is an inalienable, constitutional right, and does not constitute the circulation of deliberately false fabrications... If I am mistaken, however, I demand that this be explained to me, with indication of the concrete facts which have served as the basis for instituting the present criminal case.

MISCELLANEOUS

Kiev

On 31 March the appeal in the case of **Stepan Khmara, Vitaly Shevchenko** and **Alexander Shevchenko** (for their trial see Chronicle 60) was heard in the Ukrainian Supreme Court. The defendants' wives, and also Raisa Rudenko, were present. The court left the sentences unchanged.

On 20 May Lieutenant A.V. Khomov of the Ukrainian KGB asked **A. Shevchenko's wife Lydia** to come and see him, so that he could give her a story that her husband had translated from English. The favour turned into a 'chat'. Khomov wanted to know: Did she have enough money to live on? Had she been telling anyone about her husband's case? He said that 'material had been intercepted', from which it was evident that she or Maria Shevchenko (V. Shevchenko's wife) were spreading 'information' about their husbands' case.

KGB officials have been treating V. Shevchenko with animosity. The Head of the Lvov Investigations Prison said to him: 'Khmara is simply an enemy, but you are a political journalist and these journals are the work of your pen. You want a Peace Prize, like Sakharov'. A. Shevchenko was sent off to camp in the first half of May, and V. Shevchenko in the first few days of June.

* * *

Svetlana Kirichenko is not allowed time off from her compulsory labour (Chronicle 60) to visit her husband (Yu. Badzё). She is threatened with arrest if she should go.

* * *

In April, KGB officials had several talks with **Galina**

Melnik, wife of historian Mikhail Melnik, who committed suicide (Chronicle 53). She was asked about her 'untrustworthy' acquaintances.

* * *

On 11 June, Senior Lieutenant Zimin conducted a search in connection with 'Case No. 14' at the home of Tatyana Ragozovskaya (the warrant was signed by Major Slobozhenyuk - Chronicle 52). The following were confiscated: a manuscript (of about 300 pages) by the Odessa prose writer Lvov, who has emigrated to Israel; Orwell (in English); Koryagin's article 'The State and Us'; several typewritten articles about V. Vysotsky; and notebooks (over 20 items were listed in the record).

After the search Ragozovskaya was interrogated. She was asked about the books she read, about the people she knew. The interrogator, introducing himself as the 'Head of one of the Departments', asked her not to mention her conversation with him. When Ragozovskaya retorted: 'I don't know who you are', he said that his name was 'Zakharchenko'.

On 15 June Ragozovskaya was given back one of her notebooks at the Kiev KGB's headquarters. She was asked to collaborate with the KGB, and, in conclusion, was issued a warning 'according to the Decree'.[23]

Lvov

In February **Atena Pashko**'s telephone was disconnected.

Kharkov

I.M. Moshkovich was summoned by the KGB at the beginning of May. Colonel Drotenko warned him, 'according to the Decree', to stop his 'anti-Soviet activities', and said that if Moshkovich went on 9 May to the monument to the victims of fascism (near the tractor factory on the site of the ravine where 6,000 Jews were shot), they would 'knock his head off'.

On 9 May about 80 people (150 were intending to come, but many of them were 'warned', like Moshkovich) gathered at the monument, laid wreaths, and said the Kaddish |Jewish prayer for the dead|. A busload of 'observers' stood by.

* * *

See also 'Persecution of the Working Commission', 'The Right to Leave' and 'After Release'.

EVENTS IN ARMENIA

The Trial of Manucharyan, Apikyan and Melkonyan

On 23 March the Armenian Supreme Court, presided over by S. Asastryan, examined the case of Alexander Manucharyan, Doctor of Historical Science (b. 1929; arrested 14 May 1980 - there is an inaccuracy in Chronicle 57), Ashot Apikyan and Smbat Melkonyan. They were charged under article 65 of the Armenian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the Russian Code) and article 67 ('Organizational activity aimed at committing especially dangerous crimes

against the state, and also membership of an anti-Soviet organization'). The prosecutor was Procurator Ulumyan.

Neither Apikyan nor Melkonyan was imprisoned before the trial, or during it. Manucharyan was charged with writing the articles 'All About the National Question' and 'Imperialism'. The sentence was: four years in strict-regime camps and two years' exile for Manucharyan; and two years' exile for Apikyan and Melkonyan.

* * *

Until his arrest Manucharyan was a senior researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Armenian Academy of Sciences. He is an expert on Armenian medieval inscriptions; his work has been published in the USSR and in Italy. In recent years he had been collaborating with Polish scholars on research into Armenian inscriptions in Poland, to which country he travelled twice (in 1977 and 1979) in connection with this work.

Manucharyan's wife Eliz Gekoglanyan fell ill soon after his arrest, and is in Erevan Psychiatric Hospital. Their children Aram (aged 12) and Akop (10) have been left in the care of their aunt, and live in poverty. Manucharyan's parents were arrested in 1937. His father (People's Commissar for Communications in Armenia) died in a camp.

Apikyan taught sketching and drawing in a secondary school in the village of Chichkhan. Melkonyan taught German in a secondary school in the village of Ldmashen.

The Trial of Marzpet Arutyunyan, Vartan Arutyunyan, Mkrtchyan, Egiazaryan and Agababyan

From 29 March to 9 April the Armenian Supreme Court examined the case of Marzpet Arutyunyan (b. 1940), Vartan Arutyunyan (b. 1960), Ishkhan (Prince) Mkrtchyan (b. 1957), Samvel Egiazaryan (b. 1959) and Oganes Agababyan (b. 1958). They were charged under articles 65 and 67 of the Armenian Criminal Code.

They were charged with forming a group called the 'Union of Young Armenians', and writing and circulating poems 'in which the idea of an independent and free Armenia was glorified'. The indictment named the group's 'ideologist and inspirer' as M. Arutyunyan and its 'practical leader' as Mkrtchyan. The defendants (except for Agababyan, who, it is said, admitted his guilt 'under pressure from his family') pleaded not guilty.

M. Arutyunyan stated in court that the aim of the group was to propagate 'the idea of Armenia's secession from the USSR', and that the 'Dashnak Party was the only real defender of the nation's interests'. 'The Dashnak Party', he said, 'is the diamond whose light illumines Armenia and inspires her people to heroism in the name of liberty and independence; it is the only legal and patriotic party in Armenia. There is so much evil in the maw of communism that later on people will realize the scale and depth of communist depravity... The time has come to declare communist parties in all countries outside the law. This is what will happen in the future, in independent Armenia'.

Mkrtchyan defended the basic idea in Avetis Agaroyan's letter to Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs |under Lenin|: 'The future Armenia will be led by the Dashnak Party, as the only national party'. S. Melkonyan (for

his trial see above) appeared as a witness. He tried to give the impression of a link between the two groups.

On the last day of the trial the defendants demanded that a telegram be sent in their name to US President Reagan, 'wishing him a speedy recovery and expressing the hope that he will remain faithful to his promises'.

The sentences were as follows: M. Arutyunyan and Mkrtchyan were sentenced to seven years in strict-regime camps and five years' exile: V. Arutyunyan to five years in strict-regime camps and three years' exile: Egiazaryan to four years in strict-regime camps: and Agababyan to three years in strict-regime camps.

M. Arutyunyan's mother, Asya Bubuyan, appealed to the Moscow Helsinki Group and to Amnesty International:

> ...I have spent my life on the KGB's doorstep. First of all on account of my husband, who served in Drastamat Kanayan's (General Dro's) legion and was sent into exile for it: then on account of my elder son Shagen Arutyunyan, who was sent to prison for the first time in 1968 for so-called 'anti-Soviet activity' and again in 1977 on a trumped-up charge (he was a member of the Helsinki Group. Now it is because of my younger son, Marzpet.
>
> I appeal to you to raise your voices in defence of my son Marzpet Arutyunyan, who is being punished for his beliefs in our enlightened twentieth century.

* * *

M. Arutyunyan was arrested in May 1980 (Chronicle 57). Evidently the sentence 'for narcotics' indicated in Chronicle 57 was incorrect.

* * *

On the night of 17 to 18 June Ishkhan Mkrtchyan escaped from a cell in Rostov Prison while en route to a camp.

EVENTS IN ESTONIA

The Trials of Kalep, Niitsoo and Madisson

On 17 March the Supreme Court of the Estonian SSR sentenced Veljo Kalep (born 1934, arrested 20 October 1980 - Chronicle 60) to four years in strict-regime camps, according to article 68 of the Estonian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code).

On 24 April the Supreme Court of the Estonian SSR sentenced Viktor Niitsoo (born 1952, arrested 4 December 1980 - Chronicle 60) to two years in strict-regime camps and two years' exile, according to article 68 of the Estonian Code. He was charged with having made a toast at a party, calling on a Komsomol Secretary to resign from the Komsomol.

On 16 May the same court sentenced Tiit Madisson (born 1950, arrested 20 October 1980 - Chronicle 60) to four years in strict-regime camps and two years' exile, according to article 68 of the Estonian Code.

EVENTS IN LITHUANIA

The Trial of Vaiciunas

On 25 March engineer Vytautas Vaiciunas (Chronicle 41), a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, was arrested in Kaunas. On 23 April the Catholic Committee to Defend Believers' Rights sent its Document 48 to the Central Committee of the Lithuanian CP:

> ...Thousands of believers are asking: when will all this end? If all Soviet citizens, including believers, have the right to march in procession through the streets on 1 and 9 May or 7 November, then why are processions of Soviet religious citizens to holy places like the Hill of Crosses or Siluva, or to the cemetery on All Souls Day, treated as crimes?
>
> ...The arrest of Vytautas Vaiciunas and Mecislovas Jurevicius (see below - Chronicle) has aroused indignation all over Lithuania and deepened the gulf between believers and the Soviet authorities...

On 25 June the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, with Judge Jankauskas presiding, examined the case of Vaiciunas (born 1930), who faced charges under article 199-3 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code ('Organization of, or active participation in, group activities which violate public order'). The prosecution was conducted by Procurator Murauskas. The accused declined to have defence counsel. Vaiciunas was charged with having organized a procession of religious believers from Tytuvenai to Siluva.

In his defence speech Vaiciunas said:

> ...You have found no documents to prove that I organized the procession. The charge is based only on the evidence of witnesses hired by you. Why did you not question any of the people I pointed out on photographs of the procession?
>
> You accuse me of not asking the authorities for permission to hold the procession. I didn't ask as I was not organizing it.
>
> ...I took part in the procession and made a speech. I went to the Holy Virgin Mary, and will go on doing so, asking her to intercede for the Lithuanian nation and its young people, to save the people from alcoholism and immorality.
>
> I protest against this charge and consider myself not guilty...

The court sentenced Vaiciunas to two-and-a-half years in ordinary-regime camps.

The Trial of Jurevicius

On 25 March Mecislovas Jurevicius (Chronicle 56), a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group and a worker (recently he hd been working as a sacristan in a church), was arrested in Siauliai. (After the arrest of Vaiciunas and Jurevicius,

two members of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group remained at liberty - Ona Lukauskaite-Poskiene and Fr Bronius Laurinavicius.)

On 25 and 26 June the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, with Judge Ignotas presiding, examined the case against Jurevicius (born 1927), who faced charges under article 199-3 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code. The prosecution was conducted by Procurator Bakucionis. The accused declined to have defence counsel. While the court was examining the details of his biography, Jurevicius declared that he had been born in independent Lithuania and was a Lithuanian citizen.

Jurevicius was accused of having organized a procession to the Hill of Crosses in July 1979, and processions from Tytuvenai to Siluva in August 1979 and August 1980.[24]. Jurevicius pleaded not guilty and stated that he had participated as an ordinary believer in the processions mentioned in the charges.

The court considered it an aggravating circumstance that Jurevicius had already served a sentence (under Stalin he was given a 25-year sentence for allegedly leading a resistance group, but six years later he was released).

In his final speech, Jurevicius said:

> ...You have not let my friends into the courtroom, only hired witnesses. According to official statistics, 30% of people in Lithuania are atheists and 70% are believers. I am being tried by a minority that fears the majority.
>
> None of our processions took place under anti-Soviet slogans or with riotous intentions, but rather under a banner calling for temperance and morality among Lithuanians. The crowd was made up of people who had come from all corners of Lithuania, realizing that they could be tried for their actions. Could such a thing have been organized in opposition to people's wishes? It is a great honour for me - an uneducated man - to be considered the organizer by you. Take a look at the First of May demonstration: it's just a handful of communists and people who fear administrative penalties! Our religious processions show that there is a religious revival in Lithuania. Those who have seen them say that formerly there were no such processions.
>
> You are afraid of the Cross. The Hill of Crosses has been destroyed many times, but more and more Crosses are erected there. And their number will increase, and the processions to Siluva will continue, even though I - as their 'organizer' - will be in prison.
>
> Thank you for putting me on trial for the faith. It's a great honour for me to sit in the dock where Stanelyte, Sadunaite, Kovalëv and Skuodis once sat. I ask you not to mitigate my punishment.

When the sentence was announced - three years in strict-regime camps - Jurevicius said: 'Thank you! This is for the glory of God and Lithuania!'

Forty-six Lithuanians sent a declaration to the Central Committee of the Lithuanian CP concerning the trials of Vaiciunas and Jurevicius:

> ...We protest
> 1) at the sentencing of innocent people for their participation in religious processions, that is, for their convictions (so far, the authorities have not given permission for such processions);
> 2. at the refusal to admit relatives and friends of the accused to an open trial, while only secret agents, their guests, policemen and soldiers were admitted.

PERSECUTION OF BELIEVERS

Lutherans in Estonia

From 31 July to 3 August 1980 a summer camp for young Christians was conducted in the settlement of Nõedemeeste in southern Estonia. On the evening of 31 July, when the participants had erected tents in a pine grove not far from the settlement, state officials drove up in a car. On getting out, most of them in plain clothes, they began to inquire what was going on. **Pastor Villju Jurjo** was taken away for an interrogation at which a representative from the Council for Religious Affairs in Tallin was present. Jurjo was released the same evening, but asked to remove the cantonment of tents from the grove.

On 1 August the camp was set up beside the Lutheran church on settlement territory. The deaconess of the local church was fined 50 roubles for wilfully pitching tents on the territory of the local soviet (ie in the grove).

In earlier years such summer camps were not subject to harassment.

At the end of 1980 Archbishop Edgar Hark, the head of the Lutheran Church, and Pastor Jurjo were summoned by the Commissioner for the Estonian SSR (of the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers). The Commissioner announced that Jurjo was to be deprived of his parish (in the town of Viru) because of his activities. The Commissioner referred to himself as a good man, as he gave permission for Jurjo to go on working until the New Year.

* * *

In October or at the beginning of November 1980 **Tiit Põdam**, a fifth-year student of architecture at the Estonian State Institute of Art, was expelled from the Institute under the following circumstances.

Põdam had helped with the practical arrangements for the European Conference of the World Council of Lutheran Churches, which took place in Tallin in September 1980. In October he received a telephone call from a man who said he wanted to meet him order to give him a letter from **Herbert Murd** (a religious activist who was in prison for infringing the residence regulations; he was released in spring 1981). A few minutes after this meeting took place, two men in plain clothes searched Põdam 'on suspicion of theft' and made him go with them to KGB headquarters. During an interrogation, in the course of which Põdam's temperature went up to 40 degrees (centigrade), it turned out that the KGB knew a lot about his religious activities. He was offered work as an informer for the KGB. He refused.

When his fellow-students went to the Rector to find out why he had been expelled, the Rector told them it had not

been his doing: the order had come from the KGB.

Catholics in Lithuania

On 23 April the Catholic Committee to Defend Believers' Rights sent Document 47 to N. Dybenko, Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian CP:

> In February 1981 the believers of the Roman Catholic parish of Palomene appealed to the Catholic Committee to Defend Believers' Rights, describing an episode of unbelievably arbitrary behaviour by Soviet officials.
>
> On 26 February 1981 Mrs Gudaitiene, chairwoman of the Palomene collective farm, and Kaubrys, deputy chairman of the Kaisiadorys District Soviet EC, 'chose' the parish committee of the Roman Catholic church in Palomene, that is - they picked 20 surnames, stated that these persons constituted the parish committee, and that it was to be chaired by Aldona Jasoniene. This arbitrary behaviour on the part of the Soviet officials was prompted by the disgraceful behaviour of Fr Paulikas, Rector of Palomene, towards the believers.
>
> A few years ago, Soviet officials 'chose' a church committee in a similar manner in the secondary school building at Kirdeikiai... The Catholic Church in Lithuania will never consent to such an atheist policy, which prescribes that the Church be led not by the bishops and their assistants - the priests - but by lay people (furthermore lay people subject to the godless). And we are convinced that the Soviet regime does not want to drive the Church in Lithuania underground.

Adventists

The Trial of Ivan Fokanov
From 16 to 18 March Ivan Sergeyevich Fokanov (born 1952) was on trial in Moscow, charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The sentence was three years in ordinary-regime camps.

The Trial of Ardzhevanidze and Sayapina
From 16 to 23 March Mziya Valikoyevna Ardzhevanidze (born 1959) and Maria Vasilevna Sayapina (born 1930), facing charges under article 206-1 of the Georgian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code), were on trial in Tbilisi. They were sentenced to two years in ordinary-regime camps each.

The Trial of Vladimir Fokanov, Kovalchuk and Kaduk
From 23 to 25 March Vladimir Sergeyevich Fokanov (born 1955; from Moscow), Vasily Petrovich Kovalchuk (born 1957; from Dnepropetrovsk) and Vera Stepanovna Kaduk (born 1927; from Kalinin), facing charges under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code, were on trial in Kalinin. Kaduk was charged 'subject to article 15 of the Code' ('Responsibility for preparing a crime and attempting a crime').

The sentences were as follows: V. Fokanov got three years in strict-regime camps, Kovalchuk - three years in ordinary-regime camps and Kaduk - two years in ordinary-regime camps.

Kaduk is seriously ill; she had to be supported by the arms when led into court. Even relatives were not allowed into the courtroom. The trial was filmed by a team of cinema people from 'Leningrad Film'.

* * *

On 19 May an article by N. Nesterova, 'Secrets revealed', was published in |the Kalinin paper| Kalininskaya Pravda:

> ...Kaduk, Kovalchuk and Fokanov were engaged in setting up an underground publishing centre, from which the dirty, lying pamphlets, 'open letters', and so on, that they produced oozed out all over the country... A powerful electric motor was found in the house. Kaduk had four typewriters, a hectograph and a duplicator, large stores of printing ink, typing and carbon paper, 85 packets of printing paper and other printing materials...

The Trial of Galetsky and Chulkova
On 24 and 25 March Rostislav Nikolaevich Galetsky, a minister of the All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh-Day Adventists |TFSDAs| (born 1948, arrested 1 July 1980 - Chronicle 57), and Maria Sergeyevna Chulkova (born 1947), both facing charges under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code, were on trial in Ryazan. In addition, Galetsky was charged under article 227, part 1, of the Code ('violation of the personality and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites'). The investigation was carried out by A. Kh. Kokorev, a Senior Investigator of the Ryazan Procuracy. Galetsky was sentenced to five years, Chulkova to three years, in ordinary-regime camps.

The Trial of Didenko
On 27 April the Vinnitsa Regional Court passed a suspended sentence on Pëtr Pavlovich Didenko (born 1938, arrested 19 March) of one-and-a-half years 'with compulsory hard labour', under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code).

The Trial of Genchu
In May Anna Trofimovna Genchu (born 1954, arrested 12 March - Chronicle 61) was sentenced to two-and-a-half years in camps, under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Code.

Miscellaneous
(according to a statement of 2 April by the Council of the All-Union Church of TFSDAs)
On 29 January **Nikolai Pilipchenko** and **Evgeny Cherchik**, residents of Vinnitsa, were fined 50 roubles each for being present at a religious gathering. On 12 March KGB officials in Kherson grabbed **Lyubov Garus** and took her to a venerological clinic of the custodial kind. There she was interrogated by the Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs and a KGB official, who threatened to leave her in the clinic for ever; they released L. Garus only after three days.

On 14 March **Alexander Tarasenko** was beaten up in Kiev. Earlier he had often been threatened with a beating. On 20 March KGB officials detained **Olga Zaloznaya** in the village of Davidenko (in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR) and took her to Grozny, where they arranged an interrogation at the Procurator's Office. After the interrogation Zaloznaya was left alone in the room. Some time later an 'official'

of some kind came into the room and began to make advances to her, with the aim of raping her. After Zaloznaya slapped him, he hit her on the face till it was bleeding, but stopped making passes at her.

The report issued on 2 April by the Council of the All-Union Church of TFSDAs ends with these words:

> At present it is those of our fellow-believers who sent to court their written testimony in defence of Vladimir Andreyevich Shelkov, leader of our church [Chronicles 53, 56], who are specially subject to persecution and arrest...
>
> 350 unlawful searches have been carried out in the homes of our fellow-believers since the arrest in March 1978 of the Chairman of the All-Union Church of TFSDAs. Seventy members and ministers of the Church have been arrested during the same period.
>
> ...We call on world public opinion to raise its voice in defence of the prisoners of conscience in the USSR, the victims of state atheist violence and terror, and decisively to protest about this to the persecutors of independent religious and independent believers in the Soviet Union.

* * *

'Letter to the Madrid Conference from the Church of TFSDAs' - dated 15 April:

> ...We, the Church of True and Free Seventh-Day Adventists, have more than once sent to Madrid collections of material testifying to the victimization and persecution for our faith which we have hitherto suffered at the hands of the state atheist dictatorship in the USSR. However, the persecutors - instead of admitting their own injustice and ending the campaign of persecution against completely innocent religious citizens who are defending themselves against state atheist violence and coercion - are continuing their criminal activity with redoubled energy. While increasing state repression, they are spreading slanderous fabrications about our Church among the people...
>
> Hypocrisy, deception and misinformation of world public opinion are the favourite means used by the persecutors of pure religion and of those who believe in it. So we appeal once again to the participants at the Madrid Conference to look at the real faces of the state atheists, people who unceremoniously violate the international agreements and commitments they themselves have made, while carrying out in pratice a policy of genocide with regard to religion. We appeal to them to ask urgently for firm guarantees from the representatives of our country that they will fulfil all the provisions of the Final Act adopted at Helsinki...

Baptists

This section is based mainly on reports in the Bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives, No. 94 (May 1981).

The Trial of Vladimir Khailo

Vladimir Khailo (Chronicle 48), father of 15 children,

was forcibly detained in hospital on 22 September 1980. A psychiatric examination declared him not responsible (the experts asked him, among other things, if he believed in the resurrection of Jesus Christ). In December the Voroshilovgrad Regional Court sent Khailo for forcible treatment in a special psychiatric hospital. He was sent to the Dnepropetrovsk SPH.

The Trial of Boiko

On 29 September 1980 Nikolai Boiko (born 1922), leader of the local Baptist congregation, was arrested in Odessa. In the middle of December an Odessa court sentenced Boiko to five years in strict-regime camps, under article 138, part 1, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Violation of the laws on separation of the church from the state, and the school from the church') and article 209, part 1 ('violation of the personality and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites').

All who wanted to attend the trial were allowed into the courtroom. Boiko refused to take part in the proceedings. Among the witnesses questioned were the headmistress of School No. 23, R.N. Taly (from her evidence: 'I visited the prayer house more than once... This sect's efficient organization surprised me... They give lessons...taught by modern methods, which lead to young people becoming more active. I was also amazed that 60 to 70 young people were present at the services'), Goncharuk, A.S. Prus, Bonzina, Petrenko, Kravchuk, Ratkova and Voinitsky (they stated that the local Baptist congregation had increased its activities since Boiko had come to Odessa), and also the believers Sukhina and deacon Tymchak (who had led the congregation before Boiko). An excerpt from Sukhina's cross-examination follows:

> Prosecutor Who gave you the right to bring up your children in a religious way?
> Sukhina Where I am, there my children will be too.
> Prosecutor Are you aware of your daughter's evidence? She was questioned in the presence of a teacher.
> Sukhina What right did you have to question a child without her mother being present? She could be taught to say anything.
> Prosecutor You don't allow the child to be happy. She will be taken away from you, so that your daughter can be a Soviet person.
> Sukhina She is my child!
> Prosecutor That's the law!

* * *

In 1941, on the eleventh day of the war, Boiko was taken prisoner. He spent four years in German camps. Then he escaped and fought again, after which he was sentenced by a Soviet tribunal to 15 years in camps. After ten years in the camps of Vorkuta, Boiko was exculpated. In 1968 Boiko was arrested: at the time of his arrest his exculpation certificate was confiscated and has still not been returned. The court then sentenced Boiko, under the same articles as now, to five years in camps and five in exile. At the present trial the prosecutor asked for a copy of the tribunal's sentence to be included in the case file.

* * *

In a declaration addressed to Brezhnev (with copies to

the USSR Procurator-General, the Procurator of Odessa and the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives), the believers of Peresypskaya church in Odessa write that the sentence in Boiko's case is unjust and inhuman. The declaration carries 122 signatures.

The Trial of Lakatosh, Deshko and Fenchak
On 2 April, in the settlement of Irshava in the Trans-Carpathian Region, Pavel Lakatosh, Mikhail Deshko and Vasily Fenchak each received sentences of three years in ordinary-regime camps, under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code). Fenchak was arrested on 30 November 1980, Lakatosh and Deshko on 8 January 1981.

The Trial of Levtsenyuk
On 3 April, in the town of Dubno, Rovno Region, presbyter Anatoly Levtsenyuk was sentenced to three years in ordinary-regime camps, under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Code. Believers were not allowed into the courtroom. They sent a declaration to the head of the local KGB, stating that the congregation had repeatedly applied for registration and been refused (the declaration was signed by 41 people). Levtsenyuk suffers from polyarthritis. He has eight children.

The Trial of Kozorezov
On 14 April the Voroshilovgrad Regional Court sentenced Aleksei Kozorezov, a minister of the Church, to three years in strict-regime camps. He was arrested on 26 December 1980. He has 10 children, seven of them minors and one an invalid of the first group.

The Trial of Kozorezova
On 19 April his wife Alexandra Kozorezova, Chairwoman of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives, was sentenced to three years in camps, under articles 138, part 1, and 187-1 of the Ukrainian Code.

Arrests[24a]
On 11 January **V.M. Sheshenko** was arrested in Sumy. 46 Baptists from Sumy signed a letter to the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives and 'all Christians of the world' (with a copy to Brezhnev), concerning the increase in repression.

On 21 March **Ivan Vall, Yakov Dirksen** and **Elizaveta Reimer** were arrested in the village of Apollonovka, Omsk Region. A criminal investigation was also initiated there against **Maria Tevs**, an invalid of the third group. On 31 March **Nikolai Dikman** was arrested in the settlement of Maryanovka, Omsk Region.

On 7 April **Grigory Kostyuchenko**, a minister of the Baptist Council of Churches, was arrested in Krasnodar. He is accused of infringing the residence regulations. In the special detention centre, where he is being held, there are lice and filth, but no daylight. Kostyuchenko has ten children. On 15 April **A.S. Redin**, a minister of the Baptist Council of Churches |Chronicles 53, 54|, was arrested. He has nine children.

* * *

On 10 February Bagin, deputy head of the Sverdlov District OVD in the city of Perm, took **I.S. Novozhilov** (66 years

old) and **S.P. Pirozhkov** (70 years old) from their homes to the police station, for 'a chat'. There they were placed under arrest for 15 days. Novozhilov's wife was unable to find him for two days. In a letter to the editor of the journal Man and the Law, Novozhilov writes:

> For praying, you get fined 50 roubles, and immediately the sum of 50 roubles is confiscated from your pension. It has happened to me more than once. All this is generally referred to as cultural and ideological work.

* * *

The case against **V. Khomenko** (for arrest - see Chronicle 61) under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code is being conducted by Investigator Bunakov of the Moscow KGB.

Breaking up of Prayer-meetings
From an open letter by 27 Baptists in Perm:

> In 1980, under the direction of N.N. Bashlykova, Secretary of the Sverdlov District Soviet EC in Perm, on Sundays police and plain-clothes men formed a barrier outside the house where believers met for religious services. They would not allow anyone into the house, giving as their reason the fact that the congregation was not registered, even though the EC is in possession of an application from the congregation.
>
> On 8 February 1981 Sypacheva, a deputy from the EC, came to the house... She shouted loudly: 'Stop this and get out, you're not allowed to meet for prayers, you're not registered.' ...The owners of the house where prayer-meetings are held, **G.P. Okunev** and **F.N. Okuneva**, have been fined 1,000 roubles altogether. G.P. Okunev is 85 years old and receives no pension.

* * *

From a letter by 58 members of the Novovolynsk Baptist church, dated 30 November 1980:

> On 21 November, in our town, police officials broke into a house where a service was going on and prevented the service from continuing...
>
> On 1 November searches took place in four houses: many hymn-books and various religious manuscripts were taken away.

* * *

From a letter by 113 Baptists in the town of Dergachi in Kharkov Region:

> Since 15 March 1981 believers have continuously had their prayer-meetings broken up, been fined and tried. During this period twenty members of our church have been sentenced to 10-15 days' imprisonment on charges which do not correspond with the facts, for example 'making an attempt on the life of a policeman', 'wilful insubordination', and so on.
>
> On 17 April believers had gathered for prayer at No. 11 Gagarin Street. The service ended and everyone was preparing to go home. At this point the police arrived, led by Police Chief Loban and his deputy Strukov, closed the door and would not allow anyone to leave. Major Strukov began to twist people's arms and to torment women

(including some who were pregnant) and old men, dragging them out of the house...and using obscene language. For example, having dragged a 70-year-old man, **A.T. Svichkar**, out on to the street, they beat and kicked him, while Loban tried to choke **Alexander Dribnokhod** and beat him so that there was a great deal of blood beside the car and inside it...

After a search, carried out without a warrant from the Procurator, and the confiscation of religious literature and a tape-recorder, three out of ten people taken to the police-station were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment: **I.T. Gontar, A.I. Dribnokhod** and **S.G. Germanyuk.**

On the same day, in the village of Bezruki, a search (unsanctioned by the Procurator) was carried out at the home of **Borona**, a 70-year-old woman, by the chairman of the village soviet and the local policeman, who put a transistor radio out of action by breaking its wiring system, saying while doing so: 'You won't be listening to any more broadcasts now'.

* * *

From a letter by 75 Baptists from Voroshilovgrad:

On 5 April this year we were prevented from holding a peaceful service at 96 Filatov Street... Police officials, headed by Captain Boichuk and assisted actively by men in plain clothes who refused to give their names, by means of force and physical violence took away two of our brethren, one of whom was the pastor **A.N. Balatsky.** A.N. Balatsky, father of six small children, was sentenced to ten days in the Preliminary Detention Cells at a time when his wife was in a maternity hospital...

The police chief of the Artëmovsk District OVD, Lieutenant-Colonel Shkutko, with one hand was pulling a completely innocent man by the hair, and with the other beating him on the forehead, yelling: 'We won't allow what's going on in Poland to happen here!'

On 6 April brother **P.V. Sazhnov**, father of four children, was taken straight from work to the district police headquarters and sentenced to eight days' imprisonment.

On 10 April a prayer-meeting at 31 First Poperechny Lane was broken up. The believers were taken to the District OVD and allowed to go home, apart from three teenage sisters... Calling them obscene names, officials threatened them with 30-40 days in the Preliminary Detention Cells, and proposed to spend the night with them... To terrorize them, they put them in a cell occupied by male criminals. This went on until 11 pm.

* * *

On 7 December 1980 a prayer-meeting in Krasnodon was broken up. Four people were put under arrest for 10-15 days.

* * *

On 8 March 1981, in Bryansk Region, a prayer-meeting at the home of **Glushenkov**, an invalid of the first group, was broken up.

Miscellaneous

In the village of Cherevki, Ovruch District, Zhitomir Region, pensioners who were believers were not sold bread.

A.A. Kalyashin, a resident of Murom, was fined 50 roubles

for having sung 'Christian songs' in the street on 8 February, together with young people, while he was in Ivanovo.

In the settlement of Maryanovka, Omsk Region, Procuracy Investigator Lyubimov and KGB official V.I. Shipitsyn questioned children in school, in the presence of their form teacher L.I. Roskopf but in the absence of their parents: the latter were stopped from entering the school building by police. The children were forced to sign statements.

Orthodox

On the eve of 3 June, the feast of the Velikoretskoye ikon of Saint Nicholas, the village of Velikoretskoye, Kirov Region, was surrounded by soldiers and police. Pilgrims were not allowed into the village. A guard stood by the spring for five days. A guard was also placed along the bank of the river Velikaya: no one was ferried across the river.

THE RIGHT TO LEAVE

Moscow

The Trial of Kurnosov

Valery Alekseyevich Kurnosov (born 1943) has been living in Moscow since 1968. Recently he worked as a machine-operator at the Moscow factory of tractor hydraulic units; in 1976 he graduated with an external degree from the Saratov Law Institute. In February 1978 Kurnosov was deprived of his Moscow residence permit 'for not having lived at the place on his permit for over six months' (the flat of his former wife). In September 1978 Kurnosov married L.I. Kuznetsova, a worker at the same factory with a temporary residence permit, who was living in the factory hostel in Ramenskoye, Moscow Region.

Kurnosov sent letters to the factory director and the USSR Supreme Soviet, informing them that he could not continue working at the factory as he had nowhere to live. A month later he was dismissed 'for absenteeism'. He appealed to the People's Court in the Kalinin District of Moscow for reinstatement in his job. Kurnosov's appeal was dismissed. The Procurator said: 'Of course, according to the USSR Constitution the factory was obliged to provide accommodation for you and your wife, but even if you have nowhere to live, you still do not have the right to give up your job, as otherwise we would have no one to work.'

In December 1978 the factory administration provided Kuznetsova (after the birth of her child) with a separate room in a workers' hostel in Ramenskoye, but without a residence permit, and on condition that Kurnosov 'did not appear' there. Kurnosov's attempts to register at his wife's temporary accommodation did not succeed. Kurnosov appealed to many organizations from the Ramenskoye District UVD to the USSR Supreme Soviet, to register him in his wife's room or provide his family with other accommodation.

In August 1979 Kurnosov sent a statement to the USSR Supreme Soviet renouncing his Soviet citizenship and applying for permission to emigrate from the USSR to the USA on political grounds. He did not receive a reply but soon afterwards police officers started appearing at his home, stating that they would never register Kurnosov with his wife as the latter was living in a women's hostel. In December 1979 and January 1980 three records were drawn up against Kurnosov 'for violating the residence regulations' (he was living unregistered with his wife and child), but soon afterwards a criminal case was brought against him under article 198 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Violating the residence regulations'). The investigation lasted three-and-a-half months, and in May 1980 was closed after Kurnosov wrote a complaint to the Central Committee of the CPSU.

In January 1980 Kurnosov received a reply from the Ramenskoye Police Department to his statement to the USSR Supreme Soviet about emigrating to the USA. He was refused permission to leave, as he was 'not registered in the Ramenskoye district'.

