

# A CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS

No 63

Journal of the Human Rights  
Movement in the USSR



Amnesty International Publications

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## A Chronicle of Current Events

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

ASSR & RSFSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Subordinate to any SSR (see below) and based on the minority nationality whose home is on the territory. The Mordovian ASSR, for example, is subordinate to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and so named because it is the home of the Mordovian national minority
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
EC	Executive Committee
KGB	Committee for State Security
Komsomol	Communist Youth League
MVD	Ministry of Internal Affairs
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 1977, starting with number 16, Amnesty International began publishing English translations of the Chronicles as they appeared. This latest volume, containing Chronicle 63, is, like previous ones a translation of a copy of the original typewritten text (which reached London during May 1983). 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.

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 63

31 December 1981

Contents

Persecution of the Working Commission: the trials of Grivnina and Serebrov. The case of the journal Searches: the trial of Yakovlev. The arrest of Ivan Koval'ev. The trial of Anatoly Marchenko. The trial of Roginsky. The trial of Kuvakin. Arrests. Searches and interrogations. 'Chats'. Persecution of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled. Events in the Ukraine: the trials of Sokulsky and Prikhodko, Kandyba, Antsupov, Raisa Rudenko, and Kampov. Events in Georgia. Events in Lithuania. Persecution of believers. The right to leave: the trials of Chernobyl'sky, Lein, Zubko, Paritsky. In the prisons and camps: the trials of Airikyan, Ovsienko, Streltsov, Lesiv. In exile: the trials of Kostava and Skvirsky. In the psychiatric hospitals. Under sentence of 'compulsory work at official direction': the trial of Ermolayev. After release. Extrajudicial persecution. After the trials of Lavut and Osipova. Miscellaneous reports. Letters and statements. Samizdat news. Official documents. Addenda and corrigenda.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

PERSECUTION OF THE WORKING COMMISSION  
(Chronicles 56, 57, 60-2)

The Trial of Grivnina

On 13 July Moscow Helsinki Group member I. Koval'ov published an appeal:

I have the honour to call myself a friend of Irina Grivnina. I am proud to be able to say the same of many other prisoners of conscience.

To them has fallen a difficult but honourable fate. They are the living proof that truth is stronger than falsehood, kindness and sympathy are stronger than indifference, good is stronger than evil.

Today these people - the country's pride - are in prisons, camps and exile. They are not understood and not supported by the silent majority, and sometimes not by their relatives either. But the amount of goodness, honesty and responsiveness these people possess is so great that it gives them the strength for moral opposition to falsehood, violence and tyranny in any situation.

Today a court must determine a measure of punishment for Irina Grivnina - woman, mother, open-hearted human being. I maintain that Irina Grivnina has never lied, never slandered and never attempted to discredit or undermine the social arrangements and international prestige of the country. I maintain that she is innocent.

I appeal to the court: prove that this trial is open and independent - remove the police cordons, guarantee entry into the courtroom for all who wish it, weigh up all the evidence of the case thoroughly and without prejudice, and reach the just judgment of acquittal. Show your good sense. Show, even to some small degree, those qualities which are inherently characteristic of the defendant.

I appeal also to all honest people and to all people of good will, and, in the first place, to my compatriots. We are all equally responsible for what is happening. Do not let an injustice take place. Do not let a trial turn into a mindless act of violence. Speak out in defence of Irina Grivnina!

\* \* \*

On 14 and 15 July Moscow City Court, presided over by V.V. Bogdanov (who also tried Yu. Grimm - Chronicle 58, and A. Lavut - Chronicle 60), examined the case against member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, Irina Vladimirovna Grivnina (b. 1945; arrested 16 September 1980 - Chronicle 60), who was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Moscow Procurator A.A. Golovin. Lawyer A.A. Sarne-Rubanova defended.

The trial took place in the Lyublino District People's Court in Moscow, where Yu. Orlov (Chronicle 50), T. Velikanova (Chronicle 58), Vyacheslav Bakhtin (Chronicle 58), Yu. Grimm (Chronicle 58) and T. Osipova (Chronicle 62) also stood trial. Apart from the specially invited public, only the husband of the accused, V. Neplekhovich, was present in the courtroom. The block in which the court building is situated was cordoned off.

\* \* \*

On 15 September 1980 the Moscow Procuracy separated the case of Grivnina from the case of L. Ternovsky (Chronicles 56, 57). On 22 October 1980 it transferred the case to the Moscow KGB.

During seven months of investigation Grivnina was interrogated 21 times. She refused to give evidence - over the whole period only a few lines appeared on the records of her interrogations. During the investigation Grivnina was twice taken ill and fainted. Two hours after one of these faints she was summoned to the next interrogation.

During the investigation, the cases against F. Serebrov (trial - see below) and V. Kuvakin (trial - see below) were separated from the case against Grivnina. Moreover, material relating to O. Kislina, P. Podrabinek, his wife L. Ivanova and A. Naidenovich was separated for further investigation.

\* \* \*

According to the indictment, Grivnina,

during the period from September 1978 to April 1980, in the City of Moscow, together with F.A. Serebrov, V.I. Bakhmin (trial in Chronicle 58 - Chronicle), A.P. Podrabinek (trial in Chronicle 61 - Chronicle) and L.B. Ternovsky (trial in Chronicle 60 - Chronicle) systematically circulated and compiled illegal 'information bulletins' on the territory of the USSR. In these bulletins she incorporated material which was selected tendentiously and treated in a slanderous way, and which contained deliberate fabrications defaming the Soviet social and political systems, concerning 'psychiatric repressions' allegedly carried out by Soviet authorities, deliberate and premeditated detention of healthy people in psychiatric hospitals because of their political and religious beliefs and the tormenting of these people in psychiatric institutions. In this manner she distorted and discredited the activities of Soviet government officials and medical institutions.

During this period the above-mentioned documents were reproduced and circulated with Grivnina's participation on Soviet territory and were also sent to the West for the same purpose, as a result of which they were used by foreign anti-Soviet publishers and as a means of imperialist propaganda in the commitment of acts of ideological subversion against the Soviet Union.

Grivnina's criminal activities constitute a public danger for the additional reason that, not possessing medical education, she, by her activities, interfered in healing processes, impeding the normal work of Soviet psychiatric institutions and in certain situations endangering the health of mentally ill people, encouraging them to commit antisocial acts and using their sickness for her own criminal ends.

The investigation has established that during the given period six of these 'information bulletins' - Nos. 11, 14, 19, 20, 21 and 22 - were compiled, reproduced in large quantities, distributed on Soviet territory and sent to the West for mass circulation, with the direct participation of Grivnina.

In these documents Grivnina deliberately resorted to distortions and misinterpretations, juggling with and clearly falsifying the facts, and composed deliberate fabrications concerning the reasons for and circumstances of the hospitalization and the conditions of detention

of mentally ill persons in institutions of healing, including persons who, in a state of non-responsibility for their actions, had committed various socially dangerous acts. With the aim of defaming the Soviet social and political system Grivnina presented these people in the 'information bulletins' as innocent victims of an alleged Soviet practice of 'the use of psychiatry for political purposes', and libelled Soviet officials and the humanitarian activities of Soviet psychiatric institutions.

\* \* \*

The case material has also been found to include deliberate fabrications by Grivnina about the 'unthinkable' conditions in which sick persons are detained in a number of psychiatric institutions in the USSR, including assurances that strong drugs are administered as a form of torture, and about the restrictions and humiliations to which patients are supposedly subjected in psychiatric hospitals.

Official material attached to the case file testifies that the equipment and conditions of treatment, detention and safety in both the general and special hospitals of the USSR fully correspond to existing legislation. The newest drugs and medical technology and numerous rehabilitation measures are widely used in order to achieve the most effective possible treatment for mentally ill persons and their return to normal life.

The qualified psychiatrists questioned as witnesses (the names of 34 psychiatrists are listed, some of whom were mentioned in the Working Commission's Information Bulletins - Chronicle) ... , who have been directly involved in the treatment of persons described by Grivnina in the 'information bulletins' as victims of psychiatric persecution, testified that all these persons were indeed mentally ill and that there were sound reasons for committing them for treatment in psychiatric hospitals.

During the course of the investigation the defendant Grivnina admitted her participation in the preparation and circulation of the aforementioned 'information bulletins'. Grivnina's testimony is confirmed by the contents of a typewritten document taken from the home of Moscow resident V.S. Tolts (Chronicle 56 - Chronicle), which has the form of an interview with Grivnina in which she talked about her direct participation in the composition of 'information bulletins' compiled after May 1978.

Grivnina refers to her direct participation in the composition and reproduction of 'information bulletins' in a letter to A. Podrabinek dated 12-20 October 1979 in which she gives information about the composition by her of Bulletin No. 11 ... V.D. Kuvakin was questioned as a witness and testified that he knew of Grivnina's participation in the composition and circulation of 'information bulletins', including No. 11, the contents of which he had read in September and October of 1978.

Witnesses L.B. Ternovsky, O.L. Ternovskaya, M.Z. Novikov and the defendant in a separate case, F.A. Serebrov, testified that Grivnina was one of the authors of 'information bulletin' No. 22 and participated in its composition and circulation.

As a result of searches carried out at Grivnina's flat on 26 December 1979, 10 April and 12 and 16 September 1980 the following articles were confiscated: typewritten 'information bulletins': No. 11 - 5 copies, No. 14 - 8



copies, No. 19 - 13 copies, No. 20 - 16 copies, No. 21 - 11 copies; numerous typewritten and handwritten drafts of texts appertaining to 'information bulletins' Nos. 20, 21 and 22; 15 accompanying letters for Bulletin No. 20, earmarking this document for wide distribution; also three Unis and Olympia typewriters and other material demonstrating the active participation of the defendant in the composition and circulation of the aforementioned numbers of the bulletin.

A card-index, notebooks, loose notes and letters containing data on mentally ill people whom Grivnina included in the 'information bulletins' as examples of the 'psychiatric repressions' alleged to exist in the USSR, were also confiscated from Grivnina's home.

The fact that 'information bulletins' composed with the participation of Grivnina were confiscated from people living not only in Moscow but in other towns of the USSR bears witness to their mass distribution.

The following testimonies, collected in connection with this case, confirm Grivnina's participation in sending 'information bulletins' composed by her and the information contained in them to the West.

N.A. Kuznetsova, V.G. Polenova and N.N. Silkina, telephonists at post-office No. 85, who were questioned as witnesses, identified Grivnina from photographs, and testified that she regularly telephoned abroad. Moreover, witness Silkina stated that in the course of these conversations Grivnina talked about the publication of 'information bulletin' material in the West and specifically mentioned numbers 19, 20 and 21.

Moreover the material evidence attached to the case file includes letters from a certain Gunnar in the Swedish and Russian languages dated 20 and 21/8/80 confiscated at a customs inspection of Swedish citizen Tor Klass, who entered the USSR on 23 August 1980 on the 'Helsinki-Moscow' train via the entry point at Vyborg. In these letters Grivnina is mentioned as a source of information on matters concerning 'the use of psychiatry for political purposes'.

These testimonies are objectively confirmed by the notes of telephone numbers of Moscow correspondents of bourgeois newspapers and information agencies and also by the addresses of foreign anti-Soviet organizations and of individuals living abroad engaged in activities harmful to the USSR, all of which were confiscated during a search of Grivnina's home.

When interrogated as an accused person Grivnina admitted responsibility for the composition and circulation of the 'information bulletins'; in addition she also stated that she was not guilty of the crime committed, she did not repent of her actions, and she refused, for no reason, to testify at the interrogations or to take part in the investigative operations.

#### The First Day

Grivnina submitted over ten petitions to the court (these were upheld by her lawyer) concerning requests for documents and information from Soviet institutions. All her petitions were dismissed. Grivnina then refused the services of her lawyer. This petition was granted.

After this Grivnina made a statement:

I fully recognize the existence in our legislation of articles introduced with the purpose of safeguarding the

state structure and the existing order, such as articles 70 and 190-1.

I consider unnatural and illegal any arbitrary or elastic interpretation of these legislative norms, as in practice this leads to the persecution of people for political dissent. I do not consider that I have broken the law, since I never distributed information the truth of which I was not certain of. When even the slightest doubts about veracity existed, the information was not used.

Looking through the episodes described in the criminal case against me, I became certain that the majority of the people we have helped, and who have been held in psychiatric hospitals in connection with these same articles, have also not broken the law. They simply expressed their opinions aloud and were sure that they were telling the truth.

The refusal to grant any of my petitions testifies to the court's unwillingness to establish the truth of the case. I am therefore now abandoning any demeaning attempt to prove my case, and I refuse to answer any of the court's questions, although I reserve the right to a final speech.

After Grivnina had refused to testify, the questioning of witnesses began.

Kuvakin said that he did not know whether Grivnina was connected with the Working Commission. He had not received any material from Grivnina. He did not know where the Working Commission found its information. 'I suppose that people who were in need of help applied to the Working Commission'.

Serebrov said:

Grivnina was arrested for one basic reason - for communicating information to people living abroad by means of telephone conversations. The order to listen into and record Grivnina's telephone conversations is missing from the criminal case file on myself. I do not know whether it is present in the case file on Grivnina. The information which I have just given the court was given to me by KGB officials. I have no reason to doubt its truthfulness. If a copy of the order to listen into and record Grivnina's telephone conversations is missing from Case No. 536 then I consider that this case is a screen designed to conceal the real reason for her arrest. I do not wish to take part in this farce. I am not a puppet that will obediently play the part written for it.

Therefore I refuse to reply to any questions in this trumped up case.

12 doctors from various psychiatric hospitals were then questioned.

#### The Second Day

In his speech the Procurator said:

This crime was directed against the prestige, authority and dignity of the Soviet political and social system. ... Opponents of our system are trying to bring to life echoes of the distant past, and hatred for the socialist order in the minds of various individuals.

On the grounds that Grivnina 'is on trial for the first

time, engaged in socially useful work before her arrest, and has a young daughter to support', he asked for a sentence of five years of exile.

In her defence speech Grivnina said that the telephonists had apparently been given recordings of her conversations to listen to, and told what testimony to give. For example, Silkina stated that Grivnina had been using the public telephone since summer 1977, although she had phoned from home until her telephone was disconnected in February 1980. In her final speech Grivnina said:

Every human being is an inner world, a whole universe so complex that one careless touch can destroy it irreparably. It is terrifying to imagine what losses world culture would have sustained had Chaadayev, Dostoyevsky, van Gogh or Maupassant been hastily 'cured'. I have deliberately named only the most obvious examples, but the number of talented and even brilliant people who have been marked to some degree or other with the stamp of madness is considerably greater. Genius often seems strange or even mad to ordinary people like us.

In Information Bulletin No. 11 the following statement was made: 'We are active in the defence not only of healthy people who are placed in psychiatric hospitals for any reason, but also of those mentally ill people who do not constitute a real danger to society. As we see it, words, even those of a madman, cannot threaten the common good ... to imprison people in special psychiatric hospitals after charges of dissent have been brought against them is, to us, an immoral and criminal act'.

That quotation is from a book written by my friend Alexander Podrabinek. I fully share his point of view. This principle is the basis of the Working Commission's activities and we have never maintained that those we have adopted are without exception mentally healthy people.

I simply cannot understand how the publication of facts about violations by individual doctors and hospital staff of their medical responsibilities can defame the political and social order of our country.

The sentence: five years of exile. The text of the judgment was a virtual repetition of the text of the indictment; however, references to Serebrov's testimony were deleted. The audience greeted the sentence with disapproval: 'Too little!'

\* \* \*

On 31 July the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 175, 'The Trial of Irina Grivnina'.

At the beginning of October Grivnina was taken for transit. At the end of October she arrived at her place of exile: 476110, Kazakhskaya SSR, Kokchetavskaya obl., pos. Krasny Yar.

#### The Trial of Serebrov

On 5 April Felix Serebrov wrote a statement, the essence of which was that he, Serebrov, being hostile towards the Soviet authorities, had been engaged in the composition and circulation of documents and materials which were used by the Western media, thus damaging the international prestige

of the USSR.

On 19 May Serebrov wrote another statement. In it he condemned his own activities and promised not to engage in anything similar in the future. On 21 May the charge against him was reclassified from article 190-1 to article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

\* \* \*

On 20 and 21 July Moscow City Court, presided over by the same V.V. Bogdanov, examined the case against Working Commission member Felix Arkadevich Serebrov (b. 1930; arrested 8 January - Chronicle 61), who was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was the same A.A. Golovin.

Serebrov rejected the lawyer appointed by the court (Serebrov had also rejected E.A. Reznikova after he and she had concluded their study of the case file - Chronicle 62).

On the morning of 20 July Serebrov's wife went to the City Court where the case was due to be examined. There she was told that the trial would take place at the Lyublino District People's Court. She went there, only to learn that the trial was taking place in the Babushkino District People's Court (where A. Lavut stood trial - Chronicle 60). Apart from the specially invited audience only Serebrov's wife and stepdaughter were admitted into the courtroom.

\* \* \*

Serebrov was charged with the composition, signing and circulation of:

- Working Commission Information Bulletins Nos. 12-22 (together with V. Bakhmin, A. Podrabinek, L. Ternovsky and I. Grivnina);
- The letters 'A Word from an Islander of the Gulag Archipelago' (1978) and 'A Democracy Faculty' (Chronicle 54);
- Individual letters in defence of G. Yakunin and L. Ternovsky;
- Collective letters in defence of T. Velikanova, A. Lavut and T. Osipova;
- The appeal 'To People Living on Earth';
- A statement in connection with a search on 10 April 1980 (Chronicle 56);
- Moscow Helsinki Group Documents No. 138 (Chronicle 60) and No. 146 (Chronicle 60);
- An open letter 'Instead of an Autobiography' (Chronicle 61), published after Serebrov's arrest.

Serebrov was charged with activities beginning in the autumn of 1978, when he was released after his previous term in camp (Chronicle 51).

#### The First Day

After the reading of the indictment Serebrov's statement dated 5 April was read out. The Judge then asked whether Serebrov pleaded guilty. Serebrov said that he acknowledged the authorship of all the documents incriminating him; however he denied the intention of undermining or weakening the Soviet political and social system. Serebrov said that one sentence in the indictment was not his own but had been dictated to him by the investigator. He stated that he 'had not previously supposed that his materials could be used to damage the prestige of the USSR'. Serebrov also confirmed that he had been engaged in the distribution of the documents incriminating him. He testified that he had appeared at press conferences in front of Western correspondents 'in a number of private flats'. In response to the

court's attempts to obtain details about this testimony Serebrov named Yu. Yarym-Agayev (who had emigrated in 1980 - Chronicle 57).

V. Kuvakin was questioned as a witness and confirmed that two copies of the Information Bulletin (Nos. 6 and 11) had been confiscated from his home during a search, but he did not remember where they had come from.

Six doctors from various psychiatric hospitals were then questioned. They discussed the good conditions created for sick people and said that the people held in hospitals really are sick.

\* \* \*

A TASS report dated 20 July states:

'I condemn my harmful activities directed against the Soviet authorities', announced the defendant, Felix Serebrov. 'I repent of the fact that I have systematically conducted anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda by circulating documents containing slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system'.

Serebrov fully admitted his guilt in respect of the charges against him.

#### The Second Day

Answering the court's questions, Serebrov pleaded guilty to composing and circulating anti-Soviet documents; however he insisted that he had had no intention of undermining the Soviet system and that he had not circulated deliberate fabrications. He admitted partial guilt. Serebrov said, too, that during the investigation he had discovered many mistakes in the Information Bulletins. However, he insisted that there was nothing premeditated about these mistakes. Serebrov named a few foreign correspondents to whom he had given his material at press conferences.

Serebrov expressed his repentance for engaging in anti-Soviet activities and stated that he did not intend to engage in them in the future. The Procurator asked for a sentence of four years of camp and five years of exile for Serebrov.

Serebrov's defending speech emphasized that there was no anti-Soviet intent in his activities and that the material incriminating him, in spite of a large number of mistakes, did not contain any deliberate lies. He also dwelt on the fact that the court had not discussed the matter of whether the hospitalized patients really constituted a social danger, but had merely established the fact that they were mentally ill. He had not been able to obtain an answer to this question from the doctors questioned as witnesses during the trial. The Working Commission, when talking of compulsory hospitalization for political reasons, had not asserted that those hospitalized were healthy. Serebrov declined to make a final speech. (On that day Serebrov looked much worse than he had on the previous day: for two hours before the trial he had been confined in a prison van).

The sentence was four years of strict-regime camp and five years of exile. The judgment included references to I. Grivnina's testimony and to the fact that Serebrov was a most active member of the Working Commission and had played a leading role in editing the Information Bulletins, especially the most recent issues (Grivnina's testimony was not only not read out in court: it had not even been mentioned).

\* \* \*

On 29 July the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 176, 'The Conviction of the Last Member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, Felix Serebrov'. On 4 October the RSFSR Supreme Court examined Serebrov's appeal. The sentence remained unchanged. Serebrov is serving his sentence in Perm Camp 35.

#### THE CASE OF THE JOURNAL SEARCHES (Chronicles 52-8, 60, 62)

##### The Trial of Yakovlev

On 31 July the Moscow Sokolniki District People's Court, presided over by V.I. Smolnov, examined the case against Mikhail Yurevich Yakovlev (b. 1949; arrested 28 May - Chronicle 62), who was charged under article 181 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Perjury'). The defence counsel was Lawyer O.N. Efremov (who also defended V. Abramkin - Chronicle 58); there was no prosecutor. In reply to the request of S. Belanovsky (Chronicle 57) that he be called as a witness the Judge said: 'I already know everything you want to say, so I will not call you'.

According to the judgment, Yakovlev,

when summoned on 8 October 1980 to the Moscow City Court, situated in Moscow at 43 Kalanchëvskaya Street, to testify as a witness in connection with Case No. 28/80 on the charge against Yu. L. Grimm of circulating deliberate fabrications (in fact the trial against Grimm took place at Lyublino and it was Abramkin who was tried on Kalanchëvskaya Street, Yakovlev also being summoned there as a witness in connection with that case - Chronicle), gave testimony known to be false. At the pre-trial investigation on 21.11.79 Yakovlev gave truthful testimony about the circumstances of his becoming acquainted with Abramkin, one of the editors of the journal Searches, to whom he gave his own literary writings for publication in the aforementioned journal; in December 1978 Abramkin gave him the copy of Searches No. 4, which was confiscated at a search of his home on 14.3.79. However, at the trial on 8.10.80 Yakovlev denied these facts and circumstances, stating that Abramkin had not given him the journal, and thus distorting vital incriminating evidence against Grimm concerning episodes connected with the composing and circulation of the journal Searches.

The defendant Yakovlev pleaded not guilty and testified that it was not Abramkin who gave him the journal but someone else whom he refused to name. He claimed that although he had signed the records of his interrogation as a witness, he had read them superficially and carelessly. He claimed that his testimony had been incorrectly interpreted. He had not made complaints about the search, as he considered that everything had been done properly. He had told the truth in the Moscow City Court and renounced the evidence given during the investigation. He had not hidden from Procuracy officials, but had considered it essential to finish his work on a novel...

The court considers Yakovlev's version of the facts -

that he had read the pre-trial investigation records carelessly, that his testimony was not correctly written down in them, and also that he had not hidden himself from justice officials - untenable...

In order to decide upon a sentence for Yakovlev the court has taken into account the nature and degree of social danger of the actions committed, and data on the character of the defendant: he had not been working and had previously changed jobs frequently, he had been punished for the consumption of alcoholic drinks (about ten years previously Yakovlev was drinking in a park with fellow-students at the end of term and they were detained by the police - Chronicle), and he did not concern himself with his child's upbringing and rendered him no material assistance (the accounts department at Yakovlev's last place of work, in spite of his written request, had forgotten to deduct his alimony - Chronicle). The court considers it essential to pass a sentence of one year's deprivation of freedom.

The court does not find it possible in Yakovlev's case to apply article 24-2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('sentence of deprivation of freedom commuted to compulsory labour without imprisonment' - Chronicle) because of his negative attitude to socially useful labour.

\* \* \*

In August, following an appeal which left the sentence unchanged, Yakovlev was taken for transit. At the beginning of September he started serving his sentence in Saransk (uchr. ZhKh-385/12). On 4 December he was released under an amnesty.

#### THE ARREST OF IVAN KOVAL'EV

At the beginning of August Moscow Helsinki Group member Ivan Koval'ev was passing through Vilnius. There he was subject to intense surveillance. Even the chief of the operations section of the Vilnius KGB, Colonel Cesnavicius, took part in the surveillance.

\* \* \*

On 12 August I. Koval'ev, Viktor Bakhmin (Chronicles 58, 60) and Alexei Smirnov (Chronicles 61, 62) were detained in Moscow 'on suspicion of robbing a flat'. Although they had been together prior to their detentions, they were detained in such a way that Koval'ev and Bakhmin did not know of Smirnov's detention.

The suspicion of robbery was removed after a cursory police 'inspection' of the contents of Koval'ev's and Bakhmin's briefcases, but KGB officials were summoned for a more detailed search. In all, ten 'committee men' (KGB men), continuously laughing amongst themselves, took part in the search. The policeman who was filling in the records on Koval'ev and Bakhmin consulted the KGB officials on every point.

None of the men conducting the search showed his documents. At the end of the search an official arrived who, at Koval'ev's request, showed MVD credentials made out in the name of Tokarev. Until then, he had been directing the

search of Smirnov which had been taking place simultaneously elsewhere. He did not give his name to Smirnov, stating that he had already told Koval'ev everything. After fair copies had been made of Koval'ev's and Bakhmin's records, Tokarev reappeared and conducted a second search of Koval'ev's briefcase, but nothing more was confiscated.

At the beginning of the search Koval'ev's arms were twisted and a letter from camp from his wife T. Osipova, which he had only just received and had not yet opened, was taken: he refused to give it up voluntarily. During a subsequent search of Koval'ev's home two more letters from his wife, which had also been through the camp censorship, were confiscated. The man in charge ordered: 'Take everything!', and in response to Koval'ev's protests explained that his wife's letters to him and other materials might have ideologically harmful contents and therefore had to be taken and checked. In addition to this, Moscow Helsinki Group Document No. 136 (Chronicle 57), A Chronicle of Current Events No. 58, a number of texts containing information, a notebook and a tape-recorder were taken (there were 27 points on the record).

From Bakhmin they took notes on the chess game he was playing against his brother Vyacheslav, who was in camp, personal letters and several photographs (including photographs of himself for documents).

From Smirnov they took a handwritten copy of Koval'ev's work 'The Appeal' (an account of the appeal hearing in the case against Osipova), a typewritten copy of the Declaration of Human Rights, Zinoviev's Bright Future,<sup>1</sup> one issue each of the Gazettes of the Supreme Courts of the USSR and RSFSR, the journal Guten Tag<sup>2</sup> (in Russian), a dictaphone and a tool-kit.

Koval'ev was not permitted to add his comments to the search record. He was informed that the confiscated items would be dispatched 'according to ownership', but they refused to tell him what that meant. Smirnov's search finished slightly earlier than Koval'ev's and Bakhmin's, but he was told that they had already left.

\* \* \*

On 25 August Koval'ev was arrested. His former wife Elena was the last of his close friends to see him. He left her home at about 11 a.m. She saw a car following him and a man getting out of the car and running to catch him. Koval'ev was taken to the KGB Investigations Prison (Lefortovo). He was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

\* \* \*

Koval'ev's statement 'Why I have been arrested', which he wrote for the event of his arrest in June 1980 (after his wife's arrest) is circulating in samizdat.

At the moment I do not know what charge will be made against me; I do not know when the crucial decision to arrest me will be made, but I have every reason to suppose that it will happen, and possibly soon. I know that in this event the investigation and the trial will do all they can to cover up and distort the truth of what I did and why I was arrested. I tried to hinder this process during the arrests and repressions against others, so I am not going to help the authorities in my own case.

I have been arrested for my work on the informational journal A Chronicle of Current Events, for my part in the Moscow Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki

Agreements in the USSR, for individual and collective letters of protest, for collecting, collating and circulating truthful information on the struggle for human rights in our country and on the violation of these rights - this arrest is essentially for free journalistic activity in a country which is not free.

But it seems to me that not only actions are important, but also motives...I arrived at my present views naturally and without even noticing. Yes, and as a matter of fact these views are nothing special. It's all simple. You have to treat others as you would like them to treat you (that's what my father and my paternal grandmother brought me up to believe). You must think for yourself. And everything else grows from there.

I was told almost nothing about my father's 'activities' and in a sense I knew almost nothing. It was not a closed subject, but I suppose that he tried not to tell me about what he was doing because he did not want to foist his position on me, even accidentally...but his moral stature, his attitude to common ethical problems, and his inner freedom made themselves felt strongly. And so of course I very much wanted to be like him.

By the time my father was arrested I already knew quite a lot. I had read traditional samizdat (Requiem, Doctor Zhivago)<sup>3</sup> and sometimes listened to Western radio. But this was a rather detached involvement, from the sidelines. I already knew that political arrests took place and knew of people who had been arrested or were liable to be. I understood that he, too, might be arrested, but somehow I did not believe it, could not come to grips with what was taking place. My father's arrest sharply increased my understanding. But even that did not move me from my position as an outside observer. Of course then I became more interested in what was going on, I tried to read books that would help me to analyse it, but I was still short of the second, and maybe most important stimulus.

My father's trial showed me and forced me to understand far more than books and the radio. Only after his trial did an understanding of the need for individual participation and responsibility gradually dawn on me. It was then that I began to feel the real level of illegality, then that I sensed that this trial was the retribution exacted for the purity and nobility of a moral position, for inner freedom and independence.

And somehow it just happened that someone had to make notes on the trial and tell the people who could not get into the courtroom what was happening there. It was so obvious that I did not even notice that this was the beginning of my 'activities'. And similarly it was quite natural to write and sign letters in my father's defence.

I never consciously decided whether or not to involve myself in the defence of human rights. Actually, even now I do not regard myself as a human rights activist. Everything I have done and am doing has grown out of a natural desire to help people. And the only real way I can do it is by recounting their misfortunes to as many people as possible.

And so, since my father's trial, I have been evaluating his position and that of his friends from this new standpoint, and it has been like getting to know them anew. I am glad that I can now name my father's closest friends - Alexander Pavlovich Lavut and Tatyana Mikhailovna Velikanova - as my own friends. Alexander Pavlovich is

simply like a second father to me.

And so, this moral position led me eventually and naturally to the Chronicle (incidentally, I only learnt of its existence at my father's trial). At first my participation was incidental and irregular, and then processing the information gradually became a habit. (The information is not 'tendentious' - the mildest word the investigators will use about it; on the contrary, the Chronicle makes no evaluations of events and the veracity of its information is scrupulously checked; various sources are compared and if there are any discrepancies in the reports which are not resolved on checking, the information concerned is often simply not included in the issue. Moreover, the veracity of the Chronicle's reports is well-known even to the investigative authorities.) Its main focus and concern is political prisoners.

Later I began to help the Helsinki Group a little, and last year became a member. At the moment my main occupation is the collection, collation and circulation of information. Over these last years I have written a large number of letters in defence of other victims of repression, and currently, sadly, I have to act on behalf of my own wife - Tatyana Osipova.

These are things which on the whole constitute my 'activities' or, to be more accurate, the natural outcome of my moral position. That is the main thing that I wanted to say. It is also important to understand that this basic precept - 'I only do what I cannot not do' - holds true for myself and for all my close friends and relatives - my wife, my father, Alexander Pavlovich, Tatyana Mikhailovna. They were not involved in politics, they did not rush into activity for its own sake, they simply helped people in any way they could. And I tried to do the same. Whether for good or ill is not for me to judge.

\* \* \*

On 29 August the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 181, 'The Arrest of Moscow Helsinki Group member Ivan Koval'ev':

...The court and investigative authorities, as has become the norm, are trying to present Ivan Koval'ev as a criminal, but all those who know him understand that he is a man incapable of crime. Unselfish and sincere, he always says and writes what he considers to be the truth. He loves people and responds to everyone's misfortunes. Hundreds of people have turned to him and have always obtained understanding and support from him.

Koval'ev has never urged anyone to violence. He wished people good things and desired this just as his father, his wife and his friends who defend human rights have done. He has been imprisoned not for a crime, but for his fearless attempt to uphold the principles of freedom of thought, speech and independent activity.

Ivan Koval'ev has not broken any Soviet laws, has not aimed to undermine or weaken the State's authority, and, moreover, has not circulated libellous information. The arrest itself and the predetermined judgment are not only illegal but criminal.

On the same day a letter open to receive signatures was issued in Moscow, entitled 'In Defence of Ivan Koval'ev':

Vanya Koval'ev, a 27-year-old member of the Helsinki Group,

has been arrested and imprisoned. Lefortovo Prison has now extended its hospitality to the third member of this upstanding family to be persecuted by the authorities. At first, in 1974, it was his father Sergei Koval'ev, then in May 1981, his wife Tatyana Osipova, also a member of the Helsinki Group. Now it is Ivan. What sort of a family is this that has no path in our society other than the one which leads to prison? Is this some den of professional criminals? What have they done? What are they accused of?

The father, Sergei Koval'ev, is a well-known biologist, guilty only of acting to defend freedom of speech and beliefs. He brought up his son to be a person who could not compromise with injustice and who selflessly upheld human rights. And when the son grew up he found himself a wife who was similar. That's how this family became, in the opinion of our authorities, a 'criminal' one.

Fantasy? Ravings? A parody on Bulgakov? No. This is our actuality, our sad reality. People like the Koval'evs are being subjected to criminal punishment, charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' (article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) and their accusers are, in effect, stating that to be a human being, to defend human rights, to help those unfairly judged is an anti-Soviet act. Do they understand what they are doing to the system they are allegedly defending?

Whom does it help to destroy these capable, wise, honest, patriotic people? Who needs this latest arrest, with its sadistic refinement of depriving a father of the possibility of seeing his son (Sergei Koval'ev's term of imprisonment finishes in December 1982; he then becomes an exile)? Who needs to destroy a family, to separate Tanya and Vanya who have never used any violence, never urged violence or helped make it possible?

We are people, whether those who carry out such arrests like it or not. And we therefore protest against the tyrannical, groundless arrest of a pure, honest and good man - Ivan Koval'ev.

On 6 September L. Tumanova (Chronicle 61) published a letter 'Against the Latest Arrest':

The sight of a government setting into motion a huge and cumbersome state machine in order to prevent people from following the dictates of their own reasons and consciences is at once terrifying and pitiful. Pitiful, for the horror at any generalized criticism testifies to the government's bankruptcy and to the fact that it fears not just actions but also ways of thinking. Terrifying, for such a government is ready to go to any lengths to maintain its power, as it is motivated by terror at its inability to run the country.

'Laws', says Marx, 'which take as their chief criteria not actions in their own right but the thinking of the actor are nothing other than positive sanctions of illegality' (Marx and Engels, Works, Vol. 1, p.14). Articles 70 and 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code are examples of such illegality. The sense of these laws is contrary to the interests of the citizen as a result of one unlawful manipulation, namely this: these articles have been built on the precept that thought can be equated with actions and are represented as such.

Tatyana Velikanova, Tatyana Osipova, Felix Serebrov, Alexander Lavut, Leonard Ternovsky, Dmitry Mazur, Viktor

Nekipelov, Irina Grivnina and many, many others have all recently been convicted under these articles. Thousands of people have been convicted under them. Now Anatoly Marchenko and Ivan Koval'ev will be appearing in court under these anti-constitutional articles...

On 15 December Lev Kuchai (Chronicles 31, 53) sent an open letter to Amnesty International:

I live in the Soviet Union and, while I live here, I feel responsible for what is happening in the country. I will continue to feel responsible until I have expressed my own, personal opinion about what is taking place.

In this letter I am protesting against the arrests of I. Koval'ev and A. Marchenko (people who have not committed any crimes and who will be punished for expressing the freedom of speech and information guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution).

By protesting against the arrests of I. Koval'ev and A. Marchenko I absolve myself of responsibility for the actions of the KGB.

\* \* \*

On 26 August a search was conducted at Elena Zvereva's flat in connection with the case against Koval'ev (the warrant was made out in the name of her husband, Igor Prikolotin). Tatyana Ledeneva (Chronicle 61) and her month-old son were in the flat with Zvereva. The search was ordered by a senior investigator of the KGB Investigations Department, Major F.G. Pokhil, and conducted by a senior investigator of the same department, First Lt Oleshko.

Among the articles confiscated were: samizdat and tamizdat, a New Testament (a Western publication), two notebooks, a letter from Vilnius and a typewriter (15 points in all). Ledeneva stated that two tamizdat books, the New Testament, the letter and one notebook belonged to her. After that she was taken to Lefortovo for interrogation.

An investigator called 'Alexander Samoilovich' asked when and where Ledeneva met Koval'ev ('at Mitskevich's home, after the arrest of Koval'ev's wife'); what was the nature of their relationship ('We were friends; I sometimes bought food at the market for him to give to his wife'); whether she had read A Chronicle of Current Events ('Yes, at the home of my aunt, Tatyana Sergeyevna Khodorovich' [who emigrated in 1977 - Chronicle 47]. 'Is it still coming out?' 'Yes, it's coming out'); whether Koval'ev had asked her to do any duplicating ('No'); whether she had a typewriter ('No'); whether she had read any Helsinki Group documents ('No.' - 'What do you mean no? You've read them!' - 'No.'). Whether she had seen copies of the newspaper Russian Thought ('No'); what Koval'ev gave her to read ('Literature' - 'From abroad?' - 'I don't think so.' 'What did he himself read?' - 'Any science fiction').

During the conversation Ledeneva described Koval'ev as a good, sympathetic person. The investigator stated that Koval'ev had been working as a fireman so as to have plenty of free time for his 'main occupation' - work in the Helsinki Group, and that when his work as a fireman began to interfere with his 'main occupation' he had resigned.

Since Ledeneva had to feed her baby at 1 p.m. the interrogation was stopped (leaving no time to draw up a record) and she was sent home. The next day she was summoned for a continuation of the interrogation.

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At about midday on 26 August Valentin Mitskevich (Chronicle 62), in whose flat Koval'ev had been living, returned home from his dacha with his wife and child. About an hour later his home was subjected to a search, ordered by Pokhil and conducted by a senior investigator of the USSR KGB Investigations Department, Captain Rencv.

Among the articles confiscated were: notes on the conditions in camps, letters and statements from various people to official Soviet institutions, Koval'ev's notes on a journey to Mordovia for a meeting with his wife which did not take place, notebooks, USSR News Briefs (69 copies), published in Munich by C. Lubarsky (Chronicle 47), three copies of the newspaper Russian Thought, and some library books.

As soon as the search had commenced Mitskevich was sent to Lefortovo for interrogation. At first Pokhil 'chatted' to Mitskevich, inquiring whether Mitskevich had said goodbye to his family, since 'there's not much chance of getting out of here'. Pokhil said that the KGB was ready to extend the case against Koval'ev to 'a few other people', and that Mitskevich was the first in line: his future would depend on his behaviour at the interrogation and essential measures concerning him might well be taken by that same evening. After that Colonel B.I. Chechetkin began to interrogate Mitskevich (the interrogation lasted for about seven hours).

Chechetkin stated that he 'knew everything' about the acquaintance and meetings of Koval'ev and Mitskevich with foreigners (in particular he named a Secretary of the American Embassy), about the conversations between Mitskevich and Koval'ev which took place at Mitskevich's place of work (here he quoted from these conversations), about the fact that Koval'ev had on more than one occasion used Mitskevich's telephone at work to telephone abroad, assuring him that his telephone was not listened in to, and passed on various pieces of information, especially to Cronid Lubarsky. (Chechetkin gave the dates of these conversations, adding: 'You were keeping guard for him there; but in fact Koval'ev was not phoning just from your work-place'.)

Mitskevich testified that he had known Koval'ev since childhood: they used to be neighbours and had been in the same class at school. Koval'ev had grown into an inquiring, good and gentle person. Their feelings towards each other were always warm. (At Chechetkin's suggestion a sentence was added to the record here which went something like this: 'Running ahead a little, I will say that these warm feelings between us have been maintained right up to the present day'.) When Vanya and his wife had separated, he and Mitskevich had lived in the flat of Koval'ev's grandmother, B.E. Tokareva. Ivan had told him about his father's arrest and subsequent conviction. Vanya became involved in activities in defence of his father. He, Mitskevich, knew that Vanya wrote appeals to various authorities for his father's release. Koval'ev later married T. Osipova, a human rights activist and member of the Helsinki Group, and moved in with her. There they had a wide circle of visitors, who explained the purpose and working methods of the Group to Mitskevich. Of the Group's members he knew E.G. Bonner, S.V. Kalistratova and M.N. Landa, and had seen F. Serebrov. He did not know Yu. Orlov. He knew that Koval'ev was acquainted with a number of foreigners - N. Miletich, Olya Odinetz and others. He had seen a typewriter in Koval'ev's flat, but had not seen anything typed on it. He had heard that Koval'ev had joined the Group from Koval'ev himself. When Koval'ev's

wife was arrested he came to live with Mitskevich, and after the New Year he brought his possessions, including the things which had been confiscated at the search on 14 April (Chronicle 62). Having access to the places where Koval'ev kept his things he 'on my own initiative acquired a partial knowledge' of several books belonging to Koval'ev - The Gulag Archipelago, Punitive Medicine, The Technology of Power. (The last item was crossed out when the record was signed). He had seen food products with Ber'zka labels<sup>8</sup> in Koval'ev's possession: Koval'ev had received these from the Aid Fund for Political Prisoners 'for the purpose of sending them to his wife'. Koval'ev often visited Mitskevich at work and Mitskevich sometimes let him use his phone to talk to various people. He was once present during a conversation 'with abroad'. During the conversation the name 'Cronid' was mentioned. Chechetkin wanted to know whether Mitskevich was acquainted with Koval'ev's 'girlfriends', but when Mitskevich said 'I am' and began to list: 'Bonner, Kalistratova, ...' Chechetkin interrupted him, saying that he was interested in the other sort, the 'live-in' ones.

On 9 September Chechetkin interrogated Mitskevich again (the interrogation lasted more than five hours).

Basically, Chechetkin was 'clearing up points' from the initial interrogation. (As on 26 August, Chechetkin told Mitskevich to 'be sincere', but when Mitskevich said: 'Don't you think that these warnings are a form of pressure as a result of which my deposition cannot be objective?' Chechetkin asked him not to 'get upset'.)

Mitskevich said he could not remember who had told him that Koval'ev had joined the Group. When asked what quantity of Group documents he had seen in Koval'ev's house (at the first interrogation he said that he had seen 'piles of Group papers'), Mitskevich answered that 'a pile had been an assumption; maybe there had only been one document on a pile of blank paper'. Of Koval'ev's foreign friends he knew only Odinetz and Miletich, with whom Koval'ev had been on friendly terms. 'I cannot confirm if Koval'ev was acquainted with other foreigners; the testimony I gave previously about this was an assumption based on Koval'ev's membership of the Group.'

As at the first interrogation Mitskevich stated that he had taken books from Koval'ev without his knowledge. To this Chechetkin remarked: 'But of course he knew! We know he did! you discussed what was in the books together'. When Chechetkin asked Mitskevich to name the circle of people who used to visit his flat when Koval'ev lived there, Mitskevich declared that as from that moment he would not talk about third parties. Chechetkin wrote in his report: 'Refuses to name the people on moral/ethical grounds'.

Chechetkin also asked several questions about the Fund: 'At the previous interrogation you mentioned the so-called Aid Fund for Political Prisoners. What do you know about this Fund? Do you know who the distributors are?'

'Distributors? You mean Khodorovich?'

'OK then, Khodorovich. Have you seen him? Who is he? What's he like (distinguishing features, complexion, height)? Where does he live?' 'I saw him once, I'd say he was small. But my answer about food items from the fund was a result of pressure from you. I would not have said that otherwise. What's more, most of those items were the result of help from friends.'

Finally, Chechetkin asked if Mitskevich knew Nikolai Nikolayevich Ovchinnikov. 'No', Mitskevich replied. Chechetkin insisted, and then Mitskevich said: 'Nikolai Ovchinnikov?'

What about him? He's an artist, about 22; we met in Koktebel. He didn't have any contact with Koval'ev. 'He works part-time in cinemas?' asked Chechetkin. 'No, he's a professional theatre artist.' 'Well,' said Chechetkin, 'by refusing to answer you incriminate innocent people. We could have taken steps against him.'

\* \* \*

On 9 September First Lieutenant Larukov interrogated Olga Kurganskaya (see also 'The Arrest of Ivanov-Skuratov'). Kurganskaya said that she had met Koval'ev at the flat of his wife Osipova. The interrogator started to question Kurganskaya about the Helsinki Group. Kurganskaya saw on the table a copy of the record of her interrogation in connection with Osipova's case, and said that all she had to say was in that record. The interrogator started to copy her previous deposition into the new record. This took more than three hours. Then the interrogator asked Kurganskaya if she had noticed any deviation or abnormality in Koval'ev's behaviour. Kurganskaya replied that she was extremely surprised by such a question as she had never been asked it before, even though this was not the first year she had been dragged into interrogations. The interrogator replied that now they would always ask, 'because otherwise dissidents claim that we send healthy people to psychiatric hospitals and sick people to camps'.

\* \* \*

On 16 September Mitskevich's mother-in-law, Kapitolina Alekseyevna Kalugina, was interrogated. She was interrogated for over six hours. Kalugina was asked about Koval'ev's activities and about her relationship with Osipova. Many of the questions related to Kalugina's private life.

\* \* \*

On 18 September Chechetkin interrogated Mitskevich for the third time (the interrogation lasted four hours). The questions were basically about the items confiscated in searches on 14 April and 26 August. Chechetkin also questioned Mitskevich about notes in the notebooks confiscated from him during the searches. Mitskevich's replies to these questions went something like this: 'So-and-so - have known him for a long time, don't remember how we met, the basis of our relationship is personal'.

The interrogation was interrupted by a visit from Pokhil, who told Mitskevich of the need to behave properly during the investigation in the light of the Soviet Union's internal and external situation. Pokhil also informed Mitskevich about the moral aspects of the activity of the Helsinki Group, and of Koval'ev in particular, and about the extreme severity of Western law vis-à-vis dissenters.

\* \* \*

On 21 September Captain E.N. Kuklev interrogated a classmate of Koval'ev, Sergei Pestov (Koval'ev lived with him at one time). The interrogation lasted six hours.

Asked whether Koval'ev had expressed slanderous opinions and given Pestov The Gulag Archipelago, The Technology of Power and the paper Russian Thought, he refused to reply for 'moral reasons'. He had learned that Koval'ev had joined the Group from Koval'ev himself; he did not know which foreign correspondents Koval'ev knew; Koval'ev had not asked him to type anything. Asked whether Koval'ev had suggested that he should become an editor of the Chronicle of Current

Events, and whether he had noticed any oddities in Koval'ev's behaviour, he answered in the negative.

\* \* \*

Kuklev twice interrogated (the first occasion was at the beginning of September) a fellow-student of Koval'ev, Andrei Akhutin, whom Koval'ev met again shortly before his arrest. According to Akhutin, a tape of a conversation recorded without their knowledge was produced. Akhutin asked the interrogator if he could visit Koval'ev's mother and sister, and received the answer: 'That's a matter for your conscience'.

\* \* \*

On 22 September Kuklev interrogated Koval'ev's first wife, Elena Koval'eva. Asked if she had seen Koval'ev with any literature, if she knew of his meetings with foreign correspondents, if he had given press conferences, if he had a typewriter, if he had brought back any material about his father's trial, she replied negatively.

The interrogator showed considerable interest in Koval'eva's private life after the divorce, displaying the fact that he was very well informed and saying: 'Ivan's friends have just been here...they have told everything'. During the interrogation Kuklev constantly consulted a 'questionnaire' that lay beside him.

\* \* \*

On 24 September Kuklev interrogated Koval'ev's 18-year-old sister, Maria (the interrogation lasted more than six hours). The interrogator asked if Maria knew that her brother was engaged in 'so-called civil rights activity'. The answer written into the record was that Koval'eva knew about it, that her brother's arrest had not been unexpected, because she knew that activity of that sort was against the law. Koval'eva objected that she had not said that, to which the interrogator said: 'But don't you agree? You've been taught that at school, haven't you?' 'Yes, I have.' She didn't know if her brother had a typewriter and knew how to type. She had been to the flat where Koval'ev and Osipova lived for her brother's birthday, she could not remember what they talked about, she had not seen any 'leaflets', some of the guests were young and some older, the toasts were not 'to those who are separated from us' but 'to those who are at sea'; she knew hardly any of those present. She did not know what the Helsinki Group was, and she had not noticed any oddities in her brother's behaviour. The interrogator informed Koval'eva about the private life of her mother, and asked a few questions in this connection.

\* \* \*

In September Major A.P. Tsygankov interrogated Mikhail Vitson (a former neighbour of Mitskevich). Vitson testified that at the end of 1979 he had seen several issues of the Chronicle of Current Events (printed in the West) in Koval'ev's flat; he had not read them himself and could not remember what issues they were. Vitson knew that Osipova was a member of the Helsinki Group but could not say anything about Koval'ev's relations with the Group. Vitson testified the following concerning the Group's working methods (the answer was compiled with Tsygankov): these involved letters to government departments, material aid to political prisoners and their families, passing information to the West. Vitson testified that Koval'ev had shown



him the collection of materials 'In defence of T. Osipova', which was intended for wide distribution (in several addenda Vitzon wrote that he did not know that this material was intended for wide distribution).

The same day Tsygankov interrogated Irina Senderova, the sister of Vitzon's wife. To the questions 'What did Koval'ev give you to read? Did you see a typewriter or samizdat in his flat? What are the methods, aims and membership of the Helsinki Group?' Senderova replied negatively. Tsygankov was surprised: 'You used to be in the kitchen all together and Koval'ev gave you things to read'. 'I looked at Russian Thought after Koval'ev, but it was Mitskevich and Vitzon who were in the kitchen...'

\* \* \*

In September a fellow-student of Koval'ev, Pëtr Omelnitsky, was interrogated, and also an acquaintance of Omelnitsky, Alexander Katyushkin. Katyushkin testified that 'Koval'ev's immature ideas about socialist reality were mentioned to me by Lev Mosharsky'.

\* \* \*

On 27 October Kuklev interrogated Lev Mosharsky for three hours. Mosharsky said that he had met Koval'ev at the beginning of 1978 in the Vitzons' flat. Koval'ev was living there for a time because of some family troubles. Mosharsky saw Koval'ev only infrequently. Mosharsky had not seen any anti-Soviet literature in the Vitzons' flat, his conversations with Koval'ev had been fairly superficial, over a drink - if Koval'ev came to see the Vitzons he would join them around the table, but would leave fairly early; who Koval'ev really came to see on these occasions - the Vitzons or the Mitskeviches - Mosharsky did not know. Mosharsky had not seen a typewriter in the Mitskeviches' room. Mosharsky could say nothing in reply to a question about whom Koval'ev phoned from the flat and whom he went to see afterwards. Mosharsky knew of Koval'ev's membership of the Helsinki Group, but could not remember how he knew. Mosharsky knew that Koval'ev was married to Osipova, but did not know the reasons for Osipova's arrest or the length of her sentence.

The people who visited the Vitzons' flat were mostly young, but Mosharsky did not know any of Koval'ev's friends and had not been to his house. He had seen Koval'ev about five times, the last being in August 1980. Mosharsky had not seen foreigners in the Vitzons' flat; Koval'ev had not discussed the situation in Afghanistan or Poland in his presence, as these situations had arisen after he had last seen Koval'ev.

Mosharsky had learnt of Koval'ev's arrest from the Vitzons in September 1981. Koval'ev had seemed to him a thoughtful, rather silent person, but mentally healthy. Mosharsky did not know why Koval'ev had been arrested.

According to Kuklev, Katyushkin had testified that Mosharsky had told him that Koval'ev used to go to trials to make a record of the proceedings and pass the records on to certain people. Mosharsky said that all he knew was that Koval'ev had been at his wife's trial.

\* \* \*

On 28 October Tsygankov summoned the mother of political prisoner Yu. Fëdorov, P.S. Fëdorova, to the KGB for talks in connection with a statement she had written. Tsygankov tried to question her about Koval'ev's case, but she refused to reply, saying that she did not know Koval'ev and she had

come on other business.

\* \* \*

On 3 November Tsygankov interrogated the wife of Koval'ev's father, L. Boitsova, and on 19 November A. Smirnov. The interrogator showed both Boitsova and Smirnov two handwritten documents, which he called 'statements by Ivan Koval'ev'. In them, allegedly, Koval'ev initially refused to take part in the investigation, but then altered his position, and here the interrogator read a few sentences from the 'statements'. Tsygankov did not let either Boitsova or Smirnov read the text of the 'statements' in full.

Boitsova was asked questions about Koval'ev's involvement in the work of the Helsinki Group, about his distribution of samizdat, about the interview which she and Koval'ev allegedly gave to Dutch television. Boitsova replied that she knew nothing about the arrangements for the interview.

When Smirnov was interrogated, Pokhil assisted Tsygankov for a time, telling Smirnov: 'You mustn't behave like that', and telling him to say 'who he got things from, who he gave things to', and so on. Smirnov reached an agreement with Tsygankov that in the record the answers should be given not as a refusal to reply but in phrases like 'There is no answer', 'No answer followed'. Smirnov only answered the question about his acquaintance with Koval'ev: 'I know him'. Asked about the nature of his relationship with Koval'ev, Smirnov replied: 'To say I know him is enough'.

Smirnov was also questioned about the 'so-called civil rights activity' of Koval'ev. Tsygankov produced items (or rather, photocopies of items) confiscated from Smirnov during a search in January 1981 (Chronicle 61): a manuscript of an informative nature, issue 57 of 'A Chronicle of Current Events with handwritten corrections'. He said that expert testing showed that Koval'ev had written them, and tried to persuade Smirnov to confirm this. The interrogator was particularly concerned with a 'note addressed to a person unknown' in the same folder as the manuscript. Several questions were asked about this note: 'Whom is the author of this note addressing? Is this Koval'ev's handwriting? What can you answer to the questions asked?' The note dealt with the need to file in, or remove from, 'the archive' various samizdat documents, and it also contained instructions for typing out and correcting the Chronicle, adding: 'Learn, learn how to do it - it's time'. Tsygankov asked questions about the location of the 'archive' and about the unknown person addressed by the author of the note. The reply to all questions was: 'No answer followed'.

\* \* \*

On 11 November in Kiev Lyubov Murzhenko was interrogated. The investigator showed Murzhenko a collection of texts of an informative nature, confiscated, according to him, from Mitskevich's flat. Among other things in this collection were letters from L. Murzhenko in defence of her husband A. Murzhenko and from P. Fëdorova in defence of her son Yu. Fëdorov.

Murzhenko said that she had been writing letters in defence of her husband for a long time, she had sent the letters in question by post, she had not given them to anyone to pass on, and she did not know Mitskevich or Koval'ev. Asked by the investigator who had forced her to write those letters, Murzhenko said: 'They did', pointing to her sleeping child (Murzhenko has two children).

\* \* \*

On 17 September in exile Malva Landa handed in a written refusal to give evidence to senior investigator of the Dzhuzkagan KGB, Tsar'ev:

...I cannot and will not knowingly take part in any activity - in this case an investigation - aimed at suppressing or thwarting exercise of the right to freedom of belief, and also at isolating completely from society and subjecting to cruel punishment and humiliations any person who has decided, despite persecution, despite the severity and cruelty of the punishment, to practise the right to freedom of belief.

\* \* \*

On 17 and 19 November an investigator of the Barnaul KGB, Major Zryumov, interrogated Valery Abramkin in camp. The investigator asked questions about the state of Koval'ev's mental health. On 24 November Captain Solonin of the Moscow KGB interrogated Koval'ev's wife Tatyana Osipova in camp. Osipova refused to answer any questions. In connection with the case of Koval'ev, Yu. Grimm, F. Serebrov and L. Ternovskiy were also interrogated in camps.

\* \* \*

On 26 November Mitskevich was interrogated for the fourth time (the interrogation lasted nine hours). Kuklev conducted the interrogation. The first part of the interrogation was concerned with clarifying that several items confiscated at the searches on 14 April and 26 August belonged to Mitskevich: a Japanese radio-tape-recorder, a dagger in a sheath, four cassettes, four books with library stamps, note-books and a prayer-book published by YMCA Press. All these items, except for one cassette with a recording of a conversation between unknown people and of some programme from 'Voice of America', Mitskevich identified as his. In response to all questions about where these items came from, he referred Kuklev to the record of the previous interrogation, clarifying only that the prayer-book was given to him at his own request by Miletich in the spring of 1981.

Asked about the other items, Mitskevich said that he 'could not confirm who they belonged to'. Mitskevich again said that he had read Koval'ev's books on his own initiative. He also said that his wife had not read these books and that he had never seen Koval'ev giving anyone this literature.

Kuklev produced a note on page 35 of the notebook confiscated on 26 August, which began with the words 'Arctic Circle' and ended with the words 'transported by rail to hospital in Apatity'.

'Can you identify your notebook? Who wrote the note and what does it mean?'

'The book is mine and the note is in my writing. This is a brief note of my telephone conversation with a woman I do not know, who phoned me at my friend Sasha's request to tell me that he had been attacked by volunteer police at the station Arctic Circle, as a result of which he landed in hospital. This woman asked me to let Sasha's mother know.'

'What is Sasha's surname?'

'She wasn't able to tell me, as she was in a hurry to bring the conversation to a close. But I myself realized that it was Shatravka, as I didn't have any other acquaintances called Alexander who could be in Karelia in autumn. I didn't know his mother's address and wasn't able to get any message to her before she rang me herself to say that

Sasha was already home.'

'Did you tell Koval'ev about this news about Shatravka?'

'Maybe so, as I asked a lot of people for Shatravka's address.'

'In front of you is the paper Russian Thought, which was confiscated from your flat during the search on 26 August. Here is an article by Shatravka, 'How I celebrated the 26th Congress of the CPSU' (Chronicle 62 - Chronicle). Part of the article is the same as the note in your notebook.'

'The extract and the note probably coincide because they describe the same event.'

'How did this information reach Russian Thought?'

'I don't know.'

At the end of the interrogation Mitskevich gave Kuklev a receipt for the radio-tape-recorder, the dagger, the notebook and the library books. The day after this interrogation, members of the criminal investigation department came to Mitskevich's flat to look for A. Shatravka.

\* \* \*

In November Tsygankov interrogated V. Mitskevich's father, O.V. Mitskevich. Tsygankov told O. Mitskevich about his son's activity in assisting the Helsinki Group (taking information on the phone, correcting manuscripts). He based this on the testimony of prisoners interrogated in camps, and documents and notebooks confiscated during searches belonging to V. Mitskevich. The investigator said that measures would be taken against V. Mitskevich; the most lenient would be a warning.

Asked whether V. Mitskevich knew any foreigners, his father answered that he had heard about some Kolya with whom his son was on good, friendly terms.

\* \* \*

On 3 December Kuklev interrogated V. Mitskevich's wife, Natalya Mitskevich. N. Mitskevich said that she met Koval'ev, who used to visit her with her future husband, in 1978.

Kuklev said that there was testimony from witnesses to say that N. Mitskevich had received and transmitted information to Koval'ev on the phone. N. Mitskevich replied that she had not. People had called Koval'ev when she was there, but she could not remember who, she had not listened.

Of the foreigners, N. Mitskevich knew Miletich and Odinets. She did not know the nature of their relations with Koval'ev. She had not seen a typewriter at Koval'ev's, and she did not know if he could type. N. Mitskevich knew that Osipova was a member of a group whose name N. Mitskevich could not remember. She also knew that Koval'ev's father had been sentenced under article 70 in 1974. N. Mitskevich had not known that any literature of interest to the investigation had been kept at their house - she only knew after it had been confiscated during searches.

\* \* \*

On 10 December S.V. Kalistratova was summoned to see Tsygankov. For domestic reasons, she could not go to the interrogation. On 11 December at about 11 o'clock, Tsygankov turned up at Kalistratova's flat. Kalistratova said that she knew Koval'ev, but refused to answer any further questions. She also refused to give a reason for her refusal, saying that she had given her reason for refusing to take part in the investigation in the case of Osipova, and that this reason had been mentioned in the indictment against Osipova. Tsygankov assured Kalistratova that this time 'she would

not feature' in the indictment. He also warned Kalistratova about the criminal liability involved in refusing to give evidence.

\* \* \*

In connection with Koval'ev's case T. Khlyupina (22 September), Koval'ev's mother Elena Tokareva (4 November), N. Ovchinnikov and M. Khurgina were also interrogated. On 2 November E. Sirotenko (Chronicle 60) was summoned for interrogation, but she did not go.

\* \* \*

At the end of December Koval'ev and the lawyer V. Ya. Shveysky (he defended Osipova - Chronicle 62) began to study the case file. [Ultimate sentence: five years' camp plus five years' exile.]

#### THE TRIAL OF ANATOLY MARCHENKO

On 18 March, the day after his arrest (Chronicle 62), Marchenko announced his refusal to take part in the investigation, giving as his reason that in his opinion the KGB was a criminal organization. Subsequently he wrote a statement about his refusal; as the CPSU controlled the KGB he considered both these organizations to be criminal.

During the investigation the chief of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Vladimir KGB told Marchenko that he would 'never come out of' camp. He was also threatened that his wife, L. Bogoraz, would be arrested.

\* \* \*

From 2 to 4 September the Vladimir Regional Court, presided over by Deputy Court chairman N.N. Kolosov, heard the case of Anatoly Tikhonovich Marchenko (born 1938), charged under part 2 of article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Deputy Procurator of the region S.Ya. Salnov and the defence lawyer L.D. Fradkin. (In 1980 Kolosov and Salnov tried V. Nekipelov - Chronicle 57).

\* \* \*

On the morning of 2 September in the regional court building, Kolosov told Larissa Bogoraz that he would not tell her where the case was to be heard: 'You are called as a witness; come tomorrow and you will be taken to the right place'.

The secretary of the court asked Bogoraz if she had brought a hearing aid for Marchenko. She replied that she did not know where the trial was to be held. The lawyer also did not know where it would open. Only when Kolosov had left the regional court was Fradkin able to tell Bogoraz where the trial was, then he went there with the judge.

The lawyer was handed a petition from relatives and friends of Marchenko requesting to be allowed into the room. However, he told Marchenko that only his wife had come to the trial. The examination took place in the Frunze Club, in a room for 25-30 people, filled with a 'special audience'.

#### The First Day

Marchenko declined to have a defence lawyer and repeated this petition more than once during the trial. He was always refused. The session lasted no more than three hours. None of Marchenko's relatives or friends was allowed into the court room that day.

#### The Second Day

The session started with the interrogation of witnesses. I. Smolensky (commander of the company in Chuna to which S. Nekipelov was attached - Chronicle 62) testified that Marchenko had tried to influence him with anti-Soviet ideas, had recommended that he listen to foreign radio broadcasts. Moreover, Marchenko had helped S. Nekipelov to spread hostile information among the soldiers.

Khazin (a worker at a timber factory in Chuna) testified that he had read From Tarusa to Chuna. V. Sidorov (a driver at the timber factory in Chuna) testified that he had borrowed The Gulag Archipelago from Marchenko, but that Marchenko had not tried to interest him in the book; he, Sidorov, had asked for it himself. (The Procurator's speech and the judgment state: 'Sidorov borrowed the book From Tarusa to Chuna from Marchenko'.)

S. Demina (a worker at the timber factory in Chuna) testified that Marchenko worked well, but refused to work on days off. Nazin-Rasputin (a dentist from Chuna) testified that Marchenko said that he received money from the publication of his books in the West. (Two months after he became acquainted with Marchenko in Chuna, Nazin was arrested. During the investigation he was asked to testify against Marchenko concerning their involvement in a group rape. Nazin refused. Then he was told to testify that Marchenko had asked him to put in gold teeth. Nazin again refused. Then he was given a three-year suspended sentence of 'obligatory work'. Marchenko wrote a statement about the blackmailing of Nazin. Shortly afterwards Nazin was summoned to the KGB, told about Marchenko's statement and told that he must testify that Marchenko had tried to recruit Nazin into an anti-Soviet organization. Nazin again refused, told Marchenko and wrote a statement about it.)

N. Mikhailova (a neighbour of Marchenko's in Karabanovo) said that Marchenko 'had a lot of money'; he had once told her that he could live without working - 'my friends will support me'.

Orlov (a gas boiler mechanic) testified that Marchenko was a good worker, but did not do extra work - he came and left on the dot. Once Marchenko had asked his fellow-shift-worker to do his shift for him, and then paid him for the shift. Marchenko told Orlov that he had paid him with money he had earned when he missed the shift.

S. Nekipelov (before coming into the room he was searched) briefly set out the contents of his statement to Pleshkov (Chronicle 62). Asked whether he had used Marchenko's library, he replied that, for instance, he had read Herzen.

L. Bogoraz (before coming into the room, her handbag was taken away) stated that she knew nothing about the present case - she had not been told what her husband was charged with.

Asked if she had read From Tarusa to Chuna, she refused

to give a reply, giving as her reason that she considered criminal investigations for ideological reasons dangerous to society, and that her husband was being tried for literature.

'We don't conduct trials about literature here. This is not a work of literature. It is libel.'

'The Quiet Don'<sup>10</sup> was once also considered libel.'

Several witnesses did not show up. The Procurator proposed that their evidence given during the pre-trial investigation should be read out. The court agreed, but their evidence was not in fact read out. There were only some references to it as the trial proceeded.

The court resolved that 'the following documents should be taken as read' and that they should not be read out in court, in view of their 'anti-Soviet contents' (a list of Marchenko's work written since 1975 follows):

- From Tarusa to Chuna;
  - 'Public reply to the newspaper Izvestiya' (a typed copy of the article received by the investigation from the editorial offices of Izvestiya);
  - 'A Third Way is Available'<sup>11</sup> (Chronicle 39);
  - Petition to the Supreme Soviet;
  - Appeal to Soviet citizens living abroad;
  - Appeal to the American people and the Congress;
  - Open letter to President Ford;
  - Letter to the president of the AFL-CIO, George Meany;
  - Handwritten notes in a notebook beginning with the words 'Will Soviet tanks enter Poland?'
  - Handwritten notes in a notebook on three pages beginning with the words 'Trials, demonstrations';
  - Open letter to Academician Kapitsa (Chronicle 56);
  - a selection of documents 'In the Name of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic' (part of the book From Tarusa to Chuna, mostly correspondence with official Soviet institutions;
  - an extract from Marchenko's work 'Live like everyone else' (published in the collection Memory, No. 3);<sup>12</sup>
  - Appeal to the American Russian-language radio stations.
- At Marchenko's insistence, his testimony at the trial of Yu. Orlov was read out: 'I am the co-author of "A Third Way is Available". I am not going to answer anything else, as it all has nothing to do with Orlov's case'.

A statement by Marchenko written after his arrest was read out in part. Marchenko asked for his statement written after he studied the case file to be read out. The lawyer objected; the statement was not read.

The Procurator asked Marchenko several questions: 'What country do you consider that you belong to as a writer?'

'I am Russian and therefore a Russian writer. Russian, not Soviet.'

'Which of your works have been published in Russia?'

'I submitted my book My Testimony to the journal Moskva in 1968. There it was typed out for the board of the Writers' Union, from where it was handed over to the Procurator's office.'

'Perhaps you are a member of the Writers' Union?'

'I would consider it a disgrace to join the organization which murdered Mandelstam, Babel and Artem Vesely.' (Judge: 'That did not happen'.)

'If you are a writer, you must be a member of the Writers' Union.'

'Gogol was not a member of your Writers' Union, but he was a writer.'

Then the lawyer wanted to ask some questions.

'Marchenko, stand up, I am talking to you.'

'I am not going to stand, as I have renounced your services.'

The lawyer asked the Court to grant Marchenko's petition [to renounce his services]. The Judge refused, referring to Marchenko's hearing aid, which he had been given before the trial. Marchenko said that as soon as he was arrested he had demanded a lawyer because of his deafness, and had put his demand in writing. Now a lawyer was being imposed on him even though he did not want him any more. The Procurator replied that there was no written demand to that effect in the case file.

#### The Third Day

In his speech the Procurator said that publishing houses and 'centres' abroad published emigre libels, but that it was 'better for them' if the writers they published lived in the Soviet Union. 'This trial goes far beyond the framework of a criminal trial... An anti-Soviet activist is on trial here... Marchenko was well aware that he had to remain in this country to do the most harm.'

The Procurator described Marchenko's works as 'anti-Soviet works written with the aim of harming and undermining Soviet authority... perverting the course of our country's historical development, calling on enemy states to intensify hostile actions against the USSR, and discrediting the Soviet way of life'. In 'Public reply...' the Procurator could discern Marchenko's wish to engage in 'anti-Soviet activities'; in his letter to Kapitsa he saw calls to terrorism (Marchenko wrote in this letter that unless people like Kapitsa supported the moral opposition, people like Kibalchich<sup>13</sup> would reappear - Chronicle), in the handwritten notes - the glorification of Fascism, a call to armed battle and approval of the 'invasion of Nazi hordes into the USSR'.

The Procurator brought in as aggravating circumstances a testimonial from school ('studied poorly, he could organize the other pupils to disrupt class'), a testimonial from the Karlag camp complex ('was put into the cooler nineteen times'), a testimonial written by the commandant in charge of him in exile, Korzun (Chronicle 43) ('he was rude and discourteous').

The Procurator demanded that Marchenko be ruled a particularly dangerous recidivist and that he should be sentenced to 10 years' deprivation of freedom followed by exile for five years.

When the lawyer was given the floor for the speech for the defence, Marchenko again stated that he refused to be defended. After deliberating for twenty minutes, the court asked for the opinions of the other parties. Neither the Procurator nor the lawyer had any objection. Marchenko stated that the lawyer was a communist and could not defend him, as Marchenko considered the CPSU to be a criminal organization. The court again deliberated for twenty minutes and refused the request.

'Criminality', said the lawyer, 'comes from the remains of the past. Why is not everyone a criminal? Because the remains of the past affect everyone differently; one person can overcome them, another cannot.'

The lawyer considered that the crime did indeed come under part 2 of article 70 of the Criminal Code. He asked that it should be taken into consideration that the remains of

the past had, with Marchenko, fallen on very fertile ground. The lawyer said that Marchenko's father had fought in the war, that the character of the accused should be taken into account - his good attitude to work (with reference to the testimonies of Džmina and Orlov), and that a minimum sentence under this article would help him to recognize his guilt earlier and to reform, as he would appreciate a display of humanitarianism.