In May 1980 Kurnosov was twice detained in Moscow by police officers, moreover on one of these occasions he was beaten up. The reason for his detention was that Kurnosov had crossed out 'Liable for military service' and 'Russian' in his passport.

* * *

On the night of 6-7 August 1980 Kurnosov was detained in a suburban train at the station 'Platform 47 kms' and escorted to the duty office of the Ramenskoye line police station, from where he was sent to the Ramenskoye Psychiatric Clinic. A commission of three doctors led by the head doctor Medvedev declared him sane, and Kurnosov was discharged. He wrote a complaint to the Central Committee of the CPSU about his illegal detention, illegal dispatch to a psychiatric clinic, and illegal psychiatric examination. He did not receive a reply.

On 2 September 1980 Kurnosov was arrested at home (his wife's hostel). The arrest was carried out by Investigator of the Ramenskoye District Procuracy Lyakishev. He was accused of 'malicious hooliganism' (article 206, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code), committed on the night of 7 August in the duty office of the Ramenskoye line police station.

Kurnosov made a written statement: 'Attempts are being made to fabricate a criminal case against me for political reasons, i.e. because I have renounced my Soviet citizenship and wish to emigrate to the USA'; and he refused to give evidence. On 4 September he declared a hunger-strike 'until my release'. On 17 September, during his transfer to a prison in Kolomna, Kurnosov fainted from hunger. He was given an injection and sent back to the Ramenskoye Detention Cells. In Ramenskoye Hospital it was established he was suffering from 'alimentary exhaustion', after which he was again sent to Kolomna, where on 22 September he was placed in solitary confinement.

On 23 October Kurnosov was sent to the Serbsky Institute. There he was put on ordinary rations (when he discovered he had been transferred to the Institute Kurnosov had ended his hunger-strike), as a result of which he developed a stomach ulcer and haemorrhoids. Kurnosov was declared sane and transported back to Kolomna.

On 2 December Kurnosov studied the case file, in which,

besides the testimonies of the policemen who had detained him, were Kurnosov's statements to the USSR Supreme Soviet about the renunciation of his citizenship and his application to emigrate to the USA. (Lyakishev said to Kurnosov that he had 'created too much of a fuss' in connection with his desire to leave, so he should be made to sit it out for a while - 'to cool down'.)

The trial took place on 19 and 22 December 1980. The charge of 'malicious hooliganism' was in the end changed to article 192-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Insulting a police officer...'), since the duty policeman Lieutenant Zelenov, called on behalf of Kurnosov, gave evidence that contradicted the evidence given at the pre-trial investigation: Kurnosov 'did not insult anyone', 'did not swear foully', and behaved 'politely and correctly'. Another witness, detained with Kurnosov in the suburban train on the night of 6-7 August, gave similar evidence.

From the judgment of the court:

> V.A. Kurnosov pleaded not guilty to the crime with which he was charged. He explained the events as follows. He was sober. Police officers detained him illegally. In the duty office of the police station he expressed his displeasure, saying they had nothing else to do than this, and they should be detaining real criminals. He expressed his desire to emigrate. The police officers began to doubt his sanity. They sent him to a psychiatric clinic where he was examined, again illegally, by a panel of experts.
>
> The court considers that Kurnosov's guilt in insulting police officers in the course of their duty to preserve the peace has been fully proven by the evidence of Ashikhin, Budkin, Privoten, Glebov and Zelenov that, while under escort from the electric train to the duty office, citizen Kurnosov...insulted them by calling them 'fascists', 'bigots' and 'idlers'. For about an hour he prevented them from working normally, and from interrogating those detained. Kurnosov was not sober, and expressed anti-Party views...
>
> Kurnosov has been charged with using foul language over a lengthy period of time while under detention at 'Platform 47 kms' and in the duty office of the police station. This part contains conflicting evidence of witnesses. Glebov and Zelenov allege that he did not swear, the rest of the witnesses - that he did. There are doubts concerning their evidence which must be interpreted in favour of the accused.

The sentence - six months of ordinary-regime camps (maximum term under this article).

* * *

At the beginning of March 1981 Kurnosov was released from imprisonment and started living at his wife's place of residence. On 14 April he applied to the Ramenskoye Police Department for a permit to live there, and sent a similar application to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The chief police officer gave Kurnosov a written warning that he was violating the registration rules and asked him to leave Ramenskoye.

On 24 May Kurnosov sent his passport and a statement renouncing his citizenship to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. On 25 May he declared a hunger-strike of

protest. The reasons for his actions: he is refused permission to leave the USSR, he is not being listed as a person without citizenship, he is denied registration at his wife and daughter's place of residence, he is being persecuted for living without a residence permit, and his wife is not being provided with permanent accommodation.

On the evening of 11 July Kurnosov appeared at the Moscow synagogue with a placard saying '40 days on protest hunger-strike'. Kurnosov was about to leave when two cars drove up. About five policemen got out and went up to the hunger-striker. All the people standing outside the synagogue immediately surrounded them. The policemen politely requested that the placard be shown to them, then equally politely enquired about the reason for the hunger-strike and asked him to accompany them to help them investigate what the matter was. Kurnosov refused, and requested the police to conduct an investigation without his participation. He explained his fears by his prevous experience of having been beaten up by police. Then one of the policemen asked him to produce his identity card. To this he received the reply that his passport, together with a statement renouncing his Soviet citizenship, were at the Supreme Soviet. The policeman once again, this time more insistently, told him to come and 'clarify his identity'. After stating that he was submitting only to the threat of physical force, the police demand being illegal, Kurnosov agreed to go, while the police, in turn, agreed that one of the bystanders could come along as a witness. The police promised to return with the detained man in an hour, and left. After a short while the man who had accompanied Kurnosov returned alone. He said that Kurnosov was being held at Police Station No. 26, where his identity would be clarified. The police intended to pursue this over a period of 30 days. 'We'll feed him at the same time' - they had said at the police station. A few days later the duty officer at Police Station No. 26 said that Kurnosov had been released, but refused to give any details.

The Trial of Brailovsky

On 17 and 18 June the Moscow City Court, presided over by V.V. Bogdanov (he also tried Yu. Grimm - Chronicle 58 - and A. Lavut - Chronicle 60), examined the case of Doctor of Technical Science Viktor Lvovich Brailovsky (born 1936; arrested 13 November 1980 - Chronicle 60), charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Procurator Prazdnikova (she also prosecuted Vyacheslav Bakhmin, V. Sokirko and Yu. Grimm - Chronicle 58 - and A. Lavut and V. Sorokin - Chronicle 60). At the end of the pre-trial investigation Brailovsky studied the case file without a barrister; he also immediately refused the barrister appointed by the court and conducted his defence himself.

Brailovsky was charged with compiling, producing and circulating the journal Jews in the USSR[25]. (Chronicles 52, 53, 56; after the 20th issue the journal ceased publication) and two letters from 'refusenik' Jews, both of which were signed by several dozen people (the first was written in the spring, and the second in the autumn, of 1976).

Brailovsky was accused of the following 'slanderous assertions' contained in the journal: that a cultural decline could be observed in the USSR, a collapse of ideology, a revival of Great Power chauvinism; that international

friendship between peoples was no more than a myth - discrimination against Jews existed in the USSR. In the letters with which he was charged it said that the authorities were trying to crush Jewish emigration: in the course of this, infringements of the law were occurring, people barred from emigrating had no means of contesting the arbitrary actions of the authorities.

Brailovsky took virtually no part in the trial, did not give evidence and did not put any questions to the witnesses. He reserved only the right to make a speech in his own defence.

At the trial four witnesses were questioned.

Mark Novikov (Chronicle 56) said that he had received the journal Jews in the USSR at the synagogue: he could not remember exactly from whom. He was then shown the first of the two letters with which Brailovsky was charged. Novikov was unable to remember whether he had actually signed it, as that particular letter was five years old. To the question what he could say about the contents of these letters Novikov replied that if he were writing now he would write them differently.

Leonid Shabashov (Chronicle 61) was presented with the same letter: he also could not remember whether he had signed it. He did not remember who had given it to him to sign, but did not think his signature could have been obtained by deception. To the question which of the other signatories of the letter he knew (about 40 people), Shabashov said that it would be simpler to ask whom he did not know. Shabashov had never once seen the journal. Prazdnikova, after reminding Shabashov of his testimony at the pre-trial investigation that he had once been present at a scientific seminar in Brailovsky's flat, asked what kind of a seminar it had been, what had been discussed the time Shabashov had been there. He replied that it was a seminar of mathematicians and physicists; when he had been present, the subject of discussion was the Beilis case |of 1911|. 'You see', said Prazdnikova, 'you say "mathematicians and physicists", but you discussed subjects which shouldn't have interested you.' (However, Brailovsky was not charged with taking part in the seminar and it was not mentioned in the judgment.)

Vladimir Prestin (Chronicle 61) refused to answer the court's questions, stating that he considered the trial a closed one, and he was unable to give evidence at such a trial.

Grigory Kreidlin (Chronicle 58) testified that he had received the journal from someone who had already emigrated, that he now saw Brailovsky for the first time, and that he had never previously heard of his name.

In her speech Prazdnikova said that Brailovsky was almost a Doctor of Science (those were her exact words!) and could have worked for the good of the state and received 500 roubles. But instead of this he had gone to work as a secretary for 70 roubles.

In his defence speech Brailovsky quoted word for word from the stories and articles published in the journal. He said that he could not understand why on the basis of these articles the Procurator spoke about the state as a whole, when in each of them there were specific complaints about specific persons and institutions, but there were no generalizations about the state as a whole; he could not understand why the Procurator needed to hang such a label on the whole state. An article was published in the

journal with quotations from the works of Emelyanov and Begun (a Soviet journalist), which coincided word for word with the utterances of the Black Hundreds |pre-revolutionary Russian fascists|. The Procurator had stated in this connection that the journal seemed to allege that Soviet propaganda and ideology held Black Hundred views. Brailovsky did not understand why the Procurator needed to identify these two people with the whole of Soviet ideology.

In the case file there was an expert literary opinion from the state censorship |Glavlit| on G. Freiman's 'It turns out I'm a Jew' (Chronicle 51), which detected slander of the Soviet political and social system in it. However, the essay also discussed violations of the rights of Jews by individual mathematicians, by the Higher Degrees Commission, and by mathematicians at the Steklov Institute, Vinogradov for example. People and organizations subjected to criticism are mentioned by name. Therefore Brailovsky did not understand why the actions of these people were regarded as the policy of the whole state. As for the arbitrary actions of the authorities discussed in the letters with which Brailovsky was charged, his own fate and that of his family were a clear example and proof of the fact that the letters were not false.

Brailovsky concluded his speech by saying that he was not so naive as to think that this speech would help him. But if, there were only two people in the room listening to him carefully - and there were such people (Brailovsky's wife and son) - the speech was worth making for their sake.

Almost all the charges against Brailovsky were included in the judgment: just one or two episodes regarding the journal were excluded. Specifically, a charge was excluded which concerned the publication in the journal of a critical article by Baitalsky (Chronicles 52, 53) about Solzhenitsyn, 'Notebooks for Grandsons', in which, the judgment said, it was alleged that Solzhenitsyn was a great Russian writer. Prazdnikova explained that it was incorrect to evaluate this allegation as slanderous since it was a personal opinion about Solzhenitsyn.

Taking into account that this was Brailovsky's first conviction, the court applied article 43 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Designation of a lighter sentence than that prescribed by law') and sentenced him to five years of exile. The current limitation on his freedom was retained for the moment - Brailovsky remained in custody.

Foreign journalists who had gathered near the courtroom and those coming out of the building were photographed on a video machine. The police did not obstruct them. Only once, when correspondents were tape-recording the story of one of the witnesses, did a lorry stop alongside, with a policeman sitting next to the driver, and the vehicle started revving to muffle the witness's story. However, when a correspondent turned his camera on the lorry, the vehicle left immediately.

* * *

On 27 June the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 170 'The Trial of Viktor Brailovsky':

> Again - a trial against free thought, the uncensored word, the gathering and circulation of information, and with the label 'slander' pinned to it without reason. The typical feature of this trial was the complete lack of evidence from witnesses confirming the charges.

> Brailovsky, in full accord with the texts of the letters and publications he was charged with, argued that they contained criticism and protests in respect of individual persons and organizations, with accounts of specific episodes which actually took place.
>
> In the judgment the Court refers to article 43 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, which allows for a lighter sentence than that prescribed by law, but in actual fact it is designating a harsher sentence than that provided for under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, since five years of exile is indubitably a harsher sentence than the mildest punishments under this article (corrective labour for up to one year or a fine of up to 100 roubles).
>
> From the text of the judgment itself it is clear that this man is 'guilty' only of having dared to think freely and express his thoughts freely, 'guilty' only of having tried to realize, within the boundaries of Soviet laws and international agreements formally recognized by the USSR, the right to free uncensored speech and the right to emigrate.

* * *

In 1965 Victor Brailovsky received the degree of Doctor of Technical Science. He then worked as a senior researcher in the Institute of Electronic Operating-machines as a specialist in 'mathematical statistics', and accumulated about 40 scientific publications to his name. In 1972, one-and-a-half months after applying to emigrate, he was dismissed 'on redundancy grounds'. For one-and-a-half years he looked for work in his specialist field without success. He gave private lessons, and has recently been working as a secretary.

The Case of Chernobylsky

2 May is the Worldwide Day to honour the Jews who died during the Second World War. On that day Moscow Jews have been taking trips to Ovrazhki Station. Usually the picnics have passed off without hindrance. However, this year under various pretexts several Jews were summoned to their local police stations. There KGB officers 'warned' them of the possible 'consequences' of their taking part in 'the activities in Ovrazhki'. Some were threatened with criminal liability, others were promised that the path to Israel would be 'closed' to them for ever. Among those warned were **P. Abramovich** (Chronicle 61), **V. Prestin** (see above), **Yu. Kosharovsky** (Chronicle 61), **A. Gurevich** (Chronicle 61), **L. Tesmenitsky** (Chronicle 60), **V. Brodsky** (Chronicle 60), **M. and G. Kremen** (Chronicle 50), **B. Chernobylsky** (Chronicle 50), **M. Lvovsky, A. Shvartsman, M. Yakobson, I. Shchegoleva** (Chronicles 60, 61) and **L. Makar-Limanov** (Chronicle 61). Many Jews were telephoned at home and pressure was put on them, too, not to go to Ovrazhki, with threats of 'consequences'. On the morning of 3 May, a Sunday, several dozen Jews were repeatedly called at home and advised not to go to Ovrazhki. Brodsky, Gurevich, Lvovsky and Kremen were not allowed out of their flats, Yakobson and Prestin were 'accompanied' to work, Tesmenitsky was 'accompanied' around the whole of Moscow by two cars right up to 3 pm. (In actual fact, because of bad weather it had been decided to transfer the picnic to another, more suitable day).

On 9 May 40 Jews sent a letter to Andropov:

Dear Yury Vladimirovich,
In recent weeks officers of the organization of which you are head have been holding talks with many Moscow Jews. In these talks they have been demanding a refusal to participate in the traditional celebration which Moscow Jews have been holding for a number of years now, near Ovrazhki Station outside Moscow, under police and state security surveillance. In the course of this, your officers have been making unjustified threats, with reference to the fact that this celebration allegedly constitutes a 'Zionist' gathering. It is also reported that some directive exists which restricts the freedom of movement of Jews.

We resolutely object to the discriminatory attempts being undertaken by your organization to deprive Moscow Jews of the right to celebrate, in accordance with Soviet law, which guarantees freedom of assembly, their national and universal holidays and their special days.

We inform you that we intend to assemble on 10 May 1981 to celebrate the day of victory over fascism, the day in memory of countless victims of the Jewish people, the day of glory of your and our heroes.

We are assuming that you will not punish or make threats against Jews who assemble for the celebration. Otherwise responsibility for this will fall on you and the department of which you are head.

* * *

On Sunday 10 May about 150 Jews assembled in a wood, a kilometre from Opalikha Station, to celebrate Victory Day and Israel's Independence Day. (In view of the unexpectedness for the appropriate organs of the place where the celebration was held, only seven persons 'in civilian clothes' 'accompanied' the group. At the same time the wood around Ovrazhki Station was cordoned off by detachments of policemen, voluntary police and 'plain-clothes men' - in all, over 100 people. A Chaika car, several Volgas and Zhigulis, a lorry and several buses were posted near the station. All those arriving at Ovrazhki Station had their documents checked. Local people were allowed to continue but 'non-locals' were detained. No one was allowed into the wood on the grounds that 'the wood was being cleaned'.)

At 10.30 the 'ceremonial' part began. A veteran of the Great Patriotic War, **S.A. Yantovsky**, reminded those present of the tragedy of the Jewish people, six million of whose sons and daughters had perished at the hands of the Nazis. All stood for a minute's silence in their memory. Yantovsky also spoke of the heroism of the Jews in the struggle against Nazism, both in the ranks of the Soviet Army and in the armies of the Allies and in the Resistance, among the partisans and in the ghettos. 'At this time' - Yantovsky continued - 'we are not only celebrating the victory over Nazism, we are also marking the day of Israel's independence, a country where Jews have once more acquired a homeland to which we all aspire.' He finished his speech with the traditional 'Next year in Jerusalem'. Then those present performed songs in Hebrew, played sports, etc.

At about 12.00 a large detachment of police and voluntary police accompanied by men in civilian clothes arrived at the picnic place. Police Lieutenant A.M. Brechko announced to those present that, in accordance with a resolution of the Moscow Regional Soviet EC of 12 April this year,

large-scale festivities were prohibited without the authorization of the local soviet, and therefore everyone had to leave the wood and go to the station. In the event that the participants of the picnic refused to carry out this instruction, force would be used against them. In reply to remarks that they were threatening participants with the use of force, Brechko replied: 'We are not using force. I'm just telling you that if you don't obey the instruction, things will be bad for you.'

The policemen tried to find out who was 'in charge', but there turned out to be no such person. To **Chernobylsky**'s question as to what 'large-scale festivities' meant, one of the policemen replied: 'More than two people.'

They began to chase the Jews out of the wood. Someone tried to start an argument with the policemen but Chernobylsky silenced him with: 'There's no point in talking to these fascists!' One of the policemen was checking **O. Popov**'s (Chronicle 61) documents at the time. A man in civilian clothes went up to the policeman, and, pointing to Chernobylsky, said: 'That one over there, Chernobylsky is his name, he called you a fascist.'

About ten minutes later, when Chernobylsky and his friends were already standing to one side, a policeman came up and attempted to strike up a conversation with him. Chernobylsky demonstratively turned away. The policeman did not give up. In the end Chernobylsky said: 'I don't talk to fascists.' The policeman immediately walked away. Soon afterwards most of the people left, but a small group (about ten people with children) were allowed to stay.

On 9 June Chernobylsky was detained on the street in Moscow and sent to Krasnogorsk - to the place where the 'crime' was committed. He was charged under article 191-1, part 1, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Resisting a police-officer or a member of the voluntary police'). In the resolution on the institution of proceedings it said that Chernobylsky had refused to comply with the legal demands of police-officers to give his name or show his documents. He had also refused to go to the police station and, in the course of this, shown resistance.

Chernobylsky was in a Detention Cell for 72 hours. Police Lieutenants Brechko and Yu. V. Emelyanov and voluntary policemen V.I. Mikheichev, V.V. Poyarkov and A.P. Shabrov testified that Chernobylsky, when Brechko seized him by the arm, hit Brechko's arm with his other hand and sprained his wrist; Chernobylsky was immediately surrounded by women and children, which made his detention impossible.

On 12 June Chernobylsky was released on a written undertaking not to leave the city. On 23 June he began to study the case file. The case was, nevertheless, still not sewn up; interrogations continued. In the case materials there are testimonies of 10 and 11 May from all the policemen and voluntary police which say nothing about Brechko's physical attempt to detain Chernobylsky, the latter's resistance or about any violence on his part.

On 30 June, as he was concluding his study of the case, Chernobylsky noticed that the classification had been changed: part 1 had been replaced by part 2 (the maximum under part 1 is one year, under part 2 - five years).

On Chernobylsky's petition, Popov, Tesmenitsky, **A. Radin** (Chronicle 61) and **V. Magarik** (Chronicle 61) were summoned as witnesses. In the record of the conclusion of the pre-trial investigation Chernobylsky wrote this statement:

I consider myself completely innocent, as the charge against me of resisting the police is a complete fabrication, and I request that the case against me under article 191-1 be closed.

Miscellaneous

David Tokar, a fifth-year student at the Moscow Mining Institute, has since June 1980 been unable to hand in his documents to OVIR in Chernovtsy, where he is permanently resident, because his 'invitation is not from close relatives.'

In September 1980 Tokar was removed from an aeroplane as he was about to leave for a seminar of 'private' teachers of Hebrew in the Crimea, and was not allowed to leave Chernovtsy for eight days. From January to April 1981 he was unable to obtain medical certificates for reinstatement at the institute after his study leave. He succeeded in being reinstated only 40 days before the term began. The administration of the institute put obstacles in his way over a long period: they delayed assigning him to course projects and made it difficult for him to conduct laboratory work.

On 26 April KGB officers 'had a talk' with Tokar in the institute building. Tokar was threatened with a trial for singing Jewish songs on a suburban train ('inciting national dissension'), for organizing outings of Jews to a wood near Ovrazhki Station, and 'being responsible for the state of the wood' in this spot. He was threatened that he would not be allowed to graduate from the institute if he did not terminate his 'organizational activity' among Jewish youth. 'What are you doing here? go and live in that Israel of yours!', they told him. Thereupon Tokar wrote a statement requesting that he be deprived of Soviet citizenship and allowed to leave for the state of Israel for religious reasons. However, KGB officers refused to accept his statement. (Students of Tokar in the Hebrew study group are also being threatened and intimidated. 'Talks' have been held with relatives of several of them at their work-places. Some students have received anonymous letters advising them to stop learning Hebrew.)

At the beginning of May Tokar sent a statement to the KGB in which he asks, specifically, whether it is prohibited to sing all national songs or only Jewish ones.

On 21 May six of Tokar's friends, students of the Moscow Institute of Transport Engineers, were summoned to the party committee at the institute, where they were interrogated by KGB officers. The students were threatened with expulsion from the institute if they did not testify that Tokar was engaging in anti-Soviet propaganda and inciting national dissension. In June Tokar was expelled from the institute for 'poor academic progress'.

* * *

Leonid Tesmenitsky has sent this letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU:

On 20 February this year I was summoned to Police Station No. 25 in Moscow. In the police station two plain-clothes men who called themselves officers of the central KGB were waiting for me. They refused to show any identification. The one who started the conversation called himself Valery Pavlovich, then he introduced the second one as his boss. In a conversation which took place later on

1. Grave of Estonian scientist and democrat Jüri Kukk in Vologda. Kukk died in prison aged 40. R to l: his daughter Liis, wife Silvi, son Andres, and Ulle Einasto, a friend; June 1981. 2. A wing of the MVD prison in Vladimir, which has held many political prisoners, including, after his arrest in 1981, the worker Anatoly Marchenko.

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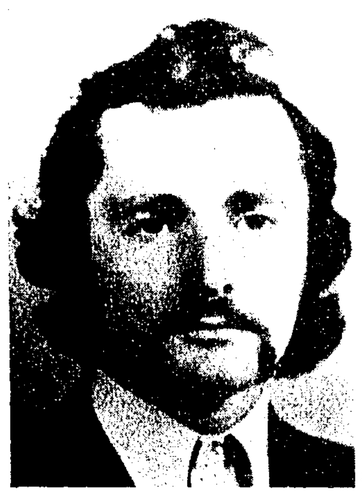

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3. View of the approach to the Lyublino District People's Court in Moscow during the trial of Tatyana Osipova, a Helsinki Group member, who received 10 years. 3 policemen stand beside a temporary 'No Entry' sign to prevent unauthorized people from passing. 4. Anatoly Koryagin, Kharkov psychiatrist given 12 years for defending psychiatric ethics. 5. Vasily Ovsienko (b. 1949), Ukrainian schoolteacher sentenced to 15 years for a self-defence speech in court and for 'agitation' in camp.

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6. Friends of longstanding dissenter Genrikh Altunyan, some of whose names featured in his trial. Sentence: 12 years. Back row, l to r: Vladimir Ponomarëv, Arseny Podolsky, Vladislav Nedobora, Arkady Levin, Alexander Kalinovsky, Roman Kaplan; front row: Sofia Karasik (wife of Nedobora), Pëtr Grigorenko, Tamara Levina, Andrei Grigorenko; Kharkov, 1974. 7 & 8. Leonid Milyavsky (l), a translator, and Sergei Naboka, a journalism student, both given 3 years in Kiev for pasting up leaflets and for other dissenting activity.

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9. L to r: Sergei Nekhotin, Georgy Shepelëv, Evgeny Komarnitsky - Russian (non-Jewish) refuseniks belonging to the 'Right to Emigration' group. Shepelëv was sentenced to 6 months of forced labour. 10. Herbert Murd, Estonian Lutheran given 1 year for religious activism. 11. Tiit Madisson, Estonian worker sentenced to 6 years for dissent. 12. Vytautas Vaiciunas, engineer and member of Lithuanian Helsinki Group; sentence: 2½ years.

13

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15

13 & 14. Anatoly Lupinos, longstanding (since 1956) Ukrainian dissenter, psychiatrically interned since 1972. Seen here in a mental hospital. 15. Galina Ukhtomskaya, Pentecostal activist (Chronicle 57) eventually allowed to emigrate, with her son Pavel (b. 1969).

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16 & 17. Svetlana Probatova and Elena Sannikova, persecuted by the KGB for actively supporting the Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled. With Probatova: her husband Mikhail, their children, and Group member Yury Kiselev, who has no legs and is lying on his trolley. 18. Group member Faizulla Khusainov of Chistopol, who, though confined to a wheelchair, has been persecuted by the authorities.

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19-22. Seventh Day Adventists imprisoned for circulating religious samizdat. 19. Rev Rostislav Galetsky, b. 1948, a church leader, baptizes a convert. Sentence: 5 years. 20. Vasily Kovalchuk, b. 1957, from Dnepropetrovsk: 3 years. 21. Ivan Fokanov of Moscow, b. 1952: 3 years. 22. His brother Vladimir Fokanov, b. 1956: 3 years.

23

24

23-24. Gathering of Jewish refuseniks in the woods at Ovrazhki near Moscow, with races for the children, May 1980. In May 1981 the KGB mounted a large but only partially successful operation to put an end to such gatherings. Boris Chernobylsky was arrested and later given one year in a labour camp.

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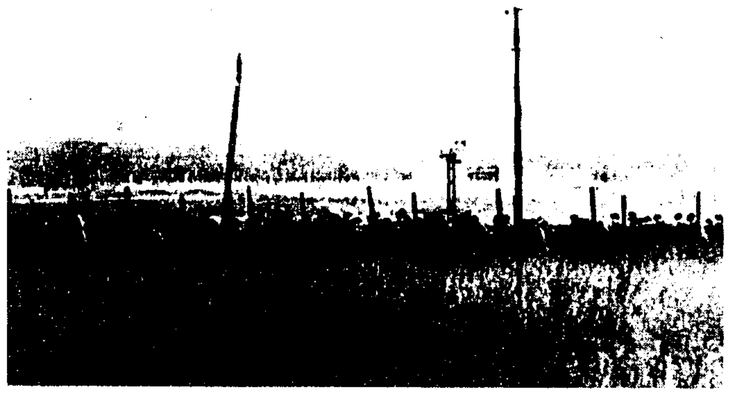
25. Irina Brailovskaya (r) outside the court where her husband Viktor Brailovsky was sentenced to 5 years' exile for editing the samizdat journal Jews in the USSR. With her: Ida Milgrom, mother of political prisoner Anatoly Shcharansky. 26. Viktor Brailovsky, refusenik, Moscow scientist. 27. Kim Fridman, Kiev Jew, refusenik for 9 years, sentenced to 1 year in camps.

28. View from a building in a camp in Donetsk City, Ukraine (address: g. Donetsk-2, uchr. YuE-312/2). Note the inner wooden fence, then a barbed-wire fence, then the high outer fence; also the watchtower and the guard on patrol.

29



30

29-30. Two views of a camp near Shakhtersk, Donetsk region (address: g. Shakhtersk, pos. Stozhkovskoe, uchr. YuE-312/57). 29. Prisoners are lined up before a barracks. The white arrow points to the Baptist Valentin Naprienko (Chronicles 53, 56). 30. They are taken along a barbed-wire corridor to their workplace.

31

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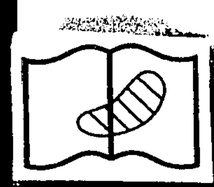
31. Alexandra Kozorezova of Voroshilovgrad Region, Ukraine, sentenced to 3 years in camps (suspended) for chairing the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives, with her ten children. 32. Her husband Aleksei Kozorezov, sentenced a few days earlier, also to 3 years. 33. Nikolai Boiko, b. 1922, leader of an Odessa Baptist community, given 5 years in camps. Earlier he had spent 24 years in captivity - 4 under the Nazis and 20 in the USSR.



the telephone Valery Pavlovich gave his surname as Andreyev. Judging by how the police-officers behaved with Andreyev, and by the fact that he had talks with acquaintances of mine in the First Section |i.e. KGB| offices of their institutions, he really is a KGB officer, although possibly he has a different name (otherwise I cannot understand why he refused to show his identification). The essence of the two-hour conversation which took place on 20 February comes down to the request that I sign a paper in which I undertake 'not to engage in anti-State activity in the future', and to the threat that if I refuse to sign such a paper I will never be able to leave for Israel, and, moreover, will be imprisoned. (I applied to emigrate to Israel in February 1979 and was refused in December 1979, as my brother has access to secret documents. It is possible that the very fact of applying is regarded by KGB officers as anti-State activity. What else it can refer to - I have no idea.)

After this conversation I was shadowed for two weeks... In a conversation with one of my acquaintances, 'Andreyev' admitted I was being 'followed' on the grounds that, first, I was a madman from whom anything could be expected, and secondly, I hated everyone and everything here, and thus also constituted a danger.

My father lands up in hospital after a heart-attack. My mother is alone in the flat, and I live in a flat which I have been renting for two years. Nevertheless, they phone my parents' flat and hold completely pointless conversations which are designed only to frighten my mother. On 14 April my father dies. On the third day after the funeral the phone-calls begin again. Once more they start trying to find me at my mother's flat, knowing that I don't live there. And finally, on the night of 2-3 May, 'Andreyev' or one of his colleagues phones my mother all night long and explains to her that if I don't behave myself I'll be put in prison. Whose methods do 'Andreyev' and his comrades use? From whose books did they learn their trade?

I demand that you put a stop to this lawlessness by the KGB. The way in which the refusal of emigration was worded and my subsequent 'adventures' make me think that someone is settling scores with me, and a favourable decision in my case is being held up on KGB instructions. I hope that the times when the KGB freely disposed of people's lives have long passed and will never return.

* * *

On 2 June **Tesmenitsky** and **Aleksei Lorentsson** (Chronicle 60) arrived in the village of Ilinka, Talovaya District, Voronezh Region, where two families live (the Piskarevs and the Matveyevs) who are actively seeking permission to emigrate to Israel. For four years they have refused to work on the collective-farm and been corresponding with the authorities about the registration of their departure from the collective-farm 'Rossiya', membership of which constitutes an obstacle to applying to OVIR (see 'The Trial of Osipova').

At about 11 pm a police sergeant and a man in civilian clothes who introduced himself as deputy chief of the local police station, Lieutenant Varnavsky, burst into the home of **Moisei Matveyev**. Varnavsky reported there had been a theft in the area of a tape-recorder, two guitars and some

other musical instruments. Information had allegedly reached the police that the theft had been carried out by two students dressed in jeans and leather jackets. Discovering that Tesmenitsky and Lorentsson intended to leave Ilinka on 5 June, he copied out the contents of their documents and left.

On 3 June at 3 pm two cars drew up at the Piskarevs' home, bringing Varnavsky, a senior police lieutenant, a major in the Voronezh KGB and the chairman of the District Soviet EC, Zotov. Besides the tape-recorder, this time Varnavsky was also interested in cameras. Tesmenitsky and Lorentsson agreed to go to the local police station to help clarify whether they were connected with the theft: Varnavsky demanded that the detainees bring their belongings with them. To the question whether they would be able to return to Ilinka,, a negative reply was given.

At the police station a bag containing cameras and cassette tapes was confiscated from Tesmenitsky and Lorentsson without witnesses present. Varnavsky attempted to 'have a chat' with Tesmenitsky: he reported that 'this time the police have managed to save' the guests 'from the wrath of the inhabitants of Ilinka', but 'next time we might not be able to', and they 'could get beaten up'. To the question why criminal proceedings had not been instituted against the people who had threatened violence, Varnavsky said: 'The village has its own morals.' A KGB major also attempted to 'chat' with Tesmenitsky, beginning with the 'theft' and ending with the advice not to come back to Ilinka.

Three hours later the confiscated camera films (with photographs of the Matveyev and Piskarev families and the Jewish cemetery in Ilinka) had been developed and the cassette tapes with Jewish songs listened to. A record of the confiscation of these things (in one copy) was drawn up without an indication on it of the case in which the search and confiscation had been carried out. Then Tesmenitsky and Lorentsson were sent by bus to the station in Voronezh, accompanied by a man in civilian clothes.

* * *

On 15 June **Tesmenitsky** arrived at a telephone office (in Moscow), from where he had booked a call to Israel. A voluntary policeman was on duty next to the call-box.

When Tesmenitsky began to give the names and addresses of people who wanted to receive invitations, the man burst into the call-box and forcibly dragged him away from the phone. Thereupon some policemen standing nearby rushed up, and Tesmenitsky was taken off to a police station. There the KGB officer who 'supervises' Tesmenitsky said that 'Soviet people were dissatisfied' that he held such conversations about invitations and 'orientated Jews towards emigration', and that he 'had warned him several times not to engage in anti-Soviet activity'. To Tesmenitsky's objection that he had not done anything which conflicted with the Constitution, the officer said: 'Don't you try and hide behind the Constitution.'

* * *

On 28 March **V. Magarik**, a senior research officer at the Institute of Earth Physics at the USSR Academy of Sciences and a Doctor of Physical-mathematical Science, sent this letter to President of the USSR Academy of Sciences Aleksandrov:

...On 13 February this year I sent you a letter which said that my application to emigrate to Israel had been under examination for a period of 17 months, when there is a legal limit of two months. I also directed your attention to the natural desire of my three-year-old daughter and myself to be reunited, to our right to happiness.

The other day, in reply to my enquiry, your colleague informed me that my letter had been sent by you to the organs of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and that you refused to receive me or reply on the matter in hand.

A decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 12 April 1968 forbids that letters be readdressed to those organizations against which the complaint is being made. The decree makes it compulsory, in any event, that the declarant be notified not later than within one month of the state of his case. Both these requirements of the decree have been violated by you.