Marchenko's final statement lasted for more than an hour. He said, among other things:

This is the sixth time that I have been in the dock, but this time I am pleased, as it is the first time that I am being tried not on fabricated charges, but for what I have actually done. They are there on the table - the books, articles, essays which I have written... Only a communist or Fascist regime defends itself in this way - not with ideas but with brute force. It could even be considered comical that such a strong state with such a strong mass propaganda machine, a state which owns all the press, radio and television, should fight against ideas with such methods as camps and prisons. It must mean that communist ideology has no other means of persuasion. What is this article 70 under which I am charged? This article is needed for the spiritual enslavement of each and every one of us, to turn everyone into slaves. Those of us who are brought to trial and imprisoned are not in fact convicts but prisoners of war - the civil war continues. Once, captives were eaten, then they were used as slaves, and now I can look forward to 'corrective labour'...

Then Marchenko went into detail about the works that incriminated him. He said that his aim was to show there was no libel in them. During the investigation he had been asked what his intention had been in co-authoring 'A Third Way is Available'. The intention was clear in the text of the article, where it was stated that the work expressed one point of view concerning Soviet foreign policy and the position of the country in the world. In his book *From Tarusa to Chuna* there was no libel either: 'Was I not arrested? Did I not go hungry? Was I not transported when on hunger-strike?'

Marchenko mentioned, along with the letter to Kapitsa, a letter to Bondarchuk which did not appear in the charges. He expressed his surprise that these letters should be answered by a court verdict. Did this mean that Kapitsa and Bondarchuk were unable to read and write? More likely, it meant they had nothing to reply, said Marchenko.

Referring to the incriminating draft notes, Marchenko remarked that in a normal society it was considered impolite even to look at other people's rough notes, but that here they took up a whole volume of the case. The investigator had told Marchenko that notes revealed the soul, as people wrote here exactly what they felt. 'It does happen', said Marchenko, 'that rough drafts are sometimes published. But only those of dead people. So it's possible to look at them, see the soul and quote them. Well, in one of the last volumes of Lenin's works there is a special section called "preparatory material". These notes were written at the end of Lenin's life when he was summing up his views. And what do we find in these notes? There is an entry, "Soviet power is shit". And on the factories in our towns we read a slogan by the same author - "Socialism is Soviet power plus the

electrification of the whole country". So, in Lenin's soul he thought "Socialism is shit plus the electrification of the whole country" (stunned amazement in the room, but the judge did not react).

Today, I am being tried here by people from an older generation than my own. Having defended Europe against Fascism, they returned to their homeland, covered with medals. And immediately they started to herd each other into camps. Where was their courage when the threat came from their own countrymen? Now it has been admitted that this was a mistake, but then people of that generation merely said in surprise, when they were arrested, 'But why?'... I am proud that I do not belong to that generation! In fact, I have a great advantage over those in this room - I am not hiding anything, I have said and am saying what I think.

If this state system thinks that the only way of refuting people like me is to keep us behind bars, then I have no objections. This means that I will be behind bars until the end of my days, I'll be your prisoner for ever...

The sentence was 10 years' strict-regime camp and five years' exile. In the judgment Marchenko's poor health and hearing were mentioned. Because of this, the court decided not to rule Marchenko a particularly dangerous recidivist. The 'special public' greeted the sentence with applause.

After the sentence was read, Marchenko cried out: 'I am not going to appeal!' His wife took a step towards him, but a plain-clothes man immediately grabbed her from behind by the elbow and pushed her back on her chair, saying: 'Sit down, sit down, Larissa Iosifovna'. Then three people held Bogoraz back, while Marchenko tried to tell her about clothes he needed. But he was kicked and shoved out of the room.

#### After the Trial

The day after the sentence, all the papers on the case were removed from Marchenko, together with his clothes (he was given prison clothes). He was shaved and put on prison rations (with a reduced norm) as a prisoner, although the verdict had not yet legally come into force.

L. Bogoraz was given permission for the visit with her husband allowed by law, but at the prison she was not allowed the visit: 'Quarantine', she was told. She was not allowed to leave anything for him: 'He's a prisoner - he's not allowed to receive things'. Bogoraz objected that not even the time allowed for appeal had yet expired, but they replied: 'What does that matter! He's still a convict'.

\* \* \*

On 6 September the Moscow Helsinki Group approved Document No. 183, 'The Trial of Aratoly Marchenko'.

On 8 September, T. Trusova (*Chronicle* 56) wrote a letter to Andropov:

The greatness of a human being does not depend on the views he holds, or on the character traits he manifests in daily life. Greatness is determined by the independence and courage of his way of thinking, by loyalty to friends, by fidelity to a chosen way of life. There are not many

people who are greater than the average of their contemporaries. We say of these people: he's a real person, or a great person. The more of these people there are in the history of a nation or at a given moment, the greater the moral and humanitarian potential of a country.

When I heard of the trial and the sentence I felt that I myself was placed in the same stocks in which you and the organization you direct place our country with trials like this.

I am ashamed to be the citizen of a country where people are tried for thoughts and words. I am ashamed to be at liberty when thoughts and words are doomed to remain behind barbed wire.

Surely you realize that it is you and your trials which give birth to dissidents?

On 12 September, V. Grinev (Chronicle 56) wrote a letter to Andropov:

What Marchenko said and wrote is what a lot of people think in our country. Not everyone has the courage to express it publicly enough. Any honourable person who is able to think for himself can only, in the conditions of our society, admire Marchenko and envy his fate.

\* \* \*

On 25 September, although the sentence had not yet legally come into force, Marchenko was dispatched on the journey to camp. He was sent to Perm Camp 35. About one month later he was sent back to Vladimir Prison.

In prison, Marchenko had a meeting with the Regional Procurator, Obratsov, who admitted that the prison authorities had behaved illegally.

\* \* \*

On 7 October, A. Sakharov wrote a letter, 'Save Anatoly Marchenko':

Of all the cruelties and injustices which life throws at us, repeat sentences for prisoners of conscience are dreadful. The practice adopted by the Soviet judiciary of giving particularly severe sentences for repeat convictions frequently leads to bias, and even in ordinary criminal cases turns people into perpetual prisoners. The application of this system to people on trial for their beliefs, for non-violent actions, and more often than not, only for inner independence and for being true to themselves, is monstrous. In the last few years Tikhy, Lukyanenko, Stus, Petkus, Niklus, Gajauskas, Airikyan and others have been given repeat sentences. And now it's the turn of Anatoly Marchenko, writer and worker, our friend Tolya. A sixth sentence - after eleven years' deprivation of freedom following four of the previous sentences - of ten years' imprisonment and five years of exile. The flimsy charges against him were participation in collective human rights appeals, rough drafts from notebooks, a polemical article five years old about the problems of detente, and an autobiographical book, From Tarusa to Chuna. And also - an open letter to Academician PIER Leonidovich Kapitsa - a bitter and just reproach to the top levels of the Soviet intelligentsia, of which Kapitsa is a representative, and at the same time a call to stand up straight, to throw off pernicious and shameful passivity, to throw off trivial egoism. Kapitsa did not react in any way to

the letter. The KGB reacted. Maybe now, Kapitsa and his colleagues will finally do something for Tolya.

Marchenko's sentence is undisguised vengeance, an open reprisal for remarkable books about the contemporary Gulag (about which he was one of the first to write), for steadfastness, honesty and independence of mind and character. Particular hatred was shown when he was deprived of the meeting with close relatives, laid down by law, after the trial - with his wife and son. It is to be feared that the administration in camp will also find pretexts for not allowing meetings.

The years will pass, and our country will be proud of Anatoly Marchenko. Today he is on the brink of destruction - he is being killed spiritually and physically.

He must be saved today!

\* \* \*

At the beginning of November L. Bogoraz was allowed a two-hour meeting with her husband - through a double pane of glass. In the middle of November Marchenko's case came up for appeal at the RSFSR Supreme Court (at L. Bogoraz's request the lawyer Fradkin had written an appeal). The sentence remained unaltered (the appeal was heard without a lawyer, as Bogoraz had not been able to engage one).

On 4 December L. Bogoraz was again allowed a two-hour meeting with her husband. On 5 December Marchenko was transported to camp. On 17 December he arrived again at Perm Camp No. 35 (see 'In the Prisons and Camps').

#### THE TRIAL OF ROGINSKY

In April Arseny Roginsky (Chronicle 53) was called to the Leningrad OVIR. He was told that a letter had arrived from Israel whose authors demanded that Roginsky's request to emigrate be granted, but that at OVIR they did not have an application from him. If he wished to leave he should provide the required documents as soon as possible (the same announcement was made at the Leningrad OVIR to G. Davydov - Chronicle 56, N. Lesnichenko - Chronicle 56 and S. Dedyulin - Chronicle 61). Roginsky did not apply to emigrate.

\* \* \*

In June the director of the manuscript department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library, I.N. Kurbatova, speaking at a Party meeting, said that one of the documents kept in her department had been published in an 'anti-Soviet publication abroad'. According to Kurbatova Roginsky had at one time seen this document, and although she could not prove that it was he who had made its publication possible, he should nevertheless have his reader's ticket withdrawn. After this, Roginsky was deprived of the right to use the library. The order to this effect gave as the reason 'forgery of references' and publication of a document in a 'journal abroad'. At the beginning of August, Roginsky was summoned for questioning. As at the time he was out of town he did not receive the summons.

On 12 August Roginsky was arrested at a cottage in Ust-Narva. Searches were carried out at the cottage and at his Leningrad flat. A typewriter and several tamizdat<sup>14</sup> books

were among the items confiscated.

Roginsky's wife, Natalya Frumkina, requested the Procurator of Leningrad's Oktyabrsky district to lighten the restrictions on his freedom and to let her husband out on bail. The Procurator replied: 'Are we to start letting all those swine who engage in anti-Soviet activity out on bail?' Frumkina filed a formal complaint about him.

\* \* \*

From 25 November to 4 December the Oktyabrsky District Court in Leningrad, presided over by court president Yu.V. Baryshev, heard the case against Arseny Borisovich Roginsky (born 1946), charged under Part 2 of Article 196 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (systematic 'forgery...of a document giving certain rights') and Part 3 of Article 196 ('use of a document known to be false'). The prosecutor was Procurator I.V. Gorsky, the defence lawyer - I.N. Denisov.

#### The First Day (25 November)

The small room was filled with relatives and friends of the accused. There were only two 'officials' sitting in opposite corners of the room. Roginsky was charged with having, during 1974-8, forged - on seven applications for access to various archives - the signatures of the director of the editorial department of the journal Neva, S.A. Lurie, the chief editorial secretary of the same journal, V.N. Sashonko and (on five applications) the Dean of the Historical Faculty of Saratov University, G.A. Gerasimenko; and also of having, during the years 1971-8, used these seven applications 'known to be false' and three similar applications 'known to be false' (which stated that Roginsky was a research assistant in the Department of USSR History). The indictment also stated that letters from T.P. Semenov and V.O. Levitsky to L.G. Deich, which Roginsky had seen in the archives (and which, according to the record, only Roginsky had seen!) were published in the historical collection Memory, published in New York in 1978 (Chronicles 42, 51, 52).<sup>15</sup> The indictment stated that during a search in February 1977 (Chronicle 45) a typed text was confiscated from Roginsky which was a first draft of the introductory article to the collection Memory.

Roginsky stated that he pleaded not guilty, but that he refused to answer specific questions about the case, and that he also did not want to give his reasons for his refusal. The only exception he made was to the question whether it was his signature on two 'record sheets' from the 'Plekhanov Museum' archive attached to the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library. Roginsky explained this deviation from his chosen line of defence by saying: 'The archive in question is too close to my heart to allow me in any way to cast a shadow of suspicion of forgery on its staff'.

That day six witnesses were questioned: V.N. Sashonko; the director of archives of the All-Union Geographical Society, T.D. Matveyev; the chief librarian of the manuscript department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library, L.I. Buchina; the director of the special department of the Public Library, V.A. Feigin; the academic secretary of the Geographical Society, L.I. Senchura; and doctor of historical science Professor V.V. Pugachëv (formerly professor at Saratov University).<sup>16</sup>

Senchura testified that he happened to be in the library

and saw by chance the order banning Roginsky from the library for forging references and for publishing material from the manuscript department in a foreign publication. The order was fixed to the doors; he remembered it clearly. When he returned to the Geographical Society from the library, he remembered that Roginsky was a reader of the Geographical Society. Looking at his records, Senchura saw that Roginsky was, on one hand, a post-graduate literature student, and, on the other, a research assistant in the historical faculty. Senchura sent an inquiry to Saratov University and received the reply that the reference Roginsky had produced was false. Following this, Senchura initiated a case against Roginsky at the Procurator's Office, on behalf of the Geographical Society.

Roginsky Are you a reader of the manuscript department of the Public Library?

Senchura No, but two employees of the library are executive members of the Geographical Society. I was looking for them in the library when I walked through the manuscript department and read the order.

Roginsky Where is it possible to walk through the manuscript department? On what doors was the order banning me from the library fixed?

Senchura I don't remember what door it was on - maybe I read it on some other doors...I don't know how you can walk through the manuscript department - maybe I didn't walk through it...

Roginsky What building did you read the order in? In the Plekhanov Museum or on Sadovaya Street [i.e. in the main library]?

Senchura I don't remember.

Roginsky The order was only on one door - on the inside of the doors leading into the manuscript department, and you said that you might not have gone through that department. How then did you see the order?

Pugachëv testified that he had known Roginsky since 1965 as a gifted historian. He had been Roginsky's supervisor, and Roginsky had presented a work outline and everything else needed to achieve the status of a researcher of documents. With regard to the reference for access to the archives granted in 1977, with his signature on it, Pugachëv declared: 'During the pre-trial investigation I testified...that the signature on the application was not mine. I now recall that I did give an instruction to issue the reference for Roginsky. The signature gives my name, but it is impossible to tell whether it was written by me, as I have very shaky handwriting; even if the signature is not mine it was written with my knowledge and approval'.

#### The Second Day (26 November)

Two witnesses were questioned on this day: the deputy editor of the book series 'Literary Monuments', doctor of humanities B.F. Egorov, and senior research worker at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Russian Literature ('Pushkin House'), doctor of philology Ya.S. Lurie.

Egorov testified that even in his first year Roginsky had given the impression of being a capable scholar with a future. He took an active part in organizing student project work and inter-college student conferences, published his

work in student collections, and edited these collections. Egorov said that he was familiar with Roginsky's work since university; he considered Roginsky to be a born scholar, whose talents, combined with an enormous capacity for work, should bear important fruit. In answer to a question from the defence lawyer, Egorov said that access to archives was determined by rules - there were cases when, regardless of a reference, the directors of the archive would turn down a researcher.

Ya.S. Lurie rated Roginsky's work very highly - his scholarly talents, his archival knowledge and his capacity for work. 'When two years ago I applied...to publish the works of the remarkable historian M.D. Priselkov, I decided to bring Roginsky in on it. So that he could do this, I made him my literary secretary, and allocated a regular wage for him, as he never received fees for his work published in various scholarly publications. Roginsky's ability to work with archival material was particularly important for me, and this ability certainly proved itself. Roginsky was responsible for a remarkable find - he discovered a previously unpublished work by Priselkov'. In reply to a question from the lawyer, Ya.S. Lurie said: 'Access to the archive is granted by the administration of the archive or the manuscript department after an application has been presented. It can happen very easily that the administration does not give permission, even though a reference has been given'.

The Procurator lodged a request: 'As it has not been proven who wrote the signatures and the accused refuses to help the court, I should like to apply for a further expert examination'.

The defence objected: 'The expert testing showed that on the two references from Neva the signatures of Sashonko and S.A. Lurie were forged by Roginsky. I think that this conclusion can be used and there is no need for a second test. In connection with the five forms from Saratov University from Gerasimenko, the experts' test established that...the handwritten material was not sufficient to establish definitely that it was Roginsky who forged the signature. In connection with three references it has been definitely proved that they were not forged by Roginsky. I do not therefore see any basis for another test'.

After a two-hour break, the Judge stated that the Procurator's request would be granted.

#### The Third Day (1 December)

Two witnesses were questioned on this day: S.A. Lurie and G.A. Gerasimenko. S.A. Lurie said that he could not remember if he had given Roginsky a form on behalf of the journal Neva. 'I do not think that Roginsky forged my signature. If he had needed my signature I would have signed his reference for the archive'. In reply to a question from Roginsky, S.A. Lurie said that you could go into his department and ask for a reference without a preliminary discussion with the journal's management.

Gerasimenko, replying to the Judge's question as to whether he knew the researcher Roginsky, said: 'Quite honestly, the dean does not give research assistants permits for archives. It sometimes happens in the faculty that the only person to know a research assistant is his supervisor'. Replying to the Procurator's question about whether he had

been satisfied with Pugachëv, Gerasimenko said: 'As a scholar, yes, but there was some criticism about him as an administrator'. In reply to a defence question as to whether he knew that Pugachëv had had Roginsky's personal documents, he said: 'Usually a research assistant is officially registered in the post-graduate office, but his papers can be with the professor for a certain length of time'.

A list of items seen by Roginsky in the archives was read out in court.

Judge Do you agree that you worked on these documents? Roginsky The very fact that the archives can send to crime investigators a list of documents used by me in my scholarly research strikes me as monstrous. I refuse to comment on this list.

Judge Are there documents here which you studied in the Plekhanov Museum?

Roginsky I have already mentioned that I have a special feeling for the Plekhanov Museum. Therefore I answer yes to your question: I saw the documents named in the Plekhanov Museum.

#### The Fourth Day (3 December)

The court heard the conclusions of the second set of tests by experts: 'All seven reference forms are signed in Roginsky's hand; on one of the forms the date too is written in Roginsky's hand'. To the suggestion that he should study the conclusions of the expert examination, Roginsky answered: 'As someone who has had a lot to do with manuscripts I have always been very sceptical about handwriting experts. The outcome of the three different tests in this case confirm me in this opinion'.

The defence applied for a break in the hearing, so that he could study the new documents (they had been given to him ten minutes previously, on the way in to the courtroom). The court dismissed his petition. The Judge announced that four international telegrams had arrived, and, without reading them, he filed them with the case.

In response to a request by the defence, the court filed with the case materials a 'Memorandum-Petition' from evening school No. 154 of the Moscow district of Leningrad. This concerned Roginsky's registration as a research assistant at Saratov University, his thesis plan, certificates about his contract to work as a secretary for N.G. Dolinina and Ya.S. Lurie, a certificate awarding Roginsky the medal for the best student work in 1969, the newspaper Izvestiya of 17 April 1967 with the article "Walk with me", in which Roginsky is referred to as a researcher on problems of Russian history, and letters from Yu. Davydov and N. Eidelman mentioning Roginsky as a promising scholar.

The Procurator, in his speech, repeated all the points in the indictment and asked for Roginsky to be sentenced to four years in ordinary-regime camp. From the defence lawyer's speech:

Comrades! Today we are examining a case which, I am sure, is not going to be relegated to the shelves to gather dust; it will be consulted and studied frequently and for a long time yet; but then when it is finally relegated to the archives, one day a young historian (with a gesture towards the accused) will look at it and many things in



the case will seem incomprehensible to him.

I believe that many aspects of this case will surprise him in the way the circumstances of the case and the validity of the evidence have been assessed.

The accused is a young man who has worked and brought benefit to society. What business is it of ours, or of the court's, where these or those facts are published? I think that we should proceed from the substance of the case, not from where these documents were published, as that should not determine our attitude to the case.

I would like to state right away that the case against Roginsky cannot come under article 196, because according to article 196, a citizen is not answerable for the forgery of any document, but only of a document which grants certain rights...

The lawyer, referring to the rules governing work in the archives and to the evidence of the witnesses, explained that a reference, by itself, does not give the right to work in the archives.

Moreover - what benefit does this document, this 'reference', provide? Even a pass only grants the right of entry to the archive to work. This is all the more reason why the reference cannot be considered a document which gives an advantage, privilege or preference. A reference grants nothing, it does not grant the right to work with documents or to study them. And under no circumstance does it provide material advantages.

This is why I believe that forgery of this document, (a 'reference'), signing it on behalf of someone else, does not constitute a criminal offence. What is it then? In all the rules governing the archive it is stated that any infringement of these rules - and I consider that in this case the rules were infringed - will be punished by the administration, and the researcher will be banned from the archive.

The order from the State Public Library confirms this, as on the basis of that, Roginsky was deprived of the right to enter the manuscript department of the library. This was the punishment when the signatures on the reference were seen as false - for a year the person concerned was deprived of his right to work in the archive.

I could stop here and not touch on the question of how far forgery has been proved. Because if this document is not among those the forgery of which is punishable by law, the forgery of this document bears no criminal liability. We could therefore ask straight away for the accused to be acquitted. But I should like to consider whether the separate incidents have been proven.

If we consider what has been proven, then, on the basis of the materials of the case with which I am familiar, there were not 17 incidents of crime. In the case file there are seven incidents of forgery, and ten of showing false documents. Roginsky might not have known that they were forgeries. Regarding these seven incidents, 'finding a document and having it published' does not come under article 196, and the three other incidents cannot under any circumstances be proven as the 'showing of documents known to be false'. What is the basis for considering that it has been proven that Roginsky knowingly showed false documents?

Usually in judicial practice under article 196 (forgery

of medical certificates, orders, diplomas) the forger does not in most cases have the right to the privilege and preference these documents confer. But Roginsky does have all the rights to use the archives. He is a man who, 'as an enthusiast', tries to get into archives to do research - there is nothing reprehensible here. Moreover, he really is connected with Saratov University.

We should be economical not only in economics; we must appreciate talented people. Maybe this person who is at present on trial will be the one to stumble on the path to explaining the mysteries of our past, present and future.

I ask the court for an acquittal.

#### The Fifth Day (4 December)

From Roginsky's final plea:

In my final plea I consider it essential to refer to several episodes which, although they have been mentioned during the trial, have, from my point of view, been insufficiently dealt with, just on occasion. Moreover, unless these are clearly understood it is highly unlikely that an objective or complete assessment of my 'criminal case' can be made.

I am not now going to deal with formal points such as whether the actions for which I am accused come under this or that article of the Criminal Code - here I am in complete agreement with my lawyer. Similarly, I think it unnecessary to explain my motives for not giving evidence during the investigation and the trial - explanations of this nature would inevitably lead me to speculate both about the reasons for my arrest and about why I was charged under article 196 and not another article, and about many other things connected with the way this trial was initiated. I am likewise not going to object to the Procurator's speech for the prosecution; the logic of his thinking, the system of argument, remind me of the logic of accusation in the years when he was training as a jurist, in other words in those years when the ideas of the then Procurator-General of the USSR, Vyshinsky, prevailed in Soviet legal practice. All this would take us far away from much more important, and perhaps, for many, far less obvious problems.

These questions lie at the heart of the case under investigation, and in a narrow sense can be reduced to the relationship between the researcher and the archive, to the question of how the researcher gains access to the archive and what his conditions of work there are.

First - a warning. For me an archive (of course I am referring only to literary and historical archives) is a natural extension of a library, and archival, unpublished, sources are in no fundamental way different from published sources; they can be seen as fortuitously unpublished, or as unpublished for the time being. I feel that it is essential to explain this now, because I have fairly frequently met people not connected with historical research, who are sincerely convinced that archives must contain either highly secret material or documents which could deprave someone or even something. And that this is why only selected people are allowed into archives, people who are 'especially trusted', and that this is as

it should be.

This view of archives is, of course, quite wrong. Just as wrong as the notorious attempt to categorize documents as more important or less important, more valuable or less valuable. Every document is important, every document is valuable as a witness to our past.

Every serious researcher into the Russian past is faced with the need to use archives. And not necessarily a professional, but often an amateur, who might need unpublished documents either for his own research or, for instance, to assist him when writing his memoirs. Let us suppose that someone living in a city wants to find out about the history of his house. He looks at published material and then wants to look up more detail in the archive. But how does he gain access to it? In other words, how do they, both the professional and the amateur, get access to such documents?

The system is more or less the same for all libraries. I will therefore discuss the 'Rules for readers in manuscript and manuscript book departments of public libraries' which are attached to the case file. In addition to a reader's ticket for the library you need, in order to gain the right to work in the department, an 'application from a research institute or organization, on whose staff the researcher is, or on whose behalf he is carrying out a task, with the theme of work stated'. This means that unless you are on the staff of some research or higher education institute, and unless these institutions have given you some task (task is a strange term to use in connection with research institutions), access to the archive is closed.

The vast majority of historians and literary graduates with higher specialist education fall, by design, into the category of those who do not have the right of access. What are they to do - people who work in schools, technical schools, excursion offices, local libraries, technical publishing houses? Or, more precisely, those among them who wish to extend their studies beyond higher education, if, for their research, they need to study archive documents? There are two solutions: either to forget immediately about this need (that, unfortunately, is what many people are forced to do) or to try to 'cadge' (probably the most accurate expression) an application for access to the archive from organizations empowered to grant such applications.

But these organizations as a rule refuse. 'Research institutes' refuse because your theme does not fit in with the plans they have already adopted, and also because they would have to make the request on behalf of an unknown or little-known person who has no relationship with that institute. Your own college of higher education where you studied refuses because you already have no formal links with it; even if they remember you there and understand your problem, there is no point in thinking you'll get an application from them. There are, of course, editorial offices. But in specialist, academic editorial offices the same problems obtain as with 'research institutes'. And most likely, your theme would not be of interest to a popular publishing house: for them it will probably be either irrelevant or too academic. And it is rare that you will be lucky enough to meet among the officials of these editorial offices a person like, for instance, the late department chief of Neva, V.N. Krivtsov (his memory is dear to me), in other words, a man whose interest in

history is wide and objective, not restricted to the plans of his journal, and who perhaps would even be glad to help you somehow at his own risk. But this would be a stroke of luck: usually you would be told that the journal has all the material it needs for a long time to come (editorial offices do use phrases like this). And having come full circle, having gone through a whole series of unpleasant reactions, you are again faced with the same choice: either to drop the idea of archival work and make do with published sources, or to drop your subject and think up a different one more compatible with the plans of the 'research institute', or to resort to a more devious route to complete the task you have set yourself. For instance, to try to get research request on a subject some editor is interested in and really study this subject, hoping at the same time to come across in the archive at least some of the material you need for your own work. Of course, this method will slow down your own research considerably, but there is still a chance that you might be able to finish it sooner or later. But supposing this more devious route is no use; supposing you are not able to establish relations with 'research institutes', journals or editors? You are then up against a blank wall.

I have been talking about people like myself - people who have had higher education in the humanities and who have perhaps had one or two small articles published when they were students. They are nevertheless successful sometimes in fulfilling their wish to get into the archive. But how about the person who has no specialist education, or, even worse, who has no qualification at all? He has been studying Russian history on his own, and perhaps knows the subject as well as the specialists. He doesn't need archive material to write a thesis or an article in a learned journal, but he 'just needs it' - to clarify a point for himself. His chances of getting into the archive are nil.

But let us assume that you have got your application, and permission to work in the archive. Does this mean that now you will be able to study all the documents you need? Unfortunately, no. The Rules I have already mentioned state: 'Manuscripts are not issued if they do not bear a relation to the subject of research'. In practice this means: each of the requests you submit is scrutinized by a member of the archive management, who decides, either on the basis of some instruction you know nothing about, or off his own bat, whether or not to issue you with the document requested. In my experience in archives there must have been hundreds of occasions when I have been refused material.

There is little point in discussing at the present hearing why the need arose for the artificial, often insuperable, barrier created between the researcher and the documents, why this secrecy (this is the only word for it) surrounding documents of Russian history; but one thing, it seems to me, is obvious: as a result of the system of 'applications', the system of 'special holdings' and 'restricted use', the system whereby an archive administrator can decide quite arbitrarily what to issue to the researcher and what to withhold - as a result of all this, research work based on unpublished documents is restricted, as is the number of themes discussed, and people who want to study independently of any plans laid down by any institution are prevented from doing research.

In the final analysis, this whole system of measures restricting access to primary sources, to genuine historical information, prepares the ground for an interpretation of the Russian historical process which is unreliable or even wilfully distorted. This system needs to be changed.

Of course, I am not advocating that every passer-by should be allowed into the archives, or that manuscripts should be issued to a person who does not have the skills necessary to work in them. But this obstacle is easily overcome.

An application could be replaced by a personal interview, where it would be easy to establish the competence of the aspiring archive researcher.

The ability to work with manuscripts is not difficult to acquire - special courses could be arranged by the archives themselves. By the way, 60 per cent of the professional researchers I have met in archives would find such courses useful.

But what must definitely be removed is any restriction whatsoever on the issue of material (except, of course, in exceptional cases which there is no need to enumerate here).

To get back to the present criminal hearing - only changes of this kind would create the conditions where there would be no need for deviousness, or humiliating requests for applications for access to the archives, or attempts to gain access with forged applications. The very possibility of initiating charges such as the ones against me would then disappear completely.

I think that for this last reason the present trial itself should bring to the attention of the Chief Archive Administration, the Ministry of Culture and the USSR Academy of Sciences, under which most of the archives and manuscript departments of the libraries come, the need to revise several points in the rules laid down by manuscript archives for readers. I respectfully request the court to make the necessary representation.

Finally, a last point. The Public Library order gave, as one of the reasons for withdrawing my reader's ticket, the publication - without the knowledge of the manuscript department - of several letters from the Plekhanov Museum in a 'foreign publication'. I do not remember a case, and there has probably never been one, of similar steps being taken against an author for unsanctioned publication in a Soviet journal. But such is the logic of the directors of the Public Library.

I met with the same logic during the investigation. Although it would seem that for charges under article 196 of the Criminal Code the question of whether publication was in a Soviet or a foreign journal should be irrelevant (though perhaps also interesting), it was clear that for the investigation the fact of publication abroad held special significance. And yet again I have met with this same logic in court, where witness Senchura said straight out that the significance of a document depends on where it is published.

It is enough to say that in the charges presented to me on 10 November, when the case was closed, the purpose of my work in the archives was described as - and I quote - 'the publication of archival documents in foreign journals', and only after I commented on this was the phrase 'and Soviet' inserted, which insertion then appeared in the indictment. But when some of the material from my case file was handed over to the KGB for - and

I quote - 'examination and the taking of relevant measures' (material including the collection Memory published in New York, which was given for investigation to the State Censorship organization, notebooks with jotted entries, and several books), the statement retained the previous formula - only 'foreign publications'. As we know, a special team of experts tried to establish that I did contribute to Memory, and during the interrogations this question seemed to be the central one.

Neither here nor anywhere else am I going to discuss the question of whether I had anything to do with the publication of any historical documents abroad. Not because there is anything I wish to hide. Merely, for me, publication in Soviet journals is not incompatible with publication abroad. A document, if accurately reproduced and objectively commented on, remains a document, regardless of where and by whom it was published, because there is only one Russian culture and the existing historical and literary archives are the property of that culture. And only the free study of these archives and their free publication can help us to learn the truth about our past.

This is how I feel about the basic questions raised by this trial. And finally, I should like to express my feeling of profound embarrassment before the witnesses who have appeared in this trial, my highly respected colleagues, the scholars V.V. Pugachyov, Ya.S. Lurie, B.F. Egorov, L.I. Buchina, T.P. Matveyeva and S.A. Lurie.

I am also very sorry for all the pain caused in connection with this hearing to a person I know personally only slightly, but whom I greatly respect, the former head of the manuscript department of the Public Library, I.N. Kurbatova, to whom I express, and I ask you to pass on, my deepest sympathy.

Then, my gratitude to friends and relatives. These days have been holidays for me as I have seen the faces - not of idle people coming to a spectacle - but of a group of people who are truly close to me.

I ask you to forgive me for my perhaps not entirely lucid speech, but the conditions in which I have been living recently - nine people in a cell of eight square metres - are not conducive to concentrated thought. Please don't worry about me. We will be able to write letters to each other soon. And, well, time flies...

The Court found Roginsky guilty on all charges and sentenced him to four years in ordinary-regime camp. At the end of December, the Leningrad City Court heard his appeal and left the sentence unchanged.

THE TRIAL OF KUVAKIN

On 22 and 23 December the Moscow City Court, presided over by deputy court chairman V.G. Romanov (he also tried T. Velikanova - Chronicle 58), heard the case against Vsevolod Dmitrievich Kuvakin (b. 1942; a lawyer by training; arrested on 14 April - Chronicle 62), who was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Procurator Golovin (he also prosecuted Grivnina and Serebrov - see above), and the defence lawyer was V.Ya. Shveisky (he also defended A. Amalrik - Chronicle 17, V. Bukovsky - Chronicle 23, A. Myasnikov - Chronicle 61, and T. Osipova - Chronicle 62).

The trial was held in the People's Court of the Lyublino district of Moscow, where the trials of Yu. Orlov (Chronicle 50), T. Velikanova and V. Bakhmin (Chronicle 58), Yu. Grimm (Chronicle 58), T. Osipova and I. Grivnina were also held. The court building was cordoned off so that nobody was even allowed to go into the block of flats in front of the court. Nobody was allowed into the court building on any other business, even if they showed a summons or written confirmation of an appointment.

The wife of the defendant, Anna Kuvakina, was in court on the first day, together with the 'official' keeping her under observation (Kuvakina was searched as she came into the courtroom). There was no one else, not even a 'special public', in the room. But even so, Kuvakin's friends were not allowed in: 'No room!'

A plain-clothes man, who said that he was assisting the policeman, checked, in his presence, the papers of V. Shepel'ev (Chronicles 61, 62), A. Smirnov (Chronicles 61, 62), M. Solov'ov (Chronicles 56, 50) and S. Bel'ov (Chronicles 51, 54).

Gennady Gureyev refused to show his papers until the policeman showed his identity card. After some disturbance, Gureyev was held and given 15 days for 'insubordination'.

Yu. Denisov (Chronicle 62) was driven to the court by KGB officials in a black Volga. According to him, he had not received a summons to appear as a witness, and when he was picked up from his house in the morning he did not know where he was being taken.

When A. Gotovtsev (Chronicle 62) presented his summons to appear as a witness at the 'cordon', the KGB officials found uncertified corrections made by hand and refused to let him through. Gotovtsev went home. In Nogin Square a 'plain-clothes man' stopped him and explained that there had been a misunderstanding, and brought him back to the court in his car. Kuvakin was guarded in the courtroom by a captain and a lieutenant of the KGB.

\* \* \*

Kuvakin presented three requests:

- that the case be remitted for further examination as the investigation had not been completed; there had been no inquiry into the reasons for and the motives behind the incriminating acts; he had already, on 14 October, requested that letters sent by him to the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1976-7 be added to the case file;

- that the pamphlet USSR: 100 Questions and Answers, the journal Our Contemporary, No. 9, 1979, and the basic documents of certain international organizations be included in the case file, as he had quoted excerpts from these works

in the incriminating papers;

- that his notebook and diary be withdrawn from the criminal case as they had no connection with the case being heard, and as he needed them.

The lawyer supported all the requests, the prosecutor objected. The court rejected the first two requests and postponed acting on the third until the verdict was considered.