During the last five months I have addressed statements to the UVIR of the Chief UVD of the Moscow City Soviet EC, to the Moscow Soviet, the Committees for People's Control of Moscow and the USSR, the Procuracies of Moscow and the RSFSR, the OVIR at the USSR MVD, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the 26th Congress of the CPSU, on the personal and the related legal aspects of my emigration. In every case except one there has been no reaction. In the single exception, deputy head of OVIR at the USSR MVD N.V. Kovalenko admitted that in the examination of my application to emigrate the above-mentioned decree had been violated in the most flagrant manner, and promised that an answer would be given me within ten days. His promise has not, of course, been kept.

Subterfuge and inertia are to be expected from bureaucrats. But you, an outstanding, famous physicist, not subject to the influence of deadlines and politics, have pushed me into a corner. For I was counting on the common sense, objectivity and humanity of a scientist. Your inertia has finally pushed me into undertaking a hunger-strike, which I shall carry out from 29 March to 12 April as a protest against the manipulation of the lives of people who wish to emigrate to Israel.

In the absence of a reply from UVIR, Magarik conducted his hunger-strike from 29 March to 12 April. On 30 March **V. Vail** (Chronicle 60) joined him, and on 2 April Vail's wife **I. Sapiro** (on 30 March she had been summoned to UVIR, where Kovalenko handed her a written refusal of emigration). On 12 April nine Moscow 'refuseniks' (including three women) declared a one-day hunger-strike in solidarity.

At the end of April an officer of the Moscow city UVIR, Zinchenkov, informed Magarik that he had been refused permission to leave for Israel as far back as February 1981, 'because he was only distantly related to those inviting him'. To the question why the refusal had not been reported at the proper time, instead of two-and-a-half months later, Zinchenkov refused to reply. Magarik sent a number of letters to the highest soviet and party bodies in which he protested against the illegal actions of the MVD OVIR.

* * *

On 23 March and 4 April, 11 Jewish 'refusenik' women arrived

at the CPSU Central Committee for a meeting with a deputy head of the Administrative Organs Department, Ivanov (Chronicle 57), and spoke to him on an internal telephone (Ivanov refused to meet them). The conversation was about refusals of permission to emigrate. Ivanov promised to look into them (which he did not do on either occasion). On both occasions the women left letters addressed 'to the Central Committee of the CPSU' in which, amongst others, the following demands were set forth:

1. That replies be given within one week to all those who have been waiting for over six months.
2. That all refusals, the reasons for which are not covered by the list of reasons produced by K.I. Zotov, be annulled, and the families who have received these refusals be allowed to leave.
3. That the validity period of refusals on grounds of state security be stated in each specific instance. That the period of refusal be calculated from the time the application was made. That in this connection comrade Sorochkin (of the USSR MVD) be obliged to receive within a month those of the undersigned who have disagreed with the fact or the duration of a security-based refusal.
4. That instructions be given to the judicial organs to investigate fully complaints against the illegal actions of the USSR MVD.

On 30 May the same women sent an 'Open letter' 'to Soviet institutions involved in questions of emigration from the USSR' (with copies to the newspaper Washington Post, to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the USSR Ministry of Justice, the Committee of Soviet Women, and the UN Commission on Human Rights):

We, a group of Jewish women, have been trying for several months now to obtain from official Soviet bodies a reply to this question: 'Why are we and our families being prevented from leaving the USSR?' However, all official persons whom we have addressed have either completely avoided talking to us, or have got rid of us on completely meaningless pretexts. Such cowardly behaviour by well-established men endowed with high rank, in the face of a tiny group of women, surprises us. If you do not intend to fulfil the requirements of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which was ratified by you, then say so openly, so that we and the whole world know who we are dealing with. If you intend to continue this policy, with which we have come into conflict up till now, of avoiding giving an answer, then the, in our view, quite natural question arises: 'What sort of superpower are you, if you are afraid of giving a straight answer, even to women?'

We demand, at last, a substantiated written answer to our applications to emigrate from the USSR!

* * *

I. Kaplun's (Chronicle 57) relatives - her mother **M.L. Kaplun**, aunt **A.L. Smolyanskaya** and **A. Yu. Korostelev** - issued an open letter on 24 May, in which they write that they have been refused permission to leave to join V. Borisov, Irina's husband. They received the refusal, dated 19 March, only on 4 May. They also write that letters and parcels hardly reach them, friends of the family are being

intimidated, demands are made on them not to go to the Kapluns' house, even doctors visiting the house 'do not pass unnoticed by the KGB'.

On 9 June the Kapluns were again told that they had been refused permission to leave (on a guest invitation). However, officials from OVIR said that I. Kaplun's and V. Borisov's daughter (she is not yet two years old) could be sent to her father, and her safety would be guaranteed.

In June (at the end of a six-month period) the Kapluns' telephone was re-connected. On 3 June an open letter was published 'In defence of Irina Kaplun's child', under which signatures are being collected at the present time:

A year has passed since the day Vladimir Borisov (one of the founders, and a member of the Council of Representatives, of SMOT, the Free Inter-trade Association of Working People, and earlier a member of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR) was forcibly deported from the USSR. The deportation was a logical culmination of many years of persecution of Borisov by the authorities: out of his 38 years he had spent 11 in psychiatric hospitals, where in the best native traditions of struggle against dissidence he was subjected to forcible 'treatment'...

Vladimir Borisov's wife Irina Kaplun died in a car accident on 23 July 1980. Irina had long been famous for her activity in defence of human rights: as early as 1969-1970 she was held under investigation in prison for ten months, accused of preparing leaflets: later she became one of the founders of the Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes: and in 1979-80 she took part in the formation and activity of SMOT.

These people separated by force need to meet - it will thereby be easier to overcome their mutual grief, while the future of the child demands immediate and absolutely personal consideration... The situation of the family is getting worse and worse, and, it would seem, the probability of a successful outcome is decreasing, as the authorities take the liberty of offering M.L. Kaplun and A.L. Smolyanskaya an inhuman choice:

- either, having lost a daughter, to accept the conditions of the authorities and renounce their granddaughter by sending her alone to her father:
- or to stay in the USSR - ie to take upon themselves responsibility for the health and life of the child, and to reconcile themselves to the fact that the child will never see her father.

We, friends of the family, appeal to international opinion, the trade-union organizations of France, and all independent trade unions of the world, the Helsinki groups of all countries that participated in the Helsinki Agreement, and the International Red Cross:

Involve yourselves in the fate of these people, demand from the Soviet government that it cease its lawlessness and the cruel persecution of this family; help in its reunification!

* * *

On 12 May **E. Alekseyeva** (see also 'The Grivnina-Serebrov Case') was summoned to Moscow Regional OVIR where its chief, Romanenkov, in the presence of a man 'in civilian clothes', announced that she had been refused permission to emigrate

'for lack of the motive of family reunification'. Then he tried to persuade Alekseyeva to withdraw her application to emigrate and to write a corresponding statement. Alekseyeva refused.

* * *

On 4 May 1974 the marriage was registered between a US citizen W. McClellan and a Soviet subject. Up till now OVIR had refused to allow **Irina McClellan** to join her husband, and he is not allowed an entry visa into the USSR (Chronicles 41, 45).

On 10 April 1981 Irina McClellan brought a suit in the district court: referring to article 19 of the Code on Marriage and the Family in the RSFSR ('The right of spouses to a joint decision on matters of family life, to a free choice of occupation, profession and place of residence'), she requested that OVIR be restrained from prohibiting her to join her husband.

On 13 April Judge Alekseyeva ruled that she refused to accept the suit on the grounds that the case was beyond the jurisdiction of the court. The court's report said that the case should be submitted to a 'higher organization'. I. McClellan lodged a personal complaint which was examined by the Moscow City Court on 28 April (Judges Kozhevnikova, Kishe and Ketova). Alekseyeva's judgment was ruled to be correct.

* * *

29 **'refusenik' Jews** have sent a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

> We, the undersigned, as a protest against the lawless actions of OVIR, which violate the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, refuse to take part in the supplementary elections to the Council of Nationalities in Moscow City Electoral District No. 1, set for 12 April 1981.

* * *

Since February OVIR has not been accepting invitations on which the term of validity has been extended, nor invitations with corrections or ink blots on them.

* * *

On 8 July the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 173, 'The Persecution of refusenik Jews continues'. This document reports on the arrest and conviction of **K. Fridman**, the arrest of **E. Lein, Ya. Lokshin** and **V. Tsukerman**, and the detention of **M. Elbert** (on these events see below).

> The facts enumerated by us are only a small proportion of the lawless acts and harassment perpetrated by the authorities towards persons wishing to emigrate to Israel. In the USSR legal norms and laws regulating matters of emigration are lacking, therefore citizens wishing to leave the USSR cannot complain through legal channels about the actions of the authorities, who, in turn, do not take into account either the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or those of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, or the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, which was signed by the government of the Soviet Union.

Leningrad

The Arrest of Lein

For about two years a seminar on the history, culture and religion of the Jewish people has existed in Leningrad. In March 1981 a police raid was carried out on the participants of the seminar: they were all detained in connection with 'the burglary of a flat', a flat which was quite a distance from the flat where the seminar was held.

On 10 May a policeman was posted at the entrance to the house where the seminar was to take place. He refused the participants of the seminar entry to the house, on the pretext that they were intending to hold a drunken orgy there.

* * *

On 17 May, during a regular session of the seminar, policemen and men 'in civilian clothes' led by a certain A.I. Leikin, who introduced himself as head of the Department of Culture of Kalinin District Soviet EC, burst into the flat. He insisted that the lecture be stopped, but the lecturer continued to speak and the audience to listen. Police photographers took photographs without interruption of everyone there and of the decor of the flat. Then they began to remove the audience from the flat by force. In the commotion one of the policemen who had pushed **Tatyana Finkelshtein** aside said: 'She hit me!' (The next day Finkelshtein received 12 days in prison for 'disturbance of the peace'). Evgeny Lein pushed away the hands of a policeman who was dragging him along: 'That constitutes resistance!'

Semën Ash, who suffers from very high blood-pressure, almost fainted and asked for permission to leave the flat. He sat down on the floor and was carried out of the flat by his hands and feet. At the police station an ambulance had to be called for him, and he was sent to hospital.

All those driven out of the flat had the data in their passports copied down, then they were led out of the house and along a corridor of men 'in civilian clothes' to a bus which took them off to a police station and voluntary police point. The people observing this 'operation' called out: 'Shoot the lot of them! Pity Hitler didn't finish them off!'

A few hours later all except Lein were released. Lein has been charged under article 191-1, part 1, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Resisting a police-officer or voluntary policeman'). At the end of June the charge was reclassified under part 2 of the same article (under part 1 the term is up to one year, under part 2 - up to five years). All Lein's petitions for summoning witnesses have been granted. They have given detailed evidence that Lein was pushed against the door and offered no resistance.

Miscellaneous

On 18 March the refusenik **Boris Rivkin** arrived at Leningrad UVIR for a reception with its head, Bokov; however, the latter refused to receive him. Then Rivkin hung a placard round his neck with the inscription: '5 years of refusal equals 5 years of insults and 5 years of torture'. Five minutes later the deputy head of UVIR came out, tore the placard from Rivkin's neck and attempted to lead him out. Rivkin's acquaintances, who were present, started to defend him. Then some 'unknown persons in civilian clothes' in

the reception room detained them and wrote down the data in their passports. However, soon after they were all released.

* * *

In September 1979 **Nadezhda Fradkova** (born 1946) received a refusal in connection with the 'secret work' of her father S. Fradkov, who lives in Moscow and works at the Central Research Institute 'Kometa'. (Fradkova has lived apart from her father virtually since the day she was born, and has seen him only a few times in her life.) In March 1980 the refusal because of the 'secret work' of her father was confirmed.

On 13 April, after another submission of her documents, a fresh invitation was demanded from Fradkova. As a protest against her illegal detention in the USSR and the illegal actions of Leningrad UVIR, Fradkova declared a 15-day hunger-strike (from 18 April to 2 May).

* * *

The refusenik **Knokh**, a teacher of Hebrew, has received a warning 'according to the Decree'[26] for his participation in press conferences and for communicating with foreign correspondents.

Kiev

The Trial of Fridman

On 18 March Kim Beniaminovich Fridman (a refusenik over nine years: his wife and daughter have been living in Israel for many years now) was arrested 'for resisting the authorities' (he refused to go to a job-placement commission, as at the time he was already working as a bookbinder). On the same day a judge of the Dneprovsky District, Oleinik, sentenced him to ten days of administrative arrest.

On 28 March Fridman was taken from the special reception centre to his home, where a search was carried out (in the record there are 19 items, mainly books in Hebrew), after which he was sent to |Kiev's| Lukyanov Prison. The resolution on the institution of criminal proceedings against Fridman says that he has

> led a parasitic way of life and lived on unearned income. With the aim of avoiding prosecution found himself a job and worked for about a month. Taking the above into account, institute criminal proceedings against Kim Beniaminovich Fridman under article 214 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 209 of the RSFSR Code).

The case was set to be heard on 9 June. All the witnesses received summonses for this date. However, in the late evening of 15 May (Friday) Fridman's barrister was informed that the case had been transferred to 18 May, and so the barrister was able to inform only the accused's mother about the date of the trial. The trial, under the chairmanship of Judge Oleinik, took place without a prosecutor and without witnesses.

From the evidence of witnesses during the pre-trial investigation it was clear that in the past year there had not been a single month during which Fridman would not have worked if he had not been on sick leave. Living

off 'unearned income' was not proven by any official document. From materials put forward by the barrister it was also clear that numerous procedural violations had been committed in the case.

In his final speech Fridman pleaded not guilty and stated that he regarded his conviction merely as a temporary halt on his way to Israel. He stated that he had become a victim of the KGB, which had been preventing his departure to Israel for nine years. The sentence - one year of ordinary-regime camps (the maximum sentence under article 214, part 1).

The Trial of Kislik

On 19 March, at around 24.00 hours, Vladimir Kislik (Chronicle 57) was standing at a trolleybus stop. Someone pushed him from behind. When he turned around he saw a woman (who subsequently turned out to be the witness Shebalina, a student from the Kiev Trade Institute), who began shouting that he had hit her. A pliceman who ran up twisted Kislik's arms behind his back and pushed him into a car. The next day Kislik's father found him in the Shevchenko District OVD. A few days later Kislik was placed in Lukyanov Prison. He was charged under article 206, part 2, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism').

During the investigation Kislik refused to give evidence, stating that he was a victim of a provocation by the organs of internal affairs. The indictment (Investigator Svyatenky conducted the case) said that Kislik had hit Shebalina across the face without inflicting flesh wounds, and also attempted to kick witness Zhuravlev on the legs. Inspector Grabovsky of the Shevchenko District OVD, who had allegedly been passing the stop by chance, also took part as a witness. (A week after the arrest an article appeared in the newspaper Evening Kiev under the heading 'He sank to this...', in which it was written that Kislik had beaten up two people - a woman, and a man who intervened on her behalf. Besides this, the article alleged that while being detained Kislik had resisted representatives of authority.)

* * *

Six Kiev refuseniks have published the article 'The |70th| Beilis Anniversary in Kiev':

> ...There was everything: a wild outburst of anti-Semitism, calls for a pogrom, the deliberately false line of the investigation, and a specially selected collection of jurors... The newspaper Russkie vedomosti wrote: '...the ordeal to which Russian justice is being subjected in the eyes of the world is a tough one, and if the jurors emerge from it with honour, it will mean that conditions no longer exist in Russia in which an accusation of ritual murder can be squared with the people's conscience.'
>
> Despite the efforts of the |fascist| Black Hundreds organizations and the cooperation of the Ministry of Justice, the sinister campaign about |Jewish| ritual murder failed catastrophically - Mendel Beilis was acquitted.
>
> And this is how, 70 years later, the Kiev authorities are celebrating in worthy fashion the anniversary of the anti-Semitic orgy surrounding the 'Beilis case'. Exactly 70 years later, almost to the day, also in Kiev, in the very same district, the Jew Vladimir Kislik was seized. The Jew Vladimir Kislik is charged that late

in the evening of 19 March 1981, on the Jewish holiday of Purim, being in a state of intoxication, he swore in foul language at a woman and slapped her across the face. Of course, the intoxication and the swearing and the slap across the face have the same relation to reality as the matzos which Beilis supposedly mixed with the blood of a child. The arrest was timed to coincide with this day because the competent authorities realized that intoxication was a sin for a believing Jew except on the one occasion in the year of Purim.

But what progress! What a softening of hard traditions! From ritual murder and virtual cannibalism to ritual intoxication, foul abuse and a slap across the face!

Now the ritual of the investigation is taking place and a scenario for the trial is being elaborated. Then will come the ritual trial and, in the final ritual act, in the name of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the judges will pronounce the will of the KGB.

Beilis was acquitted, but his 'case' lives on! Lives on in the 'Kislik case', in the 'Brailovsky case', in the 'Fridman case'.

We call on all honourable people to speak up in defence of Vladimir Kislik and other Jews persecuted for seeking repatriation, in memory of the Salvation of Beilis.

11 Kiev refuseniks have sent an 'Open Letter' to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian CP, Shcherbitsky:

The trial being prepared completes the chain of persecution (administrative arrests on fabricated charges, forcible placement in a psychiatric hospital, searches, beatings, illegal detentions, a libellous campaign in the press) to which Kislik has been subjected for eight years now, only because he wishes to live in his native land.

If a trial takes place, it will be a mockery of justice...

12 Kiev refuseniks have written a letter to Brezhnev:

It is in your power to avert the judicial revenge now being prepared. We call on you - intervene before it is too late, release Vladimir Kislik and let him, at last, be reunited with his family and people in the land of Israel!

* * *

On 26 and 27 May the trial took place in Kiev of Vladimir Samuilovich Kislik (born 1935; a Doctor of Technical Science). The trial was set for 12 o'clock. On the notice-board there was no mention of the trial, and all Court officials refused, on different pretexts, to say when the trial would begin and in what room. Judge E.A. Polikarpova stated that everything was posted up on the notice-board, and insisted that people stop pestering her in the corridor. 40 minutes later Polikarpova's secretary came out on to the stairway and began calling witnesses for the prosecution, but it turned out that none of them was present. To a question from Kislik's relatives about when and where the trial would take place, the Judge replied: in the semi-basement. However, the trial took place not there, but in an upstairs room. When Kislik's friends (17 persons)

went upstairs and entered the room, it was empty and they sat down. A few minutes later some young people wearing Komsomol badges (about ten persons) came in and sat down in the back row. A policeman then entered and demanded that they all leave. To the question whether the trial would be closed, he replied in the negative. To the question why in that case it was necessary to leave, he announced after some vacillation that it was Polikarpova's instruction. Everyone got up except for the young people wearing badges. Kislik's relatives objected, then also left the room. The policeman then sent everyone out of the room, cleared the corridor and made them go downstairs: finally he insisted they all go out into the street. However, a short while later the young people wearing badges were invited back into the room. The others moved forward immediately behind them but the policeman stopped them and would not let them in. Only a few relatives and friends of Kislik were admitted.

During the adjournment Kislik's relatives asked whether they could give him some sandwiches, to which Polikarpova at first replied that it was the escort's job, and then added that it was not allowed, as sandwiches had to be subjected to a special examination. The escort would not allow Kislik to be given food, and all his friends were sent out of the room. When refusenik **Elena Gofshtein**, who is eight months pregnant, attempted to clarify why they were not allowed to be present in court and tried to enter, a KGB officer known to many Jewish refuseniks as Mishchenko (Chronicle 60, and also below) hit her in the stomach. Gofshtein was taken to hospital, where she was kept 'for observation'.

In his final speech Kislik said that everything that was happening to him was a provocation on the part of those organs of power which had been preventing him from emigrating to Israel for so long. The sentence - three years of ordinary-regime camps.

* * *

After graduating in 1958 from the Institute of Non-ferrous Metals and Gold named after Kalinin, Vladimir Kislik worked in the Urals as a researcher in metallurgic engineering. In 1966 Kislik defended his dissertation. The same year he was transferred to a Kiev Isotope Laboratory, where he worked as head of the secton for scientific research. From 1968 Kislik worked at the Institute of Physics of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, as leader of the atomic energy group, and at the Academy's Institute of Nuclear Research, as well as in educational institutions in Kiev. Kislik is the author of many scientific publications on questions of the physics and technology of metals. In 1971, in connection with his application to emigrate to Israel, Kislik was forced to leave scientific and teaching work.

* * *

On 7 July the Moscow Helsinki Grop issued Document No. 172, 'The Arrest and Conviction of Vladimir Kislik':

Yet another citizen of the USSR has been convicted on a fabricated criminal charge. Yet again the authorities are clearly demonstrating their scornful attitude to the humanitarian articles of the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreements signed by the Soviet Union in 1975.

The Arrest of Zubko

On 17 February, 15 refuseniks from Kiev sent a telegram of complaint to the USSR Procuracy in connection with another conviction of Stanislav Zubko (Chronicle 60) for 'petty hooliganism'.

On 19 March one of the senders (V. Tereshchenko) received a reply from the Procurator of the Darnitsky District of Kiev, V.I. Kaveshnikov, who said that Zubko

> while at a bus stop... used foul language in the presence of women and children. In this connection a record was drawn up by a divisional inspector of the Darnitsky District OVD, Senior Police Lieutenant Mokin, about his disturbance of the peace... There are no grounds for protesting against the decision of People's Judge Kovalchuk.

The reply also says:

> It was established by a check through the Kiev UVD OVIR that all the persons who signed the complaint had been refused permission to emigrate for permanent residence in Israel in December 1980-January 1981, because of absence of direct relatives there.

* * *

On 14 and 15 May Zubko's mother **A. Levitskaya** (she is 68) was summoned to the local police inspector. The man who came with the summons had been very insistent, but the first day the inspector was not in his place, and on the second day, after a vague conversation about her son's behaviour, which lasted about two hours, she was allowed to go. Zubko was at work at this time, so neither of his flat's two occupants |his mother and he| was at home.

On 16 May a search was carried out at Zubko's flat on suspicion that he had taken part in an unsuccessful attempt to burgle a neighbouring flat. Those carrying out the search explained that Zubko resembled the 'bearded man' suspected of the attempted burglary.

The officials rummaged around the whole flat for some time, confiscated the Torah and all books in Hebrew. Then they went over to the sideboard and pulled out of an empty sweet-box a small package (the size of a sweet) in aluminium foil. To the question 'What is this?' Levitskaya said she supposed that it was an old sweet she had forgotten about. Opening the package, they announced that it was hashish; they noted in the record - 'a small piece of a dark substance'. (A few days later the investigator said to Levitskaya that expert analysis had established it was hashish.) Then they set off for the kitchen and asked: 'What's under the fridge?' To the surprise of the occupants, they pulled out from underneath it an 'unloaded TT pistol'. After the search Zubko was led away. (Immediately after Zubko's arrest a Kiev refusenik happened to witness the following scene at the police station: several men entered the building and said to the person who met them: 'Everything's OK, chief. The pistol was in place and the hashish was in place.')

Zubko's case is being conducted by Investigator of the Darnitsky OVD V.A. Verzin. Zubko is charged with possession of narcotics and a fire-arm. Verzin does not reject the possibility that the hashish was planted: 'Give us the names of the people who visit the house. Maybe they put it there,'

he said to Levitskaya.

* * *

13 Kiev refuseniks have sent this letter to the delegations of the states participating in the Madrid Conference:

> ...he could not consent to the fact that he had been deprived of the right of repatriation to his historic Motherland. He began actively to seek permission to leave. Precisely this is the only reason why an intellectual, a scientist, has become a 'hooligan'. It is indicative that Zubko has shown himself to be a 'hooligan' exactly at those moments when the Kiev authorities have become frightened by a particular rise in the level of anger among refuseniks. This is what happened on the eve of a group trip to Moscow, on the day of the trial of refusenik **V. Pilnikov**, on the eve of the opening of the Madrid Conference, and a few days before the beginning of the 26th Congress of the CPSU.
>
> ...the authorities did not like either the fact that he was actively seeking permission to emigrate to Israel, or that he was helping many refuseniks and, by his fearless behaviour, setting an example for them. He is the only refusenik to have been subjected to six arrests, besides which as a protest against his last ten-day arrest he maintained a hunger-strike throughout the ten days. This courage has not passed unnoticed. In Kiev one must pay for courage.

* * *

Stanislav Zubko (born 1938: a Doctor of Chemical Science) worked as a senior researcher in one of Kiev's scientific-research institutes until 1979, when he applied to emigrate to Israel. Recently he has been working as a loader in a shop, and as a book-binder.[27].

Miscellaneous

Kiev refusenik Jews have appealed to 'public organizations and people of good will':

> The purpose of our appeal is to attract the attention of world public opinion to the ever-increasing repression against us, despite the fact that our actions are strictly legal both in essence and in form.

After discussing the persecution to which refuseniks have been subjected from May 1980 to March 1981 - the five-year imprisonment of V. Pilnikov (Chronicle 57), the arrest of V. Kislik (see above), and the administrative arrests of S. Zubko (six times), I. Knizhnik (three times), I. Berenshtein (twice), V. Kanevsky, V. Kislik, V. Levinshtein, S. Mikhlis and K. Fridman - the refuseniks conclude their appeal with these words:

> The threat of judicial revenge is hanging over the heads of refuseniks like the sword of Damocles. Therefore we appeal to all public organizations and all people of good will to help us by any means at their disposal to obtain the release from imprisonment of Valery Pilnikov and Vladimir Kislik. We ask you to address demands to higher party and government organs that they cease repression against Jews who wish to live in their native land and are being forcibly kept in the USSR.

* * *

At the beginning of 1979 the family of **Mark Ocheretyansky** received permission to leave for Israel. All the necessary documents were handed in and the tax (1400 roubles) was paid. However, the visas which had already been written out were unexpectedly held up. Over a period of ten months Ocheretyansky was threatened with criminal proceedings, which forced him to abandon his departure.

In February 1980 Ocheretyansky was arrested and after a three-month investigation was sentenced to one year of corrective labour |without imprisonment| 'for abusing his official position' (before applying to emigrate Ocheretyansky worked as head of a section in the factory 'Building Materials').

In December 1980 Ocheretyansky presented his sentence to OVIR and a document saying it had been carried out, but he was still not handed the visas. The family have addressed many complaints to higher bodies but not received any replies.

On 23 March 1981 the Ocheretyanskys were told they had been refused permission to leave 'because those who invited them are not closely related'. The tax has gone into the state coffers. On 24 March Ocheretyansky wrote a 'Statement to the Participants in the Madrid Meeting':

> For over a year and a half we have suffered crude tyranny and lawlessness. We have dragged out a miserable existence, deprived of documents, rights, means of subsistence and elementary human conditions, since we sold all our furniture and belongings to pay the tax. My son has been deprived of a childhood since the age of 11: this is the second year he has not attended school, he sleeps on the floor and wears second-hand things... At the present time the family is ruined and on the verge of despair and poverty.

Ocheretyansky has sent similar statements to Kurt Waldheim and to the International Red Cross.

* * *

Leonid Varvak (Chronicle 61) has received answers to his complaints of 17 March in connection with attempts to hospitalize his wife Liliana. The Deputy Head Doctor of the Medical Section of the City Ambulance Service, B.F. Yatsishin, wrote on 24 March:

> I report that on 10.11.80 a specialized psychiatric ambulance brigade, made up of Doctor S.D. Bublik, medical assistant M. Ya. Belous, orderly G.F. Stanishevsky and orderly-driver V.I. Bernadsky twice went out to your wife.
>
> The ambulance was called out by officers of the Pechera district police station, in accordance with a directive at the station issued by a psychiatrist of the Pechera Psychoneurological Clinic (Verkhnyaya Street 4) to hospitalize your wife.

On 7 April Varvak received a reply from the deputy head of the Health Department of Kiev City Soviet EC, Yu. Gradun:

> Kiev City Health Department reports that your wife was examined at home by a psychiatrist in accordance with a request by the Board of Guardians of the Pechera District Soviet EC and a statement by her mother.
>
> As a result of the examination a tentative diagnosis was established. With the purpose of confirming the diagnosis a hospitalization order was issued by a doctor at Pechera Psychoneurological Clinic for an in-patient examination, in connection with which the ambulance brigade went to your address.
>
> The deputy head of the Kiev City Health Department informed you of the necessity of your wife's treatment on the basis of the conclusion reached by a doctor at Pechera Psychoneurological Clinic: the patient has not been put on the clinic's out-patient register.

* * *

On 27 March a search was carried out at the home of **Leonid Galinovsky** by Senior Investigator of the Kiev UVD N.I. Solodkin in connection with 'the case of the explosions' in Kiev between December 1980 and March 1981. The search-warrant said that 'information exists that explosive substances are being kept in the flat'. The search lasted over four hours. The items confiscated included: literature on the history of the Jews and on Israel, collections of poems by Mandelshtam, Gumilëv, Khlebnikov, Shershnevich and Brodsky, two books by Nabokov, Kotlovan by Platonov (in type-script, photocopy and xerox form) and a typewriter (32 items in all).

* * *

On 15 May **Mikhail Elbert** (a refusenik since 1979) was stopped on the street by a policeman who stated that Elbert 'resembled a man suspected of seducing minors'. Elbert and his mother were taken to the police station and searched: Jewish literature was confiscated.

* * *

On 20 May, **14 refuseniks** sent a 'Statement of claim' to the USSR Supreme Court:

> In accordance with the law, we have submitted statements and all the necessary documents to the Department of Visas and Registration |OVIR| of the Administration of Internal Affairs at the Kiev City Soviet EC. As is clear from the attached copies of the Procurator's telegram and letter, we have all been refused permission to leave for permanent residence in Israel because of the absence of direct relatives there. This is a crude violation of point 3 of article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. We have addressed a complaint against OVIR's actions to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the responsible officials at the ministry, Zotov and Ovchinnikov, have confirmed that our refusal is for the above-stated reason.
>
> Thus the ministry has illegally and in violation of article 12 of the Basic Principles of Civil Law restricted us in our civil legal capacity, which fact has inflicted harm on the persons of the complainants.
>
> As the complainants know that thousands of Jews have been deprived in a similar manner of the right to choose their place of residence, we consider that our case in reality concerns hundreds of Jewish families and for this reason is a civil case of exceptional importance. Moreover, the illegal mass restriction of the legal capacity of citizens of Jewish nationality is being

imposed by an institution which protects the law - the USSR MVD.

On the basis of the above, and guided by articles 88 and 89 of the Basic Principles of Civil Law, articles 444, 445 and 446 of the RSFSR Civil Code, and article 26, point 1, of the USSR Law on the USSR Supreme Court we REQUEST:

- that our case be examined by a court of first instance;
- that our right to leave for Israel be recognized, and the respondent be obliged to draw up exit visas.

On 26 May the USSR Supreme Court replied to the complainants that the complaint had been sent to the USSR MVD for examination. On 14 June the complainants sent a telegram to the USSR Supreme Court requesting they be informed of the date 'of the examination of our statement of claim'. On 29 June a reply came from the USSR MVD:

> Complainants I. Kh. Brandt, V.L. Koretsky and V.M. Tereshchenko (three of the 14 - Chronicle) were invited to the Department of Visas and Registration in Kiev. A representative of the OVIR administration in Kiev, comrade D.V. Komar, on behalf of the USSR MVD and at its behest, stated that it was not appropriate to address such a claim to judicial bodies, as it was beyond the jurisdiction of a court.

On the same day the complainants sent a telegram to the USSR Supreme Court, insisting on a court examination of their claim and requesting that they be informed of the date of the court hearing.

* * *

Husband and wife **I. Gerashchenko** and **I. Ratushinskaya** (Chronicle 60) have sent a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet requesting that it should

> make use of your right of legislative initiative in matters of All-Union legislation...and propose to the USSR Supreme Soviet that it insert into chapter 6 of the USSR Constitution an additional article of the following content: 'Citizens of the USSR have the right to leave the territory of the USSR for permanent residence elsewhere'.

They base their request on the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and articles 4 and 29 of the USSR Constitution.

* * *

In his reply to the telegram from refusenik Jews (see 'The Arrest of Zubko') Kaveshnikov also wrote:

> I inform you that there is no officer by the name of Mishchenko on the Kiev KGB staff, and it is not within the competence of the KGB organs to institute administrative proceedings.

Nevertheless, 'Mishchenko' regularly appears amongst KGB officers in operations against refuseniks. He took part in the last three administrative arrests of S. Zubko. During the trial of V. Kislik he hit the pregnant Elena Gofshtein

in the stomach (see above, 'The Trial of Kislik').

The couple **Iosif and Faina Berenshtein** (Chronicle 60) have been trying for about a year to institute proceedings against 'Mishchenko': he threatened them that criminals would rape their daughter (after this incident their daughter almost went blind from nervousness).

In July 'Mishchenko' met Berenshtein and told him: 'You meet with foreigners and they write articles about you. You give information about yourself. You keep 300 dollars at home but you can't even remember where they are. Don't hope to leave, no one will leave Kiev now, not even if they have immediate relatives abroad.'

* * *

In Kiev those who have received refusals 'because the relationship is not close enough' have been informed in UVIR that 'their cases have been closed for good'.

Kharkov

Yu. Dzyuba (Chronicle 53; see also above, 'The Trial of Koryagin') has three times sent in statements renouncing his citizenship and three times paid 500 roubles in this connection.

Kishinëv

The Arrest of Lokshin and Tsukerman

On 30 May a group of Jews assembled by the synagogue in Kishinëv to take to the city UVIR a statement in which complaints were made against the work of UVIR in examining applications to emigrate to Israel; it was demanded that legality be observed in deciding matters of emigration. Those who assembled were detained and taken off to different police stations. Osip Lokshin and Vladimir Tsukerman were arrested. They were charged under article 203-3 of the Moldavian Criminal Code ('Organization or active participation in group actions which disturb the peace').[28]. The rest were released a few hours later.

Tbilisi

On 27 March **I. Goldshtein** (Chronicle 61) was returning from a visit to **I. Nudel** (trial - Chronicle 50), who is in exile in the Tomsk Region. The bus in which he was travelling was stopped by a police car and a black Volga. After the documents of all the passengers on the bus had been checked, Goldshtein and another person - a lecturer at Tomsk University - were taken off. They were conveyed to Shegarka, where the detainees were searched on suspicion of murder. While their things were being carefully examined, both were locked up in detention cells. An hour and a half later they were released with apologies, and everything that had been taken away was returned. However, the recording made on a cassette tape turned out to have been erased.