\* \* \*

Kuvakin faced the following charges:

1. In the summer of 1980 he received from Ivan Danilyuk (Chronicles 45, 47, 56), who lives in Ryazan, an 'Appeal to the Secretary-General of the UN', written by Danilyuk, which contained 'attacks aimed at discrediting the Communist Party and Soviet democracy'. Several copies were confiscated during the search on 2 April at Kuvakin's flat (Chronicle 62), one was in the briefcase 'voluntarily handed in' by M. Bazhenova (Chronicle 62), and one was confiscated during the search at Yu. Denisov's flat.

2. In the autumn of 1980 Kuvakin received from I. Danilyuk an abbreviated version of the same appeal, made some corrections to it, duplicated it and showed it to V. Shepel'ev, M. Ikonnikov (Chronicle 62) and Yu. Denisov. Kuvakin gave one copy to the French journalist A. Biriukoff. One copy was confiscated during the search in Kuvakin's flat, and one was in the briefcase handed in by Bazhenova.

3. At the end of 1980 Kuvakin produced an 'Appeal to the Citizens of the Soviet Union' containing 'calls for mass demonstrations and strikes'. Based on this document, Kuvakin produced on 13 December a document starting with the words 'As we well know', 'containing slanderous fabrications about the Soviet way of life'. Both documents were found in the briefcase handed in by Bazhenova.

4. In December 1980 Kuvakin received from an unidentified source the journal Left Turn and in it a 'Programme for the economic struggle of the working class', containing 'calls to mass demonstrations and strikes', and duplicated it. One copy was found during the search at Denisov's flat, and one in a package addressed to V. Fainberg (Chronicle 62) found in the briefcase handed in by Bazhenova.

5. In June 1980 Kuvakin gave the Belgian citizen Beni copies of three documents received from V. Novodvorskaya (Chronicle 51), which were signed with the pseudonym 'Alla Podmoskovnaya' ('A Garland of Liars', 'Some Music and Dances', 'If all little sheep only knew what the grey wolf is really like'). Kuvakin put one copy of each of these documents in the package addressed to Fainberg.

6. Kuvakin helped to prepare a document beginning with the words '10 March 1980', containing 'slanderous fabrications about the allegedly planned murder of M. Morozov'. Kuvakin signed it and duplicated it. One copy of this document was found during the search at L. Vul's flat (Chronicle 61), another in the package addressed to Fainberg.

7. Kuvakin intended to send to Fainberg an envelope which contained two copies of the document 'Let them always persecute us'. The envelope indicated that it was addressed to the Possev publishers and that the sender was S. Belov.

8. Kuvakin intended to send Fainberg copies he had made of the documents 'Who is happy in Russia', 'The Trojan Horse Revisited', '...Sibirin'.

9. All the documents Kuvakin put in a package with Fainberg's address. Kuvakin asked Alexander Gotovtsev to send the parcel, as Gotovtsev had said he could do this.

10. In March 1981 Kuvakin prepared and duplicated a 'Declaration for the press' (Chronicle 62) in which 'he does not conceal that all his efforts were directed to harm and undermine Soviet power'. He gave this declaration to the American journalist Austin. It was published in the journal Possev and broadcast by Radio Liberty.

According to the indictment Denisov had testified that Kuvakin had shown him the full and shorted versions of the 'Appeal to the Secretary-General of the UN' and the 'Declaration for the press'; and Kuvakin had given the 'Declaration for the press' to Austin in his presence.

Ikonnikov had testified that Kuvakin had shown him, V. Shepel'ev and Denisov the shortened version of the 'Appeal to the Secretary-General of the UN'; Kuvakin had shown him the 'Declaration for the press' and had given the 'Declaration' to Austin in his presence. And Gotovtsev had testified that Kuvakin had given him the package to send to Fainberg.

\* \* \*

Kuvakin pleaded not guilty. To the different points in the charges he testified the following:

Charge 1. 'In about July-August last year Ivan Danilyuk brought me the text of the "Appeal" he had written. When I read it, I told Danilyuk that the "Appeal" contained crude attacks on Soviet reality with which I did not agree. I therefore refused to sign it and advised Danilyuk to revise it. Danilyuk nonetheless left several copies with me.'

Procurator Why did you want to send it to Fainberg?  
Kuvakin Simply for him to see it.

Charge 2. 'After some time Danilyuk brought a different version of the "Appeal" - the one which during the pre-trial investigation came to be called the "Shortened version". This time the "Appeal" was restrained, it contained nothing criminal. I agreed with its contents, made three minor corrections, retyped it and signed it.'

Charge 3. 'At the end of last year I wished to write this document. I wrote it in one evening, then in the morning I realized that the "Appeal" was too strongly-worded and emotional. Later I wrote an article based on it, beginning with the words "As we well know". The idea for this article came from reading the essay "Proprietorial Spirit" from the journal Our Contemporary (I asked for this journal to be included in the case file). I am charged with calling for mass demonstrations and strikes. In my article I was also guided by the international covenants and the pamphlet USSR: 100 Questions and Answers. It is stated in the covenants that all workers have the right to strike. The Soviet Union has signed these covenants. In the pamphlet the answer to the question "Why are strikes forbidden in the USSR?" is that strikes are not forbidden, but that in the Soviet Union there is no reason for situations to arise to force workers to strike. I believe, and the author of the essay "Proprietorial Spirit" supports my view, that these grounds do exist. These were the views expressed in my article, and in my opinion there is nothing criminal in them.'

Charge 4. 'The "Programme for economic struggle" was published in the journal Left Turn and I simply copied it out.'

Procurator Why did you type more than one copy?

Kuvakin With everything I type, sometimes even letters, I make more than one copy. It's a habit.

Judge How did one copy turn up in Denisov's flat?

Kuvakin By chance. There was probably a copy in the Journal Left Turn which I gave Denisov to read.

Procurator Why did you decide to send it to Fainberg?

Kuvakin I know that he is interested in social problems.

Charge 5. 'I received these documents from Novodvorskaya as long ago as autumn 1979 and they had just been lying around from then until autumn 1980. (They were confiscated during the search at Kuvakin's flat on 19 September 1980 - Chronicle). During the pre-trial investigation my testimony was not absolutely accurate. I remembered that I could not possibly have given Beni copies of these documents. Beni left the Soviet Union in July 1980, and I only made copies of these essays last autumn; moreover, the Lvov customs investigation certificate does not show that these documents were found in Beni's possession.'

Charge 6. 'I was not really involved in writing the letter in defence of M. Morozov, but I did feel able to sign it, as in my opinion it did not contain any anti-Soviet statements...I signed it out of purely humanitarian considerations.'

Judge Two copies of this document were found during searches. One was signed by you and Gershuni, the other by several people including you. Do you confirm that you signed both copies?

Kuvakin I do.

Charge 7. 'The envelope with a letter from S. Belov for NTSI9 was given to me in autumn last year to send to the West. I knew nothing about the contents of the envelope. I just undertook to carry out the commission.'

Judge But why did you undertake to carry out this commission? Did you have the opportunity of sending things to the West?

Kuvakin At that time I did.

Charge 8. 'These documents came my way as long ago as 1978. They were intended for the library of SMOT [Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People], but did not end up there, they just lay around at my place. I did not make copies of them.'

Charge 9. 'I asked several people if they could send this package to Fainberg by an illegal route. Alexander Gotovtsev responded to my request, saying that he could do it. On 23 January 1981 I gave Gotovtsev the package. He gave it back to me on 1 April, saying that unfortunately he no longer had the opportunity of sending it to the addressee. And on the morning of 2 April the search started.'

Procurator Did you hand over all the documents with the aim of having them published in the Western press?

Kuvakin No, only some of them.

Judge And why did you want them to be published?

Kuvakin I thought that readers in the West might be interested in them, and there might be some response.

Charge 10. 'In the spring of this year it was clear to me that I would be arrested. And in keeping with the traditions of the human rights movement I wrote a pre-arrest statement. I admit it was somewhat emotional...After the search at my flat the fact of my imminent arrest became

became clear and I transmitted my statement for publication in the Western press.'

Procurator Did you transmit it for publication specifically in Possev?  
Kuvakin I gave it for publication in serious publications, the Washington Post for instance. Why it was printed in Possev, I do not know. My relation to NTS and Possev cannot be called hostile (that would be too strong), but it is not friendly.  
Procurator But why did you feel the need for it to be published at all?  
Kuvakin To encourage some reaction to my arrest.

\* \* \*

On the same day the following witnesses were questioned: M. Bazhenova, Yu. Denisov, M. Ikonnikov and A. Gotovtsev. In reply to the Judge's question about whether he was present when Kuvakin gave 'Declaration for the press' to foreign journalists, Denisov said: 'I don't remember. I was absolutely drunk that evening'. The Judge read out the detailed testimony given by Denisov during the pre-trial investigation about this episode.

Judge Your signature stands below your testimony. Did you sign the record of the interrogation?  
Denisov Yes, I did. But everything that was read out now is inaccurate. I insist that I was drunk and do not remember anything.

Judge Witness, you have acknowledged in writing that you will be held responsible for giving any false information. Do you confirm your testimony?  
Denisov Basically, yes. But I said nothing about the 'Declaration'. At the interrogation I said that I was drunk.

Ikonnikov, in reply to the Judge's question whether Kuvakin had shown him the 'Declaration for the press', said: 'Yes, Vsevolod Dmitrievich gave me something or other to read, but I don't remember what it was exactly'.

Judge What was your relationship with the accused? Did you go to see him very often?  
Ikonnikov No, not very often. I met Vsevolod Dmitrievich through Yura Denisov. We wanted to create a bulletin called Publicity - Vsevolod Dmitrievich, myself and Gena Gureyev...

Judge During your interrogation you also said that Kuvakin showed you the 'Appeal to the Secretary-General of the UN'. Tell the court about this.

Ikonnikov I don't remember.

Judge I'll remind you of your testimony: 'At Denisov's flat, Vsevolod Dmitrievich read the text of the "Appeal" and we all decided we could sign it'.  
Ikonnikov Yes, because Vsevolod Dmitrievich said that the "Appeal" contained nothing anti-Soviet.

Gotovtsev replied to the Judge's question about whether Kuvakin had given him the parcel: 'During the pre-trial investigation I said that maybe there had been a parcel or an envelope, but so much time has passed since January that I have forgotten all the circumstances connected with this parcel'. In answer to a question, Gotovtsev said that he did not know Fainberg.

Judge Why did you take the parcel? Did you have the opportunity to send it to the West?

Gotovtsev No, I did not have that opportunity.

Judge Then why did you take the parcel?

Gotovtsev replied along the lines of: 'If Vsevolod Dmitrievich said so, I can only confirm his testimony'.

On the second day Anna Kuvakina was not allowed into the courtroom. The Judge announced that the hearing would be a closed one from then on. (She was allowed in for the judgment.) The verdict was that Kuvakin was guilty on points 3, 4, 6, 7, 9 and 10.

Extracts from the judgment:

The accused, V.D. Kuvakin, did not admit to being guilty of a criminal act during the pre-trial investigation or during the trial, but did confirm the factual circumstances of the criminal case under examination.

Neither during the pre-trial investigation nor during the trial did the accused, V.D. Kuvakin, obstruct the investigation; he gave evidence on all the points in the indictment, he assisted the conduct of the investigation and the establishment of the truth.

In fixing the punishment for V.D. Kuvakin the court has taken into account the social danger and the nature of the crime committed, the personality of the accused, the fact that for a long time he did socially useful work, and that he had a dependent wife and child...

The court sentenced Kuvakin to one year of strict-regime labour camp and five years' exile. Kuvakin and Shveisky appealed to the RSFSR Supreme Court.

\* \* \*

Gotovtsev, Denisov and Danilyuk expressed their dissatisfaction with Kuvakin's evidence about them given during the pre-trial investigation. Kuvakin, during a meeting with his wife, expressed his dissatisfaction with Danilyuk's evidence.

## ARRESTS

### The Arrest of Ivanov-Skuratov

On 11 August in Moscow the historian Anatoly Mikhailovich Ivanov (b. 1935) was arrested. He was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code; the case is being conducted by the USSR KGB. Ivanov is the author of a series of samizdat works published in journals of the Russian nationalist movement Veche and Earth under the pseudonym 'Skuratov' (Chronicles 32, 34, 35, 37, 38).

\* \* \*

On 13 August Major Ryabov carried out a search in connection with the Ivanov case at Leonid Borodin's home (Chronicles 1, 34). Borodin's published and unpublished works, samizdat and tamizdat, were confiscated (in the record there are altogether 102 items). On 14 August Ryabov interrogated

Borodin. Borodin said that he knew Ivanov, but knew nothing about any contacts of his with foreigners.

\* \* \*

On 26 August Major Gubinsky and First Lieutenant Kruglov interrogated Olga Kurganskaya. She was questioned about Ivanov's activity during the past two years and about his political views. Kurganskaya said that she met Ivanov at the home of V. Repnikov (emigrated in 1980 - Chronicle 57). She described Ivanov as 'extremely malicious' and his political views as Fascist. She objected when the investigator tried to write in the record that Ivanov was a 'Russian nationalist' and said that in her opinion he was a Nazi, which was not the same thing. About his activity in recent years Kurganskaya said that she knew nothing, as Ivanov had had no contact with the Russian nationalist movement for a long time. She said the Russian nationalists did not trust Ivanov, considering him to be a provocateur.

The investigators questioned Kurganskaya about Ivanov's relations with the artist Ilya Glazunov, and then listed a series of names mentioned in the case materials and in Ivanov's own evidence. Kurganskaya replied that she knew none of them.

\* \* \*

V. Mashkova (Chronicle 57) was also interrogated in connection with the case of Ivanov.

#### The Arrest of Victor Yatsenko

On 22 October, in Rostov, technical college student Victor Yatsenko (b. 1961) was arrested at home after a search. He was charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. At the same time as the search in Rostov, searches were carried out in Moscow, at the homes of Victor's sister Maria and his brother Nikolai. Samizdat and tamizdat were confiscated from Nikolai Yatsenko's home. Then a search was carried out at his work, but nothing was confiscated. After the searches Maria and Nikolai Yatsenko were interrogated at the Moscow KGB.

At the beginning of November in the town of Novocheerkassk (Rostov Region) there was a search at the home of Leopold Epshtein, a friend of Nikolai Yatsenko (Avtorkhanov's The Technology of Power, a Bible published in the West, and a typewriter were confiscated). Epshtein was interrogated several times at the Rostov KGB (although he does not know Victor Yatsenko).

#### The Arrest of Repin

Early on the morning of 7 December an unknown person came to the home of Valery Repin (Chronicle 53), who worked in the editorial office of the newspaper Leningrad Worker, and this person gave him a parcel from Anatoly Ivanov (Chronicles 48, 52, 56) which contained The Gulag Archipelago, A Chronicle of Current Events and a note saying 'Valera! I am returning your books. Unfortunately I could not duplicate them'.

Immediately behind the unknown person, KGB officials entered the room with a search warrant in connection with

Case No. 78. They asked the person who had brought the parcel if he knew Repin. He replied negatively and was immediately taken away.

During the search at Repin's home 1,000 roubles were found and taken away. After the search he was arrested. He was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Repin's wife Elena telephoned a friend and told her of the search. That evening her friend's home was searched; nothing was found. Interrogations are under way in connection with Repin's case, Case No. 91.

Repin has a one-month-old daughter. Anatoly Ivanov came to see Elena Repina to explain and to apologize. He said that he had met the person who brought the parcel in prison.

#### The Arrest of Kozlovsky

On 8 December, in Moscow, the poet Evgeny Antonovich Kozlovsky (Chronicle 60) was arrested. He was charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. In connection with Kozlovsky's case searches were carried out at the homes of Bakhyt Kenzheyev, Vladislav LEn and Nikolai Klimantovich.<sup>21</sup>

#### SEARCHES AND INTERROGATIONS

##### A Search at the Home of Kalistratova

On 4 September searches were carried out at the cottage and the Moscow flat of member of the Moscow Helsinki Group S.V. Kalistratova. The search-warrant (in connection with Case No. 7) was made out by investigator of the Moscow KGB Popov. The searches were carried out by First Lieutenant I.Ya. Zotov and Lieutenant V.Yu. Timofeyev, with the participation of KGB official A.I. Belov.

The searchers came during the day to Kalistratova's daughter's flat, where Kalistratova was living at the time, and took her to the cottage. The record states that Kalistratova was 'ordered to hand over typewritten pamphlets and duplicating machinery', but 'objects and documents relating to the case were not found and nothing was confiscated'.

Then Kalistratova was taken to her Moscow flat. Among the things confiscated were: Helsinki Group documents (some in several copies), rough drafts of Group documents, texts of an informative nature, human rights letters, samizdat, 31 letters to Kalistratova from political prisoners (all letters had passed through the censor), a pendant with a six-pointed star, a typewriter, and clean and used carbon paper.

In connection with a letter to Shchëlokov signed by Kovalëv, Kalistratova and Kizelov, one of the searchers said: 'What, there are three of you left in the group?' Kalistratova replied: 'You have already arrested Kovalëv, and Kizelov is not a member of the group'. 'What about this document?' - 'It is not a Helsinki document.'

During the search the investigator asked: 'What will document No. 182 be? About this search?' - Kalistratova said: 'No, about Marchenko.' - 'When will you write it?'

'I've been telling you - you come here and don't give me a chance to write.' - 'Why? We'll wait.' Finally, the investigator wrote in the record, at Kalistratova's dictation: 'All the documents, letters and objects listed in the record bear no relation to the case, and I consider their confiscation illegal'.

The Case of Bolonkin (Chronicle 62)

On 4 September, following a resolution of a senior investigator for particularly serious cases of the Buryat ASSR, Captain V.A. Kozhevnikov, searches were carried out in Moscow in connection with the case of A. Bolonkin at the homes of N. Lisovskaya (Chronicle 54), Yu. Shikhanovich (Chronicles 60-2) and A. Romanova (Chronicles 56, 62).

\* \* \*

On 4 September N. Lisovskaya was called, at work, to the deputy director of the institute, V. Beregovykh. In his office, officials from the Moscow KGB handed Lisovskaya a summons for interrogation in connection with Case No. 10, instituted by the Buryat KGB. They told Lisovskaya that she would need her passport and took her home, where they produced a search-warrant in connection with the same case. The search was directed by Captain Titov of the Moscow KGB.

At 6 p.m. there was a ring at the door of the flat. Lisovskaya shouted through the door: 'You can't come in! There's a search on!' The searchers pushed her out of the way and opened the door. The visitor, B. Rumshisky (Chronicles 57, 58) was given a body-search, but nothing was found.

At 7.35 p.m. S. Khodorovich arrived. The following were confiscated from him: Melgunov's monograph The Red Terror in Russia, a sheet of paper with telephone numbers, notes and addresses, A List of Political Prisoners in the USSR (published by C. Lubarsky in Munich) and two sheets of paper with a text starting with the words 'Strikes in Kiev and Kiev Region'. After 9 p.m. E. Gaidamachuk (Chronicle 58) and I. Chapkovsky (Chronicle 56) arrived. They too were searched, but nothing was confiscated.

Among the items confiscated from Lisovskaya were letters, notes with telephone numbers and addresses, the collection Summa, two issues of the paper Russian Thought, and some Tamizdat. At the end of the search record this note was appended:

In Lisovskaya's flat a large quantity of tins, concentrated foodstuffs and medicines of foreign manufacture were discovered but not confiscated.

\* \* \*

During the day on 4 September, while Yu Shikhanovich was at work, KGB officials came to his house. They tricked his daughter, E. Shikhanovich, into letting them in. At 5.15 p.m. Shikhanovich came home, and his wife arrived an hour later. During the search I. Burmistrovich (Chronicle 60), L. Vul (Chronicles 60-2) and neighbours Yu. Vaisberg and Zh. Yankel'son also arrived. Some of them were searched, but nothing was confiscated. The search was directed by Captain Lentin of the Moscow KGB.

The following were confiscated: an alphabetical address book with foreign addresses, old bills for inter-town telephone conversations (Shikhanovich's telephone had been dis-

connected as long ago as 1978), postal receipts, letters and a notebook. Under the stove they found issues 60 and 61 of the A Chronicle of Current Events, typewritten texts of the documents The Trial of Alexander Lavut and 'A summary of the social aspects of the autobiography of A.D. Sakharov', a page from the Paris paper Russian Thought and the book by A. Galich The Doomed Generation (published by Possev).

Shikhanovich was not allowed to write comments on the record. Initially Lentin insisted that Shikhanovich told him exactly what comment he wished to write, and then said he would not allow him to write those comments. Shikhanovich therefore said that he would not sign the record. In the record of the search was written:

Comments about the search and the contents of the record were not received from those who participated in the search or who were present during it. Yu.A. Shikhanovich refused to sign the search record for no reason.

\* \* \*

They also came to A. Romanova's home during the day, while she was at work. Only her elderly mother, R.Yu. Taran, was at home. The search was carried out by Kozhevnikov 'himself'.

The following were confiscated: A Dog's Heart by Bulgakov and How to be a witness by Albrecht (Chronicles 44-7), Bukharin by [Stephen] Cohen and Light in the Darkness by S. Frank (both tamizdat publications), an authorization by Romanova for her mother and T. Khromova (Chronicle 57) to be her legal representatives, and nine notebooks. At the end of the search record this note was written:

Citizen Taran stated that everything confiscated belonged to her daughter Avgusta Yakovlevna Romanova, except for two notebooks which belonged to R.Yu. Taran.

A large quantity of foodstuffs were found in the kitchen: more than a hundred tins of meat and fruit products, more than five hundred packets of concentrated stock and other products. In the living-room, at the bottom of the wardrobe, 14 pairs of men's and children's underclothes were found. The food and clothes were not confiscated, and citizen Taran explained that the food and clothes belonged to Avgusta Yakovlevna Romanova (her daughter) and were intended to be sent to political prisoners and their families. How her daughter had acquired the food and clothes she did not know.

\* \* \*

On 7 September Kozhevnikov interrogated Romanova and her mother. R.Yu. Taran was asked if she knew D. Leontev (Chronicles 50-2, 55), Lisovskaya, E. Sirotenko (Chronicle 60) and Bolonkin; and who her daughter sent parcels to. The word 'speculation' was mentioned by him. Kozhevnikov asked Romanova several questions about Bolonkin. He also asked: - Do you maintain relations with people living abroad and do you send items of a slanderous or other negative nature abroad?

- During the search on 4 September a large quantity of foodstuffs and men's and children's clothes were found at your home. What were these items intended for? Romanova did not answer these questions.

On 8 September Kozhevnikov interrogated Shikhanovich and Burmistrovich. To the question about who the documents confiscated from his home belonged to, Shikhanovich replied



that the notebook belonged to his daughter, some of the items - for instance the address book, the letters and receipts - belonged to him, but he declined to answer about most of the items, as he did not wish to do anything to hinder the free exchange of information. To Kozhevin's specific question about the page from the newspaper Russian Thought and Galich's book, he said that he considered a question about poetry and a newspaper indecent for the mighty Soviet state in its seventh decade of existence.

Burmistrovich refused even to sign the page of the record with his biographical details, saying that he would not answer until the items confiscated during a search of his home in September 1980 (Chronicle 60) were given back to him. Kozhevin expressed doubts about Burmistrovich's psychological state of health, threatened to phone the city psychiatrist, and said that Burmistrovich might spend the rest of his leave in a psychiatric hospital. Burmistrovich asked how he would be compensated for the time taken by the interrogation if he was now on leave - with money, or by adding the time taken by the interrogation on to his leave. Kozhevin was unable to answer coherently, and advised Burmistrovich, as he was leaving, to find out where the nearest psychiatric clinic was to his home.

On 9 September Kozhevin interrogated Romanova and Shikhanovich for the second time, as well as Khodorovich. Romanova's interrogation ended with Kozhevin promising her 'fifteen days' [of imprisonment]. Shikhanovich, after the first question (about his acquaintance with Bolonkin), announced that 'today' he would not answer any questions as a mark of protest against Kozhevin's rude, impermissible behaviour during the interrogation of Burmistrovich. Kozhevin refused to write in the report that this was the reason for his refusal and just wrote 'Refused to answer'. The interrogation lasted half-an-hour.

Kozhevin asked Khodorovich, among other questions:

Among the items confiscated from you are some which contain information about sending money to various people. (Khodorovich is the distributor of the Political Prisoners' Aid Fund - Chronicle.) Who was the money paid to, and why?

Khodorovich refused to answer a single question.

On 10 September Kozhevin interrogated E. Kosterina. As her reply to all the questions Kosterina handed in the following statement:

As I have been summoned by investigator Kozhevin to No. 12 Small Lubyanka, and as my family has had wide and bitter experience of interference in our lives by state security investigation departments, I declare the following:

A.E. Kosterin, my father, was arrested in 1937, spent 10 years in camps and seven years in exile, and was legally exculpated after the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

M.E. Kosterin, my father's brother, was arrested in the mid-1980s, perished in camp, and was legally exculpated posthumously.

A.S. Koroleva, the wife of M.E. Kosterin, was arrested for being his wife, spent 10 years in camps, then many years in exile and was legally exculpated.

I.M. Korolova, their daughter, was handed over by the authorities to an NKVD children's centre.

V.E. Kosterin, my father's brother, was expelled from

the Party at the end of 1940s; he had a weak heart and died shortly afterwards.

V. Yazykov, a relative on my mother's side, was arrested in 1937 and later legally exculpated.

I.M. Vorozhev, a relative on my mother's side, was arrested in 1937, and later legally exculpated.

Thus none of my suppressed relatives was a criminal, as testified to by their subsequent exculpation. The above is for me the basis for categorically refusing to take part in any investigation when what is being tried and punished is beliefs, written or oral statements, the reading of literature, the spreading of information, ie actions legitimized by the constitution of the USSR, the Declaration of Human Rights, the Covenants on human rights and the Helsinki Agreement.

Kozhevin showed Kosterina a record of an interrogation of Bolonkin, where he stated that he sent letters about his conviction to, specifically, Kosterina.

On 11 September Kozhevin interrogated I. Korsunskaya (Chronicle 56), Rumshisky and Lisovskaya. Korsunskaya replied to all questions: 'I refuse to testify, as I have never seen Bolonkin'. Kozhevin read out an extract to Korsunskaya from a record of Bolonkin's interrogation:

I came to know Korsunskaya in writing, through letters. She learned my address...she belongs to dissident circles. I only sent one document to Korsunskaya - 'Memorandum for the relatives of political prisoners'. I asked convicted people to write letters and postcards to Korsunskaya; between the lines of my letters I wrote things in invisible ink and sent them through my contacts to Korsunskaya...I was in exile without any support and sent a telegram to Korsunskaya, who sent me 65 roubles.

During the interrogation Kozhevin said: 'You have a headache. Why don't you go somewhere further away [ie emigrate?]' Korsunskaya answered that this was a difficult question as she had a family, and at the end of the record she wrote: 'I request that I am not summoned again in this or any other connection, as I have constant migraines because of vascular spasms; the diagnosis is osteochondrosis of the neck'.

Rumshisky replied that he did not know Bolonkin, nor did he know anything about the items confiscated from Lisovskaya during the search. He refused to answer questions about the people who had come, like himself, to attend the search at Lisovskaya's home. Lisovskaya only answered a question about her acquaintance with Bolonkin: 'I don't know him'.

On 12 September Kozhevin interrogated P. Starchik (Chronicle 42). Starchik also said that he did not know Bolonkin. On 15 September Kozhevin went to Gaidamachuk's home (he had summoned Gaidamachuk on 10 September, but she had not come): 'We must meet. When would you like to do so? Tomorrow? When would be convenient?'

On 16 September Kozhevin interrogated Leontev and Gaidamachuk. Leontev refused to reply to questions about Bolonkin; his interrogation lasted less than an hour. Kozhevin asked Gaidamachuk: 'Where and when did you meet Lisovskaya? How did the items confiscated during the search reach Lisovskaya? Why did Khodorovich bring to her the items which were then confiscated from him?' Kozhevin refused to include Gaidamachuk's written refusal to give evidence in the case file.

On 17 September Kozhevnikov interrogated the wife of P.A. Podrabinek (Chronicle 61), L. Ivanova. Ivanova said that she did not know Bolonkin and did not correspond with him; letters from Bolonkin addressed to her husband had arrived, but naturally she did not read them. Kozhevnikov, unexpectedly for Ivanova, and without any apparent reason, said: 'Rumours are going around here that I broke Bolonkin's arm; I haven't broken anything of his'.

Kozhevnikov also interrogated Vul, Bolonkin's former boss in Moscow, A.A. Borin, Bolonkin's wife (he went to see her in hospital, where she was receiving treatment), and his sister. Kozhevnikov also summoned Chapkovsky for interrogation through a local policeman, but he did not go.

#### A Search at the Home of Khodorovich

On 24 November, in accordance with a resolution of a senior investigator of the Moscow Procurator's Office, Yu.A. Burtsev (Chronicle 62), a search was carried out at the home of Sergei Khodorovich. Among the items confiscated were: a list of political prisoners, receipts for sending money transfers and parcels, samizdat and tamizdat. During the search Khodorovich had the impression that the searchers knew in advance where things were (see 'Secret Searches' in the section 'Miscellaneous Reports' below).

#### The Interrogation of A. Daniel

At the end of November or beginning of December Burtsev interrogated Alexander Daniel (Chronicle 57). Daniel was questioned about items confiscated in the search at his home in 1979 (Chronicle 53), and also about items taken in the search at L. Vul's home (Chronicle 61). Burtsev was interested in particular to know if Daniel recognized the handwriting on the confiscated papers. 'Recognizing handwriting is the job of the investigation', said Daniel. Burtsev declared that Daniel's 'activity' was criminal; if it continued Daniel would get no official warning - 'measures' would be taken immediately.

#### A New Case 'on the Circulation of Deliberate Fabrications...'

On 24 December the Moscow Procurator's Office carried out four searches in connection with Case No. 49129/65-81 - 'On the distribution of deliberate fabrications which defame...' - at the home of S.V. Kalistratova (two searches), F. Kizelov (in Chronicle 56 his surname was given incorrectly) and Oleg Popov (Chronicle 62). After the searches all three were interrogated.

\* \* \*

During the search at the flat of Kalistratova's daughter two typewriters were confiscated (Cyrillic and Roman typefaces). Then Kalistratova was taken to her own flat. Among the items confiscated were: Helsinki Group documents, materials relating to the 60th birthday of A.D. Sakharov, personal notes, letters (137 items), two photograph albums,

several issues of the newspaper Russian Thought, and the record of the September search (see above).

In an addendum to the record Kalistratova wrote:

1. In contravention of articles 169 and 176 of the RSFSR Criminal Procedure Code the search record does not name two people who took an active part in the search. Investigator Vorob'ev told me that they were criminal investigation inspectors but refused to name them. They did not show me their papers.

2. In contravention of article 171 of the Criminal Procedure Code a large number of papers were confiscated during the search which had no relation, nor could possibly have any relation to any criminal case, including photographs of my friends, personal papers and, in particular, greetings cards.

Kalistratova signed the record of the search.

Yu.A. Vorob'ev, having carried out the search, asked Kalistratova to come to the Procurator's Office for interrogation. Kalistratova said that it was inconvenient for her to go, and anyway she would not answer questions. But Vorob'ev insisted that the interrogation had to take place at the Procurator's Office.

During the interrogation Vorob'ev showed Kalistratova the draft of a Helsinki Group document confiscated from her home and written in her hand, and asked if she had participated in producing this document. Kalistratova said: 'I will not answer', and refused to give a reason for her refusal, as she 'did not consider herself a witness in this case' and she had not even been informed which case she was to be interrogated about. Vorob'ev said that it was possible to institute a case not only against a specific person, but also when there was an indication of a crime. He also said that this was a new case and that it was in his charge. Then Vorob'ev showed Kalistratova two more manuscript documents and said that during the search Kalistratova had said that this was her handwriting, and he was interested to know if that was indeed so. Kalistratova replied: 'I am interested in lots of things', and again refused to reply to the questions or give a reason for her refusal. Vorob'ev said that a forensic team would establish who wrote them anyway. He asked Kalistratova not to think that he was threatening her. Then he brought the interrogation to an end. As she left the Procurator's Office, Kalistratova felt ill.

\* \* \*

The search at Kizelov's home was led by S. Andreyev, a senior investigator of the Moscow Procurator's Office (the search warrant was signed by Vorob'ev). The following were confiscated: a collection of documents - 'A group of national minorities' - in a foreign language, a collection of documents - 'Some recommendations and suggestions regarding Amnesty International', Helsinki Group documents and materials, a manuscript of an informational nature with instructions for re-typing it, informational and trial material about the cases of Airikyan, Miller, Chernobylsky, Marsal, Raush and Lein, with instructions on re-typing them, three notebooks, official correspondence, a medical certificate and a typewriter.

Kizelov stated in the report:

1. None of the items confiscated can bear any relation to any criminal charge.

2. The confiscation of official correspondence has made it very difficult indeed for me to carry out my official duties. This also applies to the typewriter, as it represents the basic source of my earnings as an editorial worker.

3. The inventory of items confiscated does not indicate who the letters confiscated are from, or their contents.

4. Among the letters confiscated were two envelopes from the USA. The letters were not in the envelopes and they were not confiscated.

5. The confiscated typewritten texts are not sufficiently accurately described in the report.

As for the rest, I have nothing to say against the way the search was carried out.

After the search Kizelov was taken to the Procurator's Office of the Bauman district of Moscow, where Andreyev interrogated him in the presence of Belov and Mikhailov, senior inspectors of the 6th Division of the district OVD (they also took part in the search).

The investigator said that Kizelov was being questioned 'in connection with the case of Kalistratova, who is charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code'. Then Kizelov made a statement:

I consider that instituting a criminal case against Kalistratova is illegal and that the actions of the investigation organs come under the disposition of article 176 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('instituting criminal proceedings against someone known to be innocent'), and I therefore refuse to take part in this illegality.

The investigator also asked if Kizelov knew O. Popov, V. Grinev (Chronicle 56) and T. Trusova (Chronicle 56).

Kizelov refused to sign the part of the record with the warning about responsibility for giving false evidence and refusal to give evidence. On 25 December Kizelov sent to the Procurator of Moscow, Maltsev, a 'Complaint about the actions of the operations unit...' which had carried out the search at his home.

\* \* \*

The search at Oleg Popov's home was carried out by a senior investigator of the Moscow Procurator's Office, A.V. Bizyakin, and three 'officials'. Two cars with five people in them were parked by the house during the search.

At 8.10 a person rang the doorbell of Popov's flat, saying he was a local policeman and demanding that the door be opened. Popov's wife refused to do so. The door was broken down. Among the items confiscated were: one Helsinki Group document, texts of an informational nature, a list of political prisoners, samizdat and tamizdat, notebooks and letters.

Popov wrote these comments on the search record:

1. Neither I myself, nor my wife Natalya Mikhailovna Popova, regards any of the items (list, manuscripts, book, letters, etc) as libellous.

2. We categorically object and express our protest as a complaint to the Procurator against the confiscation of letters from abroad, a Bible, poetry by Mandelshtam, and photographs of A.D. Sakharov.

3. We protest against the violent - to the point of breaking a door - intrusion of persons, only one of whom

showed his documents.

4. The papers and documents confiscated were not registered in the correct fashion, ie the first and last words of the documents and letters, etc, confiscated are not given.

On 25 December Popov was summoned by Bizyakin for interrogation.

On 25 December, at the Moscow Procurator's Office, Bizyakin told Popov that he would be interrogated by Vorobëv, who was conducting the case and on whose orders he, Bizyakin, had carried out the search. Popov handed Vorobëv a 'statement':

I have learned that Criminal Case No. 49129/65-81 has been instituted against the Moscow Group to Facilitate the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements. I regard the activity of this group as deserving of complete respect, as noble and not contradictory to Soviet law. I therefore refuse to give evidence in connection with this case.

After Vorobëv read this statement Popov tried to leave the office, but Vorobëv barred his way, then locked the door and announced that he would not let Popov go until the interrogation had been carried out. Popov said that the investigator could register his refusal to give evidence without him present. Vorobëv objected, saying that he intended to register Popov's refusal in his presence, and started to fill in the interrogation record. Popov refused to show his passport and Vorobëv was forced to call in a policeman, through whom he got the passport from Popov. The investigator tried to persuade Popov to sign the biographical part of the record and the warning about responsibility for refusing to give evidence or giving false evidence. Popov either remained silent or replied that he had already said all he had to say in his statement. Vorobëv told Popov he was mistaken in thinking that the case had been instituted against the Helsinki Group, and then started to ask questions.

Vorobëv was interested in the Moscow Amnesty International Group, of which Popov is a member. He also asked Popov what material he had given the Helsinki Group ('It's no longer any secret!').

Then Vorobëv called two witnesses. In turn they read the record, where instead of replies was written: 'Popov refused to reply to the question'. Popov asked for his statement to be added to the case file, after which Vorobëv let him out of his office.

#### Miscellaneous

On 31 December the KGB investigator Timofeyev interrogated the daughter of L. Ternovsky (Chronicle 60), Olga Ternovskaya. The interrogation was carried out on the instructions of the Kursk KGB in connection with the case of Ostroglyad, which, according to the investigator, was under investigation: in his notebook the address of the Ternovskys had been found. Ternovskaya said that she did not know Ostroglyad, and could give no explanation in connection with the case.

'CHATS'

In December 1980 KGB officials suggested to the father of Oleg Kurgansky (Chronicles 56, 58) that a psychiatric examination should be carried out on his son. He refused.

On 4 August 1981, at Police Station No. 127 in Moscow, Inspector A.V. Shurupov 'chatted' with O. Kurgansky. The next day the 'chat' was continued, but this time in the Criminal Investigation Department. Questions were asked about the participation of Kurgansky and P. Tsapenko in SMOT (Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People). Kurgansky explained that Tsapenko represented the 'liberal-democratic wing of SMOT', unlike Vladimir Borisov, who represented the 'radical wing'.

Shurupov was also interested in Kurgansky's friends. 'Things can go even worse for Grimm than they are at present', said Shurupov. 'Georgy Shepel'ev (Chronicle 62) is a thief, and his brother Vladimir is a great drinker... Serebrov has confessed, but we were obliged to imprison him. It's not a good idea to keep up a relationship with Denisov (Chronicle 62 and 'The Trial of Kuvakin' in this issue). You are involved in so-called trade-union activity, but do you know that Fainberg (left the USSR in 1974 - Chronicle 32) sent instructions? Kasatkin (Chronicle 58) has talked of this.'

Shurupov said: 'Previously we brought people to trial only for their actions, but now we will try them for preparing to act and for assisting others'. During the 'chat' Kurgansky was warned 'not to meet with dissidents, or things would go badly for him'. Kurgansky said: 'I meet who I like, when I like'.

(On 20 August Kurgansky was interrogated at the headquarters of the USSR MVD's Department for Combating Theft of Socialist Property, in connection with the Tsapenko case. Questions were asked about Tsapenko's work under contract in Kalmykia. It is known that Tsapenko worked there at least until May 1981. Now there is no news from him.)

On 18 August Fëdor Finkel was taken to the 29th police station, apparently to the Passport Department. There he was beaten up, after which a KGB official 'chatted' with him. He told Finkel that all that had happened here was a KGB matter, not a police one. When it was clear that Finkel did not wish to chat, he was threatened not with a 'chat', but with interrogation at Lefortovo and with prison.

Questions asked by the KGB official concerned when A. Yakoreva (Chronicles 51-4) and N. Lesnichenko (Chronicles 56, 57) had visited him, and what his relations were with V. Skvirsky (see 'In Exile' below).

On 19 August KGB officials came to see Vladimir Shepel'ev (Chronicles 60-2) at work, and invited him for a 'chat'. During the 'chat', which lasted about two hours, two KGB officials told V. Shepel'ev that since 1978 he had been engaged in activity of an antisocial, anti-Soviet nature, which was harmful to the interests of national security. They showed Shepel'ev a file which contained letters and statements signed by him at various times (mostly 'Right to Emigration group' documents). V. Shepel'ev was told that if he continued with this activity, criminal proceedings would be instituted against him, and the documents in his

'case' would be added to a criminal case file.

V. Shepel'ev was asked to cease all such activity, and examples of well-known cases of public 'confessions' were mentioned. The situation of his brother Georgy (Chronicle 62 and 'In the Prisons and Camps' in the present issue) was hinted at. Finally, V. Shepel'ev was given a warning 'according to the Decree'.<sup>23</sup> V. Shepel'ev refused to sign.

\* \* \*

In September or October a KGB official calling himself 'Oleg Mikhailovich' came to see Sergei Stabrovsky at work. He wanted to talk to Stabrovsky 'in connection with the Smirnov case' (Chronicle 62). 'Oleg Mikhailovich' was interested in where and when Stabrovsky and Smirnov had met, what their relations were, if Smirnov had told political jokes, if he had offered him any reading matter, and what he said about the people he knew.

Stabrovsky said that he had known Smirnov for a long time, and that at one time (in 1971) they had played in the same rock group. He said that his relations with Smirnov were good. Stabrovsky told 'Oleg Mikhailovich' that he knew that Smirnov was 'subject to attention' from his organization. Smirnov had told jokes about the Polish events, but Stabrovsky could not remember exactly what they were. Moreover, Stabrovsky knew that Smirnov had met Grigorenko and Solzhenitsyn, and that Bukovsky, before he left the country, had given him a present of a sweater and some shoes (Smirnov is not acquainted either with Bukovsky or with Solzhenitsyn - Chronicle). Smirnov had let it be understood that he could get hold of unofficial 'literature'. He had not offered any directly, but had said something like 'Every thinking person must develop'; Stabrovsky had declined. Smirnov had also mentioned the searches carried out at his home.

Stabrovsky expressed the opinion that Smirnov's views had been formed under the influence of his grandfather A.E. Kosterin (Chronicle 5). 'His wife Lyuba does not support him', said 'Oleg Mikhailovich'. 'It's his mother who incites him.'

Finally 'Oleg Mikhailovich' asked Stabrovsky to write a 'statement' on the contents of their discussion. After Stabrovsky had been reminded that he worked in a closed institution, and that he had a security pass, he wrote a six-page statement, where, with the active help of 'Oleg Mikhailovich', he told the history of his acquaintance with Smirnov, how in friendly talks with him Smirnov had slandered the Soviet system, had said that the Party and the government ran the country badly, and that the basis of the opposition was dissidents and religious dissenters. At the end of the 'statement' Stabrovsky expressed the opinion that Smirnov was anti-Soviet, and he therefore asked for 'certain measures' to be taken against Smirnov.

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

In 1980-1 the KGB carried out a series of intimidatory chats with disabled people who had made contact with members of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR. Ten such chats are known about in Moscow,

Odessa, Chernigov Region, Moldavia and Kazakhstan.

The chats all followed the same course. The KGB officials presented themselves to third parties as officials from social security or health departments, but they showed their true identity cards to the interviewees themselves, whom they interviewed alone. They cautioned them against talking to anyone, not only about the contents of the interview but also about the fact that it had taken place. Then, after a brief interrogation about their acquaintance with members of the Initiative Group and about whether they had been sent any material, the KGB officials themselves began to talk about the Group. They said roughly the following: that all the Group's members were CIA officials, and that they received enormous sums of money, with which they organized drunken orgies. Sometimes they even said that the members of the Initiative Group were not themselves disabled (V. Fefilov, for instance), but healthy people. Then the disabled person was offered a stay in a sanatorium if he would write a statement to the effect that members of the Initiative Group were carrying out anti-Soviet agitation among the disabled. Some were asked to join the Group so that they would be sent material, which could then be handed to the KGB with a suitable accompanying statement. If promises did not work, they resorted to threats and intimidation. They tried to get at some disabled people through their relatives. As a result most of the disabled who were subjected to these interviews were intimidated. When they told members of the Initiative Group about the interviews they asked for their names not to be mentioned. In 'troublesome' cases the interviews were repeated several times.

In September 1980, during a search at Yu. Kiselev's home, a paper with information about one such case of repeated interviews was confiscated. The name of the disabled person was not mentioned. Nevertheless, shortly thereafter the paper was shown to the disabled person in question. The KGB officials actively expressed their displeasure. But this was the extent of their 'working over'.

\* \* \*

During the night of 4 to 5 March, in Koktebel, the house of Yu. Kiselev (Chronicle 61), member of the Initiative Group, was burned down. Neighbours saw people breaking the window and climbing into the house shortly before the fire. Earlier they had asked neighbours for petrol and kerosene.

On 16 June an investigator of the Procurator's Office of the Voroshilov district of Moscow, on instructions from the Sudak Procurator's Office, interrogated Kiselev. He asked questions about when the house was built, how long it took to build, what design had been followed, how it had been financed. He was particularly interested in what documents confirming the legality of its building were in Kiselev's possession.

Kiselev received a telegram saying that on 17 July a review would be held in the Sudak Town Soviet EC of his right of ownership of the plot of land on which the house was built; the telegram stated that if he did not appear the question would be decided in his absence. Kiselev asked for the review to be postponed, but it nevertheless took place; a decision to deprive him of his right to the land was taken and the remains of the house were removed. Prior to this, rumours had been spread in Koktebel that Kiselev had 'been involved with gangsters, that they had burned the house by way of revenge, and that he had been imprisoned for drunkenness, depravity and drug dealing'.

On 19 August Yu. Kiselev sent a statement to the Procurator-General of the USSR, Rekunkov. In his statement he described the persecution he had been subjected to since December 1980 (Chronicles 60, 61).

1. I demand that legal proceedings be instituted against your official who threatened to murder me on 22 February 1981, under the corresponding article of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

2. I demand that proceedings be instituted against the high official who sanctioned the decision to put me under house arrest on 22 February 1981, thereby humiliating me, limiting my right of movement anti-constitutionally, and violating the corresponding articles of the Constitution of the USSR and the RSFSR Criminal Code about the sanctity of the home...

4. In addition, I demand that legal proceedings be instituted against Colonel Shibayev of Vladimir KGB for discrediting and insulting me when he told V. Fefilov that 'Kiselev is a drunkard and a drug addict'. Never in my life have I been in a sobering-up station, and nobody has ever seen me drunk. Nobody can accuse me of drug addiction - only the KGB might plant something on me specially. In this connection, I again state that I have nothing at all to do with drugs.

\* \* \*

On 5 May Initiative Group member Olga Zaitseva went to the Notary Office in Yurev-Polsky to ask for a permit to drive the car belonging to the brother of her husband Valery Fefilov. The notary refused her request.

'Why?'

'I have my reasons.'

'What reasons?'

'I can't tell you at the moment, but they exist.'

'So, because of some imaginary reasons you refuse to give me a permit? On what basis are you breaking the law?'

'There are reasons to believe that the car will be used for purposes other than those intended.'

'What does that mean?'

'I had a consultation with a highly-placed official who told me that your car would be used to harm the interests of the state.'

\* \* \*

At the beginning of July two officials of the Yurev-Polsky Vehicles Inspectorate, Shekk and Popkov, came to Fefilov's home and tried to remove the number plate from his invalid car. Fefilov climbed out of his wheelchair, crawled to the car and covered the number plate with his body: 'You can kill me if you like, but I won't let you take the number plate!' Shekk and Popkov, given the presence of neighbours who had gathered, did not try to drag Fefilov off, and drove away.

In July investigator Zotov interrogated Zaitseva in connection with Anatoly Marchenko's case. Two other investigators also took part in the interrogation, constantly coming in and out of the room. They kept on shouting at Zaitseva.

Zaitseva was told that during searches at Marchenko's home, issues 8 and 10 of the Bulletin of the Initiative Group were confiscated, and she was asked how they got there, why, and who had typed them, and also who belonged to the Initiative Group. Zaitseva refused to give any

evidence. Zaitseva was threatened that her husband and herself would be arrested, and she was urged to start making arrangements for leaving the country.

\* \* \*

At the beginning of August the head of the local department of the Vladimir Region KGB, Malikov, had a 'chat' with Zaitseva. He told her that the KGB was aware of the plans of the Group to invite disabled people from other towns to Moscow, to show them around the city. According to Malikov this was a good idea, but it could be used by foreign journalists, and therefore the KGB would not allow it to happen. When Zaitseva asked him how it would be stopped, Malikov explained that when the disabled people arrived they would not be given permits for a temporary stay. Malikov also told Zaitseva that 'material has already been collected under article 70' against her over a long period of time.

\* \* \*

On 25 August Fefilov sent a statement to the Procurator's Office of the Vladimir Region and to a first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB, Tsvigun:

I am a disabled person of Group 1 [severest group], crippled at work, and have a 'Zaporozhets' car with manual controls. On 4 and 5 July 1981 Vehicles Inspectorate officials of Yurev-Polsky in Vladimir Region tried to remove the number plates from my car, without permission tricking their way into my garage. Only the fact that I crawled out of my wheelchair (I am paralysed and use a wheelchair), crawled to the car and covered the plates with my body forced the officials to desist. The Procurator's Office of Yurev-Polsky, to which I appealed, also considers that such action by vehicle inspectors in the USSR is absolutely legal... For several years I have been trying to get the social security department of Vladimir Region to sell me a new car. But the social security will not sell me a new car, although I went before a Work Fitness Medical Commission a long time ago, and the period of seven years during which an old car can be used has passed.

The only thing the social security point to is the administrative withdrawal of my driving licence until the middle of next year for allegedly driving when drunk (Chronicle 51 - Chronicle). This resolution was passed with falsified forensic evidence. But even so my wife can drive the car, as she has a driving licence.

At the beginning of August 1981 the deputy chief of police of Yurev-Polsky in Vladimir Region, Shovylin, in the presence of the KGB chief in the town of Kolchugino, Malikov, told my wife: 'We weren't able to take away the plates, but we'll take away the car; in any event, we are not going to allow your husband to drive a car'.

I wish to advise the Procurator's Office of the Vladimir Region and the KGB of the USSR that if, when I appear in the town of Yurev-Polsky, the authorities continue new forms of oppression against me, this will be seen as another expression of the inhumanity of the Soviet authorities and a further shameful action of the organs of repression against me for my human rights activity directed towards the improvement of the life of disabled people in the USSR and their right to independence. This will confirm again the attitude expressed in an interview my wife had on 2 May 1981 with the above-mentioned police-

man Shovylin, who said: 'We don't care a damn about your freedoms or about the Helsinki Agreements...'

#### EVENTS IN THE UKRAINE

##### The Trial of Sokulsky and Prikhodko

The trial of Ivan Grigorevich Sokulsky (born 1940; arrested on 11 April 1980 - Chronicle 56) and Grigory Andreyevich Prikhodko (born 1937; arrested in July 1980 - Chronicle 57), who were charged under article 62, part 2, of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code), took place from 7 to 13 January [1981] in Dnepropetrovsk. None of their relatives was present at the trial, as they were informed about the trial only after it had ended.

Sokulsky and Prikhodko were known to have refused the defence counsel assigned to them and held a four-day hunger-strike. They were each sentenced to 10 years in strict-regime camps (the first five years to be served in prison) and five years in exile. They started to serve their sentences in Chistopol Prison. In 1969-73 Sokulsky served a four-and-a-half year sentence under article 62, part 1 (Chronicles 8, 10, 12). Prikhodko served five years in 1973-8 under the same article (Chronicle 52).

##### The Trial of Kandyba

In connection with the case of Ivan Kandyba two searches were carried out by the Lvov KGB at the home of Mikhail Goryn: on 24 March, the day of Kandyba's arrest, and on 25 March (during this search Goryn was visited by I. Sokulsky's wife, from whom reports on the trial of her husband and G. Prikhodko were confiscated after she was subjected to a body-search). The searches were conducted by First Lieutenant Popov, together with five KGB officials and three witnesses; the man actually in charge of the searches was Major Senkevich. From 8 to 19 May Goryn was interrogated as a witness, but he refused to give evidence 'on moral and ethical grounds'.

\* \* \*

From 20 to 24 July the trial of Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Ivan Alekseyevich Kandyba (born 1930, arrested on 24 March - Chronicle 62) took place in Lvov; he was charged under article 62, part 2, of the Ukrainian Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code).

Kandyba faced charges of disseminating 18 documents by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and of being the author of a declaration discovered during the search at M. Goryn's home on 12 March 1980 (Chronicle 56) and a typewritten document confiscated during the search at Goryn's home on 24 March 1981 (it was stated that expert examination had shown this document to have been produced on a typewriter at Goryn's place of work).

During the trial Kandyba did not deny that he had signed the declaration and the Helsinki Group documents mentioned.

but stated that he had not had anything to do with the document confiscated at Goryn's home, and although he understood that this material did not play a deciding role in his case, he nevertheless asked the court to exclude this point from the indictment. The court left it in the indictment. The sentence was ten years in strict-regime camps and five years in exile.

In 1961-76 Kandyba served a 15-year sentence (Chronicle 48).

#### The Trial of Antsupov

There were some small inaccuracies in the account of Evgeny Antsupov's arrest in Chronicle 62. Antsupov and his wife E. Semyannikova sent a declaration to the Procurator of Kharkov Region, concerning the actions of the Kharkov OVIR, on 24 March. At the beginning of April Antsupov travelled to Penza Region to take up a temporary seasonal job agreed on beforehand. On 24 April he was arrested, which fact Antsupov's fellow-workers reported to Semyannikova on 25 April. It was only on 27 April that Semyannikova was informed of it in writing by Investigator S.M. Storozhenko of the Kharkov Regional Procuracy. The declaration dated 28 April, which is quoted in Chronicle 62, was sent by Semyannikova to the Procurator-General of the USSR, but on the same day she sent a different declaration to the Procurator of Kharkov Region:

The police unit came to the collective farm from Kharkov and on the day of his arrest took my husband back to Kharkov. I was informed of all this by strangers, not by those officially responsible. Even now, four days after my husband's arrest, I don't know where he is or in what state. I have applied more than once to the Kharkov UVD and the Kharkov Regional KGB, but have received no reply to my questions.

I ask for an end to this disgraceful behaviour.

\* \* \*

From 12 to 14 August the case of Evgeny Mikhailovich Antsupov (born 1940), charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code), was heard by the Kharkov Regional Court, with Judge Navalny presiding (he also presided at the trial of A. Koryagin - Chronicle 62). The prosecutor was V.I. Popov, a senior assistant to the Procurator of Kharkov Region (he also prosecuted Koryagin - Chronicle 62); Antsupov declined a defence counsel.

The prosecution evidence against Antsupov included two of his historical works (one of these - the book Western Cultures in the Categories of Spengler - is 447 pages long), his declarations and complaints concerning searches and emigration from the USSR, also photographs on which he is shown together with A. Zinchenko (trial in Chronicle 61) and Yu. Dzyuba under a banner saying 'Let our families go!' The testimony given by Zinchenko against Antsupov was quoted at length (Antsupov's case file includes Zinchenko's evidence against Antsupov, G. Altunyan (trial in Chronicle 62), Dzyuba, V. Nedobora (Chronicles 61, 62), A. Zdorovy (Chronicles 61, 62), and I. Kovalyov). The prosecutor demanded a sentence of seven years in camps and five in exile.

In his defence speech Antsupov proved the baseless nature

of the charges, while in his final statement he merely stated his ideological opposition to Marxism-Leninism and the social system based on it. He was sentenced to six years in strict-regime camps and five years in exile.

(During the trial the prosecutor threatened Antsupov's relatives, saying that if they continued in their attempts to emigrate, 'there would be enough room for them all where Antsupov is'.)

\* \* \*

Evgeny Mikhailovich Antsupov began to study at the Moscow Institute of Historical Archives in 1957. In 1959 he was expelled from the Young Communist League for distributing pamphlets he had produced himself, after which he was forced to leave the Institute. In 1968 he graduated from the History Faculty at Kharkov University. In 1968-72, while an external graduate student at Leningrad University, Antsupov wrote a dissertation entitled The Marxist methodology of history: its role, place, extent and aims. He was not allowed to defend it publicly, as it attempted to prove that the establishment of communism would be impossible for 250-70 years at least. In 1974, on the basis of this dissertation, Antsupov wrote a work, On the date of the next war, its theatre and the likely number of participants, in which he asserted that the Third World War would begin in 1987, plus or minus six years, and that the USSR would lose its role as a great power in this war. He sent this work to various official departments (including the Ministry of Defence and the Central Committee of the CPSU).

\* \* \*

Antsupov is serving his sentence in Mordovian Camp 3.

#### The Trial of Raisa Rudenko

The trial of Raisa Afanasevna Rudenko (born 1939; arrested on 15 April - Chronicle 62), charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code), took place from 17 to 20 August in the Kiev City Court. The charges against R. Rudenko were:

- she had typed and stored works by her husband N. Rudenko;
- she had publicly defended her husband;
- she had stored works by O. Berdnik;
- she had distributed information on the arrest of A. Shevchenko and V. Shevchenko (trial in Chronicle 60) and the 'Open Letter to Russian and Ukrainian Historians' by Yu. Badzo, which was confiscated from R. Rudenko at the Kiev station in Moscow (Chronicle 57);
- she had associated with enemies of Soviet power from abroad (the case evidence included a letter from M. Makarenko, who left the USSR in 1978 (Chronicle 51), written from West Germany and recommending the compilation of information on political prisoners and their families. R. Rudenko does not know Makarenko and never received this letter.)

R. Rudenko declined the services of a defence counsel. She had wanted to engage Nemerinskaya (Chronicle 58), but received a telegram from Voroshilovgrad stating that the latter was on holiday until 15 August; at the trial R. Rudenko again asked for Memerinskaya, but a telegram came stating that she was busy on another case.

R. Rudenko admitted that she had stored her husband's

works. She had not known that papers belonging to others were stored in her home. The prosecutor demanded a sentence of seven years in camps and five years' exile. The sentence passed was five years in strict-regime camps and five years in exile.

\* \* \*

R. Rudenko is serving her sentence in Mordovian Camp 3.

#### The Trial of Kampov

In 1977 Pavel Kampov (born 1929) was released early from exile - as an invalid of the second group - and returned to Uzhgorod (see Chronicles 33, 42, 45). He could not find work (Chronicle 47), and so began to seek permission to emigrate (Chronicle 51). He was summoned for interrogation after the arrests of Ginzburg, Lukyanenko (Chronicle 48), Meshko and Kandyba.

\* \* \*

On 22-23 April 1981 six KGB officials carried out a search at Kampov's home. They confiscated notebooks, letters, a photograph of Sakharov, a reply from the Canadian Embassy to Kampov's application for emigration to Canada, a reply from the governor of the state of Pennsylvania in the USA, the manuscript of his book Educate Men in Goodness (in Ukrainian) and a review of it from the publishing house 'Carpathia', and manuscripts of academic articles.

On 13 July six policemen carried out a search of Kampov's home and arrested him (at that time he was an invalid of the first [severest] group). A medical examination was arranged for Kampov. A commission headed by Professor Kotelyansky assigned Kampov to the second rank of invalids. Afterwards Kampov was taken to Dnepropetrovsk - where he was deprived of his invalid status altogether.

After that, Kampov was accused of having obtained invalid status by fraudulent means and sentenced under article 83, part 3, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Misappropriation of state property...by means of fraud') to ten years in strict-regime camps and three years in exile. In a letter to the UN Kampov writes:

I will describe my illness. My left eye became diseased back in 1944 and now it's completely blind. The right eye, according to the testimony of doctors in Dnepropetrovsk, has 10% vision, but according to a report by Professor Kotelyansky - only 7%.

I first began to see badly with the right eye in 1968. In the KGB prison in Uzhgorod, Investigator Belotserkovsky beat me repeatedly around the head and eyes. Once, after a beating, blood flowed from my chest. The doctors at the tuberculosis clinic decided that this was the result of a blow; there must be a note of this in the prison records.

Throughout my 13 months of solitary confinement in the KGB prison in 1970, a 200-watt bulb burned day and night, all the time, in my cell. My eyes hurt, but the doctors were not summoned. They confined themselves to not giving me books to read.

In 1971, in the Mordovian camps, my disability became worse when I developed a spinal trauma and my right eye began to hurt terribly. I was taken to hospital. My spine

was treated, but no one treated my eye. Only medical auxiliary Panikhidin - a chauffeur by profession - poked around in my eye. The eye stopped seeing.

In 1973, in the Perm camps, Dr Nesterenko prescribed a course of treatment for me, but the treatment was not carried out. In the same year a doctor from the Perm Medical Institute declared me an invalid of the second group.

From 1973 onwards I suffered from pneumonia for three years. Throughout the three years I had a high temperature. In 1977 the regional special commission on diagnosis of eyes declared me an invalid of the second group. I had never asked anyone for invalid status, as I was being treated terribly. In 1977 I was ill in Uzhgorod Hospital for over four months and was discharged while still ill.

In 1978 I fell ill in the Uzhgorod regional clinic attached to Uzhgorod University, under Professor Kotelyansky. After that the Uzhgorod Commission granted me invalid status of the first group. The diagnosis was: chronic pneumonia, arterial sclerosis, complete atrophy of the left eye and partial atrophy of the right...

On 13 July 1981 Investigator Raiko asked Metenko, chief of the Uzhgorod town police, what should be done with me. Metenko answered that I should be arrested: he had received a telephone call from Sirik, head of the regional MVD department, who had told him that the KGB had agreed on this together with Procurator Kravchenko and Bandrovsky, an official of the regional CPSU committee. The prison governor Barashnikov knows of this.

When I was taken from the prison to Dnepropetrovsk, the doctor asked Raiko why he was asking that Kampov should be deprived of invalid status. He replied that this was a special case. I asked Raiko if he did not fear God in behaving like this. He replied that the KGB was doing it all - he himself was of no account.

(See 'In the Prisons and Camps' below.)

#### The Arrest of Plakhotnyuk

As a result of a beating in Kiev on 8 April (Chronicle 62), Nikolai Plakhotnyuk spent about a month in hospital (it turned out that he had broken ribs and that the outer parts of the lower lumbar vertebrae had been damaged). When he was discharged, he was warned that the after-effects of the beating could manifest themselves at any time in severe pain, an inability to move freely and in rheumatic complications.

Plakhotnyuk [a qualified doctor] was not able to find a job in Kiev or Kiev Region. Finally, after wandering round various departments for a long time, he was sent by the Ministry of Health to Cherkassy regional health centre, which sent him to the Lashkov anti-tuberculosis clinic (although not long before, he had received a written refusal from this clinic because there were no vacancies). From the clinic Plakhotnyuk was sent for further training, to add to his qualifications, at the hospital attached to the anti-tuberculosis clinic in Cherkassy. It turned out that there was in fact no training course. Plakhotnyuk was registered as a student intern and received a salary one-third less than that of a doctor. He went to live in a hostel in the suburbs of Cherkassy. As he had not been able to increase



his professional qualifications there Plakhotnyuk applied to the authorities, asking to be sent for training to the permanent courses in Kiev, Lvov, Zhitomir or one of the towns in the RSFSR. The senior doctor at the clinic refused. At the same time his closest colleagues tried to start conversations with him on political themes he did not agree with.

At the very beginning of September Plakhotnyuk ran into V.I. Sokolov, whom he had got to know at the regional psychiatric hospital in Smela, where Plakhotnyuk used to listen for hours to Sokolov's stories, but had broken off relations with him after he had tried to steal his watch. Now Sokolov fervently begged his forgiveness for his 'lapse' and insisted on meeting him again, asking Plakhotnyuk to write a request to Sokolov's superiors that he be allowed to visit friends on Saturdays and Sundays (the 25-year-old Sokolov was serving a period of 'compulsory labour' without imprisonment in Cherkassy, for committing a crime).

On Friday 4 September, some men who said they were builders turned up at the hostel; they stayed in an empty room opposite Plakhotnyuk's. On 5 September Plakhotnyuk left, as he always did, to spend Saturday and Sunday with his fiancée Valentina Chornovil (sister of Vyacheslav Chornovil). On the evening of 6 September Plakhotnyuk returned. Sokolov was waiting for him outside the hostel. Since it was late, Plakhotnyuk allowed him to stay the night.

At about 11 p.m. one of the 'builders' went down to use the warden's telephone on the first floor and called the police. Meanwhile two other 'builders' were breaking down the door to Plakhotnyuk's room. When the police arrived they arrested Plakhotnyuk. He was charged under article 122, part 2, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Homosexuality').

A witness in Plakhotnyuk's case is a certain E.V. Zekunov (who had earlier received a suspended sentence for manufacturing narcotics and had been medically examined and treated at the Smela regional psychiatric hospital.) With Zekunov's assistance Plakhotnyuk is being charged with 'giving alcohol to a minor'.

V.P. Ishchenko, an investigator of the District Procuracy, is in charge of the pre-trial investigation. Plakhotnyuk is pleading not guilty and is writing complaints to supervisory bodies.

Ishchenko has threatened Valentina Chornovil with criminal proceedings for her refusal to give evidence. V. Chornovil sent a complaint giving a detailed account of the circumstances of the case to the USSR Procurator-General.

On 30 September Plakhotnyuk was taken to the Cherkassy regional psychiatric hospital for an examination. He was declared responsible. Afterwards he was sent for a second examination to the Serbsky Institute in Moscow, where he arrived on 30 December.

#### The Arrest of Goryn (Horyn)

On 26 March Mikhail Goryn sent a declaration to the head of the Lvov KGB, M.P. Cherpak, in which he described how, during the search of 24 March, a sealed envelope containing a typewritten text had been planted among his possessions (Chronicle 62). He states:

If I am punished for an article I have written or a public

speech, I can protest against the definition of my action or I have to admit that such an event occurred. And if I do not want to come into conflict with the authorities, I can adjust my behaviour to the circumstances. In such a case I am active, otherwise I become passive, the object of someone else's ill will - and thus wholly defenceless and helpless, as this no longer concerns an activity which is against the law or the already legalized establishment of authority, but an imitation (or forgery) of such activity. If I were punished for such a document, it would no longer be punishment but something quite outrageous and absolutely impermissible in a normal Constitutional state.

I appeal to you to find out who among your employees was responsible for this wholly amoral and criminal deed, unprecedented in the Lvov area, which is a great misfortune for me and no less dramatic for the department you are in charge of.

After all, it would be enough to have a precedent which no one resisted for the wheel of the struggle for law, order and security in our country to begin to turn with rapid acceleration in the opposite direction. We have all experienced such a situation and remember well how dearly the people paid for it.

On 8 and 19 May, during the investigation of Kandyba's case, and on 24 July, at his trial (see above), Goryn refused to give evidence; because of this, a criminal case was brought against him on 11 September under article 173 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Refusal...of a witness to give evidence...'). V.G. Patsyukevich, Investigator of the Procuracy of Zheleznodorozhny District in Lvov, was in charge of the case.

During an interrogation on the case Goryn stated:

Both during the pre-trial investigation and at the court hearing, I refused to give evidence because of moral and ethical considerations, although I was warned that I could be held criminally responsible for my refusal.

I consider there is nothing criminal in my actions, as I really had no continuous or frequent contacts with Kandyba in recent years; in addition, Kandyba has been a close acquaintance and friend since we were students at university and I considered it unethical to take part in the trial as a witness for the prosecution.

On 4 November Patsyukevich carried out a search at the home of Goryn. Nothing was confiscated. On 5 November Goryn was charged under article 179 and signed an undertaking not to leave town. On 26 November the janitress came to the Goryns and said that they should put the number of their flat on the door of their cellar. Goryn's wife agreed. Goryn was surprised by this request, as they had lived in the house for about twenty years and had never done this before. On the same evening he went down to the cellar and carefully inspected the old newspapers and journals there, but noticed nothing unusual. On the evening of the 27th he carefully looked round the cellar again.

On 28 November Lieutenant Trikalets, Inspector of the Criminal Investigation Department of Krasnoarmeisky District in Lvov, carried out a search at the home of Goryn 'in connection with a burglary in a flat'. Without looking round the flats the searchers went down to the cellar, where they immediately discovered a cellophane packet which, as it

turned out, contained three copies of a typed text (five pages long) entitled 'Social research concerning the mechanism of Russification in the Ukraine', and a note: 'M.N., I've looked this over, we must complete it and then publish it'. Goryn at once declared that this was a provocation. On 29 November Goryn sent a declaration to Cherpak:

In the last eight months I have endured four searches. During the search on 24 March 1981 a document was confiscated which did not belong to me but had been planted on me by Major Senkevich while the search record was being drawn up. Although the provocation was not wholly successful, it nevertheless alarmed me deeply.

Since that hour I have found myself under the strict surveillance of Major Senkevich. He has summoned my friends, acquaintances and relatives for chats. These concerned not only what I think, say and do, what kind of questions they should put to me, what sort of conversations to have with me; it was also suggested to some of them that they should write something against me or my family. This constant penchant for playing some dirty trick on me, not just doing one's duty in good conscience, has deprived me of confidence in the future...

Describing the search on 28 November and the events which preceded it, Goryn writes:

I appeal to your intelligence. I appeal to your feeling of responsibility for what is happening to us now and will happen tomorrow. Look at my declaration objectively. Don't allow a crime to take place under cover of the law! He who defends state interests by criminal means is living for today alone. He does not understand that by undermining the legal and moral foundations of society, he is dealing it a heavy blow and depriving it of a good future. A society without faith in the victory of justice, law and order cannot live normally. By losing faith in that we lose faith in the meaning of life.

Goryn backs up his argument with various proofs (the numbering of the cellar, because it was necessary to know precisely where the forged material should be planted; the search on a Saturday without the sanction of the Procurator; the packet was thrown right on the floor, not hidden among the papers; the illiteracy of the title - 'social' instead of 'sociological'; the text, which Goryn had managed to read, 'had the appearance of something hastily thrown together, in a style which someone even slightly experienced in writing would not have used'; the note of 'criminal content' which was attached to the text; for some reason three copies at once had been provided for review); and ends with these words:

If all this does not convince you, if you have no wish to investigate this case, then it means that prison now awaits me - in essence, eternal imprisonment, not for any crime committed, but for a base fabrication of a crime, which will weigh heavily on those who organized and carried it out.

On 1 December Goryn sent a declaration to V.F. Dobrik, General Secretary of the Lvov Regional Party Committee:

I am hoping that you will intervene, all the more so

because recently so much has been said about people's moral health as a pledge of the movement forward. I rely on your intervention, as there must be a man who will say a principled 'no' to such behaviour...

On 3 December at 7.45 a.m. Goryn was searched again. The search, carried out 'in connection with the case of M. Goryn, charged under article 62, part 2, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code', lasted for over 13 hours (34 items were confiscated). After the search Goryn was taken away.

On 4 December V.M. Dorosh, Senior Assistant to the Procurator of Lvov Region, officially informed Goryn's wife Olga Goryn that her husband had been arrested and was in the Lvov KGB Prison. The officials refused to take a food parcel from O. Goryn.