* * *

On 6 April E. **Bykova** (the wife of I. Goldshtein) sent a statement to the First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs in Georgia, Shaduri:

Five weeks ago you personally stated to me that you would investigate the reasons for the refusal of my exit visa to Israel and personally inform me of these within a month. Today, 6 April 1981, your assistant refused to give me an appointment, saying that you had been instructed that I be referred to the head of the Georgian MVD's OVIR, Colonel Ordzhonikidze. I have already informed you that Ordzhonikidze recognizes he is not competent to deal with my case and says that the KGB decides on refusals, allegedly for security reasons. In the KGB they told me that the Committee for State Security |KGB| has no claims on me and the question of my exit visa must be decided in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. I bring the following to your attention:

1. I have not worked anywhere at all for over nine-and-a-half years, and before that I worked as an ordinary engineer in the Research Institute of Metrology (VNIIASM) and did not have access to classified information. VNIIASM has not received any inquiry from the KGB about whether security restrictions were ever placed on me.

2. In the second half of 1980 Lev Elkind, who had been working at VNIIASM as a chief engineer since 1975 and was responsible for getting classified research into production, left the USSR. Maybe Colonel Ordzhonikidze knows how much permission to leave cost Elkind?

I demand that this tormenting of me and my young son cease, and we be authorized to leave for Israel immediately.

Shaduri sent the statement to Ordzhonikidze, who said: 'You know I don't know anything about it. The KGB knows the reason for the refusal.'

On 1 May Bykova wrote to the Minister of Internal Affairs of Georgia, Gvetadze:

It was with interest that I read your article 'Rooting out Formalism', published in the organ of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet and the Georgian Council of Ministers, Zarya Vostoka, No. 81, 7 April 1981.

At last we have a person in a position of great authority who has begun 'to penetrate deeper into the essence of the struggle with bureaucratism', and 'with other negative phenomena in our everyday reality!' A state of euphoria was aroused in me by your announcement that 'the analysis of complaints and statements from citizens which the Ministry receives has been improved, the reaction to every alarm signal has become more effective'.

I am not asking you to punish your first deputy, General Shaduri... It is possible that General Shaduri did not know about your article, nor that the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of 12.04.1968 forbids that complaints should be sent to those against whom the complaints are being made. However, it is not excluded that you had General Shaduri specifically in mind when you claimed in your article: 'The level of paper work is still low, the necessary culture is lacking in dealing with complaints and statements, there are examples of

red tape, formalism and callousness. Complainants are frequently given vague, unclear answers in which the essence of 'the question and the requests made are left to one side.'

I request you, citizen Minister, to receive me and personally answer this question: For what reason and on what legal basis (if there is such) have I been refused permission to leave for Israel for nine-and-a-half years?

I hope you will not refuse to receive me, for this would contradict your own claim (and I quote from your article): 'With the aim of improving the reception of citizens and the examination of their statements, the Ministry has been holding so-called 'open days' for five yeas now, when visitors can without hindrance see any leading official.'

On 26 May **the brothers Goldshtein** addressed a complaint to the USSR Procurator-General (copy to the Central Committee of the CPSU):

We have both been out of work since December 1971. We are both physicists by education, Doctors of Technical Science, scientific workers deprived of the possibility of engaging in scientific work.

In 1978 G. Goldshtein was illegally, without a corpus delicti, sentenced to 1 year... He was charged with so-called 'parasitism'. In the Soviet EC of the Lenin District of Tbilisi it is recorded that on 24 June and 1 October 1980 G. Goldshtein was allegedly invited there and offered the job of engineer in the industrial associations 'Electro-locomotive Constructor' (Elektrovozostroitel) and 'Machine-tool Constructor' (Stankostroitel), but he allegedly refused.

On 6 November 1980 G. Goldshtein made an application to Procurator Kavsadze of the Lenin District of Tbilisi in which, specifically, he requested the Procurator to see that the Soviet EC issue a certificate confirming that no work directives had been issued to G. Goldshtein.

In a letter of 15 May 1981 addressed to G. Goldshtein... Kavsadze writes that the 'corresponding check was carried out' by him and 'it was established' that the post of engineer had been offered to the declarant on 24 June and 1 October 1980! Evidently to embellish a blatant lie, Procurator Kavsadze added (and we quote): '...You did not agree for the reason that the aforementioned associations are secret and, should the necessity arise, you would not be allowed to go abroad, therefore you asked to be employed as a manual worker.'

Citizen Procurator-General of the USSR! Did Procurator Kavsadze not reveal state secrets by writing that associations with inoffensive names are secret? We, in any case, did not know that the Tbilisi associations 'Electro-locomotive Constructor' and 'Machine-tool Constructor' have secret output. It is incomprehensible what 'necessity' Procurator Kavsadze is writing about. If he has the brothers Goldshtein in mind, then their requests to leave the USSR have remained unsatisfied for ten years now. So our job-placement should not be linked with our tragedy as people held hostage.

In Procurator Kavsadze's letter there is some truth. On 10 April 1981 the Soviet EC of the Lenin District did offer G. Goldshtein work in the association 'Freight-auto-repair' |Gruzavtoremont|. Again we quote Procurator

Kavsadze: 'You stated that the jobs enumerated were not in your specialist field and asked to be employed in any kind of work, i.e. you refused'. The respected Procurator is contradicting himself! If G. Goldshtein asked to be employed in any kind of work, then he did not refuse to work. The jobs enumerated of technological engineer or constructor are, indeed, not in the specialist field of a theoretical physicist. It is of interest whether Procurator Kavsadze would have managed to choose if he had been forced to write which he would prefer - the job of a midwife or the job of a dentist?

We ask you, citizen Procurator-General of the USSR, to see that:

1. we are offered work in accordance with article 40 of the USSR Constitution;
2. provocations against us from various officials be stopped;
3. G. Goldshtein be legally exculpated and those guilty of his illegal conviction punished.

On 30 June the brothers Goldshtein wrote to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Procuracy:

We have been refused permission to leave for Israel since 1971. As grounds for refusal officers of the Georgian KGB referred to a commission resolution of the Research Institute of Metrology (VNIIASM) where we worked up to the second half of 1971.

In December 1980 we were informed that we had been cleared of security restrictions. This information was also confirmed by the fact that Lev Elkind, who had worked at VNIIASM until 1975 on the same subject matter as ourselves, left the USSR in 1980...

Sources in the Georgian KGB confirmed that we had been cleared of security restrictions, but said the refusal of our exit visas was determined by a higher Moscow body. In October 1980 KGB Major Kalandadze informed us that our case would not be re-examined until 1987...

We ask you to inform us what legally established means exist of complaining to a court about the actions of officials, so that we have the chance to institute a case against the head of the All-Union OVIR.

* * *

Sofia Abramovna Baazova (born 1909) is a Doctor of Medical Science, a professor, an Honoured Scientist of Georgia, chief neurologist for Georgia's resorts, and a member of the CPSU. Baazova is the wife of a famous Georgian-Jewish writer, Gertsl Baazov, who perished in 1937. (During the Khrushchev era Baazov was legally exculpated.) Baazova has stated repeatedly that she wishes to emigrate to Israel. Two of her granddaughters emigrated in 1979 and 1980.

In February 1981 an attempt was made on Baazova's life: in the entrance to the house where she lives she was hit over the head with a chair-leg, which Baazova's son (the father of the girls who emigrated) picked up soon afterwards. In hospital Baazova was given 12 stitches in the head and concussion was diagnosed.

Baazova told the investigators from the Criminal Investigation Department, who interrogated her the same day in hospital, that her son had the object with which the blow was inflicted. However, the chair-leg was taken into

the Criminal Investigation Department only a week later and after that it was stated that no fingerprints had been found on it.

The investigators presented Baazova with about 30 photographs for identification, one of which she recognized as the criminal. He turned out to be a certain Alik Medvedev (his father is a retired KGB Lieutenant-Colonel, his mother - a member of the Georgian Supreme Court) - a friend of the husband of one of the granddaughters who emigrated.

They started putting pressure on Baazova to make her withdraw her testimony. Both officials (including the District Procurator) and her son, who declared that he would disown his mother, took part in this. However, Baazova did not withdraw her testimony.

A few days after the identification Baazova received official notification from the police saying that 'the case against A. Medvedev in connection with the light injury inflicted on S.A. Baazova has been closed because of insufficient proof of his guilt'. While Baazova was confined to bed she was telephoned from time to time and threatened that accounts with her would be settled.

Dushanbe

On 16 April, 13 German inhabitants of Dushanbe arrived at the Central Committee building of the Tadzhik Communist Party and asked to be received in connection with their applications to leave for permanent residence in West Germany. The policeman standing at the entrance stated that 'comrade Khasanov' would receive them. A short while later, however, a police detachment appeared, and demanded that they disperse immediately. The Germans started to explain that they were not doing anything illegal. Then they were forcibly pushed into vehicles, driven off to the Oktyabrsky District Police Station in Dushanbe, and all left alone in one room. After sitting there for 30 minutes and seeing that no one was concerning himself with them, the Germans left the police station and again went to the Central Committee. They were again stopped and told to return to the police station. The Germans were also assured that then they would at once be received by officials of the Central Committee and the MVD. The Germans stated that until the officials appeared and received them they would not go anywhere. Then they were again pushed into vehicles and driven back to the police station, where they were held for several hours. **Iosif Berger** and **Robert Lozing** were called into a separate room for a talk, from where they were taken away by force to an unknown destination. It later turned out that they had received ten days each 'for petty hooliganism' (from Judge Ozerov).

The following day the remaining 11 people went to the Central Committee once again and left a collective complaint in the reception-room (copies to the Procuracies of Tadzhikistan and Dushanbe) against the actions of the police, in which they asked specifically: 'Since when has an appeal to higher instances been considered a crime?'

The Arrest of Marsal

On 19 June, by resolution of the Dushanbe Procuracy, the German Artur Mikhailovich Marsal (Chronicle 54), who has

been seeking permission to leave for West Germany since 1976, was arrested. Searches were carried out at Marsal's home and work-place, at which letters from Germany, copies of appeals to Soviet bodies, and notebooks were confiscated. Marsal's wife was informed in the Procuracy that he was being charged with 'slanderous fabrications directed against the Soviet political and social system'.[29]

* * *

On 30 June the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 171, 'New Cases of Persecution of Citizens of German Nationality who wish to leave the USSR'. The document concludes with the words:

> By repressing citizens whose sole 'crime' is their desire to leave the USSR, the authorities are yet again violating the fundamental principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and demonstrating a lack of will to fulfil the humanitarian articles of the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreements.

Estonia

98 Germans (from 23 families) have addressed an open letter to Brezhnev, in which they ask for his help in obtaining permission to leave. Four of them have been applying to leave since 1972, 23 (from six families) since 1974.

Vilnius

Pentecostalist **E. Bulakh** kept up the hunger-strike he had started on 7 February (Chronicle 61) until 8 March. During his strike he was summoned to the military enlistment office and sent from there to a medical commission. The medical commission sent him to a psychoneurological clinic for a psychiatric examination. Bulakh did not go despite repeated summonses. He was told in the enlistment office that if he were declared sane, he would be tried for not having gone at once to the Clinic: if he were declared sick, he would be treated.

In the Lithuanian MVD they promised to resolve his case, but in OVIR he was told to submit documents for an exit visa to Israel. However, a short while later he was refused permission to leave on either his American or his Israeli invitation.

Armenia

Sirvard Avakyan, who was released in March, has sent this statement to Brezhnev:

> In my 28 years I, a former worker at the Ekhegnadzor radio-relay factory, have had to experience such barbaric methods of persecution and personal insults that one could not help but compare it all with the actions of the fascists during the war years.
>
> Without reason - work dismissals and violent beatings;

> without reason - psychiatric hospitals; without reason - prison and long prison convoys to Irkutsk, slave labour in a penal settlement...where I had to experience cruel treatment from the administration. I was beaten until my blood flowed and I lost consciousness; without reason I underwent months of punishment cells and starvation; my relatives were not told where I was. All of this was carried out by people who have lost their human aspect, with the ferocious zeal and stupidity of loud-mouthed soldiers executing an order to torment me as cruelly as possible. They could humiliate me physically, but spiritually I remain the same as I always was, uncompromising in the face of lawlessness and human vileness.
>
> After all these terrifying, inhuman experiences I am forced to turn to you with one single request: to deprive me of Soviet citizenship and allow me to emigrate. Let me feel bad abroad without my Motherland, without relatives and friends, but even one's native land can be hateful when tyranny and callousness prevail. To carry out this difficult task I will stop at nothing, since henceforth my living in the USSR is deprived of all meaning.

Have Left

On 31 March the artist **Dina Grossman** (Chronicle 61), a participant in the two-week hunger-strike during the Moscow Olympics, of the 'marches' of Moscow Jews in the autumn and winter of 1980-1 on the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, OVIR, the Moscow City Soviet and the RSFSR Procuracy (Chronicles 60, 61), and of the demonstration on 24 December 1980 outside the Lenin Library (Chronicle 60), emigrated from Moscow.

On 13 April **Alexander Shipov** (Chronicle 61), a participant of the 'marches' and the demonstration, left from Moscow. On the same day, participant of the 'marches' **Samuil Azarkh** (Chronicle 60) left from Moscow. On 15 April an actor from the Jewish amateur theatre, **Igor Vinogradov** (Chronicle 60), a participant in the hunger-strike and the 'marches', left from Moscow.

On 19 May **Natalya Khrakovskaya**, who declared a hunger-strike at the time of the 26th Congress of the CPSU (Chronicle 61), left from Moscow. In June Pentecostalist **Galina Ukhtomskaya** (Chronicle 57) left from Moscow.

* * *

Sergei Soldatov (Chronicle 61), who was released in January, was advised to leave the USSR before 1 May; however, he did not manage to finish processing his documents by that date. On 10 May he went for a meeting with his son Alexander in the camp where he is held (Chronicle 58). He was refused a meeting on the pretext that it was a 'holiday' in the camp. The following day S. Soldatov handed in his passport, without having been able to see his son. On 18 May Soldatov emigrated.

* * *

In April the KGB requested the key to **Alexander Babënyshev's** (Chronicle 60) work-room. Many of his colleagues were summoned to the special section [KGB office] and warned about being 'careful' in their dealings with him. At these

briefings it was said, specifically, that Babënyshev had been to Gorky to see Sakharov and had brought back some photographs.

On 24 April Babënyshev was summoned to his district OVD, where officer Stroka inquired whether he had changed his mind about emigrating, asked him not 'to become embittered', and said that Babënyshev would probably be allowed to leave. A few days later Babënyshev was telephoned by OVIR and asked to come for a visa. (He had been waiting for permission for about two years. In February he received an oral refusal.)

On 6 May Babënyshev was given a final date for the validity of his exit visa - 14 May. The same day his telephone was cut off. On 16 May Babënyshev was detained on the street by two civilians who produced criminal search-warrants - he had a 'suspiciously large' bag. A search was carried out, during which a small part of the collection devoted to the 60th birthday of A.D. Sakharov (Babënyshev was one of the active compilers of this collection)30. was confiscated from him. A talk was conducted with Babënyshev, which sometimes adopted a fairly menacing tone. Until 21 May (Sakharov's birthday) he was demonstratively shadowed. On 19 June A. Babënyshev and his mother S.E. Babënysheva (Chronicle 56) left the USSR.

* * *

At the end of April and beginning of May, B.B. Karatayev (Chronicle 57) telephoned **Yu. Gastev** (Chronicle 57) several times, to remind him that it was time for him to take a decision about leaving. (The KGB first suggested to Gastev that he emigrate in November 1977.) On 5 May Karatayev talked with Gastev at the Lubyanka Prison. Gastev was given the period of validity of his exit visa - until the end of May; after that he would 'have only himself to blame'.

On 29 May Karatayev phoned Gastev again and informed him that he was expected at UVIR at 19.00. In reply Gastev enquired about the fate of his statements to Andropov. Karatayev promised to give an oral answer. Gastev insisted on the answer 'in the proper form'. Karatayev promised to continue the conversation on Monday (he was phoning on Friday). The same day Gastev handed in his documents to UVIR.

On 21 June, the day the visa expired, Gastev was not admitted for a long time to the customs inspection, as a result of which he missed the aeroplane. On 22 June Gastev left the USSR.

IN THE PRISONS AND CAMPS

The Case of Airikyan |Chronicles 60, 61|

When E. **Sirotenko** brought a parcel to P. Airikyan, who was held in Perm Prison, the receptionist refused to take it, saying that Airikyan had been forbidden by the investigator to receive parcels.

Sirotenko complained about this ban to the duty Procurator of Perm Regional Procuracy, Shirinkin, who told her that

until sentence was passed, parcels, visits and correspondence could be allowed only by the investigator. At this point Shirinkin cited the Code of Criminal Procedure, but refused to show her the relevant article, saying that he did not have the Code at hand. After telephoning the prison head and ascertaining that Airikyan's case was being further examined by Investigator V.I. Sobolev of the Perm Regional Procuracy, Shirinkin referred Sirotenko to him.

Sobolev told Sirotenko that he did not have the right to forbid or allow parcels: this was the right of the prison head. At the same time, he attempted to interrogate Sirotenko, asking her the value of the food supplies sent in 1979 to Zhilin (he was especially interested in the cost of the stock cubes). Sirotenko's reply on the amount of customs duty she had paid for a parcel from abroad containing stock cubes did not satisfy him, although he made a note of it. No record was drawn up. Sobolev suddenly cut the 'chat' short, and, disregarding Sirotenko's protest, carried out an 'examination' of the contents of her handbag. He explained later that he was searching for a tape-recorder.

On her return to the prison, Sirotenko told the prison head what Sobolev had said. But he demanded that Sirotenko bring him Sobolev's permission in writing, promising that if she did, he would accept the parcel that same day.

Sobolev, however, repeated to Sirotenko everything he had said about the investigator's rights. 'If I allow it,' he said, 'you'll say I could forbid it as well.' He promised to find out the reasons why Airikyan was forbidden to receive parcels and to let Sirotenko know within a week. In this way, for a third consecutive month Airikyan received no parcels. (According to the 'Statute on Pre-Trial Imprisonment under Custody', the administration of a place of detention has the right to forbid parcels. Parcels may be forbidden for one month for an infringement of discipline.)

* * *

On 22 May Sirotenko was informed by telephone by the Perm Regional Procuracy and Perm Regional Court that Airikyan's case had been passed to the court.

On 24 May Sirotenko sent a complaint to the USSR Procurator-General about the 'overrunning of the permitted term of custody that Paruir Arshavirovich Airikyan is being held for during the investigation':

> ...In the last ten days of December 1980, the requirements of article 201 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure were carried out by the investigator, but at that time you asked to be sent the case file and it was referred by your order for further investigation. The arrest warrant issued by the RSFSR Procuracy was valid until 28 January 1981. On 30 January 1981 the case was referred by the Perm Procuracy to Perm Regional Court. At an administrative session of the court on 17 February the case was referred back for further investigation. Not until the beginning of April was a warrant for his arrest issued, valid until 20 May 1981. From what the investigator has said, I know that Airikyan was held in custody for one-and-a-half months without a warrant, on the sole basis of a document stating that the investigator had submitted a petition for the term of arrest to be extended. On 21 May 1981 I was in Perm and was told in Perm

Regional Court that they had not received the case from the Procuracy. In the Procuracy office the secretary informed me that the decision to end the investigation (article 201 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure) had not yet been signed by Airikyan and that the investigator had gone to see him in the investigations prison. Thus, in violation of articles 11, 96 and 97 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, Airikyan has been held in custody since 21 May 1981 without legal grounds and should be released immediately. I request you to consider this complaint urgently and to take measures to restore the legality which has been violated.

On 29 May Sirotenko was told in the court that the case file had been collected two days earlier by the investigator: it was now listed as being in possession of the Procuracy and was not being examined by the court. On 3 or 4 June the Procuracy informed her that the case had reached them, so that Airikyan could study the case materials further. On 4 June Sobolev told Airikyan's lawyer P. Abrikosov (from Moscow) that the warrant for his arrest (the extension of his term of custody) was in the case file.

The Case of Ovsienko

Vasily Ovsienko (Chronicle 52) has been charged under article 62, part 2, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code). He is charged with 'agitation and propaganda', both oral (his final speech at his trial in 1979) and written (a letter to the UN written in camp, about camp conditions). He was transferred from camp (his sentence was due to end on 8 February 1982) to Zhitomir. The KGB is in charge of the case. Ovsienko is taking no part in the investigation.[31]

The Case of Bolonkin

On 20 April Alexander Bolonkin's (Chronicle 51) second camp term was due to end. However, on 10 April he was charged under article 70, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

* * *

On 30 April the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 166, 'Alexander Bolonkin's term of imprisonment is becoming a life sentence':

> ...Since in camp conditions any activity, including 'anti-Soviet' activity, is effectively impossible, the charge under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code is simply absurd. The punishment stipulated in article 70, part 2, is up to 10 years' imprisonment, followed by up to five years' exile.
>
> Since Alexander Bolonkin has already served a sentence under article 70 he will inevitably be ruled an especially dangerous recidivist, which will entail a sentence under the inhuman conditions of a special-regime camp.
>
> After nine years in camps and exile Bolonkin's health

> has been irrevocably undermined (chronic gastritis, cystitis of the colon, inflammation of the rectum) and a new long sentence could become a life sentence for him.

On 3 May A. Sakharov published an 'Appeal in Defence of Alexander Bolonkin':

> I appeal to Alexander Bolonkin's mathematician colleagues in the USSR and in all countries, to all scientists, to all honest people. I appeal to the Heads of all the Governments which signed the Helsinki Agreement, to all statesmen and public figures, to men of culture and businessmen who are able to influence the Soviet leaders, I appeal to Amnesty International: come to Alexander Bolonkin's defence.[32]

Chistopol Prison

Yu. Butchenko (Chronicles 51-3, 56) and **M. Slobodyan** (Chronicles 52, 56) have been transferred here from Perm Camp 35, and **M. Marinovich** (Chronicles 56, 60) from Perm Camp 36.

From November to December 1980 **M. Kazachkov** and **V. Balakhonov** attempted suicide several times. Once Kazachkov's belt broke: on another occasion, guards pulled him out of the noose: when he slashed his veins, the blood did not flow. Balakhonov slashed his veins in his cell, then attempted to hang himself from the window-bars in a punishment cell: on both occasions he was saved by guards. Kazachkov was given three-and-a-half years (Chronicle 61) under only one article: article 206, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism').

On 5 May 1981 the head of Chistopol Prison, R. Galiulin, told L. Boitsova in reply to her question that her husband **S. Kovalëv** had been 'recruited for socially useful work', but was not fulfilling the norm: on 10 February he was deprived of a regular visit for 'infringing prison discipline'. On 20 May the Deputy Head of the Tatar ASSR MVD Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions, Lieutenant-Colonel G.M. Vinogradov, replied to Boitsova that a letter written by Kovalëv in January had been 'sent to the addressee, but a letter written in May, in accordance with the Statute on Internal Agreements for Corrective Labour Institutions, article 631, paragraph 5, had not been sent to the addressee, of which fact he (Kovalëv - Chronicle) had been informed: it was then destroyed'. A letter written by Kovalëv in May passed the censors. Since the beginning of the year only three letters from his wife have been delivered to him.

The Mordovian Camps

Camp 3

Major A.A. Zinenko has been replaced as Camp Commandant by his Deputy in charge of discipline, Major N.V. Pavlov. The man directly in charge of the political camp-zones (uchr. ZhKh-385/3-4 and uchr. ZhKh-385/3-5) is Captain S. Gainichenko (Chronicle 58).

* * *

D. Mazur (trial in Chronicle 60), **V. Skuodis** (trial in Chronicle 60) and **A. Janulis** (trial in Chronicle 60) have arrived in the men's political zone. **V. Osipov** has been given 9 and 11 days in the cooler.

Yu. Badzë has not yet been given a copy of his sentence, although he has written to the Procuracy. The Deputy Camp Head in charge of political matters, N.I. Brezgin, told S. Kirichenko (Chronicle 60), when she came to visit her husband, that Yu. Badzë was a conscientious worker, that the administration had no complaints against him and that the norm had even been reduced by 15% for him in view of his cataract. But that he had not embarked on the path of reform. He had taken part in a strike in summer 1980 (Chronicle 57); for this he had been deprived of a short visit in December 1980. In 1981 he declared three-day hunger-strikes on three occasions: from 23 to 25 March while the 26th Party Congress was in session; at the same time he had sent a letter to the Congress through the Procuracy; second, on the second anniversary of his arrest, from 23 to 25 April, when he wrote a statement addressed to Brezhnev, calling himself a prisoner of conscience, using the term 'concentraton camp', etc., in view of which the letter, as a piece of slander, 'had naturally not been sent'; and Badzë had conducted a third hunger-strike from 10 to 12 May. In view of the above, the camp Commandant took the decision to deprive Badzë of a long visit (primarily for his letter to Brezhnev). Kirichenko was granted a short (two-hour) visit.

* * *

At the beginning of June **Tatyana Osipova** (trial in this issue) arrived in the women's political zone (uchr. ZhKh-385/3-4). On 15 May **Oksana Popovich** was taken to the Ukraine for 're-education'. In mid-July the zone contained six persons: **Tatyana Velikanova, Tatyana Osipova, Galina Silivonchik, Lyudmila Listvina, Maria Semënova** and **Aleksandra Khvotkova.**

* * *

In April **Silivonchik** requested a pardon (her 13-year camp sentence ends on 3 June 1982; she still faces five years' exile). On 8 July she received a refusal - 'owing to the seriousness of the crime'. During the 12 years of her camp sentence KGB officers have suggested several times to Silivonchik that she collaborate, always to no avail.

On 6 July **Listvina** wrote a request for a pardon: that day she had served half of her five-year sentence (Chronicle 60 contains an error). At home she has a mother who is seriously ill and a ten-year-old son. Her mother refuses to go into hospital for a cancer operation, as there is no one to leave her son with.

* * *

On 5 January **Semënova** caught a chill in a cold bath-house (the building was not heated, only the water); she spent a month in hospital. **Listvina** has been in hospital since mid-February with an illness of the thyroid gland. There she caught something like mites from another woman in the ward. There has been an increase of mites in the camp; it has not been possible to call in a dermatologist. A nurse said that she could see a dermatologist in two months and brought Listvina some sulphur-mercury ointment. After Listvina rubbed this ointment on herself twice, a rash

broke out all over her body and her temperature rose to 39°. Then a dermatologist came and prescribed treatment.

* * *

On 8 July **Osipova** was to have a long visit from her husband I. Kovalëv (the first visit in camp). On 6 July Gainichenko and three KGB officers arrived in the camp. In the evening of 7 July the woman on duty told her that on 8 July repairs would begin in the premises where visits took place. (This is the third time repairs have been made in the last nine months. The first was in October 1980, just before T. Velikanova's visit. The second was in February, before Silivonchik's visit.) On 10 July Osipova wrote a complaint to the Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions and to the Procuracy for the Mordovian camps. The second complaint was sent by the administration; the first was not.

The Perm Camps

Camp 35

G. Iesmantas and **P. Peceliunas** who were tried in the same case (trial in Chronicle 60) have arrived here. In April **M. Morozov** arrived (trial in Chronicle 61). **V. Poresh** (trial in Chronicle 57) is serving his sentence here.

* * *

In October 1980 **A. Shcharansky** was sent several times to clear the forbidden strip. He refused and was put in the cooler. At the end of 1980 Shcharansky was appointed nightman. Since M. Ostrovsky, who had this job, did not want to leave it (persons working in this job are given increased food rations), Shcharansky refused. For refusing to work he was put in the punishment block for six months on 13 January 1981. In February Shcharansky went on strike, demanding to be allowed normal correspondence (since October 1980 letters from his brother have stopped reaching him, and about one out of ten letters from his mother have been delivered); he was given four consecutive 15-day sentences in the cooler. For this reason, he wrote that he would not leave the punishment block until September (a term served in the cooler is no longer counted as part of a term in the punishment block!).

On 10 March a Bible published in the USSR, prayers and religious postcards were confiscated from **Poresh**; psalms also published in the USSR were confiscated from **Shcharansky**. Shcharansky, still on strike, demanded in addition that his psalms be returned to him.

On 11 March Poresh went on hunger-strike. Lieutenant Volkov announced that any hunger-striker who did not go out to work would be punished for refusing to work. On 19 March Poresh was already too weak to go out to work: he was given 15 days in the cooler. Poresh continued his hunger-strike; **Yu. Butchenko, Sturmanis** and **Bogachev** went on strike, demanding that Poresh's life be saved. For this, Butchenko was given 15 days, and Sturmanis and Bogachev five days each in the cooler. When they left the cooler, Sturmanis and Bogachev resumed their strike. On 1 April Poresh was force-fed for the first time (at this point the guard V. Bormatov knocked out one of his teeth). Poresh's unsuccessful hunger-strike lasted 70 days.

After the cooler Butchenko was put in the punishment block for two months. From there he was transferred to Chistopol Prison until the end of his sentence (in 1975 he was given eight years' strict-regime camp under article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code for attempting to escape abroad). As a protest against his sentence, **Morozov** has twice slashed his veins. In April he declared a dry hunger-strike [no solids and no liquids]. In June Morozov held a seven-day dry hunger-strike in an attempt to be transferred to lighter work.

* * *

The camp Commandant is now Chaika (Chronicles 51, 52).

Camp 36 (Special-Regime)

M. Niklus has arrived here (trial in Chronicle 61). He is very ill. **B. Gajauskas** complains of pain in his eyes; he cannot stand bright light. **V. Stus** is feeling ill. His shoulder joints still ache: Stus was 'carried' in handcuffs to an interrogation, as he refused to go of his own accord. Before being transported to Kiev Stus had about 150 poems and book synopses confiscated. In camp all his draft poems are confiscated, as they contain 'slanderous fabrications'.

A. Murzhenko has been transferred to a barracks. **A. Berdnik, I. Gel, B. Rebrik** and nine 'war criminals' are living with him. Murzhenko is very thin, has shadows in his cheeks, and feels ill. In May Rebrik was transported into exile (see 'In Exile').

* * *

The Commandant of the special-regime zone is Major Fëderov.

Camp 36 (Strict-Regime)

On 4 June **A. Shevchenko** arrived here (trial in Chronicle 60), and on 14 June **G. Altunyan** (trial in this issue). In June **Yu. Fëdorov** was transferred back to Camp 36 (Chronicle 61). Prior to this he underwent an examination in the medical unit of the investigations prison in Perm. The doctors pronounced him perfectly healthy and fit for work. (Fëdorov had previously been diagnosed as suffering from chronic nephritis, cystitis of the colon, bronchitis and polyarthritis.) He is no longer being given a special diet. In Camp 36 he contracted diseases of the gall bladder, kidneys and lungs. In the evenings he has a temperature of 38.4° to 38.6°. In a letter to his mother Yu. Fëdorov writes that he has lost a great deal of weight over the last three months: 'If you recognize me at all, it won't be right away.'

In March O.P. Novikov of the Moscow KGB (Chronicle 57) interrogated **A. Terleckas**. He said he was interrogating him in connection with the case of **I. Kovalëv** and **Yu. Shikhanovich**, and explained that at a search of A. Lavut's home a manuscript copy of Chronicle 55 containing editorial markings in Shikhanovich's handwriting had been confiscated, and that according to KGB information the latter had edited the collective letter on the fortieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (Chronicle 54). Novikov was trying to get Terleckas to confirm the latter statement. Terleckas told him that he did not know either of them well, and had never had any conversations with them on political subjects. Novikov told Terleckas that the KGB were angry with Shikhanovich, who had made promises in the past (Chronicle 30) but was now failing to keep them.

A. Ogorodnikov is trying to get his Bible back; he has permission to subscribe to the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, and has been allowed to see a priest, and to take a correspondence course with some theological seminary or academy. On 16 March he declared a hunger-strike, demanding to be given back the Bible taken away from him while he was being transported. Force-feeding was begun only on 24 April. Ogorodnikov was allowed to register his marriage to his de facto wife, Elena Levashova: they were not granted a visit after the registration of their marriage. **V. Nekipelov** is suffering from migraines. He has low blood pressure (80/60).

Camp 37

G. Yakunin (trial in Chronicle 58), **V. Shevchenko** (trial in Chronicle 60), **P. Buzas** (trial in Chronicle 60), **A. Zinchenko** (trial in Chronicle 61) and **V. Chitanava** (trial in Chronicle 61) have arrived here. At the beginning of June **A. Koryagin** (trial in this issue) arrived here. **V. Sverdlov** (Chronicle 57) has been transferred here. Shortly before Yakunin's arrival all Bibles in the camp were confiscated. Yakunin's Bible, too, was confiscated from him on arrival.

On 26 March P.S. Fëdorova came for a short visit with her son. She was told in the camp that Yu. Fëdorov had already been in hospital for three months (in fact he had only arrived in Camp 37 on 10 March). The next day P.S. Fëdorova went to the camp hospital in Vsesvyatskaya. There she was refused permission for the visit, the reason being that there were no premises for this purpose, and advised to return to the camp and wait there until her son was discharged from hospital. Her parcel, which contained various food supplies, tobacco, spectacles and a pipe, was accepted. P.S. Fëdorova later found out that Yu. Fëdorov had been transferred to hospital on 26 March, after receiving her telegram announcing that she had set off for the visit: on 27 March only the spectacles and the pipe were given to him. (See also 'Camp 36'.)

While he was in the punishment block, **Yu. Orlov** spent 40 days in the cooler: 30 days in November-December 1980 (Chronicle 60) and 10 days in January (for a hunger-strike protesting against letters being withheld from him). For this reason he was released from the punishment block only on 24 March. Private notes have been confiscated from Orlov.

On 4 May Yu. Orlov, G. Yakunin, Yu. Fëdorov, M. Karpenok (Chronicle 56), Kuznetsov, Belov, Lukyanovich, Ivlyushkin, Chitanava, Yurev and apparently two others held a hunger-strike protesting against the Soviet Union's failure to implement the humanitarian articles of the Helsinki Final Act and demanding official recognition of political prisoner status in the USSR.

In Other Prisons and Camps

On 6 June **A. Lavut** (trial in Chronicle 60) arrived in a camp with the following address: 682731, Khabarovsky krai, Solnechny r-n, pos. Mavrinsk, uchr. YaB-257/16. On 4 July (a Saturday) the foreman of the workshop where Lavut was working told him to come to work at 8 pm on Monday. On 6 July in the morning an order was read out to Lavut, stating that he was deprived of a 'long' visit for not

going to work. The foreman of the workshop, who happened to be passing by at the time, confirmed the instructions he had given on Saturday, but to no avail.

While **L. Ternovsky** (trial in Chronicle 60) was in Moscow (Chronicle 61), he was put in the prison hospital with acute sciatica. On 22 May he arrived in a camp with the following address: 445023, Kuibyshevskaya obl., g. Tolyatti, uchr. UR-65/8. **Ja. Stanelyte** (trial in Chronicle 60) is serving her sentence at the following address: 622020, Sverdlovskaya obl., g. Nizhny Tagil, uchr. UShch-349/6-1a. **A. Myasnikov** (trial in Chronicle 61) is serving his sentence in Sverdlovsk Region, in uchr. UShch-349/47.