\* \* \*

Mikhail Nikolayevich Goryn (born 1930) served a six-year sentence in 1965-71 under article 62, part 1, of the Ukrainian Code (Chronicles 7, 11, 15 and 21). After his release from the camps he worked as a stoker. Recently he had worked as a psychologist in the economics laboratory of the All-Union Society 'Kineskop'.

#### The Fortieth Anniversary of Baby Yar

On 20 September, 21 Jewish refuseniks from Kiev sent a letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

Forty years ago, on 29 September, Baby Yar in the town of Kiev became the scene of a tragedy which has shocked the world. Thousands of old men, women and children were exterminated merely because they were Jews. This tragedy was possible as a result of the ideological, philosophical and social distortions which triumphed in Germany after the National-Socialists came to power. All this began, however, with insignificant but gradually increasing legal restrictions, which ended in open genocide.

Of course at first insignificant violations of legality do not necessarily lead to a tragedy like Baby Yar. However, as we admit that the possibility of such a development does nevertheless exist, we appeal to you to end immediately those violations of the law which have already increasingly been taking place in Kiev over the last two years.

We members of the Jewish families were first deprived of work and forced to break all social ties, before we could make use of our lawful right to choose our place of residence and apply for emigration to Israel. Then many of us were unlawfully deprived of that right, mostly on the pretext that we had no close relatives in Israel. As experience has shown, those labelled as refuseniks will never be allowed to find work which corresponds to their education or the level of their qualifications, our children will never be able to receive an education corresponding to their abilities, while pensioners will be unable to receive proper social security. Moreover, it has become almost impossible to find even unqualified work. On the other hand this label makes the local authorities suspicious and distrustful of us, as the constant surveillance of us by the police and the state security forces shows. In fact we have been ostracized. And that is not all. From

time to time some among us are deprived of the label of refusenik and given that of petty hooligan, blackguard, criminal, drug addict, storer of arms or parasite. Those kinds of labels were used by the Kiev authorities in sentencing the refuseniks Valery Pilnikov (five years), Kim Fridman (one year), Vladimir Kislik (three years) and Stanislav Zubko (four years), as well as in numerous administrative arrests. Undoubtedly, there are innumerable labels and so it is not beyond the realm of possibility that some of us may yet be made into anti-Soviet activists, speculators, black-marketeers, rapists or thieves, if illegality does not come to an end.

The extent of our lack of rights and humiliation can be judged by this fact alone: not everyone in Kiev is now allowed to honour the memory of the victims of Baby Yar. On 31 May last year police and KGB men, headed by KGB Captain R.M. Novikov, simply broke up a gathering of refuseniks at Baby Yar, while on 29 September the same year, at the police station of the Lenin District in Kiev, where refuseniks had gathered because of an attempt to arrest one of them, KGB Major V.G. Odintsov declared: 'If any of you appears today at Baby Yar, he can regard himself as an eternal refusenik'.

AN ETERNAL REFUSENIK - the most sinister mark of eternal doom! It is unnecessary to exterminate people physically. A constant moral pogrom is no less terrible. What is the aim of the Kiev authorities? What may they yet do?

\* \* \*

On 24 September the Kiev refuseniks Svetlana Efanova, Valery Kanevsky (Chronicles 57, 62) and Vladimir Tereshchenko (Chronicle 62) were sentenced to 15 days each for 'petty hooliganism'.

\* \* \*

On the evening of 22 September a policeman brought a summons to the flat of Oleg Popov in Moscow, asking Popov to go to the police station on 23 September at 6 p.m. As Popov did not come at the appointed time, a local policeman and another man came to the door of the Popovs' flat at 6.30 p.m. and for 15 minutes tried to persuade O.A. Popov to open the door, as he had to speak to him 'urgently'. The door was not opened.

The next day, at seven o'clock in the morning, a man who said he was the local police chief rang at the door. He said he had something to discuss with Popov. This turned out to be a police lieutenant, who had brought a piece of paper asking Popov to go to Police Station No. 54 at seven o'clock. The lieutenant did not know why, or so he said. 'A car is waiting for you downstairs, at the entrance.' 'Tell them that I'll come at nine o'clock.' The lieutenant departed. At about 9 a.m. Popov went to Police Station No. 54, found the police chief and asked what the matter was. 'Someone wants to talk to you.' 'And what's his name?' 'I don't know. It's our boss' - the police chief pointed upwards somewhere. - 'Please wait, Oleg Alexeyevich, he'll come in about twenty minutes. I've just rung him.' Forty minutes later two brawny men in civilian clothes drove up. 'Get in, please. We won't take up more than ten minutes of your time.' 'Where are you from? And why do you want to talk to me?' 'That's not important. What difference does it make to you where we're from? We'll tell you what we have to, that's all.' 'Well, all right, if your own police chief calls you his bosses, you must be from the KGB, of course.'

'Why must we be from the KGB? Perhaps we're from the Procuracy or from the Likhachyov Factory?' 'All right, say what you want to, I've got to go to court as a witness. And the trial's at 11 o'clock.'

An unknown man If you want to emigrate you'd better not be seen in Kiev. Understand?

Popov I don't understand anything. Why shouldn't I be seen in Kiev?

Unknown You understand everything perfectly! You've already arranged everything... Let me repeat: if you or any of your friends - Tesmenitsky, Magarik, Brodsky and so on - meet at Baby Yar, then remember that Kiev isn't Moscow. There you'll be treated differently. You'll be travelling to other - colder - territories. You understand it all quite well. You've already prepared the wreaths. And you've probably prepared a speech as well? And sewn yellow stars on yourselves!

Popov Now I understand you, of course. You don't want people to mark the anniversary of the execution of Jews by the Nazis at Baby Yar. By the way, why mustn't we put wreaths on the monument at Baby Yar? Is it illegal, or what?

Unknown Honest Soviet citizens can do so. But we won't allow nationalists to.

Popov Aren't Jews Soviet citizens? What does it mean - some can and some can't?

Unknown Why are you only talking about Jews? The whole Soviet people suffered during the war, but you remember only the Jews. And the wreaths you bring aren't ordinary ones, but ones with ribbons. And on the ribbon there's an inscription: 'We shall remember you in our historic homeland'. Who gave the nationalists the right to consider Israel the historic homeland of the Jews? The principle isn't WHERE the wreaths are laid, but WHO lays the wreaths. The neo-Fascists take wreaths to the tombs of Goering and Goebbels, you know!

Popov So it seems you're comparing the Jews shot by the Nazis to Goebbels and Goering?! And Soviet Jews to Fascists?

Unknown I'm saying that we won't allow nationalism to be propagated! That's the message. I'm warning you very seriously. Times have changed. So you pass it on to all your people. Otherwise it'll turn out very badly. Chernobylsky will be getting his seven years! Have you understood me?

Popov No, I don't understand. What times have changed?

Unknown It's sad that you don't understand. Lerner turned out to be wiser than you. He put an end to his seminar. But you still go on preventing Soviet people from working! What are you thinking of? Baby Yar isn't Opalikhina<sup>24</sup>. What are you laughing at?

Popov Don't pay any attention at all to me. You say what you want. I'm listening to you with the greatest of interest! How am I preventing Soviet people from working, by the way? I'm not breaking the law.

Unknown You are breaking it. You're preaching nationalism. And that we won't allow!

Popov How you harp on about 'nationalism' here and 'nationalism' there! How have the laws been broken?

Unknown You don't understand? Well, I'll explain to you. Nationalist propaganda undermines internationalism. You see? No? But subversion of internationalism is subversion of our ideology. You still don't understand? Subversion

of our ideology is subversion of our system, and that strengthens our enemies. Have you read the speeches of Comrade Gromyko? Don't smile. I'm telling you straight: by the summer there won't be a single democrat or nationalist left in Moscow. We're making Moscow a communist city! I must tell you, Oleg Alexeyevich, that in recent times you have strangely changed. I don't understand it. First you were regarded as a democrat, then you went over to the Zionists. And even now you can't make up your mind among them. You've become a nationalist.

Popov (laughing) What sort of nationalist am I?

Unknown There's a proverb 'Tell me who your friends are and I'll tell you who you are'. Your friends - Tesmenitsky, Magarik, Brodsky and Chernobylsky - are fanatical nationalists. If you want to emigrate, stop interfering with other people's lives. Are you a Jew?

Popov What does that matter?

Unknown But you're going to the USA, of course?

Popov No, to Israel, but so what?

Unknown Have you got relatives in Israel? Close or distant relatives?

Popov Yes, I have. Middling relatives.

Unknown Well, now you'll get a refusal because your relationship is too distant. You'll have to go to OVIR. Let them look over your case and hand you a refusal because your relationship is too distant.

Popov (smiling) Comrades from the Likhachyov Factory, this is just blackmail. It's not fair! If I don't behave myself as I 'should', you'll punish me.

Unknown No, it's not blackmail. You obviously don't much want to emigrate. So you'll end up in other, colder places.

The Other Man Kislik and Oleinik have already got what they deserved. You probably don't want to be where they are?

Popov (smiling) No, I don't.

The Unknown If you want to emigrate, then don't show up in Kiev. Pass it on to your friends - Magarik, Tesmenitsky and the others. Don't turn up in Kiev! Otherwise, instead of going to Israel they'll be going in the opposite direction. You've got children, haven't you?

Popov Yes, two.

Unknown Think of your children! And your wife! Think seriously about your words. We won't allow you to stir things up any more! Are you laughing? Not wise! Well, we've warned you. Don't think of meeting up in Kiev. I'll be honest with you - it's not in my interests for new democrats or nationalists to go off to 'distant parts'. It's better for them to go off to Israel or wherever.

Popov Yes, I see you're well informed: you know so many names - Brodsky, Chernobylsky. So of course you're from the KGB. Have you got anything else to tell me? If not, then I'll be on my way. (Popov rose and went towards the exit.)

Unknown On the way, think about what we said to you! Greetings to your family!

On 25 September Zinchenko, the deputy head of the Moscow Administration for Visas and Registration, threatened not to give emigration visas to V. Magarik (Chronicle 62) and to imprison him for 'organizing expeditions to Kiev'.

\* \* \*

On 27 September, throughout the day, no fewer than 100 policemen and 'civilians' were to be found in the area around the monument to the victims of Baby Yar. Not far away stood four large empty buses. All the roads leading to Baby Yar were patrolled by police cars or KGB. A large number of police and 'civilians' were at the railway station and the airport.

Moisei Ravich, Evgeniya Nartova and Aleksei Lorentsson (Chronicles 60, 62), who had come from Moscow, were detained at the station. Ravich (seventy years old and a veteran of the Second World War) and Nartova were put on a train and taken back to Moscow under police guard, while Lorentsson was sentenced to 15 days 'for using obscene language' by Judge Vlasenko of the Zheleznodorozhny District People's Court, who did not even glance at him while doing so.

Pavel Astrakhan and Mikhail Elman, who had come to Kiev from Leningrad, reached Baby Yar by taxi. They went towards the monument, carrying a wreath with a black ribbon which bore the words 'To your eternal memory. Leningrad, 1981'. About ten policemen in civilian clothes came up to them and declared that the ribbon was the wrong colour. They took the ribbon off, but were still not allowed to go right up to the monument. Astrakhan was taken to a nearby police station, where Elman was soon brought to join him. The next day they both received ten-day sentences.

Alexander Kushnir, Yan Mesh, Valery Pevzner and Yuly Shvarts from Odessa were detained in Baby Yar district and sent to the airport. However, later they managed to return, carrying flowers, and were allowed to go up to the monument in pairs (each pair was guarded by eight men) and deposit the flowers. After that they were put into cars and driven to the station. All the time until the train went they were accompanied by policemen, even inside the train.

On 29 September four 'civilians', who refused to show their identity cards, grabbed the Kiev refusenik Grigory Ostrovsky when he left work, and took him to the Zheleznodorozhny District UVD. (Ostrovsky recognized KGB official V.G. Odintsov - Chronicles 56, 57 - and his own 'watchdog' from the KGB.)

Ostrovsky was told that he was suspected of burglary. They refused to make out a record of the detention. On the morning of 30 September his wife was told at the police station that her husband was not among those detained the day before.

\* \* \*

On 29 September Ukrainian television showed the film 'Baby Yar - The Lessons of History'. The film script had been written by the Kiev dramatist and film-producer Alexander Shlayen. The 'Ukrainfilm' studio had accepted the script and Shlayen had based the film on it. Later, on the instructions of the studio director, the film was remade by the writer Vitaly Korotich, the editor Khem Salganik and the producer Vladimir Georgienko, who changed the meaning of the script. Shlayen protested against this - and was dismissed. On the day before the film was shown, he sent a telegram to the USSR Procurator-General, asking him to ban the showing, but received no reply.

\* \* \*

Thirty-eight Jewish refuseniks from Moscow sent an 'Open Letter' to the USSR Ministry of Justice on 29 September (copies were sent to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Procurator of Kiev, and the UN Commission on Human

Rights).

We know Lorentsson as a deeply religious man, incapable of any act of hooliganism. We protest against the unlawful detention of A.V. Lorentsson by internal security forces in Kiev. We demand the immediate release from detention of Alexei Vladimirovich Lorentsson.

On 3 October, 29 Jewish refuseniks from Moscow sent an 'Open Letter' to the Central Committee of the CPSU. After describing the events in Moscow and Kiev from 24 to 27 September, they write:

What do all these people have in common? Why are they being subjected to persecution and repression, threats and insults, merely for wanting to honour the memory of victims of Nazi genocide, the memory of their fathers and grandfathers?

The KGB officials themselves gave us an answer: 'We won't allow nationalists to lay wreaths at Baby Yar!' In the language of the KGB, 'nationalists' are Jews who want to emigrate to Israel. That is, all of us. And this equates us with neo-Fascists. So under threat of punishment we are forbidden to visit the graves of those dear to us. ...We don't ask anything of you, we don't demand anything. We are merely informing you what has happened. It is no revelation to us. It is just another confirmation of the fact that we Jews who wish to emigrate to Israel are being placed outside the law.

On the same day 75 Muscovites and five people from Odessa wrote a letter to Brezhnev:

...For many years Baby Yar thus remained a wilderness. It was only five years ago that a monument was erected there, whose inscription fails to mention that this was a place where the victims were Jews. Despite this, Jews from the USSR and other countries have always come here on 29 September to honour the memory of the nameless victims. Any attempt to obstruct those who wish to honour the memory of the dead would be blasphemous. Nevertheless, such a blasphemy has taken place...

What happened in Kiev was monstrous. It is an insult to the memory of those who died in the war, an insult to Soviet Jews, and to all who fought, or still fight, against Fascism.

We demand that you interfere; defend those who have innocently suffered, and put an end to the disgraceful way in which the memory of war victims is being outraged.

\* \* \*

On 10 October the Muscovite Beatrisa Elkina and Kiev residents Igor Gerashchenko, Irini Ratushinskaya, Leonid Varvak, Mark Mikhlín and David Chérny appealed to the Procurator of Kiev to bring a case against persons connected with the arrest of Lorentsson.

At 11 a.m. on 12 October Lorentsson should have been released. His mother, who had come from Moscow, was waiting to meet him, together with Irina Ratushinskaya (Chronicle 62), Anna Zubko and Galina Dmitrieva. At 11 o'clock the official on duty, Golubenko, came out and told them to 'clear off at once', threatening to set a guard dog on them. He even started to do this, but stopped, as people came running up. Lorentsson was not released at the appointed

time.

In the evening he was taken to the station in a closed car and put on the Moscow train. The money for the train fare was confiscated twice - once from Ravich and once from Lorentsson himself. On parting, the KGB official said to him: 'Remember, Kiev isn't Moscow! Here Soviet power is still strong! So learn that yourself, and pass it on to others: you'd better not come here with wreaths'.

The chairman of the Zheleznodorozhny District People's Court in Kiev, Z.F. Andreyeva, refused to give a copy of the court's judgment either to Lorentsson himself or to his mother.

#### Miscellaneous

##### Kharkov

On 29 July the Chernozavodsky District People's Court, with Yu.V. Shostko presiding, sentenced Yury Dzyuba to three months' corrective labour at his place of work, 'with deduction of 20% of his wages by the state', for his refusal to give evidence at the trial of A. Koryagin (Chronicle 62).

##### Odessa

On 30 June a search was carried out at the home of Pётr Butov. Afterwards he was interrogated three times; he was told that this was in connection with the case of the journal Poiski (Searches). The police were also interested in whether he was a correspondent for the Chronicle of Current Events.

##### Kiev

Natalya Parkhomenko (Chronicles 61, 62) has been expelled from the Komsomol and from the University (she only had to defend her thesis). 'We won't allow you to become a Soviet journalist', the rector told her.

At the beginning of August, at the republic's KGB headquarters, a captain who did not give his name read out a warning to her 'according to the Decree': 'she shared the anti-Soviet convictions of her husband (S. Naboka - Chronicle), took part in producing and disseminating anti-Soviet documents'. N. Parkhomenko signed the warning.

A warning 'according to the Decree' was also read out to L. Milyavsky's wife Irina. At Milyavsky's place of work a meeting was held, at which KGB officials said that Milyavsky had helped to produce a pornographic journal 'which would make men's hair stand on end, but he showed it to women'. Andrei and Tatyana Gorban and Sergei Kalinichenko (who were witnesses at the two men's trial) were also given a warning 'according to the Decree'.

\* \* \*

In July Svetlana Kirichenko (Chronicle 62), wife of political prisoner Yu. Badzh, had her telephone disconnected.

\* \* \*

On 27 July Valery Marchenko (released from exile in May - Chronicle 62) wrote a declaration to Lyashko, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR:

I returned home, to where I was registered, and now have already been trying to find work for quite a long time. Although it is not my fault that none of my attempts has

been crowned with success, I am being threatened with criminal prosecution for so-called parasitism.

On 24 June Marchenko had written a declaration to the head of the Kiev city education department, A.I. Tymchik, asking to be allotted work as a teacher of Ukrainian language and literature. After receiving a refusal ('although a legal consultant had assured me...that I had a full right to work as a teacher'), Marchenko decided 'to find work in an institution which had nothing to do with politics and had been separated by decree from the state'.

I went to the residence of the Metropolitan of Kiev, where, on being received by Archbishop Makary, I offered my services as a literary assistant for a vacant job on the periodical Orthodox Messenger. The Metropolitan's deputy literally said the following: 'Your life story being what it is, we cannot take you on'. When I insisted on His Grace being told of my case, I was given the reply 'That's not realistic'.

At the 'Kievlift' organization, when chief engineer Sergiichuk got to know that Marchenko had served a sentence for anti-Soviet activity, he sent him off to the section dealing with heavy physical labour. All that Marchenko was offered at the Radyansk District Labour Exchange was unsuitable, 'either because of my state of health, or for lack of qualifications, or because of the restrictions imposed by the district police'. The library of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences at first wanted to take him, but on seeing his documents rejected him.

At the end of his declaration Marchenko writes:

In connection with the above, I ask you to make it possible for me to be given the job of museum attendant at the state-preserved Kiev Cave Monastery. Before I told them my biography, I was told at the personnel department that the post was free and I could certainly work there. I have not yet applied to the director, Yu.D. Kibalnik (telephone 97-41-47), in order to avoid a direct refusal, and so I hope that your intervention will finally put an end to this chain of refusals for jobs where vacancies exist.

This declaration was sent on to Kibalnik from the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, after which Marchenko received an answer stating that he could be given the job of attendant or a similar post.

\* \* \*

At the beginning of November Marchenko received a telephone call from a man who said he had been a camp inmate, a criminal. He threatened Marchenko (with a beating, a knifing, and so on).

\* \* \*

On 30 October a search was carried out at the home of Lyubov Murzhenko, wife of the political prisoner A. Murzhenko. On 11 November she was interrogated in connection with the case of I. Kovaliv (see 'The Arrest of Ivan Kovaliv').

\* \* \*

At Kiev University, during his lectures on scientific communism, Professor Khizhnyak said that the Soviet Union was

using its experience of 1956 in relation to Poland, and that Soviet troops would go into Poland, as the Workers' Party was being threatened there. 'Polish students, especially, are behaving disgracefully', he maintained.

#### Lvov Region

At the end of 1981, at the Lvov KGB headquarters, Dmitry Basarab was given a warning 'according to the Decree' in the presence of the Procurator. This cautioned him against anti-Soviet activity. Basarab served a 25-year sentence in the camps. In 1972 he had a heart-attack in camp. He was released not earlier than April 1978 (Chronicle 52). He is now living with his sister in the town of Stryi in Lvov Region.

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See also 'Persecution of Believers' and 'The Right to Leave'.

#### EVENTS IN GEORGIA

On 30 March, the day when the ninth congress of Georgian writers opened in Tbilisi, a demonstration took place in front of Government House with banners saying 'Stop the persecution of Georgians in the Abkhaz ASSR', 'Observe article 75 of the Georgian SSR Constitution' (on the Georgian language - Chronicle 49), 'Freedom for A. Markozia', 'Solidarity with young Georgian writers' and 'Preserve the monuments in Tbilisi to King David the Builder, Queen Tamara and Tsotne Dadiani'.

Shevardnadze left the congress hall to meet the demonstrators. He promised to arrange a public discussion at the university to consider the demonstrators' demands, and to invite their representatives to it. On 20 April Shevardnadze had a meeting with university officials in the university assembly hall. Only a few of the demonstrators could get into the hall.

On 18 May people gathered in the university courtyard to hand over their written 'Demands' to Shevardnadze, but the girl students Tamara Chkheidze, Marine Koshkadze, Nana Kabakadze and the school-leaver Marika Bagdavadze, who were carrying the text of the 'Demands' to the university, were detained on the way there. They were taken to Telavi and detained for six days in the Intourist Hotel. The people who had assembled in the university courtyard were dispersed.

On 20 May Zviad Gamsakhurdia (Chronicles 50, 61) handed in a copy of the 'Demands' to the reception room of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, together with the following letter to Shevardnadze:

As you promised representatives of our youth and intelligentsia to accept oral and written demands from them concerning our national problems, and to answer their questions, demands have been drawn up on the basis of a public opinion poll which are approved by an absolute majority of our nation and will if necessary be supported by mass signatures. I am giving you the text of the demands in Russian, so that you can make it known to the

First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, L.I. Brezhnev.

\* \* \*

'The Demands of the Georgian People' (six pages) consists of five sections. The section dealing with 'The Georgian Language' lists six points:

1. All demand made in the letter from the Georgian people dated 10 June 1980 concerning the Georgian language and the teaching of history in Georgian schools and establishments of higher education in the Georgian SSR should be fulfilled.
2. Article 75 of the Georgian SSR Constitution, according to which the Georgian language is the state language of the Georgian SSR, should be carried out in practice. Daily business, assemblies and meetings in all establishments should be carried on in the Georgian language, also taking into account the interests of the Russian language. Signposts in Georgian should be put up everywhere on the territory of the Georgian SSR.
3. Publishing houses in the Georgian SSR should be supplied with a sufficient quantity of paper (especially for textbooks in middle and higher establishments of education).
4. The proportion (number of hours) of radio and television programmes in Georgian should be increased, and their quality should be improved by dealing with topical national problems. A new, more powerful transmitter should be built to improve the audibility of radio broadcasts in all districts of Georgia (including Saingilo).
5. In the Georgian section of the Tbilisi College of Topography the teaching of geodesy in Russian should be abolished. The Georgian sections in polytechnics and other institutions should be expanded. The plan to diminish the Georgian sections in institutes, as foreseen in some plans, should be done away with.
6. A special factory or production workshop should be set up in Georgia to produce typewriters with Georgian typeface.

The section 'On the Abkhaz ASSR' lists nine points:

1. All demands made in the letter from the Georgian people dated January 1981 concerning the Abkhaz SSR should be fulfilled...
3. In the Abkhaz SSR the *de facto* residence policy which discriminates against Georgians, forbidding the registration of Georgians as residents on the territory of the Abkhaz SSR, should be abolished. Residents of Georgian nationality should be granted the right to divide their families and build new houses on the territory of the autonomous republic, especially in the Gagra and Gudauta districts.
4. In Gudauta district the family of B. Chaladze, who was killed by separatist provocateurs, should be given state assistance in the form of an increased pension, and a house should be built for them, as the murderer refuses to pay any compensation. The family of R. Modebadze, a bulldozer driver crippled by separatist provocateurs, should also be assigned a pension and a new house, as he has been deprived of the ability to work. The murders of Dzhedzhelava and the Chikhradze brothers should be

objectively investigated.

5. This year the Department for the Preservation of Cultural Monuments in the Georgian SSR should add to its list all those monuments of Georgian culture on the territory of the [three] Autonomous Republics which have been preserved by the state as a mere matter of formality but require serious maintenance (about fifty monuments, of which only three have been already put on the list).

The section 'Concerning Saingilo' (an area of eastern Georgia, now forming part of the Azerbaïdzhan SSR) lists 21 points:

1. It is essential for the commission set up by the USSR government to examine the question of Saingilo to meet and talk to the Georgian inhabitants of Saingilo who send letters and declarations to official bodies in the USSR, and not only to persons who hold official positions. The commission's work should take the form of an opinion poll of the population.
2. Repression and discrimination against the Georgian population of Saingilo should be ended. The destruction of gardens and vineyards owned by Georgians, the demolition of their houses with the aim of artificially settling Azerbaïdzhanis and Dagestanis on the plots of land thus freed, should be ended. Such settlement, planned for the immediate future in the village of Keshkhutan, on the plot of land where gardens and vineyards owned by Georgians formerly existed, should be stopped.
3. The Georgians of Saingilo should be given the right to divide their families and offered suitable plots of land for settlement in the Kakhi District.
4. The Georgian Moslems, who in the Kakhi, Zakataly and Belokany districts have been given passports as Azerbaïdzhanis, and designated thus in statistics, should have their nationality and real surnames returned to them.
5. In the above-mentioned districts active and constant control should be established to put an end to the terror campaign directed against the Georgians of Saingilo, and an objective investigation of crimes already committed should be carried out...
10. The population of Kakhi District should be allowed to have a Georgian newspaper, and a regular Georgian column should be provided in the district newspapers of Zakataly and Belokany.
11. The population of Saingilo should be given the opportunity to watch Georgian television broadcasts. A decision should be taken, without delay, to build a television transmission tower in Tseli-tskaro. The telephone line in Saingilo should be linked directly to the line from the Georgian SSR, as connections with Georgia through Baku take a long time and are sometimes impossible.
12. Georgian artistic and academic groups should be given the right to make visits to Saingilo.
13. The high-level commission on Saingilo of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, closed down by the Georgian government in 1973, should be reinstated...
21. The damage and destruction of Georgian cultural monuments on Saingilo territory should be ended. Georgian specialists should be officially allowed to participate in archaeological excavations on Saingilo territory.

The section 'On Meskhetia<sup>26</sup> and Dzavakheti' lists five points:

1. The construction of a surfaced road from Batumi to Adigeny should be speeded up, so that Adzharians will have the opportunity to settle in Meskhetia and Dzhavakheti.
5. The Meskhetians A. Kuradze and M. Khozrevanidze, who live and work on the Nasakirali state farm, should be given official authority to organize the resettlement of Meskhetians in Georgia (from various republics of the USSR). The resettlement of Meskhetians should be given official support.

The section on 'National problems in general' lists ten points:

1. Monuments should be erected in Tbilisi to King David the Builder, Queen Tamara, the Georgian historical hero Tsotne Dadiani, the founder of Georgian literature Yakov Tsurtaveli and the great Georgian writer and teacher Yakov Gogebashvili.
2. The artillery firing-range in the grounds of the David-Garedzha monastery complex (Chronicles 38, 42), which is destroying a unique cultural monument, should be transferred elsewhere.
3. Article 50 of the Constitution on freedom of conscience, and the laws on religious cults, and the Decree of the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet (16 March 1977) on meeting the needs of religious believers regarding the opening of churches, should be put into practice. The persecution of believers who demand that churches be opened must be ended...
8. N. Samkharadze (Chronicle 61) should be released from imprisonment on grounds of illness and advanced age.
9. The school-leaving good conduct mark should be abolished, as it encourages every kind of protectionism and bribery in secondary schools.
10. A national discussion of the above demands should be organized.

\* \* \*

On 14 October, during a Georgian religious festival in Mtskheta, the police refused to allow a group of people into the church of Sveti-Tskhoveli. One of them was detained. A number of people went to the police station to find out what had happened to him. The police called Z. Gamsakhurdia out of this group, pushed him into a car and took him away. They released him at three o'clock in the morning.

#### EVENTS IN LITHUANIA

(Mostly based on material from the Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, Nos. 48-50)

In February KGB officials in Vilnius tried to enlist the architect Jasiukevičius as an informer. In June they interrogated N. Bucevičiute, wife of V. Petkus (trial in Chronicle 50); in August they questioned J. Simiškaitė. On 29 September the home of Fr F. Baliunas in Šiauliai was searched. A typewriter, the journal Tiesos Kelias No. 12, two copies of The History of Lithuania by Ivinskis, and 35 cassettes were confiscated. After the search, Baliunas was taken to be interrogated. In the town of Prienai, two

policemen and one 'civilian' got into the home of Kazimieras Buzas, son of Povilas Buzas (trial in Chronicle 60), by pretending to be electricity inspectors, and then carried out a search.

In Vilnius Jonas Sadunas, brother of Nijole Sadunaite (Chronicle 57), had his cellar burgled. Apart from other things, all his sister's letters from camp were stolen. The police were summoned, but only came three days later. Nijole Sadunaite and Jonas Sadunas sent a complaint to the Ministry of Communications because letters are not reaching them.

In the autumn anonymous callers repeatedly telephoned Irene Gajauskiene [-Dumbryte] (Chronicle 51), wife of Balys Gajauskas (trial in Chronicle 49), at her place of work, demanding that she leave Kaunas 'in two weeks'; they threatened to kill her if she did not. On 10 November, a search was carried out at the home of her sister Laima Šulskiene.

The following have been published:

The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, No. 48 (29 June 1981), No. 49 (8 September 1981), No. 50 (8 December 1981);

Aušra (Dawn), No. 28 (September 1981);

Tiesos Kelias (Road of Truth), No. 20;

Dievas ir Tėvynė (God and Fatherland), No. 19 (17 July 1981);

Rupintojėlis (The Sorrowing Christ), No. 17.

#### The Death of B. Laurinavičius

On 21 November the newspaper Tiesa once again (see Chronicle 60) published an article sharply attacking Fr. B. Laurinavičius, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group [photograph in Chronicle 52]. Afterwards he was summoned to Vilnius by someone (his parish was in the town of Adutiškis). On 24 November, at 8.20 p.m. Laurinavičius (born 1913) was run over and crushed by a lorry. At the scene of the accident a drunk woman kept telling everyone that 'the old man was drunk, he was crossing when the red light was showing, and fell under the wheels of the lorry himself'. The police dispersed the people who gathered, but left this woman alone.

A woman whose name is not given in Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church No. 50 went to the police and stated that she had seen a man wearing a hat standing on the pavement when he was approached by some men who took him by the arms and started telling him something; the man seemingly did not want to talk to them; suddenly they pushed the man in the hat under a passing lorry. The woman was asked if she could identify these men. When she replied in the negative she was ordered to clear off. A young man, also not named by the Chronicle of the LCC, described how he had seen four young men pushing an old man under the lorry.

The lorry-driver Lazutkin said on returning to his garage that he would not be punished, as the old man had been pushed under the wheels by some other men. Later he told Laurinavičius's relatives that after passing a crossroads he had suddenly seen a man three or four metres in front of his lorry, which then knocked him down. As soon as he stopped the lorry, two young men ran up to it shouting: 'What have you done?' A traffic warden who came up wrote down the name of one of these men, but the other departed unhindered. Medical personnel who came to the scene of the accident also said that the man seemed to have been pushed



under the wheels of the lorry. The investigation of B. Laurinavičius's death is being carried out by MVD Investigator Vaitekunas.

In his will Fr Laurinavičius asked to be buried by the church in Švenčionėliai, which was built through his efforts. The District Soviet EC forbade this. The funeral of Laurinavičius on 27 November was attended by the exiled bishops Sladkevičius and Steponavičius. Following the death of Fr Laurinavičius, only the aged Ona Lukauskaite-Poškiene is left of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group.

#### Persecution of Catholics

On 23 August the traditional pilgrimage from Tytuvėnai to Šiluva (see Chronicles 48, 62) was to have taken place. At the beginning of August the priests Svarinskas, Tamkevičius, Keina, Stakenas (all members of the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights - Chronicles 51, 60) and Krikščiukaitis were summoned to their District Soviet ECs. They were read a warning from Anilionis, the Commissioner for Lithuania of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers:

The District Soviet ECs of Raseiniai and Kelme have refused, on the basis of the 'Statutes on Religious Associations', to give permission for the organization of a religious procession from Tytuvėnai to Šiluva on 23 August.

I therefore warn you that the organizers of such a procession may be subject to either administrative punishment or criminal prosecution.

In public institutions and factories, administration officials tried to persuade people not to participate in the pilgrimage. The directors of institutions and factories were ordered not to send vehicles on business trips in the direction of Šiluva until after 23 August. The Secretary of the Jurbarkas Communist Party District Committee ordered the chairmen of collective farms not to give people any means of transport until 27 August.

The administration of the republic's veterinary association told its employees to find a virus infection among swine in the state farm of Žaiginis (eight kilometres from Šiluva) and to declare the area in quarantine because of it. On 13 August the Raseiniai district newspaper announced:

Because an acutely infectious swine fever has broken out at the Žaiginis state farm, a state of quarantine has been declared in Žaiginis and the neighbouring collective farms. The entry of any means of transport or of unauthorized persons into the area of the above-mentioned farms is forbidden.

In various towns Catholics were summoned by the Procuracy and warned. An official of the Procuracy in Šiauliai, trying to justify himself, said that the whole 'preventive exercise' had not been thought up by the local authorities: the text of the 'warning' had been sent from Moscow.

On 18 August a group of school-children from the town of Kybartai, accompanied by two older girls, were setting off for an excursion. They were detained by police, who searched and questioned them, asking if they were not bound for

Šiluva. The older girls were detained at the police station until 3 p.m. on 23 August.

On 19 August KGB officials in Kaunas questioned engineer Z. Mištautas. They asked him to help them break up the pilgrimage to Šiluva. On 20 August a notice was put up at the bus station in Kelme:

There will be no buses to Tytuvėnai on 21 or 22 August. They will resume service at 12 noon on 23 August. Quarantine notice.

A notice at the bus station in Šiauliai stated that the routes to Šiluva and Kaunas had been closed. At the railway station there was an announcement that tickets to Tytuvėnai and Lyduvenai were not being sold. Trains did not stop at these stations. In each carriage policemen were standing by the doors. Even at Vidukle Station only local residents were allowed to get out. Barriers had been placed every five kilometres along the road to Žemaitija, guarded by police and veterinary officials. Traffic wardens from Latvia and Georgia were brought in to help. A Pioneer camp was removed from Tytuvėnai.

From 20 August to the evening of 23 August KGB cars kept a 24-hour watch on Fathers Svarinskas, Tamkevičius and Kauneckas (also a member of the Catholic Committee). On 22 August, in many places on the roads, all cars were being checked. Traffic wardens had a list of cars whose numbers they had to write down. During these days all roads leading to Meškuičiai, which is near the Hill of Crosses, were blocked. The Hill itself was surrounded by three rings of soldiers.

\* \* \*

On 19 August a group of young people from Vilnius went into the countryside together with Fr R. Černiauskas. They were detained by the police, questioned and sent back to Vilnius. Černiauskas was held under arrest for a week. When he was released, many people came to a service held by him in St Michael's Church. Černiauskas told the story of his arrest from the pulpit and called on young people not to fear suffering for the sake of Christ. He was loudly applauded and pelted with flowers.

About 700 believers from Vilnius appealed to the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Party to allow the exiled Bishop J. Steponavičius to return to Vilnius and resume his duties.

On 28 July in Kretinga a KGB lieutenant summoned Irena Pelionyte and asked her if anyone in Kretinga read the Chronicle of the LCC. On 14 August the local KGB chief threatened her, saying that if she did not stop going to church, she would be killed.

In August the churches in Palanga, Taurage and Laukuva were burgled. On 30 October the decorations and stained-glass windows were confiscated from the chapel in Lieplauka. In March a cross set up in remembrance of Fr Kozakauskis in Akmene was destroyed.

On 15 July, at the spot in the Rainiai woods where 73 Lithuanians were shot on 24 June 1941, an artistically made cross appeared. Two days later it had been cut into pieces and scattered about the wood. Somebody gathered up the pieces and made a cross out of them again. By 11 August there were already three crosses standing there. On the evening of 11 August soldiers uprooted the crosses. On 4 September a cross in Velebutal was destroyed.

Miss Leliunaite, a resident of Kretinga, wrote a declara-

tion to Griškevičius, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Party, concerning the cross-shrine that had been destroyed near her home (another 136 believers signed the declaration):

They destroyed the shrine at night, as if sensing the darkness of their deed, like robbers. In this way they demonstrated that the Constitution contradicts reality, as religion is being destroyed while atheism is forced on people. The atheists spit on the Constitution and on people's rights. They fanatically destroy everything connected with religion. This is demonstrated by the often-demolished Hill of Crosses, by the barbarically destroyed crosses and religious monuments along the roads, and by the churches in Plunge, Pajuris, Kelme cemetery and throughout Lithuania which have been burned and turned into storehouses...

\* \* \*

In September believers in the town of Gargždai obtained permission to erect a memorial cross.

\* \* \*

On 7 October, 'for behaviour unbecoming to a Soviet student' (participating in a meeting of young religious believers), third-year mathematics student Audrone Ginkute and second-year economics student Alfonsas Vinulovas were expelled from Vilnius University.

On 24 October Fr Kauneckas, a member of the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights, was detained by KGB official Norkunas for organizing a religious service in Šiluva.

On 25 October Varekojis, a student at the College of Irrigation Engineering, was detained near a church in Šiluva; he was held at the police station for several hours. On the night of 25 October ten people who had set off from Kelme to Šiluva were detained by police. A. Ščenavičius and his family were setting off for Šiluva on 25 October when they were detained by police.

The electricity was cut off in the village church in Zarenai. On 23 September Fr A. Pridotkas wrote a protest to the Lithuanian SSR Electricity Board. In Pilviškiai, Pagiriai, Kybartai, Vilkaviškis, Medingenai, Šilute, Veisiejai and Prienai parents whose children sing in the church choir have been summoned to the school.

In September children of believers in the town of Krakes were summoned to the District Procuracy. They were asked who had given them religious literature. On 22 October Jadvyga Ziliute, a pensioner and former teacher in the town of Kretinga, was summoned to the District Soviet EC. She was told to cease her religious propaganda among young people.

Believers in the town of Kedainiai (491 signatures) have sent a declaration to Griškevičius asking that believers' children who are being harassed for their religious convictions should be left in peace; in the same declaration they ask for the closure of a wine shop.

In March the chapel in the village of Dambraives was demolished. Believers sent a demand to Griškevičius (46 signatures), asking that it should be restored. In Plunge the priest, Fr A. Milerius, unexpectedly died. Permission was not given to bury him in the churchyard. There were over 10,000 people at the funeral on 20 October, including 100 priests.

On 1 November, All Saints' Day, chairman Jankus of the District Soviet EC in the town of Telšiai forbade Fr A. Vaičius to hold a service at the cemetery. Nevertheless there was an attempt to hold the service - skirmishes with the police resulted.

On 3 May 60 priests, members of diocesan councils, sent a declaration to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of Lithuania. In the declaration they stated that the Statutes on Religious Associations, confirmed by the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet on 28 June 1976, was irreconcilable with canon law and with the diocesan structure of the Catholic Church. The declaration ends:

We declare once more that the priests and believers of Lithuania will never agree to requirements which are opposed to the diocesan structure of the Church and its canons. We wish to draw attention to this defect in the law, which - if it is not avoided in time - may lead the Church into conflict with the state. For both sides, that would be undesirable as well as unnecessary.

\* \* \*

In Kaunas the authorities have forbidden K. Gražulis, S. Keipšas, J. Jakevičius, A. Tarsis, K. Zemaičius and R. Ivanauskas to study at the local seminary. After Ivanauskas had handed in an application to the seminary, he was summoned to KGB headquarters - and offered a post as an informer.

On 14 May Anilionis, the Commissioner for Lithuania of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, made a speech to the deans of Kaunas and Vilkaviškis dioceses. He said that the authorities would consider the request made by the bishops and administrators of dioceses for an increase in the prescribed number of entrants to the theological seminary only when rectors stopped taking into their churches the graduate-priests of the underground Theological Seminary, who were constantly increasing in numbers in Lithuania. Anilionis expressed his regret that every fourth priest who graduated from the Kaunas theological seminary turned out to be an 'extremist'. 'No one will allow the seminary to educate people who are anti-Soviet', said Anilionis.

On 25 May his deputy, Juozenas, met students in their final year at Kaunas Theological Seminary. He said that a group of 'extremists' had grown up among priests, which the authorities could have stamped out, but did not want to as yet, for Soviet laws were very humane. He tried to persuade the future priests not to attach themselves to this group.

A declaration to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Party, the Lithuanian Council of Ministers and the bishops of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, signed by about 10,000 believers, states:

The interference of the Soviet authorities in the affairs of the Kaunas Theological Seminary can be neither hidden nor justified. We therefore demand that:

1. From 1981 onwards all limits on numbers should be removed, so that anyone who wants to become a priest will be able to enter the Theological Seminary.
2. Bishops should not be prevented from appointing worthy directors and professors to the Theological Seminary.



1. R to l: Irina Grivnina, opponent of psychiatric abuse exiled for 5 years; Tyan Zaohnaya, wife of ex-victim of psychiatric abuse Evgeny Nikolayev; Tatyana Ospova, political prisoner since 1980; two unknowns; Yury Grimm, political prisoner; Moscow, 1979. 2. The wedding of Valentin and Natalya Mitskevich, who were insistently interrogated about their friend Ivan Koval'ev, charged with being a Chronicle editor.



3



4

3. Felix Serebrov, worker sentenced to 9 years of camp and exile for opposing psychiatric abuse, with wife Vera, 1980. 4. Arseny Roginsky, Leningrad teacher and historian given 4 years for unauthorized entry to archives and publishing an historical document abroad. 5. Andrei Sakharov (exiled to Gorky in 1980), with daughter-in-law Elizaveta Alekseyeva, who was eventually allowed to emigrate as a result of his hunger strike.



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6. Anatoly Marchenko, worker, while building himself a house near Moscow, 1980. In 1981 he received a 15-year term for his writings. 7. Vsevolod Kuvakin, Moscow jurist given 6 years for free trades union activity (SMOT). 8. Mikhail Zotov (in 1975), a war invalid and artist interned in a mental hospital (Chronicle 62) for activity in SMOT. 9. Vladimir Skvirsky, geologist and SMOT member, resented to 1½ years while in exile.



10



11

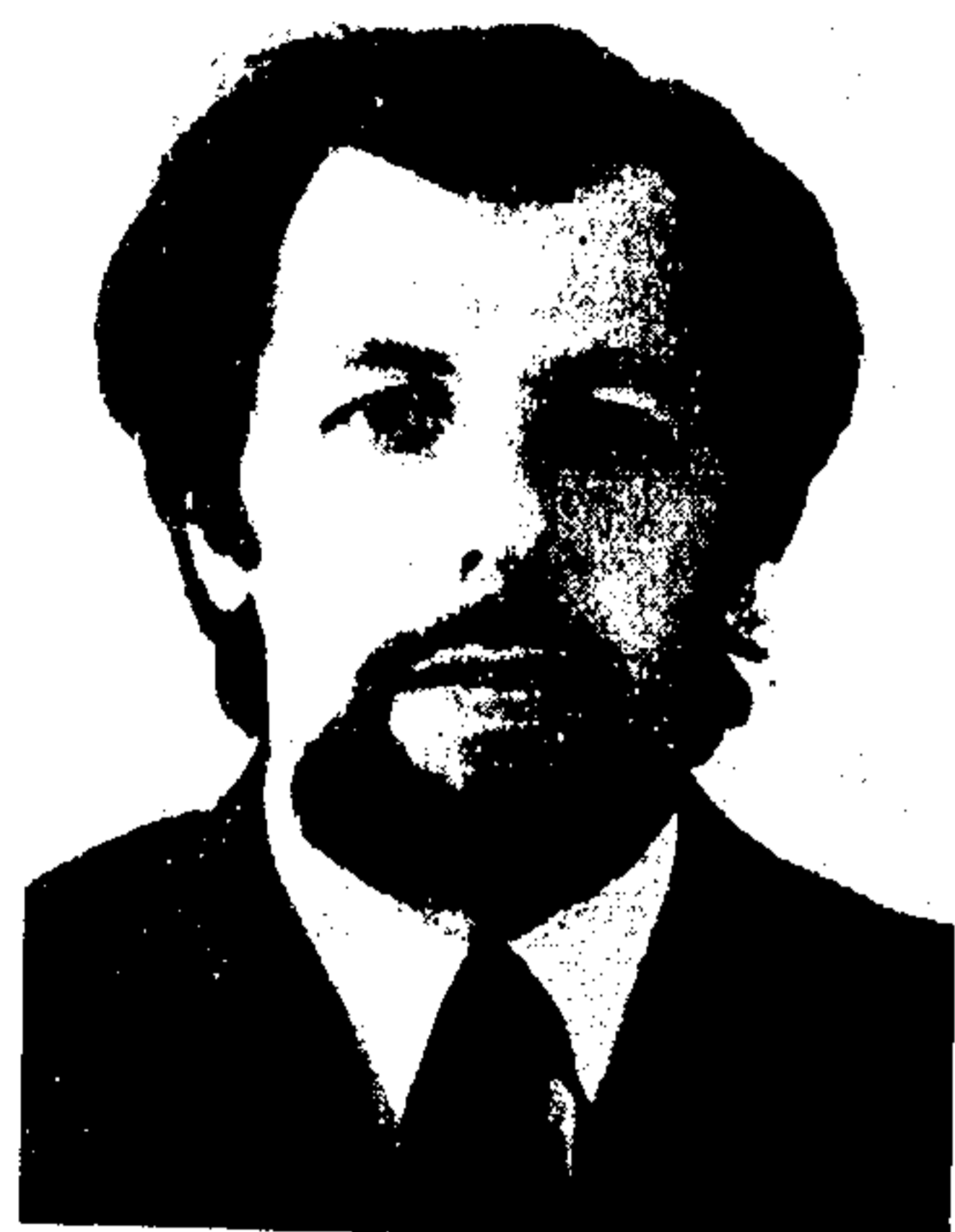


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13

10. Rushania Fedyakina, subject to 2-year banishment from Moscow for her work for the Political Prisoners Aid Fund. 11. Pavel Kampov, b. 1929, mathematics teacher and invalid, given new 13-year term for Ukrainian nationalism. 12. Sergei Korekhov, b. 1956, Siberian worker sentenced to 6 years for anti-Soviet leaflets. 13. Stanislav Zubko, a leader of the Kiev Jewish emigration movement, given 4 years after drugs were planted on him.



14



15



16

14. Evgeny Lein, mathematician, Leningrad Jew given 2-year term after 3 years of trying to emigrate. 15. Lein standing in the dock, guarded by a soldier, 4-5 August 1981. 16. L to r Dmitry Shchiglik, Moscow mechanic given 1 year in 1980 for activity in Jewish emigration movement, detained in 1981; Oleg Popov, Moscow human rights activist who emigrated in 1982; and Yan (Yakov) Mesh, a Jewish leader in Odessa warned about arrest.

МАДРИДСКА КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ  
ЗАЩИТИТЕ НАШИ ГРАЖДАНСКИ ПРАВА!



17



18



19

17. Private demonstration by Kharkov Ukrainians, 1980. Placards read: 'Madrid Conference - Defend our Civil Rights!' 'We have been trying to emigrate from the USSR - I to I; Yury Dzvuba since 1971, Anatoly Zinchenko since 1974, Evgeny Antsupov since 1979'. In 1981 historian Antsupov received an 11-year term. 18 and 19. Ivan Sokulsky (1), journalist and poet who assisted the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and Ukrainian Grigory Prikhodko, both sentenced to 15 years for "anti-Soviet activity".



20



21



22



23

20. Aleksei (Oleksa) Tikhy, b. 1927, teacher with severe health problems, since 1977 serving a 15-year term for co-founding Ukrainian Helsinki Group. 21. Bogdan Rebrik, technician serving 10 years for circulating Ukrainian samizdat. 22 and 23. Veljo Kalep (l), engineer, and Viktor Niitsoo, architect, Estonians given 4-year terms for samizdat and related activity.



24



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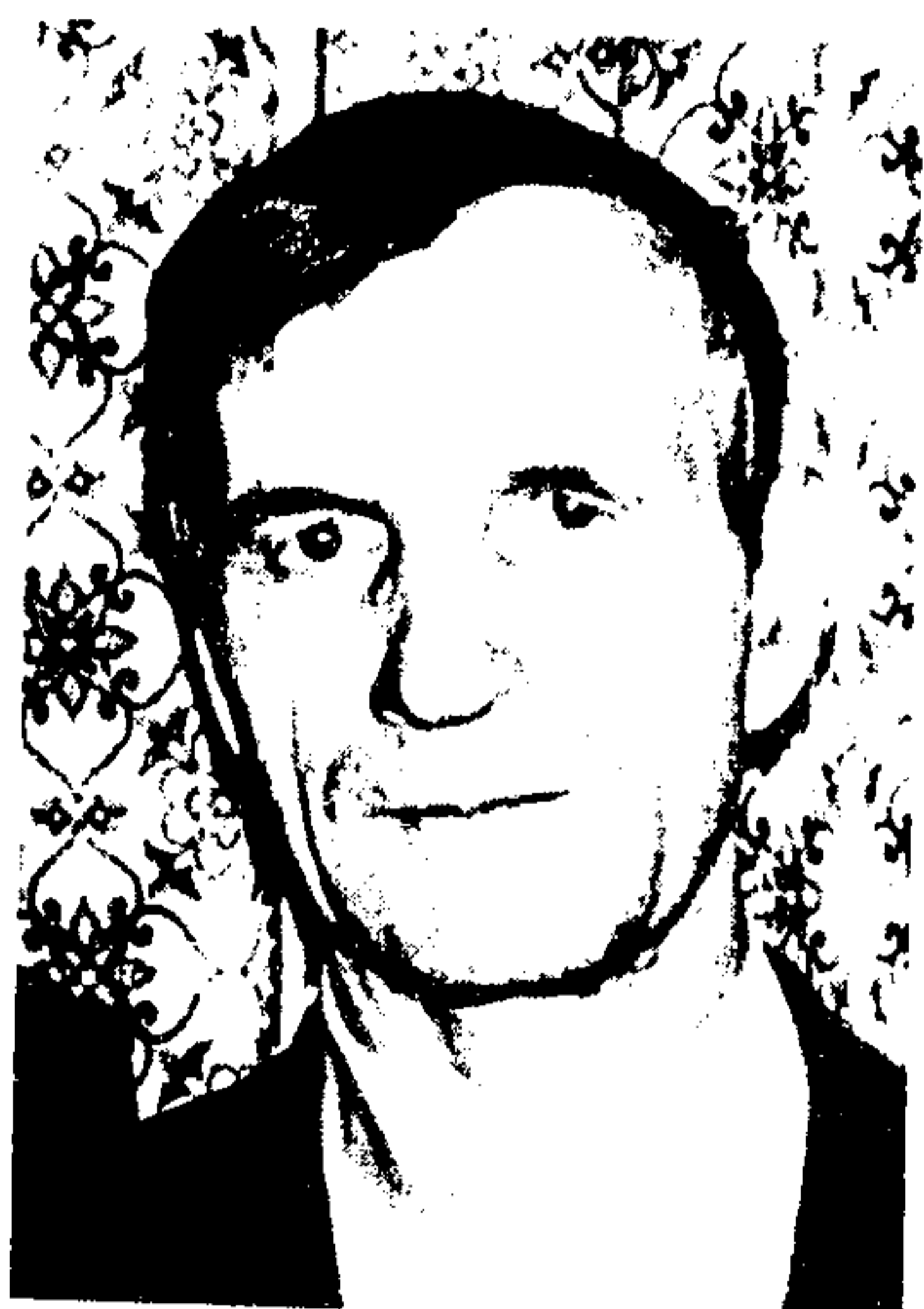


26

24. Juris Bumeisters, b. 1918, engineer and Latvian Social Democratic leader given 15 years in 1981, with daughter Nora and parents, 1964. 25. Alfreds Zarinš, b. 1923, Latvian teacher and invalid: 3-year sentence for publishing poems abroad and criticizing the regime. 26. Ričardas Černiauskas, Lithuanian Catholic priest imprisoned for a week for trying to conduct a religious retreat.



27



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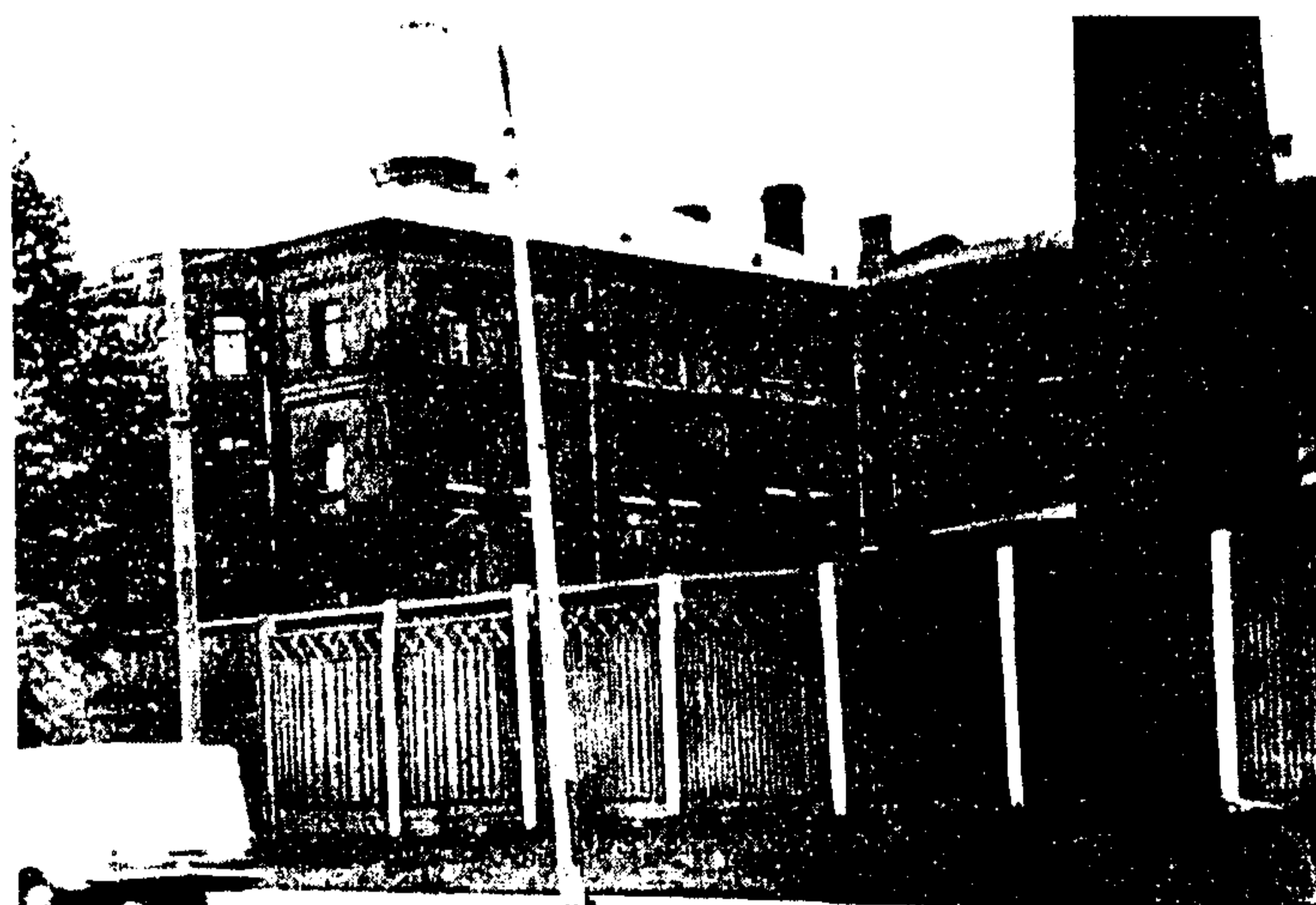


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27. Eduard Bulakh, worker, Vilnius Pentecostal seeking emigration, seen in Novovilnya OPH during 11-day psychiatric internment, 10 July 1981; later given 1-year camp term.  
28. Dmitry Minyakov, b. 1921, Baptist preacher imprisoned for fourth time, given 5 years in Estonia.  
29 and 30. Lyubov Fokanova (l) and Yury Grachikov, young Adventists from Ryazan and Yaroslavl given 3-year terms for religious activity.



31

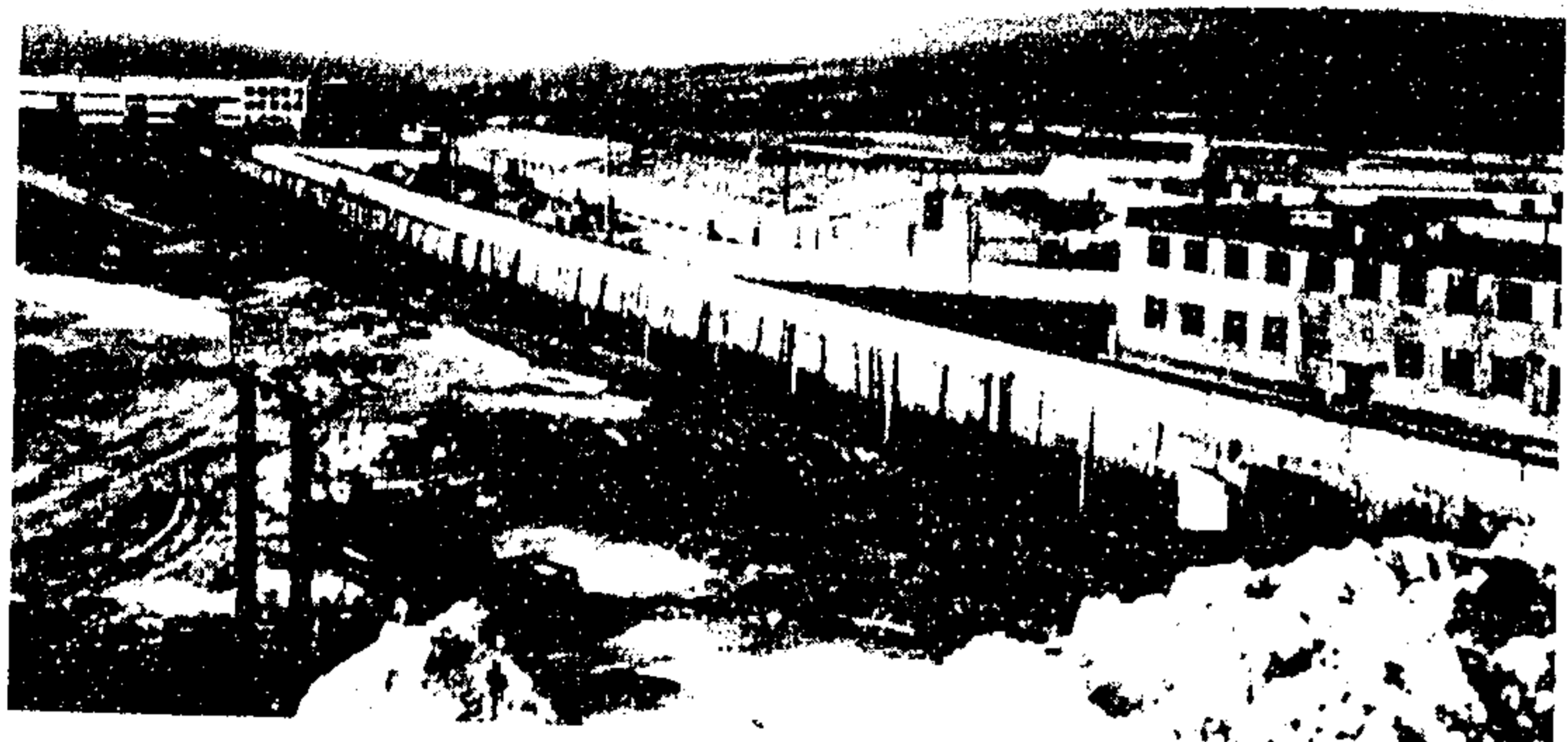


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31. The special Psychiatric Hospital (SPH) in Leningrad.  
32. Nikolai Baranov, Leningrad technician interned in this SPH in early 1970s for anti-Soviet statement, still held in 1981 in Talgar SPH; photographed here in early 1960s (compare his 1977 photo, Chronicle 52). 33. Evgeny Martynov, Pentecostal from Black Sea area, psychiatrically interned for 3 years for criticizing official corruption in his diary.



34



35

34-5. Two views of a labour camp near Kishinëv in Moldavia (exact address unknown). The four perimeter fences can be seen, two solid and two wire, and also an internal fence separating camp zones. Photo 35 gives a view slightly to the right of photo 34.



36



37

36. House in the Crimea of disabled architect Yury Kiselev, a leader of the group for disabled people's rights, harried by KGB since 1978. In 1981 the house burnt down in suspicious circumstances. 37. Entrance to the MVD prison in Tobolsk, West Siberia, to which prisoner of conscience Kirill Podrabinek was transferred in 1981. In foreground Boris Vail, former political prisoner (Chronicles 15, 16) now living in Denmark.



3. The authorities should be ordered not to blackmail applicants to the Theological Seminary or to force them to work against their own consciences and the interests of the Church.

In a declaration to Bishop L. Povilonis, head of the Conference of Bishops, believers state:

We believers support the Theological Seminary with our own money. Our families provide it with candidates. We cannot look on indifferently while it is oppressed. In addition, more and more parishes are being left without rectors, though this is not for lack of candidates for the priesthood.

We therefore beg and dare to demand that you, our pastors, will do all you can to make sure that every worthy candidate who wishes to study at the Theological Seminary will be able to do so.

We believers will always support you and the Theological Seminary!

A declaration to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Party, signed by 113 priests of Panevezys diocese, states:

1. 'The Church is separated from the state' (article 50 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution), so allow the bishops and diocesan administrators, as well as the directors of the Theological Seminary, freedom to run the Theological Seminary and accept all worthy applicants, without a limit on numbers and without their selection or confirmation by the Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs. Article 38 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution grants the right to choose one's profession, form of employment and work, in accordance with one's calling, abilities, professional training, education and the needs of society. The believers of every parish have indispensable need of a priest. Obstacles are put in the way of those who wish to become priests. This is discrimination, humiliation and an insult to believers, and it arouses lawful indignation... Anilionis, Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs, publicly declares that the directors of the seminary are free to decide on the acceptance of new candidates. So let these not be mere empty words, but reality! Let the Theological Seminary be in the hands of the Church!

2. Give orders to KGB officials - not to blackmail applicants to the seminary or prevent them applying by other means; and not to recruit those who are already students, as this is incompatible with seminary education. The activities of KGB officials at the seminary are obvious. Seminary students should obey and be influenced by the traditions and spirit of the seminary, not any influence from outside.

3. Both the acceptance of new candidates and the expulsion of students if unsuitable should be left in the hands of the bishops, administrators and directors of the Theological Seminary. We therefore ask that the Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs be ordered to rescind the ban on seminarian A. Volskis (Chronicle 60 - Chronicle) continuing his studies at the Theological Seminary, as he was expelled on the Commissioner's orders.

4. Allow the bishops and diocesan administrators freely to choose directors and professors for the Theological

Seminary.

5. Please return to the Kaunas Theological Seminary the rights of an institute of higher education and exempt its students from army service.

#### PERSECUTION OF BELIEVERS

##### Adventists

##### Trials

Yury Alexeyevich Grachikov (born 1962; arrested 9 July 1980; article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code; sentence - three years); Lyudmila Eimerovna Tanskanen (born 1944; arrested 21 August 1980; sentence - one-and-a-half years); Vasily Davidovich Osipenko (born 1943; arrested 5 September 1980; sentence - two-and-a-half years); Lyubomir Davidovich Osipenko (born 1931; arrested 5 September 1980; sentence - two years); Pavel Vasilevich Volkov (born 1927; arrested 12 September 1980; tried 25 December 1980; sentence - two-and-a-half years); Anatoly Vasilevich Ratushny (born 1947; arrested 13 April 1981; tried 30 June; sentence - five years); Maria Ivanovna Danko (born 1963; arrested 18 April 1981; tried 30 June; sentence - two years).

Ivan Gavrilovich (or Georgievich) Danko (born 1933; tried June 1981; sentence - one year); Oleg Iosipovich Koval'ev (born 1953; tried 30 December 1980; sentence - two years); Feodora Rodionovna Pazyuk (born 1909; tried 4 May 1981; sentence - one-and-a-half years); Akulina Arsentievna Yarmolovich (born 1911; tried 4 May 1981; sentence - one-and-a-half years); Tatyana Vasilevna Taranyuk (born 1954; article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code; tried 12-14 May 1981; sentence - two-and-a-half years); Olga Fedorovna Kharitonova (born 1957; article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code; tried 12-14 May 1981; sentence - two-and-a-half years); Evgeny Terentevich Cherchik (born 1941; tried 19-22 June 1981; sentence - one-and-a-half years).

##### The Arrest of Konev

On 7 July Ivan Alexandrovich Konev (born 1927), a minister of the All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh Day Adventists, was arrested in Sverdlovsk. On 10 July a search was carried out at his wife's home.

##### Searches

From July 1980 to October 1981 at least 100 searches were carried out at the homes of Adventists in the RSFSR (from Moscow to Perm), in the Ukraine, Latvia, Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

##### Baptists

##### The Trials of Rumachik and Minyakov

Petr Vasilevich Rumachik (born 1931; arrested 15 August 1980 - mistake in Chronicle 60; five years in strict-regime camps), Dmitry Vasilevich Minyakov (born 1922; arrested 21 January 1981 - Chronicle 61; five years in strict-regime

camps).

#### The Arrests of Gomon and Lebedeva

On 15 October nine searches were carried out in Kiev. Vitaly Alexandrovich Gomon was arrested. He was charged under article 138 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code ('Violation of the laws on separation of the church from the state and of the school from the church'). On 22 October Nadezhda Vasilevna Lebedeva was arrested in Kiev, after a search in which a Bible, a hymn-book and three invitations from abroad were confiscated.

#### Miscellaneous

In June the Svyatoshino Baptist community was baptizing new members in one of the lakes of the district. The place of baptism was surrounded by police; the chairman of the District Soviet EC was present.

The congregation was fined 1000 roubles altogether (some people were handed the document charging them with violation of the administrative regulations and a receipt for the fine while they were still in the clearing).

\* \* \*

On 30 November G.F. Kholodenkov, a member of the Kiev Baptist community, sent an 'Open Letter' to the UN Commission on Human Rights (a copy was sent to Brezhnev). Kholodenkov particularly mentions that he was called as a witness at the trial of O. Meshko (Chronicle 61):

On 5 January 1981 the trial of human rights defender O. Meshko took place, a trial closed to ordinary citizens and hidden from those close to her...At the trial I, as a witness, confirmed that she had steadfastly participated in the cause of justice and testified to her love for people, particularly for Yu.T. Litvin, whom we visited together when he was in Vasilkovo hospital for a serious operation.

Kholodenkov describes the persecution to which Baptists are subjected (on 25 October an assembly of believers in the town of Dergachi, Kharkov Region, was broken up. Eight people were sentenced to 5-15 days; on 5 August five searches were carried out in Kiev, including one at Kholodenkov's home). In 1961 Kholodenkov himself had twice been sentenced to 15 days.

At the end of the letter, Kholodenkov lists a series of demands which, in his opinion, must be dealt with by the Soviet government:

1. Citizens of the USSR must be guaranteed full and equal rights in law, and the first step thus taken on the road to a sovereign state.
2. The illegal 'Law on Religious Cults' must be abolished.
3. Schools must be guaranteed neutral as regards atheism and religion.
4. All defenders of human rights should be freed and independent representatives of the people should be given the freedom to monitor implementation of international agreements.
5. All those imprisoned for the sake of God's Word should be released. The Council of Evangelical Christian and Baptist Churches should be recognized as a religious organization.

6. The 'Christian' publishing house should be legalized.
7. Bibles and religious literature confiscated from believers should be returned, together with all private houses confiscated because Baptist services were being held there.

#### Pentecostalists

On 14 July, Trinity Sunday, about 150 believers gathered for a service in a wood not far from Belki Station (in the suburbs of Kiev). Soon after, a large number of men under the command of a lieutenant-colonel of police appeared in the wood. They began to disperse the believers - beating them, twisting their arms and pulling the women by the hair. Thirty people were detained; they were taken to the town of Fastov, where they were all fined and seven of them were also given 15-day sentences 'for hooliganism'. Some time later condemnatory meetings were organized at the enterprises where the detained persons worked.

#### Uniates

An anonymous text, From the life of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (January 1980, 18 pages), briefly outlines the history of the Ukrainian Catholic ('Uniate') Church, its formation in 1596 (Catholic in substance, Orthodox in terminology), its dissolution in 1946 (at the 'Lvov Synod', which proclaimed the liquidation of the Union of 1596, a few priests and one archpriest were present; seven Ukrainian Catholic bishops, who had refused to 'sign over to Orthodoxy', were arrested) and the persecution to which Ukrainian Catholics are now subjected.

Since 1946 all the monasteries (about 200) have been closed. About 2,000 priests who refused to 'sign over to Orthodoxy' ended up in camps. About 5,000 churches and chapels were desecrated. The leader of the Church, Cardinal Iosif Slipyi, spent 17 years in prison; in 1963, after long negotiations by the Vatican, he was released and sent abroad. At present the Church finds itself in a semi-legal situation. Not one priest is officially registered, so they are all forced to work in state enterprises (mainly as watchmen, stokers or janitors).

On 7 December 1977 the police raided the church in the village of Mshana, in the Gorodok District of Lvov Region (everything in the church was broken or taken away). The believers appealed to the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers, to allow registration of their congregation (the personal details of the 'twenty believers' necessary for registration were sent in). Since then, over 100 letters of various types have been written, eleven delegations have visited various official departments, but nevertheless the problem has not been solved ('You must reject Slipyi's jurisdiction, as he's an enemy of the Soviet state, he collaborated with the German Fascists, and the Catholic Church in general is hostile to the Soviet state'). During this time many believers were fined (sums of 10 to 50 roubles). Olga Duda and Anna Oliyanik were sentenced to 15 days each in 1979 'for hooliganism'. In 1979 the church was converted into a storehouse. In January 1979 (at Christmas) the police surrounded the

church in the village of Nadorozhnaya, Tlumach District, Ivano-Frankovsk Region, and would not allow the service to take place; in April 1979 (at Easter) believers were picked on in the streets and their Easter cakes and painted eggs were taken away.