On 13 June **A. Magidovich** (trial in Chronicle 61) was transported from his camp (Arkhangelskaya obl., g. Velsk, uchr. UG-42/14) to the prison hospital in Arkhangelsk (uchr. UG-42/1-3): on 15 June he was placed in the tubercular ward for examination (Magidovich is tormented by a cough, especially at night: he has constant sharp pains in the right side of his pelvis and sometimes in his whole right leg: he is weak all over). He was robbed on the journey. Magidovich writes that approximately 90% of his fellow camp inmates

> are people who have not ended up behind barbed wire by chance...they cannot live outside for long, and on being released very soon end up behind bars again...it is hard for people who are in these camps by chance or as a result of a judicial or other error especially for those over 35 to 45. The behaviour of the above-mentioned people does not conform to any modern ethical norms. Here too they often flaunt their coarse behaviour and acts of hooliganism. But an uncompromising struggle is waged against them in the camp by the security officials. It would be more successful if all the victims of attacks by the 'borzois' were not afraid of them.

V. Gandzyuk is serving his sentence at the following address: 349140, Voroshilovgradskaya obl., Perevalsk, uchr. UL-314/15. He was arrested on 13 January (Chronicle 61) and sentenced under article 206, part 2, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism') to three years' strict-regime camp. According to him, his crime consisted in the fact that he 'played the hooligan with a fork, stringing a cutlet from a plate on to the fork'.

* * *

Before **K. Podrabinek** (trial in Chronicle 61) was dispatched from prison (Lipetskaya obl., g. Elets, uchr, YuU-323/ST-2) to camp, a security officer told him to show him the poems he had written. Kirill demanded that the poems be examined in his presence, but the officer grabbed the poems and took them away. Kirill slashed his veins in protest. Medical staff who came running staunched the heavy bleeding, after which the officer gave Kirill back his poems.

While K. Podrabinek was being transported in a 'Stolypin' railway coach, the deputy head guard refused to take him out to the toilet. In reply to Kirill's protest he threatened him: 'Let's go - I'll show you the toilet!' He took Kirill out on to the platform and raised his arm to hit him, but Kirill forestalled him and knocked him down with a blow to the jaw. The head guard handed in a report of an 'unprovoked attack on a guard'; the report was attached to K. Podrabinek's personal case file.

At first K. Podrabinek was serving his sentence in Usman, Lipetsk Region (uchr. 323/1-B). Despite his tuberculosis, he was apprenticed to a lathe operator. During a visit he complained that he was feeling worse (sweating, weakness). At the end of April K. Podrabinek was sent to a new camp.

In Saratov Transit Prison Kirill was kicked by a guard as he was being put in a special cell. Furious, he managed to run out into the corridor. Another guard struck Kirill in the face; Kirill struck him back and demanded to see the head guard. The sergeant who arrived immediately hit Kirill; Kirill hit him back. Several guards came running and began beating Kirill up. The beating did not stop until the duty officer, Major Tsaplin, arrived. Kirill demanded a doctor, but a nurse came; she 'did not notice any marks on his body'. Tsaplin told Kirill that he would now be left alone, but refused to draw up a record of the incident. When Kirill was transported from Saratov a report of 'an attack on a soldier inside the prison' was added to his case file. K. Podrabinek's statements to the USSR Procuracy were held up. K. Podrabinek is now serving his sentence at the following address: Ulyanovskaya obl., Novoulyanovsk, uchr. YuI-78/2.

* * *

On 4 May Kirill's father, **P.A. Podrabinek**, sent a letter to the Medical Administration of the USSR MVD:

> At the beginning of this year I sent a letter to the Medical Administration of the MVD, in which I informed you of the poor state of health of my son KIRILL PINKHOSOVICH PODRABINEK, who suffers from tuberculosis of the lungs. His illness was contracted in prison and was diagnosed after a delay of over a year; treatment has been inadequate and sporadic, and the disease is progressing.
>
> The Medical Administration made the necessary enquiry and I received the following letter from Lipetsk UVD:
>
> > In reply to your letter received by the Medical Department on 11 March 1981, we inform you that your son K.P. Podrabinek is at present in the tubercular ward of a hospital of the Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions, where he is being given the necessary treatment.
> > Signed: N.S. Popov, Head of the Medical Department of the Lipetsk Regional Soviet EC UVD
>
> On 16-17 April I had a meeting with my son, from whom I found out that, contrary to N.S. Popov's assertion, my son is not and has not been in hospital in 1981, but has been treated as an out-patient and has continued to work. This was also confirmed by a telegram from institution YuU-323/1-2, where my son is now:
>
> > Your son receiving treatment as an out-patient. Hospitalization not necessary.
> > Petukhov, Head of Medical Unit, Usman
>
> I am not a tubercular specialist, but a doctor with 20 years' therapeutic experience and a Doctor of Medicine.
>
> I ask you:
>
> 1. To find out and explain to me who was the source

of the false information about my son being in a hospital tubercular ward, and what was the purpose of this disinformation.

2. To explain to me the symptoms according to which tubercular patients are hospitalized in the network of the Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions - whether in accordance with Order No. 689 of 3 September 1973 of the USSR Ministry of Health or other directives.

3. Why K.P. Podrabinek 'does not need' to be hospitalized when this is obviously necessary.

(P. Podrabinek sent copies of this statement to Popov and Petukhov.)

On 29 May P.A. Podrabinek sent a letter to Amnesty International, the International Red Cross, the Committee to Defend the Podrabinek Brothers and the Moscow Helsinki Group. After describing K. Podrabinek's situation, he concludes the letter as follows:

> Thus my son's natural reaction to attempts to humiliate him and to illegal assault may entail new charges, resulting in an increase in his term of imprisonment, which is beyond Kirill's strength as it is.
>
> At our meeting in Usman I knew already that my son was seriously ill. The disease in his lungs is progressing. I am a doctor and can assess it objectively. The official reply of the MVD Medical Administration to my enquiry is ridiculous: '...your son is being treated against a relapse, he is under dynamic supervision, his condition is improving'.
>
> It is both untrue and ignorant! Treatment against a relapse should be administered after the patient has been cured, after a complete course of active treatment, which Kirill has never obtained. My son does not need out-patient treatment, he needs constant in-patient treatment until the active process has ceased completely. I hope that you will take all possible measures to save my son's life.

On 12 June the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 168, 'New Persecution of Kirill Podrabinek in Places of Imprisonment':

> We are opposed on principle to the use of force against lawlessness, but Kirill Podrabinek's reactions to attempts by administration officials to degrade his human dignity, and to physical violence, were unavoidable, as he had no other means of self-defence at his disposal.
>
> The events described in P.A. Podrabinek's letter give reason to fear for Kirill Podrabinek's future fate. Any increase in the severity of his sentence, which is already beyond his strength, could result in his death.

The Moscow Helsinki Group sent this document and P. Podrabinek's letter of 29 May to the USSR MVD Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions,

> so that steps may be taken to investigate and put a stop to the illegal actions of administration officials in Saratov Transit Prison and guards serving on the Usman-Ulyanovsk route.

* * *

A. Podrabinek (Chronicle 61) was given 15 days in the cooler and, immediately afterwards, six months in the punishment block. He is being punished for refusing to walk around the camp in formation. In May he was deprived of access to the camp shop. A Podrabinek suffers badly from stomach pains.

In March **Vyacheslav Bakhmin** (Chronicle 61) was transported by plane to Moscow (see 'The Trial of Osipova'). He was transported back to the same camp no later than 6 April. On his return to camp he was at first given a job as storekeeper, but was then transferred to manual labour.

In the spring **S. Gorbachëv** (Chronicle 61) worked as an orderly. He has chronic cystitis of the colon and gastritis: he was given a special diet. In the spring he underwent a course of general treatment to help his poor eyesight.

The camp administration nominated **I. Dyadkin** (Chronicle 61) for conditional early release with compulsory recruitment for labour, but in June, a week before the hearing, Dyadkin was transferred to another camp: Tyumen Region, uchr. YaTs-34/2.

On 28 April camp security officers Major Tumakov and Captain Tereshkov confiscated the following items from **Chornovil** (Chronicle 60): the judgment in his case, an appeal drawn up by his defence counsel, a transcript of defence counsel's speech in court, and an appeal by Chornovil himself to the Yakut ASSR Supreme Court.

* * *

At the beginning of February **R. Dzhemilev** (Chronicle 56) showed the Deputy Commandant of his camp, O. Ya. Beloborodov, a letter addressed to his family - 'for his perusal', asking Beloborodov to cross out anything suspicious he might find in the letter, but to send the letter. Beloborodov said that the letter was slanderous and issued Dzhemilev with a reprimand. Dzhemilev refused to sign a statement that he had read the reprimand order. Then an order was drawn up for Dzhemilev to be confined to the cooler: this order was attached to his personal case file 'until an appropriate occasion should arise'. The head of the security department, Major Sushentsev, told Dzhemilev that if he wrote another letter of this kind, he would be 'left to rot': he was supposed to write only about his good health.

At the end of February a bag containing tea and one-and-a-half kilos of potatoes was found in the storehouse where Dzhemilev works as a labourer. Dzhemilev, who denied that the items found belonged to him, was then deprived of access to the camp shop and his next parcel. Detachment Head Captain S.D. Fomin still (Chronicle 60) provokes sentiments of national hostility against Dzhemilev among the camp inmates, and encourages denunciations against him.

Dzhemilev, who has been operated on for a duodenal ulcer, is a Group 3 invalid (post-operative hernia, chronic cystitis of the colon). He suffers from constant hunger pains and needs a special diet, but cannot get one. Eating small portions of food every one-and-a-half to two hours (bread saved from his own packed lunch) lessens the pain, but Dzhemilev was once got out of bed after lights out, taken to the guard house and threatened with the cooler for storing bread.

* * *

After a month-long prisoner transport from Erevan, during which **E. Arutyunyan** (Chronicle 57) suffered a haemorrhage

from his kidneys or bladder, he was put in a medical unit. A week later the camp commandant put Arutyunyan in the cooler for refusing to be transported again. He was then sent to Kyzyl: a few days later, from there to Krasnoyarsk Hospital: a month later, from hospital back to the camp at B. Yaugusha; and in April, back to Krasnoyarsk Hospital. On his arrival in hospital he weighed 54 kilos (he had lost 31.5 kilos). He has hepatitic cystitis of the colon, high blood pressure and skin cancer.

R. Spalin (arrested on 13 August 1978 - Chronicle 51; sentenced in June 1979 under article 92, part 2 - 'theft... of State property by means of appropriation...', article 162 - 'engaging in a forbidden trade', and article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code to seven years of ordinary-regime camps - Chronicle 54 contains an error) is serving his sentence in Arkhangelsk Region: g. Velsk, uchr. UG-42/14. Spalin contracted epilepsy in camp (Chronicle 57); he has hypertension. Spalin is systematically put in the cooler for refusing to go to work on Saturdays (he is an Adventist). On 7 February, while in the cooler, Spalin had an epileptic fit. He was taken to the medical unit on a stretcher. From 7 to 9 February he was unconscious. Then he began to suffer severe headaches. The camp administration replies to Spalin's wife that his state of health is satisfactory, but that for unacceptable reasons he refuses to go to work on Saturdays, for which he is punished.

* * *

On 21 July 1980 **Sirvard Avakyan** (trial in Chronicle 56) arrived in this camp: Irkutskaya obl., uchr. UK-272/11. On 23 July Avakyan was beaten up by detachment head G.I. Fritsuk (a woman) and by prisoners. The instructions were given by the Deputy Commandant of the camp in charge of security, I.I. Uvarova, and her husband. She was then put in the cooler for seven days, where she was not fed even according to the cooler norm.

On 11 August Avakyan was beaten up in the workshop. She appealed to the camp Commandant, Ya. A. Zhovtko, but was then tormented even more. Uvarova told the prisoners: 'If Avakyan asks for something in the name of the law, beat her as much as you like - I'll be responsible.'

On 12 August Avakyan was dragged into the cooler, where she was beaten up first by woman prisoner A. Bashkevich, who was cohabiting with Uvarova, then by deputy head guard Sorokaput, the camp Commandant's duty assistant V. Puzin, and Uvarov. On 14 August Avakyan was put in the cooler for seven days, where she was beaten up by Bashkevich. Uvarova said at this point: 'You're going to die here.' On 25 August the head of the medical unit, G.Z. Daglayev, prescribed treatment for Avakyan.

On 30 August Avakyan was dragged into the cooler, where the camp Commandant's duty assistant Yakovenko, Captain Yu. A. Kozlenko and three or four others kicked her. On 3 September Avakyan's sheets and boots were stolen, after which Yakovenko made her spend the night on some chairs in the drying-room. On 5 September Avakyan was issued a padded jacket (the other prisoners had been issued them in July).

On 6 September Kozlenko prevented Avakyan from going to work, then said that she had refused to work. In the afternoon Uvarova came to the barracks, accompanied by several men, whom she told, 'Take her to the men's zone

- she'll be of some use to you'. In the canteen Avakyan was given nothing to eat on instructions from Uvarova and Fritsuk (Avakyan was listed with a crew working outside the camp; this crew were given lunch where they worked).

On 14 September, on instructions from Uvarova, Avakyan was given nothing to eat until evening. On 16 September, after working the day shift, Avakyan was sent on a second all-night shift on Uvarova's orders. At 3 am she felt ill and was taken to her detachment with the foreman's permission. From 17 to 18 September Avakyan again worked two consecutive shifts. On 17 September she was beaten up by Uvarov.

On 25 October Avakyan's dress was stolen. When she started asking for it back, the drunket Fritsuk attacked Avakyan and started strangling her. From 1 to 13 November Avakyan did not go to work for health reasons. She was deliberately not fed. Food was brought to her secretly by prisoners. On 6 November Avakyan complained to Puzin that she was not being fed, but the latter beat her up, saying she 'didn't ought to be fed'.

On 14 November Avakyan was sent to work in the canteen. The head of the canteen said: 'You're a journalist, you'll write about us, how we live and how we eat'. Yakovenko and the head cook then beat her up and chased her out of the canteen. On 17 November Uvarova told Avakyan: 'Spy, scourge, anti-Soviet element, parasite, we'll see each other tomorrow in the cooler.' On the night of 17 to 18 November Avakyan was put in the cooler (until the end of the month), where she was beaten up by chief warder (supervisor) L. Tsiplyayeva. The cell was extensively stained with blood.

On 20 November Avakyan was beaten up by a prisoner, while Yakovenko watched through the spy-hole. When Avakyan began to faint, Yakovenko called a doctor. The doctor gave her an injection in the arm, while Yakovenko stood on it. On 30 November Avakyan was taken in the night to the punishment block for three months.

On 13 December the supervisory Procurator came to the punishment block, but refused to hear Avakyan out. On 5 and 13 January 1981 Avakyan was beaten up again. On 14 January Avakyan was handcuffed for two hours. Puzin held her down while warder L. Sokolovskaya kicked her.

On 28 January Avakyan was taken to work, where she was beaten up by prisoners. On 29 January Avakyan was put in solitary, and was not then taken out to work until the end of her term in the punishment block. On 2 March, when she went back into the zone, Avakyan discovered that her clothes had been torn up. On 3 March Avakyan was refused food. On 6 March Avakyan was put in the cooler, where she stayed until the end of her sentence, 10 March.

On 17 March **Rafael Oganyan** (Chronicle 56) sent a statement to the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs. N.A. Shchelokov (and a copy to the Head of the Irkutsk Regional Soviet EC Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions, Belyayev). After describing the humiliations inflicted on S. Avakyan in camp, he concludes:

> I ask you. How are people like this different from the Fascists? How is a camp like this different from the Fascist concentration camps? One is justifiably suspicious of the behaviour of the officials.
>
> I can say in all sincerity that 'Deputy Head in charge of political matters' Uvarova must be a member of a

Fascist intelligence service, and is deliberately trying to train enemies to fight the Soviet state and Lenin's Party.

Sirvard Avakyan is an honest Komsomol member: she worked in a munitions factory and fought against anti-Sovietism, against theft and red tape, and refused to pass defective material, testing parts to be used for military purposes. And now Sirvard Avakyan, out of Komsomol naivety, for promoting the interests of the State, has ended up in prison and is being perniciously persecuted by enemies of the Soviet State.

* * *

Alexander Maksimov (Chronicles 55, 56) is serving his sentence in Dnepropetrovsk Region: g. Zhëltye Vody, uchr. YaE-308/26. On 4 April 1980 he was sentenced under articles 196 ('infringement of residence regulations') and 214 ('parasitism') of the Ukrainian Criminal Code to one year and six months of ordinary-regime camp. In March **A. Stasevich** (Chronicle 56) was transferred to Vladimir Prison. He is often being put in the punishment cells.

Letters and Statements by Political Prisoners

Yu. Badzë: 'To the CPSU Central Committee, to the Delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress' (22 February 1981)

The unsurmounted colonial heritage of pre-Revolutionary Ukraine: the constant pressure of an assimilationist, ideology, reinforced by purposeful practical policies, on the nation's consciousness - pressure in teh guise of the idea of the rapprochment and merging of nations and the so-called internationalization of Soviet life i.e. the propagation of nihilism and historical pessimism as regards nations, a propagation which is a powerful means of oppressing the national identity of the non-Russian peoples in the USSR; the blatantly assimilationist character of the CPSU Programme in the sphere of national relations - a programme which in fact deprives the non-Russian peoples in this country of the right to their own ethnic future; the all-encompassing falsification of Ukrainian history in the interests of great-power chauvinism, which cuts Ukrainian history off from the early feudal period and the era of Kievan Rus (the concept of the so-called 'Old Russian nationality', 'the one Russian people of the Kievan period'), denies the right of Ukrainians to a historical existence independent of Russia (the doctrine of unification of the Ukraine and Belorussia with Russia, in essence a theoretical rejection of Ukrainians and Belorussians as individual ethnic groups), ideologically and morally discredits the idea of a separate independent Ukrainian state (in outright violation of the Constitutions of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR), and signifies in methodological terms that Ukrainian political history is totally dissolved within the Russian historical process; the fact that Ukrainian society has no national and political life of its own, which illustrates the fictitious nature of the Ukrainian SSR's political sovereignty; the fact that the Ukrainian national, cultural and spiritual atmosphere has been forced to become a provincial appendage of Russian social life, and that Russian has in effect, particularly since the mid-

seventies, become the main language of Ukrainian society; cruel suppression of the renascent Ukrainian patriotism, severe persecution for showing the slightest sign of dissatisfaction with the situation of the people's national identity, a persecution aimed at depriving the nation of a full-fledged intelligentsia of its own - such is the tragic reality of the contemporary history of the Ukrainian people, such is the criminal result of the CPSU's policy of centralization and great-power chauvinism, a policy which is feasible in the conditions of party dictatorship and the party's ideological and political absolutism.

On the occasion of the 26th Congress of the CPSU I declare a three-day hunger-strike in protest against the dictatorship of the CPSU, against the violation in the USSR of human rights and the right of nations to self-determination, and against the party's policy of great-power chauvinism,, which in the last decade has assumed a particularly blatantly anti-Ukrainian character. The hunger-strike will begin on 23 February of this year.

Yu. Badzë: 'To the General Secretary of the French Communist Party, G. Marchais' (15 April 1981)

In the Marxist scientific theory of socialism, the principle of democracy never meant a denial of the political freedoms achieved by bourgeois civilizations, of the appropriate means whereby society supervises the activities of the authorities and whereby citizens participate in the government of the country and in making government policy, a denial of democratic forms of human social life such as freedom of speech and of the press, freedom to form oppositional associations and to demonstrate, the legally guaranteed independence of the press from political interference, the freedom to criticize government policy, etc. On the contrary, a victorious proletarian revolution should, according to theory, increase citizens' opportunities for free thought, self-expression and initiative, and make individual freedom a reality for everyone. The CPSU, however, in its propaganda against bourgeois democracy, talks not only about the unequal social and economic opportunities for exercising the political freedoms proclaimed in democratic bourgeois societies; it strives to discredit the very principle of democracy as being alien to the socialist sovereignty of the people. On the other hand, the communist party's absolute monopoly over political power is asserted and defended. This position finds juridical expression in the Constitution's attribution of the leading role in Soviet society to the communist party. And the ideological doctrine is concretely manifested in legal practice. For example, at my trial I was directly charged in the judgment with praising the bourgeois way of life, i.e. with defending the norms of law and order which are usual in democratic bourgeois society in conditions of political freedom, which enable working people in the capitalist countries, including working-class people, not only to voice their interests, but also to defend them in an organized manner, to set up their own political parties and campaign legally for political power in society.

On the occasion of the presidential elections in France, and in view of your participation in them as the French Communist Party's presidential candidate, I declare a

three-day hunger-strike with the aim of drawing the attention of communists, the workers of France, and French society as a whole to the absence of political freedom in the Soviet Union, to violations of human rights and the right of nations to self-determination, to the cruel persecution of people for criticizing party policy and especially for criticizing the great-power policy of Russification, and to the wholesale undermining of the historical, national and political identity of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR. The hunger-strike will begin on 16 April of this year.

Yu. Badzÿ: 'To the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Citizen L.I. Brezhnev' (22 April 1981)

Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code and analogous articles of the other Union republics which stipulate criminal sanctions against people for so-called anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, by their vague and indefinite nature enable the repressive organs of the authorities to persecute citizens for the slightest criticism of a political or ideological character, thus annulling the officially proclaimed civic rights - freedom of speech, of opinion, of the press, of association, of demonstration, etc. - and transforming the institutions of authority into an uncontrolled force ruling society without supervision. The Constitution of the USSR, which restricts the democratic rights of Soviet citizens in the interests of building communism, eliminates political freedom as a matter of principle, especially if one considers the constitutional article on the leading role of the communist party in Soviet society; this article contradicts the corresponding norms of international law and the historical logic of establishing human freedom. And nevertheless I am trying to prove my complete innocence under the law, and the absence under Soviet law of a corpus delicti in the texts and actions imputed against me.

The key idea in my social and political viewpoint is a denial of the leading role of the Communist Party as being a principle incompatible with a democratic organization of society. Such a position, even if one disregards the right to freedom of thought and of scientific research, cannot serve as the basis for legal prosecution, as the criminal code does not mention political power in general, least of all the power of the party, but speaks of the power of the Soviets of People's Deputies as the elective organs of society as a whole, as the embodiment of the power of the people (article 2 of the USSR Constitution). If, despite this, the Constitution reinforces the leading status of the communists in Soviet society, then this means only that article 6 of the USSR Constitution fundamentally contradicts article 2, which defines the notion of Soviet popular sovereignty, and which should be the sole criterion for interpreting article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code.

On the occasion of the second anniversary of my arrest, I declare a three-day hunger-strike in protest against my illegal conviction, against the party and state policy of great-power chauvinism, and against violations in the USSR of human rights and the right of nations to self-determination. The hunger-strike will begin on 25 April of this year.

(For this letter Badzÿ was deprived of a long visit. The letter was not delivered to the addressee; it was withheld as slanderous by the camp administration.)

V. Osipov: 'In Defence of Amnesty International and Prisoners of Conscience' (March 1981)

The central newspaper of the Soviets is continuing its massive campaign against an independent international organization which works for the release of prisoners of conscience throughout the world, including of course communists. In 1973 this organization was represented at the Moscow International Congress of Peace-loving Forces: its former chairman Sean McBride was awarded the International Lenin Prize. The numerous articles about Amnesty International published in the past six months by the newspaper Izvestia are clearly aimed at discrediting this organization - apparently to avenge the fact that the latter, as it continues to assert its moral independence from political pressure of any kind, also asserts its independence from pressure exerted by the USSR. For me, a prisoner, it is also clear that the KGB terror campaign against dissent in the USSR has now developed in all its extensive range: from psychological terror in camps to ideological terror in the press.

The whole of my experience testifies to the fact that against TYRANNY all words are useless, any just or heroic pathos will be disgraced before tyranny, because it knows no human emotion except fear. Only frightening actions can curb tyranny.

This is why, in the specific instance mentioned here, I propose that a boycott be declared against the newspaper Izvestia. I propose that this paper be neither bought nor subscribed to in any country, nor any reference made to its articles. Let private, public and political life throughout the world proceed as if this newspaper did not exist. And let this continue until the slanderers express their repentance unambiguously and in a manner clear to everyone.

My call for a boycott of the newspaper Izvestia is joined by the following imprisoned representatives of the Ukrainian human rights movement: Yury Badzÿ, Nikolai Rudenko, Nikolai Krainik and Dmitry Mazur, and representatives of the Lithuanian human rights movement Vytautas Skuodis and Anastas Janulis.

N. Pogiba: 'Open Letter'
Nikolai Trofimovich Pogiba (born 1936), sentenced in Kiev in 1979 under article 206, part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism') to five years' imprisonment (camp address: Kievskaya obl., st. Bucha, uchr. YuA-45/85), sent a letter to the 'Ukrainian Human Rights Group' (copy sent to the 'UN Committee to Defend Rights and Freedoms').

Being on the lowest rung of the Soviet social ladder, being a worker, I have felt the full weight of economic, social, political and national oppression. And of course I could not help thinking about it and looking for the causes of this oppression.

...the main exploiter in the USSR is the state and the state-party bourgeois class which serves it...I have become convinced that in our country there exists a society of state capitalism with a totalitarian form

of political power.

In 1975 Pogiba was sentenced by Kiev Regional Court to three years' imprisonment under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code). After his release from camp Pogiba began producing and circulating leaflets in which he wrote that

> Soviet trade unions...do not constitute an independent working class organization...in the USSR there are antagonistic classes...consequently, there also exists a class struggle, which is criminal in nature (the state robs the working class, while the latter steals from the state).
>
> ...a 'class struggle' of this kind is profitable only to the state. And we, the dissenting workers, must renounce it and seek new ways of waging a class struggle which could lead to real emancipation of the working class.

Pogiba pasted up his leaflets on notice-boards, public transport vehicles and monuments (in 1979 he was convicted for pasting up leaflets on a monument to Lenin). Pogiba concludes:

> The latest events in Poland have shown clearly that the working class is capable of fighting for its rights and freedoms and for a real improvement in the standard of living, and that the effectiveness of this struggle depends on the level of working class solidarity and the extent to which it organizes itself.
>
> I consider that every human being, even if he is working-class, is entitled to circulate his views both in oral and in written form. Persecution for this is a gross violation of human rights. I ask the Ukrainian Human Rights Group to bring my letter to the attention of the Soviet and world public, and first and foremost to the World Trade Union Movement.

In Defence of Political Prisoners

P. Fëdorova, L. Murzhenko: 'To the President of the USA, R. Reagan' (21 March 1981)

> The mother of Yu. Fëdorov and the wife of Aleksei Murzhenko, men convicted with a group of Jews in 1970 in Leningrad in the 'aeroplane case', appeal to you. The entire group, consisting of 12 persons, aimed to show the world the plight of people wishing to leave our country, and to obtain free emigration for all who wish to leave the USSR. They had no other intentions and committed no act of violence. Thanks to their trial, the road to freedom has been opened to tens of thousands of Jews and people of other nationalities.
>
> Two of them are still prisoners: the Russian Yury Fëdorov, sentenced to 15 years, and the Ukrainian Aleksei Murzhenko, sentenced to 14 years. We have appealed to every possible Soviet department, even Congresses of the Communist Party, to grant a pardon, but were refused everywhere. We have lost hope of seeing them free, as the state of their health is disastrous.

(P. Fëdorova and L. Murzhenko sent letters of similar content to the US Congress and to Senator Jackson.)

P. Fëdorova, L. Murzhenko: 'To A. Solzhenitsyn' (21 March 1981)

> Alik and Yura are the last of 12 persons to remain prisoners... Now that early release has been granted to Mendelevich, the last Jew among the 'aeroplane people', we have lost our last hope of early release for our boys. Their physical condition is disastrous. We fear they will not survive.
>
> We have appealed for a pardon to the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, to the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the CPSU Central Committee, to the 25th and 26th Congresses of the CPSU, but were refused everywhere.

(P. Fëdorova and L. Murzhenko sent letters of similar content to E. Kuznetsov and A. Ginzburg.)

P. Fëdorova, L. Murzhenko: 'To the Lawyer D. Jacoby (France)' (20 April 1981)

> On 8 April 1981 Yura Fëdorov had a visit from his mother: three hours in the presence of two guards who continually interrupted the conversation - they were only allowed to talk about his health - and threatened to cut the visit short, so that mother and son were silent most of the time: Yura said at the end: 'If they don't gete me out of here soon, I'll die.' It was the first time in all his years as a prisoner that his mother had heard such desperate words from him.
>
> On 13 April Alik Murzhenko had a visit from his wife and two-year-old daughter. It lasted three hours in the presence of five guards and everything said was recorded, even though Alik had been warned beforehand that he was only allowed to talk about family matters. However, during the last few minutes of the visit he said that in February he had been deprived of a parcel and money for the camp shop for lying down on the bunk in his cell after work. He too begged her to do everything possible to get him out of his unbearable captivity.
>
> We are desperate, and fear for the lives of our loved ones - our son and husband. We are shocked at the injustice shown to them when all those convicted with them have already been released. We know that you have taken on the difficult task of defending Yury Fëdorov and Aleksei Murzhenko and have requested the Soviet authorities to re-examine their case in accordance with the legislation now in force in the USSR. We are deeply grateful to you and would like to believe that your work, supported by those representatives of society who cherish justice and freedom, will not be in vain. We ask all our friends throughout the world - both those we know and those we do not - help us, save Yura Fëdorov and Alik Murzhenko.

E. Bonner added a note to this letter:

> Dear Mr Jacoby,
>
> As I send you Lyuba Murzhenko and Polina Fëdorova's letter, I share their profound gratitude for the work which you have taken on in again requesting the Soviet Procuracy to re-examine the case of Fëdorov and Murzhenko.

It is true that they are certainly now on the brink of physical collapse, and I think every effort is needed on the part of all organizations and individuals who took active steps for the release of the other participants in this trial, in order to obtain freedom for Yura and Alik while they are still alive.

Fifteen Jews published the following letter in samizdat:

On 15 June 1981 eleven years will have passed since Aleksei Murzhenko and Yury Fëdorov were imprisoned. They were sentenced to 14 and 15 years' imprisonment for intending to hijack a plane in order to leave the Soviet Union. And despite the fact that according to the laws now in force, even for hijacking a plane (without human casualties), the sentence does not exceed ten years' imprisonment, and the fact that all those tried in the same case have long since been free, almost all of them having been released early - despite this, Murzhenko and Fëdorov are still prisoners.

We cannot remain indifferent to the fate of these people, who have already paid dearly for their tragic mistake, and who are now painfully and seriously ill and worn out by many years spent under the harsh conditions of a special-regime camp. We call on the authorities to show elementary justice and to release these men now, before they die, before they lose all hope of finding the strength to start a new life, to meet a new and happier fate...

A. Sakharov: 'To L.I. Brezhnev. Request for a Pardon for Yury Fëdorov and Aleksei Murzhenko' (1 June 1981)

I request you, and through you the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, for a pardon for Yury Fëdorov and Aleksei Murzhenko. This would be an act of humanity and justice, not only towards the convicted men, but towards their families and mothers.

On 6 June the **Moscow Helsinki Group** issued Document No. 169, 'The Lives of Prisoners Yury Fëdorov and Aleksei Murzhenko are in Danger':

In 1970 there was no specific law in the USSR stipulating prosecution for hijacking an airplane. In 1973 an article of this kind was added to the RSFSR Criminal Code (article 213-2). The first part of this article, which prescribes punishment in the form of a three- to ten-year term of imprisonment, is fully applicable to the actions with which Yu. Fëdorov and A. Murzhenko were convicted. As a general rule, a law prescribing more lenient punishment is retroactive.

While admitting that Fëdorov and Murzhenko attempted to commit illegal acts, we consider that they were convicted unlawfully and too harshly, and that after article 213 of the RSFSR Criminal Code was introduced their case should have been re-examined and their acts re-classified under articles 213-2 and 83 ('illegally crossing the border'). However, numerous complaints by lawyers, the convicted men themselves, and their relatives to the highest judicial and procuratorial departments have been without result.

If their acts had been judged under the correct article,

Fëdorov and Murzhenko would already have served the maximum sentence for the crime which they attempted. It is impossible, not only legally but by principle of natural justice, to explain why Fëdorov and Murzhenko are still prisoners when all the others have been released.

Many years' imprisonment under the harsh conditions of a special-regime camp have totally undermined their health. Fëdorov suffers from chronic nephritis, Murzhenko from a serious form of gastritis and hypertension. To remain longer in places of detention would endanger their lives. We would like to hope that the authorities will show humaneness and justice, and we look forward to Fëdorov and Murzhenko being released immediately.

A.D. Sakharov: 'To Dr Linus Pauling, Winner of the Lenin Peace Prize and the Nobel Prize for Chemistry' (4 May 1981)

Dear Dr Pauling,

Some years ago I asked you to defend my friend, the biologist **Sergei Kovalëv**. He was arrested in 1974 and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in camp and three years' exile, on a charge of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda with the intention of undermining and weakening the Soviet political and social system... You did not respond to my request then. But in recent years other members of his family have also suffered a terrible blow - I now urge you to help to save three people. Recently, after being imprisoned for almost a year in an investigations prison, **Tatyana Osipova**, the wife of Ivan Kovalëv, Sergei Kovalëv's son, has been sentenced to five years' camp and five years' exile. It is now known that a case has been started against **Ivan Kovalëv**... and he too can be arrested any day and sentenced to a term of up to seven years' camp and five years' exile (and his wife and father will be deprived of even the rare visits stipulated by the Code, as visits between prisoners are forbidden). Tanya Osipova and Ivan Kovalëv are members of the Moscow Helsinki Group; Sergei Kovalëv was charged with editing and circulating the samizdat information journal A Chronicle of Current Events.

I have known Sergei and Ivan Kovalëv and Tatyana Osipova for years and can vouch for their irreproachable honesty and altrusim, and their whole-hearted dedication to the non-violent, public defence of human rights, in which words are the only weapons. The charges against them of intending to undermine the system are unlawful. Equally unlawful were the investigations and trials of Sergei Kovalëv and Tanya Osipova; you can easily check all this out from materials published in the West - there people are not threatened with arrest for reading such things.

I do not know your political views or the extent of your sympathy for the Soviet system. But what I am asking you to do is not politics. To save three honest and courageous people in danger of their lives - three victims in the same family - is a duty to which humanity and honesty compel us. Use your authority, appeal to Soviet leaders and leaders of Western countries: do everything within your power.

Twenty years ago, without having met, we worked for a common cause, opposing nuclear tests. What will your reply be today? This is an open letter. I urge all who are willing and able to hear me to help Tanya Osipova and Sergei and Ivan Kovalëv.

I. Gajauskiene: 'To the President of France, F. Mitterrand' (May 1981)

Mr Francois Mitterrand,

You have just been made President of France. I have heard that you are a kind, sensitive man, and I hope that you will consider my letter.

I am the wife of Lithuanian political prisoner **Balys Gajauskas**. This is the first time I have written a letter of this kind and I do not even know the best way to write it. My husband is 55 years old. He has spent 29 of them in camp and still has eleven years left. Since the age of 20 he has had only five years of freedom. Now my husband's health had deteriorated sharply. His eyesight is especially poor. His eyes hurt constantly and his sight is getting worse all the time. He is not being treated and does not know what is wrong with him. He works with tiny parts, always in electric lighting, so his eyes are under a constant strain. He is always in a locked cell. He has only one hour's exercise per day: that is the only time he gets fresh air and, if he is lucky, sunshine. I am terrified, but I do not know how to save his health. I beg you to do everything you can to get my husband released from camp: this would save what is left of his sight and possibly his life.

My husband and I are raising a daughter. She was born while her father was in camp. She is now one year old. God willing, her father will see her this summer for the first time: I plan to take her with me on my visit to the Perm camp. My husband's old, sick mother is now 79 years old and too weak to make the long hard journey to camp to visit her son.

Last month I went to visit my husband. I was given two hours in the presence of a guard. Just to see Balys and support him, I was forced to leave our little girl with friends. It took me a week to get there and back. During the visit we were forbidden to speak our native language: we had to speak Russian the whole time. I must not grow weary, I must have the strength to fight for my husband. Help me in this struggle for the life and health of the man I love. I beg you.

R. Simchich: 'To the USSR Procurator-General. A Statement' (6 July 1981)

This is the 29th year that my husband **Miroslav Vasilevich Simchich** has been serving a sentence in various corrective labour institutions. During this time he has worked hard (two shifts at a time) and provided for his family materially, which was appreciated and encouraged by the camp administration in corrective labour institutions where people convicted for political crimes are held. He was rewarded several times with additional food parcels and extra visits, for which I came with the children.

It was all more or less bearable until my husband was transferred to a camp for people convicted under criminal articles. Here, a sick man, weakened by years of exhausting labour, has been showered with punishments for failing to fulfil the production norm, without account being taken of his old age (58 years), a whole assortment of illnesses he has contracted, or his selfless work in the past for the sake of his family's welfare. Moreover, my husband is being threatened with fresh misfortune.

Various conversations and statements have been imputed against him under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, i.e. 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. During all my visits to the Mordovian and Ural camps, not once (!) was this subject brought up by camp officials, who mentioned only that he was serving a sentence for a 'crime committed in the past' and that his present behaviour was satisfactory.

The good work references which my husband received when he worked at repairing the rolling-mills of the 'Dneprospetsstal' steel plant and the 'Zaporozhstal' blast furnaces in Zaporozhe when he was released in 1963 after 15 years' imprisonment, show that he is able and willing to contribute to society.

Recent events in cammp YaYa-310/88 in Zaporozhe Region (his fellow-inmates are being summoned to the camp security unit and told to testify to Simchich's anti-Soviet statements) show that my husband has been transferred to Ukrainian territory for the special purpose of inflicting a sentence on him on a fresh charge. My husband is old and infirm. He is no longer able to cause any harm to the authorities and the system, if only because of his physical weakness. For this reason I ask you to intervene and close this fabricated case, so that my husband can have his freedom back after 30 years of imprisonment ending on 30 October 1982, and live with his family.

Releases

On 22 December 1980 **Shagen Arutyunyan** (trial in Chronicle 48) was released on completion of his three-year term. He has been placed under surveillance. In February **Natalya Maltseva** (Chronicle 60) was released. She was given back her job. On 10 March **Sirvard Avakyan** (see also 'The Right to Leave') was released on completion of her one-year sentence. On 19 March **Lev Volokhonsky** (trial in Chronicle 53) was released on completion of his two-year sentence.

On 29 March **Vasily Pidgorodetsky** (Chronicles 53-5) was released after 28 years' camp for his involvement in the UPA-OUN |Ukrainian Insurrectionary Army of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists|. He went to live in Krushelnitsy village, Skole District, Lvov Region. He was placed under surveillance for one year. A local policeman told Pidgorodetsky to find a job, but he is being offered work which is beyond his strength (in camp Pidgorodetsky was first a Group 2, then a Group 3 invalid: the latter category was withdrawn in the last years before his release). On 27 April **Razmik Markosyan** (Chronicle 61) was released.

* * *

On 18 May **Evgeny Buzinnikov** (trial in Chronicle 51) was released on completion of a three-year sentence. He was given no papers on being released, although three prisoners released with him received theirs.

Before his release Buzinnikov was put in the punishment block for six months on the pretext that he had written some letter (Buzinnikov did not know what letter) and because of his 'bad influence on the convicts'. KGB officers came to the camp and interrogated prisoners about Buzinnikov. Several searches of his belongings produced no results.

Before he left the camp, Buzinnikov's head was shaved bare. He was told that he would be under surveillance at his place of residence, which he must reach within two days, and must not leave: he was taken to the train and not allowed to change his clothes - Buzinnikov left wearing his camp clothes. On the way, Buzinnikov tried to get off the train to visit his acquaintance **V. Konovalikhin** in exile (Chronicle 56). A man in plain clothes showed him his MVD identification and forbade him to get off at the station he wanted.

In the next compartment there were two men in plain clothes, who were often visited by soldiers from another carriage, who drank with them. One of the men in plain clothes offered to sell Buzinnikov some clothes (so he could change out of his camp clothes) for 55 roubles. The latter agreed. Shortly afterwards the two men called Buzinnikov out on to the platform at the end of the carriage: one of them pulled out a knife and asked Buzinnikov for money. A fight ensued, during which everyone was slightly injured, and Buzinnikov managed to grab the knife. When he shouted for help the soldiers ran up and watched the fight, holding the carriage door shut. However, Buzinnikov managed to force the door open and get into the carriage. His assailants, seeing they had attracted the attention of other passengers, gave Buzinnikov back the money taken during the fight and asked him for 80 roubles 'for the clothes'. Buzinnikov gave it to them.

* * *

In June and July the religious prisoners (of the True Orthodox Church) **Anastasia Volkova** (born 1906) and **Klavdia Volkova** (1907) were released from Mordovian Camp 3. They went to live in Gorky, where they were placed under surveillance.

SAKHAROV IN ADMINISTRATIVE EXILE (CHRONICLES 56, 57)

In the evening of 13 March (a Friday) **E.G. Bonner** was about to make another visit to Gorky from Moscow. On 12 March A.D. Sakharov received an invitation to go to a paying dental clinic on the afternoon of 13 March (he was undergoing treatment for his teeth at the time and his next visit to the dentist was scheduled for Monday).

When he arrived at the clinic he was asked to go to a different office from the usual one ('repairs are being made in that office') and to leave his bag (which he always carried with him, for fear of KGB thieves) in the 'dressing-room'. On leaving the dentist, Sakharov could not find his bag. At home Sakharov found a letter that had been in the bag and which he had not yet posted.

On 17 March Sakharov issued a 'Statement for the Press and Radio':

> I report that KGB agents are again sneaking into the flat in which I was forcibly placed over a year ago, and where I am held in conditions of illegal isolation. This time they are, apparently, entering with the knowledge of certain policemen on round-the-clock guard duty

> outside my door, and are again placing me in danger.
>
> I also report that on 13 March 1981 the KGB committed another disgusting crime when they stole a bag containing my manuscripts, my private diary for the past year, copies of letters to my Western and Soviet colleagues, and letters to my children and grandchildren. Three thick exercise books - my diary and purely personal writings, a great many notes made from scientific books and journals, including articles by the 1979 Nobel Prize winners, accounts of new ideas and other materials of scientific research which I need, and my own reflections on physics, literature and many other subjects. Among the stolen items were three thick large-format albums - a manuscript of my autobiography. This compels me to publish it earlier than I had intended. The KGB thieves deliberately left on my table a letter which was in the bag, one I had not yet sent to the Scientific Information Centre (VINITI), possibly to show that they were not interfering in my scientific work. But they did steal my diary, which was to a great extent scientific, as I have written. My Nobel Prize certificate had already been stolen from my Moscow flat. In their latest theft the KGB make it clear that they are determined to deprive me of my memories, records of my ideas, and the possibility of any intellectual life, even in solitude. The responsibility for this theft lies with its perpetrators, the Gorky KGB, and the leaders of the USSR KGB, who authorized it.

The Head Doctor of the clinic told Sakharov that he had cast aspersions on her 'as a human being and as a woman'. According to her, she had taken the bag from where Sakharov had left it to the operating theatre, whence it had been removed by two unidentified persons.

* * *

On 22 March E. Bonner and A. Sakharov published an appeal concerning the arrest of A. Marchenko (see 'The Arrest of Anatoly Marchenko'). On 24 March Sakharov finished his article 'The Responsibility of Scientists'.

On 4 May Sakharov wrote to L. Pauling asking him to help the Kovalëv family (see 'In Defence of Political Prisoners' in the section 'In the Prisons and Camps'). On 10 May Sakharov sent a letter to the 'Rockford University Symposium' held in New York from 1 to 3 May:

> Dear friends,
>
> It was with gratitude and great interest that I heard a radio report on the symposium in New York. I feel that this highly representative assembly was not only a great honour for myself, but also an act of support for many people who are suffering repression for non-violent activities in defence of human rights, of support for our common striving for peace and justice. Many highly respected and eminent persons came, often from far away, to attend the symposium and speak at it. I was touched and pleased by the words spoken about my scientific work, although I am also aware of its deficiencies. No less flattering was the description of my civic activities in the fields of human rights and - something which has usually been less spoken of before - the problems of disarmament, nuclear tests, and the prevention of war altogether, especially of nuclear war.

The message sent to the symposium by US President Ronald Reagan was an important event of wide-ranging significance. This message contains evaluation of my civic activities and expresses the hope that my exile will be lifted. I am deeply grateful to the President for this message and hope that its significance will range beyond the limits of my personal fate, to uphold the entire question of human rights, justice, international trust, disarmament and peace.

* * *

21 May was A.D. Sakharov's 60th birthday. On 20 May former political prisoner **Vitaly Pomazov** (Chronicles 5, 6, 16, 18, 19, 47, 48, 50) came to Gorky. He arrived at Sakharov's house in a taxi with **Tsvetkov**, a friend of his from Gorky, on 21 May. Although the taxi stopped some distance from the house, the friends were immediately surrounded by a number of security officers, who took them to the support point. There Pomazov was searched and put on a train (the ticket was bought at police expense - it turned out that Pomazov had no money: he was told that Tsvetkov 'was already at home'). Pomazov was warned not to get off at any station. And indeed, at every station a police detail stood outside the carriage and prevented Pomazov from getting out.

On 21 May **Maria Petrenko** and **Sergei Khodorovich** came to Gorky from Moscow. They met Sakharov in the street and set off for his house. But as they approached the house they were detained and sent back to Moscow by plane (see also 'Samizdat News').

IN EXILE

In April or May **Oksana Meshko** (trial in Chronicle 61) arrived at her place of exile in Ayan village, Khabarovsk Territory, where her son **A. Sergienko** (Chronicle 55) is serving his term of exile.

On 21 May **Bogdan Rebrik** (Chronicle 46) arrived in exile at the following address: 474230, Kazakhskaya SSR, Tselinogradskaya obl., Kurgaldzhinsky raion, pos. Kenbidaik (R. Markosyan - Chronicles 51, 58 - served his term of exile there). After seven years' camp Rebrik faces three years' exile.

* * *

Mustafa Dzhemilev (Chronicles 53, 56, 57, 60) was given three letters at the post office, together with their certificates of delivery, which should have been sent to the addressees (two in Ankara, one in Paris). The certificates bore his surname and a postal cancellation stamp (but not that of Zyryansk). Dzhemilev sent a complaint to the Procurator that someone had forged his signature. He handed two of the faked certificates to the Procurator. Some time later Dzhemilev was called to the post office, where he was told that his next letter would be delivered if Dzhemilev would hand over the third fake certificate. Dzhemilev asked them to cross out his signature of receipt for the letter in question (the fourth). They refused. The signature of receipt remained and the letter was withheld.

Some days later Dzhemilev was summoned to the police. It transpired that he had disturbed a party meeting at the post office and behaved like a hooligan. He was shown a statement to this effect from post office employees. 'I've dealt with criminals before,' said the investigator, a police captain, 'but you're my first political.'

Releases

After the days spent in transport had been taken into account, each day counting as three days' exile, Major Alishev, Commandant of Saralzhin village, told Valery Marchenko (Chronicle 61) that his exile would end on 29 April. An order to this effect was issued by the Head of Uilsky District OVD, Major Darmenkulov. Nevertheless, no certificate of release was issued to Marchenko on the appointed day. Alishev said that it was being held up in the District OVD.

On 30 April V. Marchenko sent a telegram to USSR Procurator-General Rekunkov:

> I protest against the unlawful withholding of my certificate of release by the Aktyubinsk KGB. Even though my high blood pressure has taken a sharp turn for the worse, I cannot obtain specialized medical assistance.
>
> Marchenko, Perpetual exile

V. Marchenko was not able to obtain his certificate of release until 8 May. Marchenko then returned to Kiev. On 6 July he was shown an order regarding administrative surveillance of him: he was to be at home from 10 pm to 6 am. On 14 July V. Marchenko handed in the following statement to the Kiev Procuracy:

> I am aware of no legitimate reason to persecute a person for his views, but this was the main charge against me when the order on administrative surveillance was issued to me.
>
> The reference drawn up by the Head of Uilsky District OVD, Major Darmenkulov, says: 'He has not disrupted public order or infringed discipline, but neither has he changed his views and convictions' (3 May 1981).
>
> The report signed by Major Darmenkulov and the Chairman of the Supervisory Committee of the Uilsky District Soviet EC, S. Kapishev: 'The reason for placing him under administrative surveillance is his failure to embark on the path of reform.'
>
> There are no grounds for such a conclusion, as is obvious from the reference. This was also understood by the Radyansky District OVD in Kiev, where, in order to make my antisocial essence more convincing, they added 'Since his release Marchenko has so far failed to find a job, and leads a parasitic way of life' to: 'Has not embarked on the path of reform, has not changed his convictions'.
>
> I obtained my certificate of release on 8 May, arrived in Kiev on the 12th, came to the Radyansky District OVD on the 15th, and registered and obtained a passport on the 29th. I have a kidney illness and hypertension (I am a Group 3 invalid by decision of the Medical Fitness for Work Commission in corrective labour institution

VS-389 in Perm Region), and began intensive treatment immediately after I arrived. From 5 to 20 June I was in hospital, of which I have documentary proof, and which, of course, the police had the opportunity of checking. On 24 June I applied to the Kiev Education Department for a job as a Ukrainian language and literature teacher, as I am a literary scholar specializing in Ukrainian. I gave the Head of Radyansky District OVD a copy of the application. I have worked hard both in camp and in exile. In addition, in my free time I did creative work - literary translations. I have already submitted my translations of American poetry for publication in the journal Vsesvit.

And despite all this I was placed under administrative surveillance on 2 July. One of those who signed the order was the Radyansky District Procurator, S.V. Lotyuk. For this reason I request you to lift this penalty inflicted on me without reason and to take steps so that no one will be punished for their convictions again, either now or in future.

IN THE PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS

In Special Hospitals

Kazan SPH
Since about 1972 the priest **Father Iosif Mikhailov** of Ufa has been held here. He was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code with writing letters to the UN complaining about the local authorities, who were interfering in parish life. The nun **Valeria Makeyeva** (trial inn Chronicle 53) has been transferred from here to Moscow Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 5.

Chernyakhovsk SPH
Vyacheslav Kashin (Chronicle 46) has left here. **Fëdor Sidenko** is being held here (Chronicle 56 contains an error).

Dnepropetrovsk SPH
V. Khailo has arrived here (see 'Persecution of Believers').

In Ordinary Hospitals

On 12 March the Makeyevka City Court, presided over by Kobzisty, again (Chronicle 52) resolved that the compulsory treatment of **Vasily Spinenko**, who is held in a local hospital, should be continued. After his relatives complained, the Donetsk Regional Procurator protested against the court decision. On 30 June the court, presided over by Zabelin, examined the Procurator's protest and, in accordance with the report of psychiatrist V. M. Zarubin, again decided he should continue to receive compulsory treatment. Spinenko's relatives were not notified of the date of the trial.

AFTER RELEASE

In the evening of 8 April **Nikolai Plakhotnyuk** (Chronicle 61) was beaten up in Kiev. He was on his way home to his brother Ivan's home, where he was staying after his release. Almost every evening three people 'received' him outside his house. On this evening they attacked him. As a result of the beating, some lateral parts of Plakhotnyuk's spine were broken.

On 14 and 16 April a local policeman visited Ivan Plakhotnyuk and demanded to know where Nikolai was. According to the policeman, Nikolai Plakhotnyuk was in Kiev illegally, as he had been ordered to go to Cherkassy Region. The local policeman told Ivan Plakhotnyuk to write an explanatory note stating where his brother had been and on what day - from the moment he was discharged from psychiatric hospital. He threatened Ivan with a fine and a trial.

* * *

On 20 March in Tartu **G. Superfin** (Chronicle 56) was released early from administrative surveillance.

* * *

On 30 March **Stepan Sapelyak** (Chronicle 48) wrote the following statement to Andropov:

> In 1973 I was sentenced at a closed court session in Ternopol to eight years' strict imprisonment (to be precise, five years' camp and three years' exile - Chronicle) on a charge of anti-Soviet activities.
>
> After my sentence expired I was registered at my parents' place of residence in the Ukraine (Ternopol Region, Chortkov District, Rosokhach village). Immediately after I arrived, in November and December 1980, so-called talks concerning my repentance were held with me in a department of the Chortkov District OVD. The same sort of talks were then held with my parents, only in the KGB department. I did not accept the public statement of repentance proposed to me, and I also refused to condemn my past actions. Then the police chief told me, '...come on, Stepan Evstakhievich, turn over a new leaf. It'll be better for you and for us.' On 30 January 1981 I applied to the Head of a District UVD under the Leningrad Regional Soviet EC for permission to register in Nikolskoye village, Tosno District, Leningrad Region, where Nadezhda Vladimirovna, whom I wish to marry, lives and works. I handed in my application to First Lieutenant V.A. Baranov of the Leningrad Region KGB, who came to Nikolskoye especially to summon me to a talk. I also told him that I had no intention of engaging in anti-Soviet activities.
>
> On 15 February 1981 the chief of the Ulyanovka District Police Department, Captain Gavrilov, was informed by me that I had obtained a job as an electrical repairman in a branch of the Leningrad Institute for Geological Expeditions (VIRTN), and was undergoing medical examination. The Director of the above-mentioned institute assured me that I would be registered from March this year.
>
> On 2 March 1981 I was taken off the register in the passport office in Chortkov, Ternopol Region, as I was

moving to another place of residence. However, on the way to Leningrad Region, at Lvov railway station (on 6 March 1981), I was taken to the police station, where I was searched on suspicion of theft. Six persons were present at the search, only one of them in police uniform, the others in plain clothes. Only the policeman gave his surname. I was not allowed to check my belongings during the search. Notebooks, letters from friends and a Bible were thrown on the floor. I was then released and travelled to Nikolskoye. In my absence, my fiancee N.V. Matyushenko had been summoned by a KGB officer from the Ukrainian SSR, who, after a talk with her, told her that I would not be registered here unless I publicly repented of my past activities, and asked her to tell me this.

On 12 March 1981 I had a talk with a KGB officer (Deputy Head of the security section), who again told me either to repent publicly ('...and then you might be registered ...') or to go away wherever I please. I had no choice but to go away, leaving the person I love. KGB officers of the Ukrainian SSR and Leningrad have forced us to part, thus causing a severe emotional trauma.

Will the KGB be held to account for depriving me of the possibility of being with the woman I love, and for subjecting me illegally to a search on suspicion of theft? I am 29 years old...

MISCELLANEOUS REPORTS

In the RSFSR Supreme Court the appeal hearings in the cases of **A. Magidovich** (trial in Chronicle 61), **L. Ternovsky** (trial in Chronicle 60) and **A. Lavut** (trial in Chronicle 60) were held in April. The sentences were left unchanged.

On 8 May Investigator G.V. Ponomarëv of the City Procuracy returned some of the belongings confiscated earlier to Ternovsky's wife: recording tapes, poems, some of the letters, and two photos. When L. Ternovskaya asked why Ponomarëv was giving back so few of their belongings, the latter gave her to understand that he was giving back what had been returned by others to him.

* * *

The appeal in connection with **A. Myasnikov**'s case (trial in Chronicle 61) received two official replies. On 3 March Moscow Deputy-Procurator G.I. Skaredov wrote:

> A.A. Myasnikov's guilt in producing and circulating in written form deliberately false fabrications defaming the political and social system, and producing and circulating a pornographic story, has been proved by the evidence given by A.A. Myasnikov during the pre-trial investigation, by the analogous evidence of witnesses Gurevich, Velichko and Gavrilov, and by the results of an examination by handwriting, criminological and literary experts.
>
> ...No facts have been ascertained which bear witness to infringements of the norms of the Code of Criminal Procedure by organs of the pre-trail investigation.

The letter of Deputy Procurator of the RSFSR B.V. Kravtsov states in part:

> Your letter in connection with the case of A.A. Myasnikov, addressed to the 26th Congress of the CPSU, has been considered.
>
> Your arguments that violations have been committed in connection with the case, and that Myasnikov has been unlawfully convicted, will be verified at an appeal hearing in the RSFSR Supreme Court with the participation of the Procurator. The hearing of the case in the RSFSR Supreme Court has been noted down for special attention.

* * *

In March in |Moscow's| Krasnaya Presnya Transit Prison **Myasnikov** was deprived of a parcel for 'illegal possession' in prison of his work 'Ballad of the Eunuchs'. Myasnikov wrote to the prison head that this work of his had no bearing on the case. The punishment was lifted.

* * *

Myasnikov's wife **N. Omelchenko** (Chronicle 61) was tried at her place of residence by a comrades' court, which issued a 'reprimand'. (The case was referred only to the comrades' court, by Myasnikov's investigator Kudryavtsev, because 'after her husband's arrest Omelchenko ceased to represent a danger to society'.)

* * *

On 19 May the appeal hearing in **Myasnikov**'s case took place in the RSFSR Supreme Court. Myasnikov's lawyer V.Ya. Shveisky was not informed of the date of the hearing until the evening of 18 May. Omelchenko was allowed into the courtroom only after showing her marriage certificate.

Shveisky said that although the tale Meetings, with which Myasnikov was charged, contained naturalistic scenes, they were included not for the purpose of arousing erotic feelings, but for opposite reasons, as could easily be ascertained by studying the text. Their purpose was to condemn impropriety and licentiousness in sexual relations. Therefore the work could not be regarded as pornographic. In addition, evidence of any circulation was lacking. Concerning the article '173 Reasons National Shame', Shveisky recalled that it had not been written specifically for circulation. And although examination results indicated that there was a fifth copy of the article, his wife denied that five copies had been typed. Even supposing the article contained slander, the lawyer continued, it had not been printed or published anywhere. Shveisky also pointed out infringements committed during the pre-trial investigation and the fact that not all the witnesses interrogated in connection with the case at that stage had been summoned to testify in court. The court had turned down defence counsel's petition to summon the main witness, M. Gurevich, which had prevented the truth from being ascertained: one witness, N. Elagin, was living outside the USSR, and another denied that he had read the article. The lawyer demanded that in the absence of a corpus delicti Myasnikov be acquitted or the case referred for a new court hearing.

Procurator Suslova said that 'there are no grounds for disbelieving a Soviet court', 'the court could not have made a mistake', and 'it is not permitted to question court decisions'. Gurevich's evidence coincided with some of

the evidence given by Myasnikov, and it was up to the court to select from Myasnikov's evidence that which it considered to be truthful. The Procurator stated that the article '173 Reasons...' was slanderous. The Procurator also repeated the conclusions of the expert examinations stating that there was a fifth copy of the article. Finally Suslova asked that the sentence remain in force. After a 20-minute consultation the court left the sentence unchanged.

* * *

Myasnikov's case file contained an order to close the criminal case against **Oleg Popov** (Chronicle 61) under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, for lack of sufficient evidence.

* * *

On 3 July a First Lieutenant of the police visited **Oleg Popov** with a notice ordering him to go to Police Station No. 54 in Moscow. The policeman said he did not know the purpose of the summons and offered to take Popov in his car. Popov refused. Then the policeman asked him to telephone the Deputy Head of the Criminal Investigations Department, Savinkov. Popov telephoned him. Savinkov said that he needed to have a talk with him lasting no more than ten minutes. In reply to Popov's question as to the purpose of the conversation and the reason for the summons, Savinkov told him they had received a complaint about Popov from residents, but the contents of the conversation could not be discussed by telephone.

Popov went to the police station, where he found two men in plain clothes in Savinkov's office, whom Savinkov introduced simply as KGB officers. They refused to give their names or show identification. Popov refused to talk to men who had not named themselves. He also refused to 'come along with them'. Then they told him they had the right to detain him for three hours. Popov was allowed to telephone his wife, then was accompanied by police to the reception room of the Moscow KGB Administration at Lubyanka Prison.

Popov also refused to 'have a talk' at the Lubyanka. He was then asked whether he would like to study his own case. Popov refused. He was told that they knew all about him, that he was being rude to representatives of the authorities and of various official documents, that he had torn up interrogation records (Chronicle 60) and was making himself out to be a defender of human rights. Therefore the KGB was now forced to issue Popov a caution 'according to the Decree of 1972'.[33] Popov was told to read the decree. He asked whether the decree had been published anywhere in the Soviet press. The KGB officer said he did not know. Popov then refused to read a secret, unpublished document. Excerpts from Myasnikov's case file were read out to Popov, which stated that in 1977 Myasnikov, under the evil influence and on the advice of Popov, wrote an article of slanderous content, which Popov intended to send abroad to one of the anti-Soviet emigre journals. In addition, at a search in August 1980, a large amount of slanderous literature had been confiscated from Popov. In this connection he was cautioned that if he did not cease his activities, which were harmful to the interests of USSR state security, he would be prosecuted and the present caution filed with his case. Popov refused to sign the caution and was released. The 'talk' had lasted about

ten minutes.

* * *

In mid-March, at the Centre for Geophysical Expeditions, where **A. Lavut** and **T. Osipova** worked before being arrested, an open party meeting was held, at which it was said that the organization had been found to contain persons who had 'given in to the imperialists' schemes', and the signatories of letters in defence of A. Lavut and T. Osipova (Chronicles 57, 61) were condemned. One of those present, **Pashkin**, asked that the letters be read out in order to make everything clear. Party organizer Tatarenko said that he did not have the texts with him, but gave an account of their contents and pointed out their inappropriate tone. (After the meeting the Deputy Party Head, Gapeyenkov, went up to Pashkin and said, 'What do you mean, you b...! You nearly wrecked the whole meeting with your provocational question!')

On 30 March, the day before Osipova's trial (see above), the CGE administration appointed ten persons to attend the trial as part of the courtroom 'public'. On the first day nine persons attended (Gapeyenkov was ill), on the next day, eight. However, after a going-over at work, the CGE employee who had disappeared on the second day reappeared on the last day of the trial.

On the same day, 30 March, the Director of the CGE, Kashik, held 'cautionary talks' with **G. Stepanets** and **I. Nagle** (see 'The Arrest of Kuvakin'), at which he told them that they were not allowed to attend the forthcoming trial. Stepanets, who insisted on his wish to attend Osipova's trial, was told that in that case he would be sacked: 'All available means will be used'. On the morning of 31 March Stepanets, Nagle and **V. Kronrod** were outside the fence of the court building where the trial was beginning.

On 1 April Kashik demanded an explanation from Stepanets as to the reason for his absence from work on 31 March from 9 am to 1 pm. In his explanatory note Stepanets said that he had been outside Osipova's trial at this time. He described in detail the circumstances surrounding the trial, pointing out in particular that persons wishing to attend were not admitted. Stepanets also remarked that the CGE representatives present in court were only remotely acquainted with Osipova (some did not know her at all), and that no one in her expedition group had been there. In addition, the attempt to appoint a public defence counsel from the CGE, or even a representative, 'was stopped from the outset':

> I draw your attention also to the fact that I have not obtained any satisfactory explanation of these facts from you.

On 7 April Kashik issued Stepanets a severe reprimand 'for absence from work on 31 March'. The order mentions: 'Reason: explanatory note of comrade G.F. Stepanets'. On 10 April the following was added to the order: 'absence until 1 pm'. Nagle was punished likewise.

Kashik had a talk with Kronrod concerning his presence in Lyublino on 31 March. He said that Kronrod had not been issued a reprimand because, unlike Stepanets and Nagle, he had not been warned that such conduct was inadmissible. The CGE management issued the staff who attended the trial 'political information' about it in the various departments

of the organization.

In expedition group 14 (where A. Lavut had worked) Abrikosov delivered the 'political information', giving an account of some of the episodes of the indictment (the documents on Ilinka village, the statement about SALT-2, the 'Memorandum of the 45'). He was asked questions concerning this account: who gave Osipova the right to meddle in other people's lives? What was her nationality? Why was her husband free? Where did she get the money to acquire typewriters? Abrikosov also said that the defence lawyer had asked that the charge be amended to article 190-1. He was unable to answer as to what this article was. When **L. Rudakova** quoted the article, she was asked under which article she herself would be tried. At the 'political information' session in group 3 Ptetsov said that Osipova had behaved very arrogantly at the trial, and when the Procurator 'offered her three years, she refused'.

* * *

After **Sergei Khodorovich** was sacked from the Computer Centre of the Main Moscow Fruit and Vegetable Combine (Chronicle 60), he was unable to find work anywhere for a long time. At the end of January he was hired temporarily on a two-month contract.

On the morning of 30 March he was told in the personnel department that since his temporary contract had run out he could apply for a permanent one. However, towards evening he and the personnel officer were received by the director, who refused to give him a job (he had supposedly informed the chief of personnel of his decision some days earlier, but the latter had forgotten to tell Khodorovich at the time).

* * *

On 23 March a policeman and a KGB officer visited the flat where **Father Dmitry Dudko** (Chronicle 57) and his 'spiritual children' were at the time. They ordered the people gathered there to show their documents and, threatening them with arrest, attempted to draw up a record stating that 'a meeting of persons adhering to the Orthodox faith was being held for the purpose of carrying out religious rites' in the flat.

On 28 May Investigator Sorokin of the Moscow KGB told Dudko that on 22 May the case against him had been closed. The order stated that the case was being closed in view of Dudko's full repentance, good behaviour after release from custody, family situation and age.

* * *

On 16 April **Larissa Poluektova** (Chronicles 54, 55, 58) was summoned to Investigator V.D. Makarov in the Moscow KGB. Poluektova was shown an order stating that on 2 November 1980, during a customs check of a West German citizen, documents given to her by Poluektova had been found in her possession: a letter from Poluektova addressed to an acquaintance in the West, a letter from some Catholic woman entitled 'Report on Work Carried Out' (about a religious seminar), a letter to the priest Eltchaninoff from L. Regelson (Chronicle 58) and an article entitled 'Sovietism'. These materials were described as anti-Soviet in the order, which stated that they had been passed to the Moscow Procuracy. Poluektova was told that if she persisted in her anti-Soviet actions, a criminal case would be instituted

against her.

Poluektova signed the 'order', then asked what the article 'Sovietism' was - she knew nothing about it. The investigator told her that the evidence of witnesses had established the fact that all the materials had been provided by Poluektova. The reply to her question as to why she had not been summoned immediately was: 'It wasn't necessary'.

* * *

On 18 April the Moscow writer **Leonid Novak** (Chronicle 60) was issued a caution 'according to the Decree'[34] by Lieutenant Khorkov in the KGB district office. Novak signed the caution.

* * *

Kalinin. At the end of 1980 **L. Lozovsky** (Chronicle 61), who was sacked after the trial of I. Dyadkin and S. Gorbachev (Chronicle 58), was given back his job as a senior scientific researcher. In May 1981, after complaining to the Procuracy, he was put back on the waiting list for a flat.

On the evening of 17 June Lozovsky received a notice summoning him to the district military recruitment office, where he was to be at 11 pm. When he arrived at the appointed time, Lozovsky found none of the persons who had summoned him at the office, and on his way home was attacked by three unidentified persons. He managed to fend them off. A day later the section head of the recruitment office, who had summoned him, asserted that he had been at his post at the appointed time (he later denied this assertion). He stated that he had urgently summoned Lozovsky in order to paste into his military papers an order for mobilization - which he now immediately stamped and inserted.

* * *

In Moscow attempts to disperse the Sunday scientific seminar (Chronicle 60) continue. On 26 April a police guard was set up at the door of Brailovsky's flat, where the regular session was to take place. A similar seminar is also being held in **A. Ya. Lerner**'s flat. A guard was also set up outside his door.

* * *

At the end of May **S. Shibayev** (Chronicle 60) was taken off the register in Tarusa 'for prolonged absence from his place of residence' (this 'absence' was confirmed by his mother). He has found a job in Moscow as a carpenter.

* * *

In the night of 7 to 8 July **A. Ya. Lerner's wife** died in Moscow. His daughter, who has emigrated to Israel, was allowed to come to Moscow for her mother's funeral.

* * *

Vladimir Popov, a driver living in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk [on the Pacific], sent an inquiry to the Gorky 'City Information Centre' asking for A.D. Sakharov's address. The reply from Gorky was that Sakharov was not listed as living in the city, according to the information available at the address bureau. Some time later he was 'prevented from going to work' and forcibly hospitalized; the diagnosis was 'schizophrenia'. He was soon released from hospital. At the beginning of February Popov travelled to the Gannushkin Psychiat-

ric Hospital in Moscow for an examination.

LETTERS AND STATEMENTS

E. Soboleva-Bode: 'Open Letter' (29 March 1981)

E. Soboleva-Bode (Chronicles 53, 54) recounts that after her home was searched on 16 November 1978 in connection with the case of the artist V. Sysoyev (Chronicles 53, 54, 57), she

> ...started receiving summonses to the Cherëmushki District UVD. On 19 April 1979 I was taken by force at 8 am to an interrogation in connection with Sysoyev's case at the Cherëmushki District UVD. The interrogation lasted two hours. During the interrogation Investigator G. Chuyev behaved in a rude, unrestrained way, and threatened and frightened me. At the beginning of September 1979 I was summoned to Investigator N.I. Elagina of the Cherëmushki District Criminal Investigation Department in Moscow, who asked Sysoyev's whereabouts. I was told orally that a major search for him had been ordered. The next day five men burst into my flat. One of them showed Moscow Criminal Investigation Department identification. No other documents were shown. They looked for Sysoyev all over the flat. Soon there was another visit of this kind. At the same time unidentified people started telephoning my flat: they either said they had the wrong number or remained silent. In addition to all this, people in plain clothes started following me quite openly whenever I met my friends. On 8 March 1979, when my small son was in the flat and I was out, unidentified persons tried to break the lock on the door and enter the flat. When they noticed that there was someone in the flat (my son went to make a telephone call), the unidentified persons (or person) slipped away, leaving traces: the metal hasp had been removed from the lock and tacks pulled out of the upholstery on the door. When policeman Yu. A. Elpedinsky arrived after I reported the incident, he explained that it could have been someone getting the wrong door, or just petty hooliganism.
>
> Just before the Olympics began I was told to tell Sysoyev, if I saw him, to come out of hiding, and a year would be 'knocked off' his sentence. The message was from the KGB and was passed on to me through a third person. All this time the telephone calls continued (wrong numbers and silences), and the entrance to my building was guarded by vigilantes and neighbours who had been told there was a criminal in my flat. All this went on in the sight of my child, who contracted neuritis as a result and was in Morozov Hospital No. 1 from 29 December 1979 to 29 January 1980 for treatment. He is now seriously ill, he has been diagnosed as having neurodermatitis and every time someone visits the flat the condition is exacerbated.
>
> On 10 December 1980 at 11.30 pm (I was already asleep) I heard men's voices outside the door; someone said loudly: 'Can't you open the door, you idiot? Got your keys mixed up or something?' When I asked: 'Who's there?'

> there was no sound outside. Through the peep-hole I saw a tall stranger and my upstairs neighbour. Then they went away. I continued to have visits from Police Station No. 30 concerning, so they told me (I. Chubukov and Yu. Elpedinsky) a residence regulations check.
>
> Now I am still getting constant telephone calls from the telephone exchange, the Housing Committee, and wrong numbers and silent phone calls. I am constantly followed wherever I go. For example, on 27 March 1981 I found I was being followed. Three 'Zhiguli' cars and about seven persons followed me everywhere. Such are the events of the past two years which are happening around me.

Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group

Document No. 159 (23 March 1981): 'Persecution of the Evsyukov family' (Chronicles 60, 61).
Document No. 160 (30 March 1981): 'The arrest of Anatoly Marchenko' (see this issue).
Document No. 161 (2 April 1981): '"I consider the defence of human rights to be my life's work" (the trial of Tatyana Osipova)' (see this issue).
Document No. 162 (5 April 1981): 'The arrest of Anatoly Koryagin' (Chronicle 61).
Document No. 163 (6 April 1981): 'Ivan Kandyba has been arrested in the Ukraine' (see this issue).
Document No. 164 (7 April 1981): 'The trial of Genrikh Altunyan' (see this issue).
Document No. 165 (13 April 1981): 'The arrest of Mikhail Zotov' (Chronicle 61).
Document No. 166 (30 April 1981): 'The imprisonment of Alexander Bolonkin is becoming a life sentence' (see this issue).
Document No. 167 (12 May 1981): 'The fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Group'.
Document No. 168 (1 June 1981): 'New persecution of Kirill Podrabinek in places of imprisonment' (see this issue).
Document No. 169 (6 June 1981): 'The lives of prisoners Yury Fëdorov and Aleksei Murzhenko are in danger' (see this issue).
Document No. 170 (27 June 1981): 'The trial of Viktor Brailovsky' (see this issue).
Document No. 171 (30 June 1981): 'New instances of persecution of citizens of German nationality wishing to emigrate from the USSR' (see this issue).
Document No. 172 (7 July 1981): 'The arrest and conviction of Vladimir Kislik' (see this issue).
Document No. 173 (8 July 1981): 'Persecution of Jewish refuseniks continues' (see this issue).
Document No. 174 (8 July 1981): 'The arrest and conviction of Aleksei Myasnikov' (Chronicle 61).

SAMIZDAT NEWS

I. Kovalëv: 'An Unpublished Interview' (February 1981, 8 pages)

1. What is the present situation of what is known as the 'dissident movement'?

The present situation of the 'dissident movement', in my opinion, leaves no room for hope that it will continue to develop or even, perhaps, to exist in its present form. This is not the first time I have had to talk about the authorities' determination to destroy this movement utterly, but never before, perhaps, has this determination been so obvious.

Now the authorities have come down most heavily on the various kinds of free associations, many of which have effectively ceased to exist as a result. One of the most dramatic examples of this is the recent destruction of the Working Commission on Psychiatry... In my opinion, these arrests are also evidence of the authorities' intention to step up once again psychiatric repression against undesirable persons...

Yet another threatening tendency is to be observed lately. More and more prisoners of conscience are being arrested and convicted for the second time, either soon after release or even at the very end of their previous sentence.

I also think that the list of persons soon to be arrested is not limited to defenders of human rights who belong to formal groups. There is also another 'line of attack': not only to put a stop to the work of groups and associations defending human rights, and editors of free journals, but also to imprison people who form the moral anchor of the human rights movement. I am referring to repressions against people who are not officially members of any of the existing associations, but deservedly enjoy a certain authority nonetheless. I would say that Sakharov's exile and the arrests of Velikanova, Lavut and Terleckas belong to actions of this kind... (I do not at all wish to minimize the importance of other arrests, but these seem to me the most indicative).

I think it is quite possible that repression will enable the authorities to achieve their aim: groups and associations will cease to exist openly. Whether they will stop at this is difficult to say. But I am sure that they will not achieve complete success in this direction.

There is another idea which gives me hope. At virtually every political trial it is the 'illegal activities' of the accused which are at issue. And this refers to people who speak out publicly against tyranny. But the concept of 'illegal', 'underground' activities is actually true of the actions of the authorities themselves and their organs.

So, as long as the authorities and the 'organs' fear the people, with whom they are at war, and use furtive methods against the 'pathetic bunch of renegades', these 'renegades' are not so badly off and there is still hope for this people.

2. Is there more or less hope now than five or ten years ago?

It is difficult for me to answer this question, as it concerns subjective feelings and I have nothing with which to compare my feelings. Where the present is concerned, there is still hope. It is sustained not only by abstract ideas, but, strange as it may seem, by what

is happening. For example, I have noticed on occasion that Western sources are sometimes better informed of events in our country than the most well-informed defenders of human rights. This goes to show that, in addition to the 'usual informants' of society, new ones are appearing. It is only a pity that this also indicates that these new informants think of publicity primarily as the transmission of truthful information abroad and are little involved in circulating it within the country.

3. What do you consider to be the victory of the dissident movement?

I feel it is not very appropriate to assess whether the human rights movement is 'useful', whether it 'makes sense'. I do not see it as a struggle where there can be victories and defeats, but as a profoundly moral phenomenon, having nothing to do with any concepts of 'profit' (I understand that this definition only covers some of the people we call dissenters, defenders of human rights, and dissidents, but it covers the best of them and, if one may use the expression, the most representative). However, if one is to speak of any results deriving from actions in defence of human rights, then, with rare exceptions, one can only presume that if it were not for such actions, human beings would be repressed more than they are, despite various expressions of protest, now...

Of course it is difficult to speak of victory when so many people I love are in prisons and camps. But victory probably lies in the very fact that the movement exists, in spite of the efforts of the authorities. And in the compassion I notice sometimes in simple people who have had it drummed into them so much: 'They're renegades, enemies, they've sold themselves': it's no use, not everyone believes it.

4. What defects do you see in the dissident movement?

One can speak of 'defects' in the human rights movement - a movement of moral opposition to lies and coercion - only in a moral sense. You see, people get involved in human rights activities for different reasons. I can understand and identify with them most of all when they are just doing what they can't help doing, when they are not out to make any profits for themselves, but are just following the call of their moral duty. But there are other motives. For example, when they use this activity as a means of leaving the country as soon as possible, or of acquiring 'political capital', as it is called; sometimes they are seeking material gains, for example from the Aid Fund for Political Prisoners.

...but these are defects of individual people, and one cannot call them defects of the human rights movement without greatly stretching a point. And anyway it is almost impossible to talk about defects of a movement which has no organizational structure; one can talk only about the qualities of the various persons involved in the movement.

5. What does 'help from the West' mean? How should one understand it in concrete terms? For example, what do you expect for yourself and your family from the West?

Moral support from the West, expressed in various letters, statements and protest demonstrations, is very important to us. It is also important, where a prisoner is concerned, that the campaign in his defence does not cease. In many cases material aid to his family is important. Where protest actions are concerned, it is important that they be given as much publicity as possible. When prisoners of conscience have been defended, it is useful to inform the administration of the camp in question of these actions.

One of the Group's documents addressed to the Madrid Conference spoke in part of the desirability of special research into the authenticity of our documents. I think that if such research were carried out, it would seriously hinder the authorities in their thankless task of convicting an innocent and truthful person on a charge of falsehood.

I want pure and honest people, who speak out against lies and coercion, without seeking gain or glory thereby, who give themselves wholly to others, to be known as widely as possible. The authorities strive to slander these people. Therefore it is especially important that their fellow-countrymen know the truth about them. Help in spreading this truth is perhaps the greatest help provided by the West. Many samizdat documents are published in the West, some of them even reach our country in spite of customs barriers. Western radio-stations broadcast these documents and Soviet people hear at least a little truth about themselves through the howling of the 'jammers'.

One of the most important Western publications of this kind is, in my opinion, the Chronicle of Current Events (CCE), the samizdat version of which is republished in New York by Valery Chalidze, an activist of the human rights movement who emigrated from the USSR. So I personally would very much like this journal to be read as widely as possible in our country.

6. Defenders of human rights seem to be getting fewer and fewer. They are arrested and imprisoned, they emigrate. Do you think there will always be people like A. Lavut, your wife Tanya, T. Velikanova and others? And why?

I do think that there will always be people like this (this also applies to the question about hopes for the future). The answer to the question why I think so, lies in a description of their character: they are altruists, unable by their very nature to remain indifferent to injustice. I think it is natural to hope for the best in people. That is why I hope that even if they are few, there will always be people like this.

7. What do you think about those who are 'underground': Adventists, True Orthodox Believers...? Can this become an example for 'dissidents' or for some of them: the Fund, the Chronicle...?

I realize that underground activity is one of the possible means of opposition, although it does not attract me. Open opposition, publicity, is one of the basic features, perhaps the main feature, of the human rights movement as it exists now. Individual people speaking out openly for human rights led ultimately to the creation of the

various public groups and associations to defend human rights. Now the authorities are breaking them up. Even if all the groups are broken up I do not think that people will cease to speak out openly for human rights. However, I realize that setting up new human rights associations in this situation would lead to their being broken up immediately, before they have the chance to take shape and establish themselves. It is much more difficult to stop individual persons from defending human rights and publishing information on violations of human rights concealed by the authorities.

It is perhaps in this direction that the human rights movement will develop in its new phase. I do not think this precludes the existence of at least some free associations, probably those that are not altogether 'open' even now. For example, it is no secret that the Fund has one openly acknowledged administrator, but he has many assistants who are not openly acknowledged. Or the journal A Chronicle of Current Events, now in its 13th year, which has no openly acknowledged editorial board: I consider this publication to be virtually indestructible, so great is the demand for reliable and complete information.

If my hopes that in its new phase the human rights movement will simply take on new forms (probably similar to forgotten, older ones) are not justified, and it ceases to exist, I fear that terrorists will take over and the authorities will retaliate with terror on a scale which is hard to predict. This may turn out to be the end not only of the human rights movement, but also of the country. The only alternative I can see is to continue to speak out openly against tyranny.

|**Anon.**:| 'Is the New KGB Tactic the Beginning of Mass Repression?' (4 pages)

After analysing the trial of **G. Altunyan** (see this issue), the anonymous author writes concerning the maximum sentence imposed on Altunyan:

Presumably this decision is not just a whim of the local Kharkov authorities. It has a general political significance: it can be linked with the arrest of another veteran of the human rights movement, A. Marchenko, and with the repeat arrests of V. Barladyanu, R. Markosyan, V. Chornovil, R. Kosterin, M. Morozov, V. Stus, M. Gorbal, V. Lisovoi and K. and A. Podrabinek, with the recent repeat arrest of A. Bolonkin, and other similar events. Apparently the KGB, having broken up the main centres of activity of the human rights movement, are now firing at the reserves. Among these reserves are the veterans. Even after they 'go out of action' they remain symbols and communication links of the movement (everyone knows them, people can come to them and report or pass on something). But there are few veterans. In the provinces, mere sympathizers have long been being arrested. In Moscow such people stand outside court buildings and chant the names of the accused or sign collective protests, etc. In the provinces they do not even do that much, and one careless word is enough. The victims are chosen arbitrarily: one out of ten or twenty. In each case the trial features gross injustices (Altunyan was no more active than the friends who threw him flowers). The rest face the prospect of years tormented by fear and eventually

going from the passivity of a reservist to the passivity of a deserter, severing all connections with old friends, hiding in a basement and trembling as they listen to the sound of footsteps on the pavement.

* * *

Will the new KGB tactic succeed? It is difficult to gauge the extent of the moral steadfastness of dissenters. There are, however, two factors capable of arousing outbursts of discontent and increasing opposition: events in Poland and growing food shortages. Both these factors are outside KGB control.

'Yu.Orlov, A. Shcharansky' (2 pages)
A short biography of Yury Orlov (trial in Chronicle 50) and Anatoly Shcharansky (trial in Chronicle 50).
The summary conveys the idea that 'one of the most striking features of the Soviet power machine' is the 'isolation of its upper echelon', i.e. those who take part in 'decision-making', from the outside world and from objective information, including information about KGB activities.

The KGB's dangerous freedom of action has increased considerably in recent years: frequent manifestations of it are the jamming of Western radio broadcasts, the treatment of Academician Sakharov, cruel repression against women involved in the human rights movement (Tatyana Osipova, Tatyana Velikanova,, Malva Landa, Irina Grivnina), etc. Personal communications of the chief of another state to the leaders of the USSR is perhaps the only kind of information that automatically gets through the barriers of aides and cannot be blocked by the KGB. Top-level enquiries about the fate of Soviet human rights, petitions handed in person to Brezhnev by public organizations in the West in defence of Orlov, Shcharansky, repressed women and others, may have a restraining effect on the Soviet bureaucratic machine and bring about the tolerance which by some miracle has so far kept Soviet tanks from invading Poland.

Yu. Gastev: 'The Priceless Gift of Freedom' (May 1981, 2 pages)

Sasha Lavut was the first new person I got to know when I came out of camp in 1949...in '56 we didn't have to 'open our eyes'... But we found out and realized the most important thing: we were free!
It was then that I got to know Sasha all over again: straightaway we were great friends and I loved him. Since then I have not only always associated this wonderful person with my 'physical' release and the awareness of freedom I reacquired seven years later, nor even with the freedom of speech to which he devoted himself: for me he is the embodiment of all FREEDOM (of thought, feelings, actions and life itself), of which we are supposedly utterly deprived under all the articles of the criminal code, but which in all seriousness no one can ever take away from us. Now Sasha is in prison.
I am talking about Sasha in particular, only because I especially like him, as I have known him longer than his imprisoned friends. And it is hard all the same for me to find words worthy of him. Sasha is very kind and

warm-hearted. Not only does he love his family (four grandchildren - no kidding) and his friends, but he loves people in general. He is extraordinarily brave, as only modest people are brave (they are incapable of immodesty as well as any lack of taste or culture). Such people speak quietly, not because they are such 'quiet people', but merely because they do not have to speak any louder to be heard. He is genuinely cheerful and somehow inherently witty - his wit, like his intelligence, is not at all obtrusive.
Sasha is amazingly selfless, he has a very fine face and a wonderful smile. I'm glad Sasha Lavut is my friend, and I'm proud of it. I do not know anyone who knows him without liking him. Often it even seems to me that it is impossible not to like him, but I'm obviously wrong here, at least if we agree to regard the employees of the department of frisking and spying as people.
And anyway, why should they like him? After all, he is truly 'a child of goodness and light. All of him is the triumph of freedom!' |quotation from a poem|. And it would be strange to expect people who are not free, who crush freedom, to love freedom. Not everyone has the strength to possess this gift, which is truly priceless: one can pay for it only with one's own freedom.

Yu. Gastev: 'The House on Marchenko Street' (May 1981, 4 pages)

In Vladimir Region, not far from Aleksandrov, there is the little town of Karabanovo, with its textile mill and railway station. It was quite recently officially called a village, and of course still is one in fact: the part of it that lies beyond the ravine, called Pervomaisky village, is a typical central Russian hamlet. Here, at 42 Lenin Street, stands an unfinished two-storey house. The tragic fate of this house and the man who owns and built it, Anatoly Marchenko, which is both prosaic and unique, like our whole life, is a real saga of our times. This saga is far from having been lived or written in full, and I am convinced that the time will come when this street will be called Marchenko Street, and with good reason, since in spite of all the unquestionable historical achivements of the first Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, it was not here that he exposed his teachers and colleagues as not being revolutionary enough or loyal enough to the philosophical views of Democrites, Diderot and Feuerbach, whereas Tolya Marchenko's neighbours, if they were sufficiently far-sighted and intelligent, could already be proud of their remarkable fellow-countryman and contemporary.
For he is truly a remarkable man. He is now in Vladimir Prison: this is the sixth imprisonment in his life. What for? you ask. For insisting on his right (this right is for some reason called constitutional since it is specifically stipulated in the latest edition of the Constitution of our democratic country, but Tolya considers this right to be self-evident and natural, as scientists used to say in the old days) to LIVE AT HOME and SAY WHAT YOU THINK - always, everywhere and to everyone.
He is not an agitator, a prophet or an official - he just LIVES THAT WAY...and wherever I come to rest, in some faraway Palestine or Narym, I know that this

is our country. Your streets, whatever signs you put up on them, whatever idols you raise, cannot and will never exist, all memory of you will rot away during your lifetime. But ours - ours do and will always exist. And even if neither Tolya Marchenko nor I ever lives in a house on Marchenko Street, then certainly our children will go there and live there.

N. Komarova: 'Nadezhda Surovtseva' (April 1981, 3 pages)
An essay on the life of Nadezhda Vitalevna Surovtseva, one of the Ukraine's oldest writers (born 1896).
Surovtseva spent nearly 30 years (from 1927 to 1956) in the Gulag (her husband never came back from the camps). Since 1972 she has been subjected to several searches (see for example 'Events in the Ukraine' in this issue) during which her entire literary archive was confiscated.

In life one must always find the strength to hold one's head up high. That is the first lesson I have learned from my acquaintance and close friendship with Nadezhda Vitalevna. In life there is always something to be glad about. And that means one must smile. That is the second lesson. Life is interesting and should be watched. And one must live. That is the third lesson.

V. Vardomtsev: 'A Pain Everyone Feels' (October 1980, 7 pages)
The author maintains that Father Dmitry Dudko's 'repentances' (Chronicle 57) were achieved by means of psychotropic drugs.

I repeat, it is difficult to doubt that the KGB use psychotropic drugs after hearing about the state of health of Father Dmitry, Lev Regelson, Viktor Kapitanchuk and Father Gleb before they reached breaking point in court.
Father Dmitry insists now that he does not renounce a single jot of what he said earlier, and that he will continue his pastoral work and find new ways and means of doing so.

The author calls for forgiveness of Dudko, saying that as a human being he has repented, while as a priest he did not betray anyone or anything.

V. Vardomtsev: 'Is Repentance and Self-Restraint Possible without Forgiveness?' (March 1981, 10 pages)

I have in front of me the writings of Father Dmitry Dudko composed after his July 'interview':
- 'My Repentance'
- 'Letter to All My Spiritual Children'
- 'Can One speak to the Atheists in their Own Language?'

All three works share the same theme: repentance and forgiveness. In 'My Repentance' Father Dmitry asks Christians to forgive him and pray for him. In 'Letters to My Spiritual Children', in addition to asking forgiveness he urges his spiritual children to forgive each other's sins and become united. In the article 'Can One Speak...' Father Dmitry finds something for which we owe the atheists repentance too.
Has Father Dmitry's position changed since before his arrest? No! ('Here is my last word: I am the same as I was... Pay no attention to my statement to the press

or to my speech on television. They are not mine. My books and sermons are mine.') His position is consistent, fundamental, unchanging. Only new turnings on the road, new forms are opening up. Not only his guilt, but most of all the cross Father Dmitry must bear, lies in the fact that at a difficult time he found himself disarmed with regard to the rules of battle in this world, and spiritually vulnerable.
...the spectrum of the Christian front is broad. While at one extreme there is the heroic struggle and uncompromising position of people with a Christian heart (A. Sakharov, V. Bukovsky, T. Velikanova), at the other there is the loving open embrace for living people who are tortured and torture themselves, for the most fallen and lost, for the persecuted but also for the persecutor, for his unhappiness is even greater than ours, because 'we are with God and it is easier for us, while he is without God'.
New tendencies are beginning to appear in the attitude of the authorities to the Russian Orthodox Church. Their intentions are no longer one-sided. Taking everything into account, in the next years a certain amount of freedom will be allowed in matters of church life. But only on condition that all opposition to the basic ideological values - political and national might - be given up. This means not only giving up the struggle, but serving those values as well. And here it is again apparent that the voice of Father Dmitry Dudko remains and expresses the conscience of the Russian Orthodox Church.

A. Shatravka: 'How I Celebrated the 26th Congress of the CPSU' (19 pages)
The author gives an account of his 'pre-Congress' forcible hospitalization (Chronicle 61) and of the circumstances of his 'Olympic' and November hospitalizations in 1980.

'Prison Transport' (6 pages)
This essay is based on a prisoner's letter.

A. Zelyakov: 'Camp 45' (4 pages)
Group 2 invalid A. Zelyakov dedicates his essay about a camp for disabled prisoners 'to the memory of forgotten and dead disabled prisoners'.[35].

In Dnepropetrovsk Prison, along with the cripples waiting for the prison train, I talked to people who had come from there. And I heard:
'It's no good longing to go to that crematorium, old man! It's a real death-trap out there - no treatment, no grub. On the contrary, those bastards try to bump you off as soon as possible, but without any fuss, so everything will be hush-hush: they'll beat you to death in the cooler and write that you hanged yourself. So you're better off, mate, pottering about in an ordinary labour-camp for a bit than snuffing it in that Soviet Buchenwald.'
From the outside the camp looks no different from an ordinary one, but as a camp for the disabled it has its own specific peculiarities inside, and its own 'educational methods': there is no exhausting trooping off to work, you won't see any straight columns marching to the canteen; but almost every day two burly orderlies will drag the next 'liberated' corpse indifferently out of the

barracks to the morgue. And this instructive scene is supposed to exert a salutary influence on the convicts' mental state.

Before I had time to look around, I was summoned to the detachment head. Lieutenant Yatsenko, a young man beginning to grow fat, greeted me with an insolent smile and ordered me to do socially useful work - digging trenches.

'Excuse me,' I objected, 'I'm a Group 2, that's why I was brought here.'

'You can walk,' he yelled, 'and anybody who can walk digs here, you understand? Hurry up, and remember, nobody complains here, Kiev's a long way off and Moscow's even further.'

And I went to work. There were forty men in my crew. And for all of us this unpaid, over-strenuous work was a refined torture, authorized by instructions from above. Practically no money was put on our card, and we knew it. Somehow we asked our 'boss', security chief Major Godynnik:

'What use is a camp for the disabled if we're made to work like healthy people here?'

'You're the tiresome ballast of our society,' he replied, 'rather than shoot you, it's better to work you to death and get some good out of it for society.'

Those who want to get rich perfect the technique of knocking out the prisoners' gold teeth, as in the 'good old' Nazi and Stalinist days. All the bosses' wives wear the gold of the living and the dead in their ears, thus defining the status of their 'gold-toothed' husbands.

At the end of his essay Zelyakov gives the names of 12 disabled prisoners who died in the camp in 1976 and 1977 for 'trying to send out reports on the atrocities committed here'.

I. Gerashchenko: 'The Hidden Reserve' (2 pages)

A description of how telephones work when fitted with an extra part (a diode) not specified by the standard diagram but produced in the Soviet Union. According to the author, such telephone sets can be used to transmit to the telephone exchange anything said nearby while the receiver is down. Removal of the part described does not affect the normal working of the telephone. The author suggests that the reader check the matter out.

N. Alekseyev: 'Notes of a Worker' (1981, 5 pages)

The hubbub of the tenth five-year plan has died down. All over the country, in every factory - from the tiny ones where table lamps are produced, to gigantic steel foundries and secret munitions factories - people have straightened up in relief: the frenzy of rush jobs, storm work and overtime is past.

But not for long. The next five-year plan is on the threshold. And again we will be urged to mark the congresses, jubilees and domestic and foreign undertakings of the government with inspired intensive labour.

The author describes certain methods used in achieving fulfilment of the plan. In addition to the voluntary working Saturdays and Sundays, and weeks of shock work 'hailed' in the press, there are frequent cases of compulsory work

on Saturdays and Sundays (by agreement with the trade-union):

In view of complications which have arisen in fulfilling the State plan as a result of...the large number of colds related to the influenza epidemic, I order...to organize work on Saturday.

(This order was issued on 21 January in the Lenin Komsomol car factory in Moscow by the Director-General, V.L. Melnikov.)

'On Academician Sakharov's 60th Birthday' (1981, 13 pages)

The collection contains a biographical chronology entitled 'Some of the Events in Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov's Scientific and Civic Activity' (in 1965 Sakharov published two scientific articles: in 1966, three: in 1967, four: in 1969, two: in 1972, one: in 974, one: in 1975, two: in 1979, one: in 1980, three) and an 'Open Letter' to the President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A.P. Aleksandrov, dated 20 October 1980 (Chronicle 60).

'Bulletin No. 11 of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR' (30 March 1981, 32 pages)

The title page bears the names of Yu. Kiselev and V. Fefëlov (see Chronicle 60). The Bulletin contains two appeals of the Initiative Group to the Presidium of the 26th Congress of the CPSU (calling for an amnesty and for support of the UN initiative declaring 1981 the International Year of the Disabled); open letters from the Group to the Presidium of the Madrid Conference (proposals for financial assistance to the disabled, paid for through reductions in military allocations, and for the introduction of 'moral training' for soldiers), to the Pope (urging him to further the establishment in the USSR of a 'wide network of charitable organizations' on a religious basis), and to Patriarch Pimen of All Russia (urging him to recommend priests to 'draw attention to the sacred duty of each Christian to the helpless and destitute' in their sermons); a note on the decoration of the RSFSR Minister of Social Security, D. Komarova; a reply from the Head of the Department for International Relations of the USSR State Committee on Labour and Social Questions, A.F. Bordadyn, to the leaders of the European Organization to Assist the Disabled; Initiative Group Documents Nos. 20 - 'Letters Testify...', 21 - 'In an Atmosphere of Love for Mankind' (about the fate of Group member F. Khusainov) and 22 - 'In the Crimea Yu. Kiselev's Home Has Burned Down' (Chronicle 61); reports on the arrest of N.S. Pavlov (see 'Arrests' in this issue), the 'pre-Congress' hospitalization of Yu. Valov (Chronicle 61), and the detention of Group member O. Zaitseva (see 'Persecution of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled' in this issue); Group statements in defence of F. Serebrov (arrest in Chronicle 61) and V.K. Pervushin, an invalid of the Great Patriotic War (he was forcibly hospitalized for complaining about being illegally sacked); and the 'Declaration of the Rights of the Disabled' (a resolution of the UN General Assembly of 9 December 1975).

'Information Bulletin' of SMOT [Free Inter-trade Association of Working People]
No. 12 (1981, 10 pages)

No. 13 (1981, 10 pages)

No. 12 contains 'Completion of the Five-Year Plan' (a comparison of planned and current figures), 'What and How Much Carter Achieved', and a statement by the editors of the journal The Duel (Chronicle 61). No. 13 contains 'Results of the Congress', 'What and for What Price' and 'Russia Supports Poland'.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

On 6 August 1980 officials of the Moscow City Procuracy carried out a search of the flat of **A. Myasnikov** (arrest in Chronicle 60, trial in Chronicle 61).

In the search unpublished works by A. Myasnikov were confiscated: the article '173 Reasons for National Shame or What the Constitution Fails to Mention' and the tale Meetings (it was for these that Myasnikov was sentenced), and the tale Far Beyond the Mountainside, the story A Day and a Whole Life, and the essay A Voice from the Darkness.

At the interrogation which followed the search Myasnikov admitted authorship, but refused to admit any slanderous content in the confiscated works. Investigator Borovik, who conducted the interrogation, attempted in vain to obtain evidence from Myasnikov which would compromise his friend Oleg Popov. Investigator Vorobëv also failed to obtain the same evidence when he interrogated N. Omelchenko, Myasnikov's wife.

The Case of Lupinos

Here are some additions and corrections to the reports about A. Lupinos in Chronicles 57 and 61. On 16 June 1980 the Smela District People's Court, Cherkassy Region, in the presence of the Chairman of Cherkassy Regional Court, V.I. Malevanny, and a Smela District People's Judge, V. Ivanov, resolved to transfer A. Lupinos from an ordinary psychiatric hospital to a special psychiatric hospital on the charge that he had earlier escaped.

On 21 June Lupinos was sent from Cherkassy Regional Psychiatric Hospital No. 1 (in Smela) to Dnepropetrovsk SPH. But he was not accepted there as the court decision had not yet entered into legal force: the time allowed for appeal had not yet expired. Lupinos was taken back to Smela. There, '16 June' was amended to '10 June' and he was sent back to Dnepropetrovsk SPH, which accepted him this time.

* * *

On 26 June A. Lupinos's father Ivan Trofimovich Lupinos sent an appeal to Cherkassy Regional Court and to the Cherkassy Regional Procurator. Cherkassy Regional Court informed him that his appeal had been forwarded to Smela People's Court, which sent the following reply:

> In reply to your complaint addressed to the Regional Court and Regional Procuracy, Smela People's Court informs you that your appeal against the People's Court decision

> of 10 June 1980 to change the compulsory medical measures imposed on A.I. Lupinos was returned to you on 22 July 1980, since you were not his guardian prior to 16 July 1980 and were not therefore entitled by law to appeal against the court decision.
>
> R.I. Kushel, Chairman of Smela Town People's Court

I.T. Lupinos received the following reply from the Cherkassy Regional Procuracy:

> Cherkassy Regional Procuracy
> 21 August 1980
> No. 4/1266-80
>
> Your appeal has been considered by the Procuracy. Under verification it has been ascertained that Smela People's Court took a decision to change the compulsory medical measures imposed on A.I. Lupinos on the grounds of a petition by Cherkassy Regional Psychiatric Hospital.
>
> The assertion in your appeal that a decision in this matter comes under the jurisdiction of the regional court is mistaken, since in accordance with article 422 of the Ukrainian Code of Criminal Procedure this matter is to be decided by the court which imposed these measures, or by a court at the place of treatment.
>
> On the day of the court hearing, i.e. 10 June 1980, you were not his guardian, therefore the People's Court did not notify you of the date of the hearing and you were not entitled by law to submit an appeal. The Procurator and a lawyer of the Smela Legal Consultation Office, comrade O.I. Nikiforov, participated in the case. The appeal has been ruled groundless.
>
> I. Yu. Storchevoi, Procurator of the Department to Supervise Reviews of Criminal Court Cases

I.T. Lupinos has in fact been his son's guardian since 1973, and there is a certificate to this effect in his son's case file. In the Regional Court I.T. Lupinos was told that they needed his certificate of guardianship. He asked the village Soviet for the certificate: they sent him to the district archives: the latter sent him to the Cherkassy regional archives, where the certificate was not found. He went to the Procurator, who sent him to the legal consultation office. There he was persuaded to fill out a new guardianship form. He went again to the village soviet, where on 16 July 1980 he was issued a new certificate, after which the court replied that he was not his guardian on the day of the trial. I.T. Lupinos was born in 1906 and fought all through the war. Anatoly's mother A.A. Lupinos died in 1979.

* * *

In December 1980 A. Lupinos was transferred to Orël SPH. On 6 June 1981 a medical commission recommended that he be transferred to a psychiatric hospital of ordinary type.

ENDNOTES

1 From Tarusa to Chuna, Strathcona publishers, USA, 1980. Published in Russian by Khronika Press, New York, 1976.
2 The book Neopublikovannoe, Possev Verlag, Frankfurt, 1972.
3 Edited by A. Ginzburg in 1958-60 and later published abroad in Grani, Frankfurt, No. 58 (1965). See also Chronicle 1.
4 On Bokov see Chronicles 32, 34.
5 A Russian-language weekly published in Paris.
6 This 400-page manuscript describes the author's experiences during internments in various mental hospitals. It has reached the West.
7 See note 5 above.
8 In fact, it was the previously mentioned article, "Unwilling Patients", which was published in The Lancet (11 April 1981).
9 A copy of this report is in the possession of Amnesty International and some other bodies.
10 A 14-page translation of these autobiographical notes is available from Working Group Hon. Sec. Mrs. C. Shaw, 17 Norland Sq., London, W11.
11 Often used Soviet propaganda about Solzhenitsyn, who was never in fact a German prisoner.
12 The Chronicle's word 'published' has been changed here to 'edited'. For details on the bulletin's publication see the Bibliographical Note below.
13 See Chronicle 32, p. 64.
14 See a much more detailed account by Michael Scammell of the circumstances of this case in the New York Review of Books, 15 April 1982.
15 See note 13.
16 See note 13.
17 Mikhail Koryakov (a Russian emigrant), Zhivaya istoriya 1917-75, Ekho Press, Munich, 1977.
18 It was published in Possev: 5-yi Spetsialnyi Vypusk, Frankfurt, November 1970. It is an account, unique in nature, of how his appeal against expulsion from the CPSU was heard by the Party Control Commission.
19 In autumn 1981 Kandyba was sentenced to 10 years in special-regime camps, plus 5 years' exile.
20 In autumn 1981 R. Rudenko was sentenced to 5 years in strict-regime camps, plus 5 years' exile.
21 See note 13.
22 The article was changed, and in August 1981 Antsupov was sentenced to 6 years in strict-regime camps, plus 5 in exile.
23 See note 13.
24 See photographs of two of these processions in Chronicle 54.
24a Some of the sentences later imposed on Baptists mentioned in this section (all terms refer to ordinary-regime camps unless otherwise stated): Sheshenko - 3 years, Vall - 5 years' strict-regime, Reimer - 4 years, Tevs - 4 years, Kostyuchenko - 2 years' strict-regime, Redin - 5 years.
25 Most of the issues of this journal have been reprinted in Russian in the documentary series Evreiskii samizdat (Centre for Research & Documentation of E. European

Jewry, Hebrew University, Jerusalem), 21 volumes of which had appeared by 1980.
26 See note 13.
27 Zubko was later sentenced to 5 years in camps.
28 Later they were both sentenced to 3 years in ordinary-regime camps.
29 Marsal was sentenced in August 1981 to 2½ years in ordinary-regime camps.
30 The collection was later published in New York by Khronika Press as Sakharovskii Sbornik, 1981, and is due to be published also in French.
31 In summer 1981 Ovsienko was sentenced to 10 years in strict-regime camps, plus 5 years' exile.
32 In February 1982 Bolonkin was sentenced to 1 year in a strict-regime camp, plus 5 years' exile. On 7 April 1982 he read out stumblingly, on Soviet television, a thoroughgoing recantation.
33 See note 13.
34 See note 13.
35 The camp's address is: Dnepropetrovskaya oblast, Sofievsky raion, s. Makorty, p/ya 308/45.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

Chronicles 43-45. Illustration 48: the caption refers erroneously to Dina Kravchenko. It should read: Elya Kasper, b. 1949, Baptist sentenced to 3 years for evangelizing (Chronicle 38), was released in 1977 from a camp in Ust-Labinsk (see over).

Illustrations 49-50: 'Dina Kravchenko' should be replaced by 'Elya Kasper'.

(Elya Kasper recently emigrated to W. Germany.)

Chronicles 55-56. Illustration 21: add to the caption this further information: sitting, 2nd from l: Tatyana Shatalova (Chronicles 48, 51). (Shatalova recently emigrated.)

Chronicles 59-61. Endnote 7 refers erroneously to Vladimir Kharitonov. It should refer to Evgeny Kharitonov (Chronicle 61, p. 215), a talented litterateur who died on 29 June 1981, aged 40. About him see Kontinent, No. 31 (1981), p. 12.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The original Russian text of Chronicle 62, of which this book is a translation, appeared as a booklet without annotations, entitled Khronika tekushchikh sobytii, Khronika Press, New York, 1982.

Earlier issues of the Chronicle are available in English as follows. Numbers 16-61 have been published by Amnesty International Publications as booklets (all except No 16 still being in print), and numbers 1-16 on microfiche (see inside back cover for details). Numbers 1-11 appeared, 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 Comite 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.)

A similar publication, but specializing on the Ukraine, is Herald of Repression in Ukraine, edited by former prisoner of conscience Nadia Svitlychna and available monthly from: P.O. Box 770, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10003, USA.

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 377, 3601 Thun, Switzerland (15 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 Comite V. Boekovski, Postbus 51049, 1007 EA Amsterdam, Netherlands.

For information on persecution of religious believers

see the fortnightly Keston News Service, and for religious texts, see Religion in Communist Lands (quarterly), both publications of Keston College, Heathfield Road, Keston, Kent BR2 6BA, England. 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. An excellent bibliography appears in a detailed new reference book, S.P. de Boer, E.J. Driessen & H.L. Verhaar, eds., Biographical Dictionary of Dissidents in the Soviet Union; 1956-1975, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers (The Hague-Boston-London, 1982), 679 pages; this contains information on some 3,400 dissidents.

A NOTE ON PHOTOGRAPHS

Nearly 900 photos have been published in the English editions of the Chronicle. They comprise photos of individuals, demonstrations, labour camps, prisons, psychiatric institutions, other buildings, facsimiles of documentary material and groups of people. An alphabetical index to the first 700 photos appeared as a special supplement at the end of the English edition of Chronicle 54.

INDEX OF NAMES

(Numbers in brackets refer to the illustrations)

Aberson, Alla 1
Abramenko, L.M. 57
Abramkin, Valery F. 37, 38
Abramovich, Pavel 83
Abrikosov, employee of CGE 144
Abrikosov, P. 112
Agababyan, Oganes 65-6
Agaroyan, Avetis 65
Airikyan, Paruir A. 110-12
Akhtyamova, M.F. 50
Aleksandrov, Acad. Anatoly P. 88, 157
Aleksandrov, V. 27
Alekseyenko, Elena 26, 42-3
Alekseyev, N. 156
Alekseyeva, judge 92
Alekseyeva, Elizaveta (Liza) 29-30, 91-2
Alishev, Major 137
Altshuler, Boris 7
Altunyan, Genrikh O. 51-5, 116, 147, 151
"Anatoly Ivanovich", KGB official 44
Andreyev, Konstantin 12, 14-15
Andreyev, Valery Pavlovich 86-7
Andropov, Yury Vl. 17, 30, 83-4, 110, 139
Antoniv, Elena (Olena Krasivskaya) 59
Antsupov, Evgeny M. 61-3
Antsupov, S. 63
Apikyan, Ashot 64-5
Ardzhevanidze, Mziya V. 70
Artsimovich, Svetlana 3,5
Arutyunyan, Eduard 121-2
Arutyunyan, Marzpet 65-6
Arutyunyan, Shagen 133
Arutyunyan, Vartan 65-6
Asatryan, S., judge 64
Ash, Semën 93
Ashikin, witness 79
Avakyan, Sirvard 8, 16-17, 108, 122-4, 133
Averintsev 47
Avtorkhanov, Abdurakhman 9, 10, 14
Azadovsky, Konstantin M. 33
Azarkh, Samuil 109

Baazov, Gertsl 106
Baazova, Sofia A. 106-7
Babënyshev, Alexander P. 109-10
Babënysheva, Sarra E. 110
Babusenko, KGB Col. N.S. 24, 52, 55
Badzë, Yury P. 63, 114, 124-6, 127
Bagin, OVD official 74
Baitalsky, Mikhail 82
Bakhmin, Vyacheslav I. 12, 25-6, 28-9, 80, 121
Bakucionis, Jurgis 68
Balakhonov, Vladimir F. 113
Balashov, KGB official 30-1, 32, 39
Balatsky, Pastor A.N. 76
Balkhasyants, K. 1
Baranov, KGB First Lieut. V.A. 139
Barladyanu, Vasily Vl. 151
Bashkevich, A. 122
Bashlykova, N.N. 75
Begun, journalist 82
Beilis, Mendel 81, 95-6
Beloborodov, Capt. O. Ya. 121
Belous, M. Ya. 100
Belov, KGB official 27
Belov, Nikolai 117
Belov, Yury S. 21
Belyayev, prison system chief 123
Berdnik, Alexander (Oles) P. 116
Berenshtein, Faina 103
Berenshtein, Iosif 99, 103
Berger, Iosif 107
Bernadsky, V.I. 100
Blagikh, M.F. 20-22
Blagikh, Ya. 21
Blazhenova, M. 39
Bode, E.S. 146
Bogachev, prisoner 115
Bogdanov, Vladimir V. 80
Bogolyubov, Gennady A. 34
Bogoraz (-Brukhman), Larissa I. 3, 5-7
Boichuk, Capt. 76
Boiko, Nikolai E. 73-4 (33)
Boitsova, Lyudmila Y. 113
Bokov, OVIR head 93
Bokov, Nikolai 3
Bolonkin, Alexander A. 112-13, 147, 151
Bonner, Elena G. 4, 7, 129, 134-5
Bonzina, witness 73

Bordadyn, A.F. 157
Borisov, Vladimir E. 39, 90-1
Bormatov, V. 115
Borona, Baptist 76
Borovik, investigator 158
Borovsky, Viktor 51, 52-4
Bozhko, S. 47-8
Brailovskaya, Irina (25)
Brailovsky, Viktor 80-3, 96, 145, 147 (26)
Brandt, I. Kh. 102
Brandt, Willy 32
Brechko, Lieut. A.M. 84-5
Brezgin, N.I. 114
Brezhnev, Leonid I. 30, 63, 73, 74, 96, 108, 114, 126, 130, 152
Brodsky, Iosif 101
Brodsky, Vladimir 83
Bublik, Dr. S.D. 100
Bubuyan, Asya 66
Budkevich, Dr. Nelli 11, 13
Budkin, witness 79
Bukovsky, Vladimir K. 21, 155
Bulakh, Eduard P. 108
Bulgakov, Mikhail A. 56
Bunakov, investigator 75
Burtsev, Yury A. 36-7, 38, 46-7
Burzhuademov, K., pseudonym, see Viktor Sokirko
Butchenko, Yury, 113, 115-16
Butko, Dr. Anatoly A. 20-21
Buzas, Povilas 117
Buzinnikov, Evgeny I. 133-4
Bykov, Vladimir 26, 42-3
Bykova, Elizaveta I. 104

Carter, Jimmy 158
Chaika, camp commandant 116
Chalidze, Valery N. 150
Chamovskikh, Viktor P. 11
Cherchik, Evgeny T. 71
Chernikov, driver 22
Chernobylsky, Boris 83, 85
Chernukhin, court chairman 50
Chernyavskaya, Inna B. 55-8
Chicherin, people's commissar 65
Chitanava, Vakhtang 117
Chornovil, Vyacheslav M. 60, 121, 151
Chubukov, I. 147
Chulkova, Maria S. 71
Chuyev, G., investigator 146

Daglayev, Dr. G.Z. 122
Dahm, Helmut 21
Daniel, Alexander Yu. 3, 5
Danilov, judge 33
Danilov, V. 50
Darmenkulov, Major 137
Dashkevich, Yaroslav 59
Davydov, Viktor V. (Viktor Ryzhov) 35
Denisov, Yury 27, 42-3
Denisova, Natalya 43
Derevenskova, Evgenia M. 27
Deshko, Mikhail 74
Didenko, Pëtr P. 59, 71
Dikman, Nikolai 74
Dirksen, Yakov F. 74
Dmitrieva, Dr (Dnepropetrovsk) 22
Dmitrievsky, E.A. 50
Domogitskaya, L. 60
Dribnokhod, Alexander I. 76
Drotenko, KGB Col. 52, 55, 64
Dudko, Fr. Dmitry S. 21, 144, 154-5
Dunayev, A.V. 34
Dyadkin, Iosif G. 121, 145
Dybenko, N. 70
Dzerzhinsky, Felix 25
Dzhemilev, Mustafa 136-7
Dzhemilev, Reshat 121
Dzyuba, Yury V. 22, 26, 52-5, 103

Egiazaryan, Samvel 65-6
Elagin, N., witness 141
Elagina, Investigator N.I. 146
Elbert, Mikhail 92, 101
Elkind, Lev 104, 106
Elpedinsky, Yu. A. 146-7
Eltchaninoff, Fr. Cyrille 144
Emelyanov, official writer 82
Emelyanov, Yu. V. 85
Engels, Friedrich 24
Erëmenko, Arnold A. 34
Evsyukov family 147

Fainberg, Viktor I. 39, 43
Fakhno, KGB Capt. 61
Fedorenko, lawyer 57
Fëdorov, Major 116
Fëdorov, Yury P. 116, 117, 128-31, 147
Fëdorova, Polina S. 117, 128-9
Fedyakina, Rosa 34
Fefëlov, Vladimir A. 3, 4, 5, 39, 50, 157
Fenchak, Vasily 74
Feofilaktov, KGB investigator 6
Finkelshtein, Tatyana 93
Fokanov, Ivan S. 70 (21)
Fokanov, Vladimir S. 70-1 (22)
Fomin, Capt. S.D. 121

Fradkin, L.D. 5
Fradkov, S. 94
Fradkova, Nadezhda S. 1, 94
Freiman, Prof. G.A. 82
Fridman, Kim B. 92, 94-5, 96, 99 (27)
Fritsuk, G.I. 122-3

Gainichenko, Capt. S. 12, 113, 115
Gajauskas, Balys 116, 132
Gajauskiene, Irena 132
Galetsy, Rostislav N. 71 (19)
Galinovsky, Leonid 101
Galiulin, R. 113
Gandzyuk, Vladimir I. 118
Gapeyenkov, party official 143
Garus, Lyubov 71
Gastev, Yury A. 110, 152-3
Gavrilov, police Capt. 139
Gavrilov, witness 140
Gefter, Mikhail Y. 38
Gekoglanyan, Eliz 65
Gel, Ivan A. 116
Gemuyev, I.N. 48
Genchu, Anna T. 71
Gerashchenko, Igor 102, 156
Gerchak, Grigory A. 60-1
Germanyuk, S.G. 76
Gershuni, Vladimir L. 41
Ginzburg, Alexander I. 17, 129
Glebov, witness 79
Glushenkov, believer 76
Godynnik, Major 156
Gofshtein, Elena 97, 102
Gogolev, L.D. 57
Goldshtein, Grigory A. 105-6
Goldshtein, Isai A. 103-6
Golitsyn, Vladimir 20
Golovan, witness 57
Goncharuk, witness 73
Gontar, I.T. 76
Gorbachëv, Sergei M. 121, 145
Gorbal, Nikolai A. (Mykola Horbal) 151
Gordeyev, Capt. 47
Goryn (Horyn), Andrei 56
Goryn (Horyn), Mikhail (Mykhaylo) 59
Gotovtsev, Alexander (pseudonym is A. Rossiisky) 27, 43-4
Grabovsky, inspector 95
Gradun, Dr. Yu. 100
Grigorenko, Andrei P. (6)
Grigorenko, Pëtr G. 21, 31, 51, 54 (6)
Grimm, Yury L. 36, 80
Gritsenko, Dr. 51, 52, 54
Grivnina, Irina V. 25-6, 28-9, 31-2, 39-43, 45, 91, 152
Grossman, Dina 109
Gubinsky, Major Alexander G. 16
Gudaitiene, Mrs. 70
Gumilëv, Nikolai 3, 101
Gurevich, Aron B. 83
Gurevich, M., witness 140-1
Gvetadze, minister in Georgia 104

Hark, Archbishop Edgar 69
Hitler, Adolf 93

Iesmantas, Gintautas 115
Ignotas, Mykolas J. 68
Ikonnikov, Mikhail 39-40, 42-3
Ivanchenko, Alexander 28
Ivanov, Albert 90
"Ivanov, Ivan Sergeyevich" 8
Ivanov, Judge V. 158
Ivlyushkin, prisoner 117

Jackson, Senator Henry 129
Jacoby, Daniel 129
Jankauskas, judge 67
Janulis, Anastazas 114, 127
Jasoniene, Aldona 70
John-Paul II, Pope 157
Jurevicius, Mecislovas 67-8
Jurjo, Pastor Villju 69

Kaduk, Vera S. 70-1
Kaganskaya, Maya 61
Kalandadze, KGB Major 106
Kalep, Veljo 66
Kalinichenko, foreman 54
Kalinovsky, Alexander (6)
Kalistratova, Sofia V. 9, 27-8, 31
Kalyashin, A.A. 76
Kanayan, Drastamat 66
Kandel, V.M. 48
Kandyba, Ivan A. 59-60, 147
Kanevsky, Boris I. 99
Kapayev, KGB Capt. Vyacheslav N. 26-32, 39, 43
Kapishev, S. 137
Kapitanchuk, Viktor A. 11, 154
Kaplan, Roman (6)
Kaplun, Irina M. 90-1
Kaplun, M.L. 90-1
Karasik, Sofia Z. 51 (6)
Karatayev, Bulat B. 46-7, 110
Kardasevich, Lyudmila 26
Karpenko, lawyer 57

Karpenok, Mikhail 117
Kashik, A.S. 41, 143
Kashin, Vyacheslav 138
Kats, Vladimir 1
Kaubrys, official 70
Kaveshnikov, V.I. 98, 102
Kavsadze, procurator 105-6
Kazachkov, Mikhail P. 113
Ketova, judge 92
Khailo, Vladimir P. 72-3, 138
Khasanov, party official 107
Khasina, Natalya 1
Khlebnikov, Velemir 101
Khmara, Stepan I. 63
Khodorovich, Sergei 47, 136, 144
Khomenko, Vladimir 75
Khomov, KGB Lieut. A.V. 63
Khorkov, KGB Lieut. 145
Khrakovskaya, Natalya 109
Khrushchev, Nikita S. 106
Khusainov, Faizulla 50, 157 (18)
Khvotkova, Aleksandra 114
Killanin, Lord M. 9
Kirichenko, Svetlana 63, 114
Kiselev, Yury I. 157 (16)
Kishe, judge 92
Kislik, Vladimir S. 95-7, 99, 102, 147
Klimenko, witness 54
Klimov, V.M. 48
Klots, B. 1
Knizhnik, Ilya 99
Knokh, refusenik 94
Kobzisty, judge 138
Kokorev, A. Kh. 71
Komar, D.V. 102
Komarnitsky, Evgeny 33 (9)
Komarova, D. 157
Komarova, Nina 154
Konovalikhin, Vadim I. 134
Konovalov, KGB investigator 26
Korablev, V.P. 50
Koretsky, V.L. 102
Kornakova, L.P. 47
Korolëv, KGB official 32
Korostelev, A. Yu. 90
Koryagin, Dr. Anatoly I. 19-26, 64, 103, 117, 147 (4)
Koryakov, Mikhail M. 52
Kosharovsky, Yuly 83
Kosterin, Romen F. 151
Kosterina, Elena A. 31
Kostyuchenko, Grigory V. 74
Kosulin, witness 51, 53-4
Kosulina, witness 53
Kovalchuk, judge 98
Kovalchuk, Vasily P. 70-1 (20)
Kovalenko, N.V. 89
Kovalëv, Ivan S. 7-8, 12, 14, 16-19, 27, 115, 116, 131, 135, 147
Kovalëv, Sergei A. 68, 113, 131, 135
Kozhevnikova, judge 92
Kozlenko, Capt. Yu. A. 122
Kozorezov, Aleksei T. 74 (32)
Kozorezova, Alexandra 74 (31)
Kozoruk, witness 52, 53-4
Krainik, Nikolai M. 127
Krasivsky, Zinovy P. 59
Kravchuk, witness 73
Kravtsov, B.V. 141
Kreidlin, Grigory 81
Kremen, Galina 83
Kremen, Mikhail 83
Krivov, KGB Capt. 3-4, 38
Kronrod, V. 143
Krylov, Vladimir V. 47
Krylova, N.N. 33
Kudryavtsev, investigator 141
Kukk, Jüri 1-2 (1)
Kurnosov, Valery A. 77-80
Kushel, R.I. 159
Kuvakin, Vsevolod D. 26, 28-9, 39-44, 143
Kuznetsov, prisoner in camp 37 117
Kuznetsov, Eduard S. 129
Kuznetsova, L.I. 77

Ladenzon, B. Ya. 51
Lakatosh, Pavel V. 74
Landa, Malva N. 3, 5, 152
Larichev, investigator 46
Laurinavicius, Fr. Bronius 68
Lavut, Alexander P. 3, 41, 80, 116, 117, 140, 143-4, 148, 150, 152-3
Lebedev, KGB official 27
Legler, Natalya 46-7
Legler, Viktor 46-7
Leikin, A.I. 93
Lein, Evgeny 92, 93
Lementarchuk, witness 57
Lenin, Vladimir I. 24, 124
Lepilina, Svetlana 33
Lerner, Alexander Ya. 145
Levashova (-Ogorodnikova), Elena 117
Levchenko, Capt. Anatoly A. 27, 40, 41, 44-5
Levin, Arkady (6)
Levina, Tamara (6)
Levinshtein, Vladimir 99
Levitskaya, A. 98-9
Levtsenyuk, Anatoly 74
Lisovoi, Vasily (Vasyl) 151
Listvina, Lyudmila 114
Litovchenko, Lyudmila 60-1
Loban, police chief 75-6

Lokhvitskaya, Larissa Y. 55-8
Lokshin, Ya. (Osip) 92, 103
Lorentsson, Aleksei 87-8
Lotyuk, S.V. 138
Lozing, Robert 107
Lozovsky, L.A. 145
Lubarsky, Cronid, see Kronid A. Lyubarsky
Lubentsova, V.G. 7-8, 10, 14, 15, 18-19
Lukauskaite-Poskiene, Ona 68
Lukovnikov, A.S. 33
Lukyanenko, Lev (Levko) G. 60
Lukyanovich, prisoner in camp 37 117
Lupinos, A.A. 159
Lupinos, Anatoly I. 158-9 (13, 14)
Lupinos, Ivan T. 158-9
Lutsik, Mikhail P. 11
Lvov, Odessa prose writer 64
Lvovsky, M. 83
Lyakishev, Procuracy investigator 78-9
Lyubarsky, Kronid A. (Cronid Lubarsky) 27
Lyubimov, investigator 77

MacBride, Sean 127
McClellan, Irina 92
McClellan, Woodford 92
Madisson, Tiit 66 (11)
Magarik, Dr. Vladimir 85, 88-9
Magidovich, Alexander 118, 140
Maibozhenko, V.N. 56
Maiorov, A.G. 11, 13
Makar-Limanov, Leonid 83
Makarenko, lawyer 57
Makarov, V.D. 144
Makeyeva, Sister Valeria Z. 138
Maksimov, Alexander 124
Malevanny, V.I. 158
Maltseva, Natalya 133
Mandelshtam, Nadezhda Ya. 49
Mandelshtam, Osip. E. 101
Manucharyan, Alexander 64-5
Manucharyan, Aram and Akop 65
Marchais, Georges 125
Marchenko, Anatoly T. 2-7, 135, 147, 151, 153-4
Marchenko, Valery V. 137
Marinovich, Miroslav F. 113
Markosyan, Razmik 133, 136, 151
Marsal, Artur M. 107-8
Marx, Karl 24
Matveyev, Moisei and family 87-8
Matyushenko, Nadezhda Vl. 139-40
Mazur, Dmitry 114, 127
Medvedev, psychiatrist 78
Medvedev, Alik 107
Melekayev, KGB investigator 42
Melkonyan, Smbat 64-5
Melnik, Galina 64
Melnik, Mikhail 64
Melnikov, V.L. 157
Mendelevich, Iosif M. 129
Meshko, Oksana Ya. 136
Mikhailov, Fr. Iosif 138
Mikheichev, V.I. 85
Mikhlis, S. 99
Milgrom, Ida (26)
Milyavsky, Leonid I. 55-9 (7)
Misevra, A.P. 20
Mishchenko, Capt. S.M. 97, 102-3
Mitskevich, Valentin 27
Mitterand, Pres. Francois 132
Mkrtchyan, Ishkhan 65-6
Mokin, Sr. police Lieut. 98
Mordvinov, Boris I. 11
Morozov, Mark A. 115-16, 151
Moshkovich, I.M. 64
Mukhametshin, Boris M. (Gantobari) 34
Murauskas, procurator 67
Murd, Herbert 69 (10)
Murzhenko, Aleksei G. 61, 116, 128-31, 147
Murzhenko, Lyubov P. 61, 128-9
Murzin, KGB official 52
Myasnikov, Aleksei A. 118, 140-2, 147, 158

Naboka, Sergei V. 55-9 (8)
Nabokov, Vladimir V. 101
Nagle, Irina 41-2, 143
Naidenovich, Adel 33
Naprienko, Valentin (29)
Navalny, judge 20
Nazarova, L.M. 34
Nedobora, Vladislav G. 51, 53-4 (6)
Nekhotin, Sergei 33 (9)
Nekipelov, Sergei V. 5-6
Nekipelov, Viktor A. 4, 9, 54, 117
Neplekhovich, Vladimir 29, 32
Nesterova, N. 71
Niitsoo, Viktor 66
Nikiforov, O.I. 159
Nikitin, investigator 43
Nikitin, Dr. G.A. 23
Niklus, Mart J. 2, 116
"Nikolai Borisovich", KGB official 45

Novak, Leonid 145
Novikov, UVD head 62
Novikov, Mark Z. 81
Novikov, O.P. 116
Novozhilov, I.S. 74-5
Nudel, Ida Ya. 103

Ocheretyansky, Mark 100
Oganyan, Rafael 8, 123
Ogorodnikov, Alexander I. 117
Ogurtsov, Igor V. 27
Ogurtsov, Vyacheslav 27
Okunev, G.P. 75
Okuneva, F.N. 75
Oleinik, judge 94
Omelchenko, Natalya B. 141, 158
Ordzhonikidze, Col. 104
Orlov, Prof. Yury F. 117, 152
Orwell, George 64
Osipov, Vladimir N. 12, 114, 127
Osipova, Elena 43
Osipova, G.L. 11, 13
Osipova, Tatyana S. 4, 7-19, 41, 87, 114-15, 121, 131, 143-4, 147, 150, 152
Ostrovsky, M. 115
Ovchinnikov, OVIR official 101
Ovsienko, Vasily 112 (5)
Ozerov, judge 107

Põdam, Tiit 69
Padve, G. 33
Parkhomenko, Natalya 55-6
Pashkin, CGE employee 143
Pashko, Atena 60, 64
Pashko, Irina 60
Pashnin, Evgeny I. 3, 5
Pasternak, Boris L. 46
Paulikas, Fr. 70
Pauling, Dr. Linus 131, 135
Pavlov, Nikolai S. 38-9, 157
Pavlov, Major N.V. 113
Pavlovsky, Gleb O. (pseudonym is P. Pryzhov) 36
Peceliunas, Povilas 115
Pervushkin, V.K. 157
Petrenko, Altunyan's colleague 52, 54
Petrenko, witness 73
Petrenko (Podyapolskaya), Maria 16, 136
Petukhov, camp doctor 119
Pidgorodetsky, Vasily 133
Pilipchenko, Nikolai 71
Pilipenko, witness 57
Pilnikov, Valery M. 99
Pimen, Patriarch 157
Pirozhkov, S.P. 75
Piskarev family 87-8
Plakhotnyuk, Ivan G. 139
Plakhotnyuk, Nikolai (Mykola) G. 139
Platonov, Andrei 48, 101
Pleshkov, P.I. 6
Plutarch 47
Podolsky, Arseny ('Senya') K. 51-2, 54 (6)
Podolsky, S.K. - see Podolsky A.K.
Podrabinek, Alexander P. 9, 25, 121, 151
Podrabinek, Kirill P. 17, 118-20, 147, 151
Podrabinek, Pinkhos A. 119-20
Pogiba, Nikolai T. 127-8
Polikarpova, E.A. 96-7
Poluektova, Larissa 144-5
Polyakov, Mikhail 7, 14, 18
Pomazov, Vitaly V. 136
Pomerants, Grigory S. 3
Ponomarëv, Georgy V. 38, 46, 140
Ponomarëv, Vladimir (6)
Popov, Dr. N.S. 119-20
Popov, Oleg A. 1, 85, 142, 158
Popov, Vladimir 145
Popov, V.I. (prosecutor) 20, 24
Popov, KGB investigator Vladimir Pavlovich 26, 29-30, 42, 43-4
Popovich, Oksana Z. 114
Poresh, Vladimir Yu. 115
Poyarkov, V.V. 85
Prazdnikova, Tamara P. 80-1
Prestin, Vladimir 81, 83
Privoten, witness 79
Probatov, Mikhail (16)
Probatova, Svetlana 49 (16)
Prus, A.S. 73
"Pryzhov, P", pseudonym for Gleb O. Pavlovsky
Ptetsov, CGE employee 144
Pushkin, Alexander S. 30
Puzin, V. 122-3

Radin, A.L. 1, 85
Ragozovskaya, Tatyana 64
Ratkova, witness 73
Ratushinskaya, Irina 102
Reagan, Pres. Ronald 66, 128, 136
Rebrik, Bogdan 116, 136
Redin, Anatoly S. 74
Regelson, Lev L. 144, 154
Reimer, Elizaveta 74
Rekunkov, A.M. 30, 137
Reznikova, Elena A. 32
Rivkin, Boris 93
Romanenkov, OVIR chief 91
Romanova, Avgusta 47

Romanovsky, Major 38
Roskopf, L.I. 77
Rossiisky, Alexander, pseudonym, see Alexander Gotovtsev
Rudakova, L. 144
Rudenko, Nikolai (Mykola) D. 21, 52-3, 60, 127
Rudenko, Raisa A. 60-1, 63
Rudometov, V.P. 22
Rybachuk, P.A. 34
Ryzhov, Viktor V., see V.V. Davydov

Sadunaite, Nijole 68
Safonova, lawyer 57
Sakharov, Acad. Andrei D. 4, 10, 15-16, 46, 51, 54, 63, 110, 113, 130, 131, 134-6, 145, 148, 152, 155, 157
Sannikova, Elena 49 (17)
Sapelyak, Stepan E. 139
Sapiro, Irina 1, 89
Sapozhkov, Capt, N.G. 48
Sarbayev, Anatoly A. 34-5
Sarne-Rubanova, A.A. 31
Savinkov, police official 142
Sayapina, Maria V. 70
Sazhnov, P.V. 76
Semënova, Maria 114
Semyannikova, E.L. 62-3
Serebrennikov, N.V. 48
Serebrov, Felix A. 4, 25-6, 28-32, 39-43, 45, 91, 157
Serebrova, Vera P. 29, 32
Sergienko, Alexander F. 136
Serik, official 22
Shabashov, Leonid D. 81
Shabrov, A.P. 85
Shaduri, General 104
Shafranyuk, KGB Capt. 52
Shatravka, Alexander I. 9, 10, 155
Shcharansky, Anatoly B. 115, 152
Shchegoleva, Irina 83
Shchëlokov, Nikolai A. 123
Shcherbakov, witness 57
Shcherbitsky, Vladimir 96
Shebalina, witness 95
Shelkov, Vladimir A. 72
Shepelëv, Georgy I. 33, 40 (9)
Shepelëv, Vladimir I. 26, 33, 40, 43
Sheremet, Sr. Lieut. N.F. 61
Shershnevich, poet 101
Sheshenko, Vasily M. 74
Sheshina, V.F. 14
Shevchenko, Alexander E. 63, 116
Shevchenko, Lydia 63
Shevchenko, Mrs. Maria 63
Shevchenko, Vitaly N. 63, 117
Shibayev, Sergei V. 145
Shikhanovich, Yury A. 45, 116
Shipitsyn, V.I. 77
Shipov, Alexander 109
Shirinkin, dep. procurator 110-11
Shkutko, MVD Lt.-Col. 76
"Shukhov", official 47
Shuvalov, A. 48
Shvartsman, A. 83
Shveisky, Vladimir Ya. 7, 15, 18, 141
Sidelnik, KGB Lt.-Col. V.A. 20, 24, 52
Sidenko, Fëdor A. 138
Silivonchik, Galina 114-15
Simchich, Miroslav V. 132
Simchich, Raisa A. 132
Sirotenko, Elena 110-12
Skaredov, G.I. 140
Skuodis, Vytautas 68, 114, 127
Slobodyan, Nikolai (Mykola) V. 113
Slobozhenyuk, Maj. 64
Smirnov, Aleksei 31, 48
Smolyanskaya, A.L. 90-1
Smushkevich, Boris 26
Sobolev, V.I. 111-12
Soboleva-Bode, E.S., see E.S. Bode
Sokirko, Viktor V. (pseudonym is K. Burzhuademov) 37, 80
Sokolovskaya, L. 123
Soldatov, Alexander S. 109
Soldatov, Sergei I. 12, 109
Solodkin, N.I. 101
Solomko, witness 52, 54
Solzhenitsyn, Alexander I. 9, 10, 14, 21, 22, 39, 43, 46, 51, 53, 57, 82, 129
Sorochkin, senior MVD official 90
Sorokaput, camp guard 122
Sorokin, investigator 144
Sorokin, Viktor M. 36, 80
Spalin, Rikhard A. 122
Spinenko, Vasily V. 138
Stalin, Iosif V. 22, 27, 68
Stanelyte, Jadvyga 68, 118
Stanishevsky, G.F. 100
Stasevich, Aleksei V. 124
Stepanets, G.F. 143
Stolyarova, L. 41
Storchevoi, I. Yu. 159
Storozhenko, S.M. 62
Stroka, OVD officer 110
Strukov, police Major 75
Sturmanis, prisoner 115
Stus, Vasily (Vasyl) S. 116, 151
Sukhina, believer 73
Superfin, Gabriel G. 139

Surovtseva, Nadezhda V. 60, 154
Sushentsev, Major 121
Suslova, procurator 141-2
Sverdlov, Vladimir I. 117
Svichkar, A.T. 76
Svyatenky, investigator 95
Sypacheva, EC deputy 75
Sysoyev, Vyacheslav 27, 28, 146

Taly, R.N. 73
Tantsyura, V.B. 56
Tarasenko, Alexander 71
Tatarenko, CGE employee 143
"Teleshin", KGB official 50
Terelya, Iosif M. 11
Tereshchenko, V.M. 98, 102
Tereshkov, Capt. 121
Terleckas, Antanas 116, 148
Ternovskaya, Lyudmila 140
Ternovsky, Dr. Leonard B. 25, 28, 118, 140
Tershchukov, V.N. 34
Tesmenitsky, Leonid G. 83, 85, 86-8
Tevs, Maria 74
Tikhonov, KGB official 28
Titov, Altunyan's colleague 52, 54
Tkach, S.N. 57
Tokar, David 86
Tolts, Vladimir S. 28-9
Tomachinsky, Viktor 37
Tsaplin, Major 119
Tsiplyayeva, L. 123
Tsukerman, Vladimir 92
Tsvetkov, Pomazov's friend 136
Tulchinsky, A.A. 51
Tumakov, Major 121
Tuniev, party organizer 52, 54
Turovets, witness 51-5
Tymchak, deacon 73

Ukhtomskaya, Galina N. 109 (15)
Ulumyan, Procurator 65
Utevsky, Mikhail 29
Uvarov, camp official 122-3
Uvarova, I.I. 122-3

Vaiciunas, Vytautas 67-8 (12)
Vail, Vladimir 1, 89
Vall, Ivan A. (Johann Wall) 74
Valov, Yury 157
Vardomtsev, V. 154
Varnavsky, Lieut. 87-8
Varshavsky, head doctor 22
Varvak, Leonid 100
Varvak, Liliana 100
Velichko, witness 140
Velikanova, Ekaterina M. 3, 5
Velikanova, Tatyana M. 4, 10, 31, 61, 114-15, 148, 150, 152, 155
Verzin, Investigator V.A. 98
Vigdarov, Grigory 1
Vinogradov, mathematician 82
Vinogradov, Lieut-Col. G.M. 113
Vinogradov, Igor 109
Vlasenko, P. 22
Voinitsky, witness 73
Volkov, Lieut. 115
Volkova, Anastasia 134
Volkova, Klavdia 134
Voloshin, Maximilian 3
Vorobëv, investigator 158
Vorona, Alexander 21
Vul, Leonid D. 45-6
Vysotsky, Vladimir 64

Waldheim, Kurt 100

Yakobson, M. 83
Yakovenko, camp official 122-3
Yakovenko, KGB official 52, 55
Yakovlev, KGB investigator K. 27, 32, 39-40
Yakovlev, Mikhail (pen-name M. Liyatov) 36-8
Yakunin, Fr. Gleb P. 31, 117, 154
Yantovsky, S.A. 84
Yatsenko, Lieut. 156
Yatsishin, Dr. B.F. 100
Yurev, prisoner 117

Zabelin, judge 138
Zaitsev, Valery 3-4
Zaitseva, Olga F. 50, 157
"Zakharchenko" 64
Zaloznaya, Olga 71-2
Zarubin, Dr. V.M. 138
Zdorovy, Anatoly K. 23
Zelenov, police Lieut. 79
Zelyakov, A. 155-6
Zhdanov, Yu. G. 29
Zheltov, farm official 11, 13, 15
Zheludkov, Fr. Sergei 27
Zhilin, accused 111
Zhovtko, Ya. A. 122
Zhukov, Yury 27
Zhuravlev, witness 95

Zimin, Sr. Lieut. 64
Zinchenko, Anatoly M. 51, 52-3, 54, 117
Zinchenkov, UVIR official 89
Zinenko, A.A., Major 113
Zinich, KGB Capt. 61
Zotov, Soviet chairman 88
Zotov, I. Ya., KGB First Lieut. 5-6
Zotov, K.I. 90, 101
Zotov, Mikhail V. 27, 28, 35-6, 147
Zubko, Stanislav 98-9, 102

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