In April 1979 in the village of Vilshanitsa, Yavorov District, Lvov Region, an ambush (about 20 people) was set up near the church to catch Fr Iosafat Kovatsiv. It was only by chance that he managed to escape it. In the village of Gradovka, Gorodok District, Lvov Region (where the priest is Fr Roman Esip) the police would not let anyone into the church for a week.

#### The Trial of Esip and Kovatsiv

Ukrainian Catholic priests Roman Esip (born 1951, from the village of Zimna-Voda, Lvov Region) and Vasyl (Iosafat) Kovatsiv (born 1934, from Lvov), who were arrested on 18 September [1979], were both sentenced to five years in ordinary-regime camps and three years in exile, under article 138 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code ('Violation of the laws separating the church from the state and the school from the church') and article 209 ('Infringement of the personality and rights of citizens under the appearance of performing religious rites').

#### Orthodox Christians

On 13 August searches were carried out in Kiev at the homes of Fr Pŕtr Zdrilyuk, priest of the Church of the Ascension, and Sergei Konabas, former reader at the same church. The warrant for the search at Zdrilyuk's home was signed on 15 May by the Procuracy of Ternopol Region, with the aim of 'finding religious literature of anti-Soviet content'. The search was carried out by Senior Investigator I. Orlyuk of the Dneprovsky District in Kiev, and an anonymous investigator from Ternopol. The material confiscated included: a New Testament published in the West, a Bible published in England a hundred years ago, books by E. Svetlov and D. Dudko, 'Open Letter No. 9' from the 'True Witness' publishing house, 200 typed copies of the prayer-book Rule of St Serafim of Sarov, personal correspondence, a notebook, receipts for money orders (in all there were 57 items in the search record). The search at Konabas's home took place in his absence. A large number of prayer books were confiscated. At present Konabas is in hiding.

On 14 August Fr Zdrilyuk was interrogated by Orlyuk. He was interested in where Zdrilyuk had obtained the confiscated books. He also asked questions about Fr Amvrosy, with whom Zdrilyuk was unacquainted (it seems that the case connected with the search at Zdrilyuk's home is a criminal case brought against Fr Amvrosy, a monk of the Pochayev Lavra, by the Ternopol Regional Procuracy). Afterwards a KGB official 'had a chat' with Fr Zdrilyuk, threatening to put pressure on the Metropolitan to have Zdrilyuk sent to the backwoods.

On 24 November Orlyuk again interrogated Zdrilyuk. He read out extracts from a commentary on the literature confiscated during the search (the commentary was written by a certain Candidate of Philosophy whose name was not revealed to Fr Zdrilyuk). Orlyuk demanded that Zdrilyuk should tell him the names of people to whom he had given books.

During this interrogation a man who pretended to be the

Procurator (the Dneprovsky District Procurator is a woman) came into the room. Smiling, he said: 'We'll put you inside for three years!' 'However, if you go and work in a parish in the country, we'll leave you in peace,' he added.

Fr Zdrilyuk added to the record of the interrogation his protest against the unfounded accusation of 'anti-Sovietism', and expressed his disagreement with the commentary on the spiritual literature confiscated from him. A KGB official was present during the interrogation in the office.

\* \* \*

On 14 October, on the Feast of the Shroud, in the Pokrov Convent in Kiev, the police arrived during the traditional meal for laymen and pilgrims. A charge was drawn up about violation of the administrative regulations.

Mother Margarita, the abbess of the convent, is often subjected to administrative penalties (particularly fines) and is being threatened with removal from the convent. The police came to the convent during the night. Walking round the cells, they checked if there were any pilgrims there.

#### THE RIGHT TO LEAVE

##### Moscow

#### The Trial of Chernobylsky

The trial of Boris Chernobylsky (Chronicle 62) was set to start on 23 July. By 7 a.m. the courtroom at Krasnogorsk Town Court (Moscow Region) was full of the specially invited public. Police and people's vigilantes guarded the approaches to the building and checked everyone's documents.

At the beginning of the session Judge Kulalayev asked L. Tesmenitsky, who had not complied with a request to remove his headgear, to leave the courtroom. The Judge then acquainted those present with the basic facts of the case and asked the defendant to stand up. No one stood up. One of the witnesses, Police Lieutenant Yu. Emelyanov, pointed to Oleg Popov and said: 'There he is'. When the Judge asked whether Emelyanov was certain that this was Chernobylsky, he replied in the affirmative. When it had nonetheless been clarified that this was not Chernobylsky, the Judge asked the 'victim', Police Lieutenant A. Brechko, whether he had seen Chernobylsky in the building. He replied in the affirmative. Brechko then went out into the corridor and said something to a vigilante who was sitting there, pointing to Tesmenitsky. The vigilante went up to Tesmenitsky and said: 'Chernobylsky, why aren't you going into the courtroom? They're waiting for you'. When it became clear that Chernobylsky was nowhere about, the Judge asked Chernobylsky's wife where he was. She replied that she did not know. Chernobylskaya handed the Judge a petition from Moscow lawyer V.I. Petrov asking for the date of the trial to be changed in view of the fact that he was engaged on another case.

Procurator Vilkovich demanded that a search be organized to detain Chernobylsky, as he had evaded a court appearance. The court withdrew to deliberate, and one-and-a-half hours later passed a resolution to postpone the trial until 28 July.

\* \* \*

On 28 July the new trial began. This time G.S. Chernobai presided. The prosecutor was Procurator Vilkovich; there was no defence counsel. When it transpired that the defendant was not amongst those present the Judge asked the witnesses whether they knew where Chernobylsky was. On receiving a negative answer the court, after conferring for one-and-a-half hours, passed a resolution to have a search organized for Chernobylsky and then to keep him in custody, the trial to be postponed until after the detention of the defendant.

\* \* \*

Chernobylsky was arrested in his flat on 26 November.

\* \* \*

On 9 December Krasnogorsk People's Court, presided over by Chernobai, examined the case against Boris Moiseyevich Chernobylsky (b. 1944), who was charged under article 191-1, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('resisting a police official...'). The prosecutor was Procurator Pokrovskaya, the defence counsel was lawyer V.I. Petrov.

\* \* \*

The courtroom was full by 7 a.m., mainly of workers from Krasnogorsk enterprises. Around the court there were about 50 people's vigilantes, who wore red arm-bands with the initials KMF (Krasnogorsk Machine Factory) as well as policemen and plain-clothes men (some of whom also wore KMF arm-bands, but were known to friends of Chernobylsky who were present from the breakings-up of scientific seminars and the Jewish song festival, etc). The passport particulars of everyone standing near the court were written down. N. Meiman's wife, who did not have a passport, was taken to the police station and told to go to Moscow. The Goldshtein brothers (Chronicles 49, 51, 53, 62), who had come from Tbilisi for the trial, were also taken to the police station and ordered to return to Tbilisi immediately. The Goldshteins, however, returned to the Court. (On the following day, 10 December, the Goldshteins were detained in Moscow and escorted to an aeroplane.) Chernobylsky's wife and parents were allowed to enter the courtroom.

\* \* \*

The charge against Chernobylsky was that on 10 May he had called Brechko a 'louse' and a 'Fascist', had refused to show him his documents, had then refused to proceed to the police station, and finally had hit Brechko on the arm when the latter had gripped him by the arm.

Chernobylsky said that he had not uttered the word 'louse', that no one had asked him for his documents, and that he had not put up any resistance but actually said: 'Who wants to talk to Fascists like yourselves?'; this was a reaction to Brechko's behaviour when the latter had chased the group of Jews from the woods where they had been honouring the memory of Jews killed at the hands of Nazis, with the words 'Schnell, schnell!' (German for 'Faster, faster!'). Brechko repeated the testimony he had given on 11 June at the pre-trial investigation. He said that while conducting a regular patrol with a policeman and three vigilantes he had discovered a large group of people in the woods; they were drinking, eating and causing damage to the plantation. He tried to explain to the gathering that it was forbidden for large groups to take their leisure in Moscow's green

belt without the permission of the authorities responsible, but Chernobylsky had said: 'There's no point in talking to them, the lice, the Fascists!' He, Brechko, had demanded to see the documents of those present and when they refused to show them, had demanded that they come to the station and had taken Chernobylsky by the arm. Chernobylsky had torn his arm away and dealt a strong blow to Brechko's arm. A crowd of women and children had gathered round them, and Brechko, deciding not to bring the situation to a head, 'went away'.

When the defence lawyer asked the 'victim' to explain the fact that there was no mention in his report of Chernobylsky's resistance or of a blow, Brechko replied that at the time he had attached no significance to it. The witnesses were then questioned.

Emelyanov confirmed Brechko's testimony in full. To the defence's question as to why the report signed by him and the vigilantes V. Mikheichev, V. Poyarkov and A. Shabrov contained no mention of the blow, Emelyanov replied that the vigilante who had written the report had either not considered the fact relevant or had forgotten it, and he, Emelyanov, had not wished to rewrite the report.

Poyarkov and Shabrov confirmed the testimony which they had given at the pre-trial investigation, but, when asked whether there was a blow and how it had all happened, they could not give exact answers. When the lawyer asked why their testimony differed from the report, and whether pressure had been put on them, one of the vigilantes replied that he had been talked to on more than one occasion. Mikheichev, who had given testimony at the pre-trial investigation in which no blow was mentioned, did not appear at the trial.

As a result of Chernobylsky's petition Radin, Tesmenitsky and O. Popov were summoned to the trial. Radin said that he had been beside Chernobylsky when Brechko had approached him. On being called 'Fascists' Brechko had replied: 'I'll remember you for this!' After this Radin, who feared that Chernobylsky was being provoked, did not leave his side.

Tesmenitsky said that KGB officials had 'escorted' him from his home to the wood. A police lieutenant who called himself 'Minister of Defence Grechko' behaved rudely and repeated the word 'schnell!' several times. Tesmenitsky did not see Chernobylsky being asked for his documents or resisting. Tesmenitsky himself was 'escorted' home.

Magarik said that the policemen and vigilantes had behaved very excitedly and aggressively, especially Brechko. He, Magarik, did not hear the word 'schnell', but he had heard many of the people gathered in the wood talking of it indignantly.

Popov said that Brechko had demanded that the group leave the wood within half-an-hour, otherwise force would be used against them. Popov had told Brechko there were other groups of people in the wood to whom, for some reason, the police were paying no attention. Brechko then went up to one of the groups, told them to put out their bonfire and left without looking to see whether his instruction was being carried out. When the Jews were leaving the wood, Brechko had run along the path, hurrying them along with the words 'schnell, schnell!'

Next, at the request of the lawyer, Chernobylsky's father was questioned. He talked about his son, about his work and studies, and handed the lawyer a medal which his son had received during his student years for his work on the Virgin Lands development [in Kazakhstan].

The Judge asked Chernobylsky why he had evaded earlier court appearances and where he had been living at the time. 'During the investigation I understood', said Chernobylsky, 'that a case was being deliberately fabricated against me.' He had sent telegrams to Brezhnev and the USSR Procurator-General asking them to sort the matter out, and he had decided meanwhile not to appear in court. Chernobylsky also said that he had been living at home during the months prior to his arrest and had seen his local policeman several times, but no one had attempted to detain him.

Reports on Chernobylsky were then read out. Of particular note in the report from Housing Administration office was the statement: 'Citizens of Jewish nationality often visited Chernobylsky's flat...with foreigners'.

Procurator Pokrovskaya said that there was doubt whether Chernobylsky had hit Brechko deliberately. Moreover, there was no evidence that there had been a blow at all. Therefore no crime had been committed under article 191-1, part 2. The testimonies of Chernobylsky's friends, denying the evidence of his resistance, were not objective. One had to take into account, on the one hand, that Chernobylsky had not worked for a long time and had evaded appearance in court, and, on the other, that he had two young children to support. The Procurator asked that Chernobylsky be sentenced under article 191-1, part 1, to one year of camp (the maximum under this part of the article).

Defence lawyer Petrov drew the court's attention to the scandalous violation of the law in changing the number '1' (i.e. part 1 of the article) to the number '2': a special procedure was required for such changes. 'In 30 years of work', said the lawyer, 'this is the first time I have come up against such an unjust case.' (He criticized the pre-trial investigation in such cutting terms that the Judge rebuked him, stating that he was 'discrediting the Soviet investigative authorities'. 'I am ready to repeat my assessment of the actions and methods of the investigators of the case against Chernobylsky anywhere; I am a Party member and I accept responsibility for what I say.')

'Brechko's explanation that he did not attach significance to the blow and therefore did not include it in his report of 10 May does not stand up to criticism. It is obvious that Brechko has lied both here and at the investigation. The vigilante witnesses are telling lies in exactly the same way.' The lawyer expressed his regret that young people were beginning their lives with lies.

It is no coincidence that Mikheichev has not appeared in court. It is obvious that pressure was brought to bear on the vigilantes with the purpose of obtaining the testimony needed by the investigation. Such methods of conducting investigations have been condemned before now by the Party and the government. The investigation had no grounds for not believing the testimonies of Chernobylsky's friends. Everything points to the fact that the investigation has deliberately fabricated this case. It is obvious that Chernobylsky is innocent and that the charges under both part 1 and part 2 of article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code have not been proven. Chernobylsky is answerable under the article about insulting a police official and he does not deny that he called Brechko a 'Fascist'. Let us try to understand why Chernobylsky committed this undoubtedly unlawful and unworthy misdemeanour - calling a Soviet police official a 'Fascist'. He, together with a group of Jews, went to the wood in order to mark the

Victory Day and to honour the memory of six million Jews killed at the hands of Nazis and their lackeys. Is there anything reprehensible about that? I took part in the war and I know what war means. And it will serve a purpose if the young people who are sitting in this courtroom and who know about war only from books and tales take notice of what I say...Who would raise his hand on such a day to insult the memory of the dead - to drive away people who had come to the wood to honour the memory of their relatives and dear ones...? Yes, it is indeed forbidden for large groups of people to gather in Moscow's green belt without special permission. So what should Police Lieutenant Brechko have done? He should have suggested that the gathering divide itself into small groups of three to five people. But no one gave a police official the right to chase people out of the wood...and on such a day! The mildest word that can be applied to Brechko's action is 'inappropriate' - the mildest...And this was at a time that the group could see that there were other groups in the wood, lighting bonfires, drinking alcohol, damaging the greenery - and these were not being chased out of the wood! They were not even being rebuked. Or if they were rebuked, this was only after they were pointed out to the police. If one is defending the law one must not break it. And for Brechko, a police official, breaking the law is more serious than failing to carry out the instructions of the Moscow Regional Soviet EC. And if only Brechko had not uttered those sacramental words...Seeing how a policeman drove Jews from the wood on that day, one can understand what forced the defendant to say what he did...

In his final speech Chernobylsky said that he did not repent of having called Brechko a 'Fascist'; if a similar situation arose in the future he would do the same. 'Things should be called by their proper names', said Chernobylsky. The sentence was one year of ordinary-regime camp (the charge under part 2 was dropped; the testimonies of Chernobylsky's friends were ruled to 'not merit complete confidence'). In the courtroom the sentence was greeted with complete silence.

\* \* \*

Chernobylsky is by training a radio engineer. He has been refused a visa to emigrate since 1975 on the grounds of having knowledge of classified information. In recent years he has been working as an electrician. In 1976 Chernobylsky was held in custody for about a month on a charge of 'malicious hooliganism'. The case was then quashed (Chronicle 43). On one occasion he served 15 days.

\* \* \*

On 21 December the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 189, 'The Trial of Boris Chernobylsky'.

#### The Arrest of Tomachinsky

On 11 February Viktor Tomachinsky (Chronicle 60) sent the USA State Department 'A Request for Political Asylum'.

At the age of 15 or 16 (Tomachinsky was born in 1945 - Chronicle) I began to understand that my nature was incompatible with communist ideology and the Soviet way of life. At the age of 18 to 20 I set down my views in short stories and topical writings which circulated in samizdat.

In 1965 state security officials first visited my home... In 1975 my period of active opposition to the KGB offensive began, and this continued right up until 15 January 1981, when official representatives of the KGB and MVD informed me that the appropriate Soviet authorities did not object to my departure from the USSR.

I first officially informed the KGB of my desire to leave the USSR on religious grounds in July 1975. In 1979 I asked the USSR KGB to allow me to leave the USSR on religious and political grounds. And permission has now been given. But I have been informed that since I do not have an invitation from a private individual in the USA, the USSR MVD OVIR can only permit my emigration to Israel.

I must stress that during all the years of my contact with the authorities I never misled them concerning my intentions. I have no wish now to mislead the government of Israel, where in fact I have no intention of going.

I would like to receive asylum on religious and political grounds (which, if necessary, I am ready to explain in detail) in the United States of America and so am making this request of the USA State Department.

(Tomachinsky gave OVIR a copy of this 'Request...' with an accompanying statement.)

In April Tomachinsky, on receiving assurances that he would be given his exit visa during the next two weeks, resigned from work (his wife had been forced to resign on handing in her emigration documents). On 27 July Tomachinsky sent a letter 'To the Appropriate Person in Charge at the USSR MVD':

During a period from April to June of this year there were three occasions on which I had to go to the 5th (my local) police station, and on each occasion, although I had done nothing illegal, I was the object of an active attack by the authorities.

On April 11 of this year I was subjected to a violent attack by officials of the 122nd police station. As V.P. Ponomarev, Acting Chief of the Kiev District Soviet EC UVD [in Moscow], explained to me on 27 May 1981, 'this was because while driving a motor vehicle you exceeded the speed limit and thus created the risk of an accident'. What a pity that Ponomarev did not explain how I managed to create such a risk whilst sitting in the back seat of someone else's car which was standing outside the house where I live...

On 30 April of this year Policeman Zakirov, an official of the 5th police station, beat up my comrade O.I. Markin, and Zakirov's partner Aleshin tried to beat me, thus preventing me from defending Markin, a second group occupationally disabled person. I am enclosing a copy of my sharply worded statement about this for your information. No answer was vouchsafed either to me or to the victim Markin. The only answer to the statement, which was confirmed by Aborin, was the compulsory hospitalization of Aborin in a psychiatric hospital by the 5th police station. Official Zakirov of the 5th police station uses this measure systematically as a means of terrorizing my co-tenant Aborin, thus completely subjugating Aborin - a man who is not fully healthy mentally - to his will.

In revenge for the statement which I presented, Zakirov caused denunciations to be filed against me at the District Finance Department and with the police, to the effect that I was living on unearned income.

Today, 27 July 1981, I was summoned in writing to the 5th police station, where a criminal investigation inspector, G.G. Guryanov, attempted to interrogate me (moreover he did not inform me of my position) on the subject of my income. I refused to reply to Guryanov's questions...

In October Tomachinsky was invited to UVIR, where he was promised that his case would be resolved in the near future. In November Tomachinsky attempted to bring a civil action in the People's Court against the USSR MVD for breaking their agreement (the family was left with no means of support, since he had resigned, believing the promises of MVD officials). He claimed in damages the sum of money which he would have received had he been working at the lowest rate for his trade (he is a car mechanic) in the USA (see Chronicle 61). The court refused to accept the case for examination.

On 8 December Moscow City Court confirmed the refusal. On the evening of the same day Tomachinsky was arrested and taken to Butyrka Prison. On 9 December he was charged under article 209 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('parasitism').28.

#### Miscellaneous

In 1980 Yury Bugaichuk, a post-graduate student at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Genetics, married an Englishwoman (a member of the Communist Party). At the beginning of 1981 he applied to emigrate to England for permanent residence with his wife. After this he began to be subjected to persecution from the administration, as a result of which he was forced to abandon his studies. In July Bugaichuk received a refusal, 'because your emigration is incompatible with the current interests of the USSR'.

\* \* \*

On 5 May Valery Kurnosov (Chronicle 62) sent the UN Secretary-General K. Waldheim a letter entitled 'Fighting for My Human Rights', in which he described his persecution by the authorities for his political beliefs and his desire to emigrate to the USA.

On 8 May Kurnosov sent the US Embassy an 'Appeal' with a request for political asylum. On the same day he sent a 'Statement' to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in which he reminded them that he had renounced Soviet citizenship (in 1979), and demanded that 'the matter of...my emigration to the USA be resolved'.

\* \* \*

On 30 June Vladimir Magarik (Chronicle 62), who works as a senior engineer at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Earth Physics, sent a 'Statement Reporting a Conversation' to the First Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, Grishin:

On 4 June 1981 G.A. Sobolev, the Secretary of the Institute's Party Bureau, gave me an account, at my request, of the attitude of the Institute's party organization to persons petitioning to emigrate to Israel (there are three such people working at the Institute).

Although there can be no blame in the legal sense attached to the intention to emigrate, said G.A. Sobolev, one must, all the same treat them as if they were convicts. Therefore the party organization, in conjunction with the administration, will do what it can to impose

restrictive measures on them.

Their working and personal contacts, especially with younger people and with their subordinates, will be restricted. The ideological training of their colleagues, explained G.A. Sobolev, is not always sufficient to withstand such contacts. (I can add from my own experience that indeed the majority of my colleagues have not ceased relating to me in a friendly manner and treat my position with clearly expressed sympathy.)

Restrictions in connection with the publication of work in which they have participated will continue to be imposed. This is being done, said G.A. Sobolev, so as to protect co-authors, editors and reviewers from the moral trauma arising from being informed that one of the authors intends to emigrate to Israel.

The productivity of research officers is usually objectively assessed by the quantity of their published works. If the number of publications falls, then naturally persons intending to emigrate to Israel cannot be reselected for their previous posts. In such situations G.A. Sobolev recommended that other members of the family seek additional remuneration so that the average income per family member does not fall to less than the minimum level.

As someone interested in trying to understand what is going on (in September 1979 I sent the USSR MVD a statement explaining my motives for wishing to emigrate to Israel, and in May 1981 was informed of its refusal 'in view of the lack of grounds') I am appealing to you with a request that the Party authorities make clear to what extent the programme suggested by G.A. Sobolev (which many people regard as sanctioned sabotage) corresponds to the directives of Party authorities on this matter.

\* \* \*

On 13 August Leonid Tesmenitsky (Chronicle 62) sent the City UVD a 'Complaint' (copies were sent to the USSR MVD and the Moscow Procuracy):

On 5 August I went to the 25th police station in Moscow, where I had been summoned in writing as a witness to see a deputy chief of crime prevention, Captain Shalychev... Shalychev said they had information that I had not been working for more than four months; therefore they were obliged to discover whether this was true, and, if so, to take steps (to issue me an official warning).

Naturally I was suspicious of this explanation, since the police are in position to be able to find such things out without help from me. I started trying to ascertain whether I had been summoned to the interrogation as a witness (as was stated on the summons) and, if so, in connection with what case. If I had been summoned for a conversation I had the right to refuse to talk.

In response to all my questions and statements Captain Shalychev shouted at me and demanded that I reply to all his questions, since I was at a police station and in front of me was a representative of authority. This attitude angered me and I refused to talk to the Captain.

I wish to explain straight away that my refusal to give information about my place of work was not a matter of principle in so far as several weeks beforehand, when I had been asked to fill in a questionnaire at the City UVD OVIR, I indeed stated my last place of work. The matter of principle was the approach and behaviour of the police

official.

So, after his threats had failed to elicit from me what he wanted, Captain Shalychev announced his decision: 'Then you'll stay here until the Chief comes'. Taking my passport from me, he took me to the detention area and placed me in custody.

One hour later a man in civilian clothes came to the detention area and took me into an office. When he introduced himself I learned that he was Comrade Vernega, an inspector from Criminal Investigations. What had Criminal Investigations to do with me?!

Unable to explain this to me, and understanding that I would not talk to him, comrade Vernega took me back to the detention area. Three hours passed. I was still in custody.

A short while later someone came and said that the Chief had arrived.

I was summoned into the Chief's office, where everything was again repeated: 'We know the law'; 'You can't teach us'; 'You are in a police station and are obliged to answer all questions'.

When they are reminded of the law and of certain articles of the Code of Criminal Procedure, officials of the 25th police station just go wild. The conclusion of the Chief of Police, when he could not discover my place of work, was as follows: 'Why bother with him - take him and book him for insubordination!'

Thus I was detained for seven hours without being given any official reason... There was no violation of the law on my side. But the actions of the police officials constituted the crudest violations of laws and reveal their disrespect for laws.

Moreover, on finding myself behind bars I at one point said that I would file a complaint, and one of the officials, a man who was already very old, said: 'Don't, I don't advise it, you'll only get your nerves into a state. Once, under Stalin, you could have complained, but now there's injustice everywhere'.

Sending off this complaint, I still think and hope that this police official was wrong.

\* \* \*

On 25 September Magarik was telephoned by Moscow OVIR and asked to visit them immediately 'to have your emigration visas filled out'. Zinchenko, a deputy chief of OVIR, told Magarik in the presence of a man in plain clothes that they had wanted to let him go, but had now decided to wait. 'You joined the Jewish emigration movement... You are one of the leaders... You organized a Zionist gathering in Bittsev Wood (he was referring to the 'Maccabiada' - a sporting event which was held in June by a group of Moscow Jews)<sup>29</sup>... You organized a trip to the Opalikha Wood', etc. Magarik was threatened that he would never receive a visa.

\* \* \*

On 1 October Tesmenitsky was handed a written summons to a conversation on 5 October at the USSR KGB with Kazamanov. On 5 October a KGB colonel who introduced himself indistinctly informed Tesmenitsky, in the presence of Kazamanov, that as he was continuing to engage in antisocial activities even after the conversation held with him on 20 February (Chronicle 62), he was being issued with a warning under the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet dated 25 December 1972.<sup>30</sup> Tesmenitsky was charged with the compo-

sition of slanderous letters in which he distorted 'the national and emigration policies of the USSR' and with 'passing these letters to the West'. Tesmenitsky refused to sign the warning statement, and also to read 'his case file'.

\* \* \*

On 15 October two searches took place: one was at the place where Tesmenitsky was registered and where his mother was living, the second at the place where Tesmenitsky was living. The search-warrants were made out in connection with Case No. 50611/14-79 (Chronicle 62) and were signed by Senior Investigator of the Moscow Procuracy Yu.A. Burtsev.

Investigator Titov (Chronicle 60) of the Moscow Procuracy conducted the search of Tesmenitsky's mother's home. Among the articles confiscated were: samizdat and tamizdat, a selection of documents on the problem of Jewish emigration from the USSR, letters, three notebooks and Tesmenitsky's work-book. Two KGB officials took part in the search.

Investigator A.I. Sazonov of the Moscow Procuracy conducted the search of Tesmenitsky's home. Among the articles confiscated were: samizdat and tamizdat, photographic films, tape cassettes, Hebrew dictionaries and several notebooks. From Magarik and E. Kerner, who were present at the time, notebooks and a translation of MacDonald's *The Princess and the Goblin* were confiscated. Three KGB officials took part in the search.

\* \* \*

On 15 November Magarik and Tesmenitsky sent the following letter to the head of the Moscow City Soviet EC UVD OVIR:

We hereby inform you that on 23 November 1981 we are beginning a hunger-strike which will last until our departure for Israel.

On 25 November Magarik and Tesmenitsky sent a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

We the undersigned hereby state that we no longer consider ourselves citizens of the USSR and request the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to strip us juridically of our citizenship. There follows an account of the reasons for our decision.

About two years ago both of us applied to the relevant departments, stating our wish to emigrate to Israel. Since our wish does not contravene Soviet law we did not expect that it would meet with such difficulties. We were subjected to intimidation and told that we could never leave for Israel; we were threatened with legal reprisals. One of us was issued with a warning from the USSR KGB - for an alleged distortion of emigration policy; the other - at Moscow OVIR on imaginary and nonsensical grounds. The very expression 'emigration policy' is dreadful. The civil servants who deal with our affairs do not hide the fact that our future depends not on Soviet law but on the grain harvest or the situation in Africa or some other place on the globe.

We see the many-years' wait, the promises (we have both already been promised permission to emigrate), the intimidation of ourselves and of many others, as a form of psychological torture deliberately aimed at making the Jews themselves abandon their right to live in their own country, because someone somewhere considers that the

political climate is not favourable for Jewish emigration. For us the moment of choice has come. On 15 November we announced, and on 23 November began, our hunger-strike, and we will continue until the moment of our departure for Israel. We wish to ask the question: does anyone really need these senseless sacrifices?

We are not opponents of Soviet authority. Jews are obliged to respect the laws of their country of residence - that is their religious obligation. We are counting on the fact that our action will be correctly understood by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The laws which are passed there are very good, and the only need is that they be applied to all citizens.

We are counting on the support of the public throughout the world, not excluding the Soviet public, and we appeal for the help of the Jewish community throughout the world.

On 28 November Magarik and Tesmenitsky issued a press statement:

We do not consider it right to continue our hunger-strike for permission to emigrate to Israel, and to draw public attention to our personal futures, at a time when the hunger-strike of Andrei Sakharov and Elena Bonner (see below - Chronicle) is being prolonged and Boris Chernobylsky has been arrested in Moscow.

On 2 September around 30 Jewish refuseniks handed the following statement to V.I. Annichkina, secretary to the head of OVIR K.I. Zotov (it had about 40 signatures and was addressed to the department of administrative organs of the CPSU Central Committee and to the USSR MVD):

We the undersigned state that the problems of Jews wishing to emigrate from the USSR have grown considerably worse over the past two years.

In particular:

1. There has been a sharp increase in the number of refusals for which either no reason is given or the reason given is far-fetched, for example an insufficiently close relationship with the people who sent the invitation from Israel.

2. There has been a marked increase in the time taken to examine the papers submitted in connection with emigration; it is not rare to wait for an answer from OVIR for more than two years.

3. There are widespread cases of people not receiving their invitations from Israel despite certain knowledge that these invitations were sent.

4. The persecution of Jews who have been actively trying to obtain permission to emigrate has been intensified: in towns throughout the USSR activists of the Jewish emigration movement have been convicted or await trial, charged with crimes which they did not commit.

5. Permission to emigrate is virtually never given to refuseniks of long standing; there are dozens of families who first applied for their exit visas over ten years ago.

We ask the heads of the administrative organs department of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to receive us to discuss the matters listed above and to explain Soviet policy and the problem of Jewish emigration to Israel to us.

Three of those who had brought the letter (Irina Sapiro,



Ekaterina Umanskaya and Aron Rakhlenko) were received by the acting head of OVIR, Colonel R.A. Kuznetsov. During the conversation, which lasted two hours, Kuznetsov said: 'There was a rumour that after the 1980 Olympiad they wouldn't be letting people out...Jews applied to leave...OVIR is overloaded with work and the powers-that-be have not let us increase our staff'. To the question concerning the time spent as refuseniks Kuznetsov answered: 'Every separate case is decided on an individual basis...Apply every six months. Considerations of state security do not permit me to inform you of the reasons'. - 'Why?' - 'I'd be put in jail.' On the question of the 1968 Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the time-limit for examining applications (the maximum time is three months) Kuznetsov replied: 'This is a special case! Let everyone who has come here hand over his or her papers - we'll examine them all'. To the question 'Why don't invitations get through and why are refuseniks being persecuted?', he replied: 'That's not our business; apply to the Supreme Soviet and the Ministry of Communications'.

At the end Kuznetsov suggested that they apply to the USSR MVD, to the official responsible for supervising OVIR, Borisenko. On 12 October around 80 Jews went to the reception room of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Sapiro, Vladimir Rozin and Boris Klots handed an official the following letter:

Unfortunately this is not the first time that we have applied to you on the matters raised in this letter. They are dictated by the strange and deplorable position in which we, Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel, find ourselves. Why, when we have the right to emigrate from the USSR, are we separated out as a special category of people placed outside the law?

Throughout our history our ancestors have traditionally respected the laws of the country in which they were living. This commandment was not broken even when its observance led them to their deaths. But they knew exactly where the line was drawn between what was permitted and what was not permitted! In our day it has become impossible to draw the line.

On our days off we went into the woods to rest and to mark the Jewish holidays. And we were charged with organizing 'Zionist gatherings' and kindling national dissension. We have organized circles and classes for studying Hebrew. And we are told: 'No circles, no classes!' A small handful of religious Jews meet in a private flat to read the Torah. And they are charged with sectarianism.

We have tried to maintain our levels of professional competence, organizing seminars on our specialist subjects. We have been charged with anti-Soviet activities and even promised that these (purely academic) activities will be investigated as espionage.

And this is the result - during the past year six Jewish refuseniks have been arrested and sentenced to long periods of imprisonment, and four more are awaiting trial. Very recently several people attempted to lay wreaths at the Baby Yar monument in Kiev (see 'Events in the Ukraine' above). They were all detained and some of them were subjected to administrative arrest.

We honour the traditions of our ancestors - we wish to respect the laws of the country in which we live. So give us these laws! Let the law answer the question of whether

we can leave the USSR. If we can, then where is the law regulating the way in which 'emigration matters' are handled? Where is the law which 'decides' who can leave and who can't?

Let the law give us the means to get rid of the various obstacles which arise when we hand in our documents for emigration from the USSR. Let the law determine the time-limits for examining our petitions: these have grown from 2-3 months in the 1970s to 2-3 years at the present time.

Let the law help the invitations sent from relatives in Israel to reach those to whom they are addressed on time, and not wander along unknown channels of the communications system for long months until eventually they 'come to rest' in unknown establishments. Let the law help us to evaluate the position in which we find ourselves when we receive a refusal to allow us to leave the USSR.

Each one of us who has signed this letter has in some way or another encountered the problems set down here. There is no doubt that it is within the competence of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to give us exact and unambiguous answers to the questions which we have set down here.

After one hour the head of the reception department, Sovkov, received representatives of the group. He said: 'No member of the Presidium is going to talk to you - not today and not tomorrow'. To all the questions set down in the letter Sovkov replied: 'Go to OVIR'.

On the same day the following complaint about the actions of the officials at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet reception was sent to Brezhnev, to Procurator-General of the USSR, Rekunkov, and to USSR Minister of Justice Terebilov (signed by 83 people):

...From the text of our statement it was obvious that we had not come to discuss specific cases regarding emigration from the USSR. The questions raised in the statement touch each of us directly...And only the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to which the right to interpret the laws belongs under the Constitution (Article 121, paragraph 5), is in a position to give us the answers.

But even if we had come to discuss our emigration from the USSR, Citizen Sovkov did not have the right to send us to the USSR MVD OVIR. We had already been to that establishment. We came to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to complain about OVIR's actions, and there is a Presidium Decree of 4 March 1980 in force - 'Concerning the means of examining citizens' requests, statements and complaints' - which states (para. 5) 'It is forbidden to direct citizens' complaints to be resolved by those organs or functionaries whose actions are being complained of'.

Thus there are two possibilities. Either Citizen Sovkov refused to receive us because he did not wish to examine the substance of our statement, in which case he has violated paragraph 7 of the above-mentioned Decree; or else he refused to receive us simply because we have all at some time petitioned to emigrate from the USSR. But then he has violated article 34 of the USSR Constitution, which guarantees us equal rights with other citizens.

In view of the above, we the undersigned:

1. INSIST that a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet receive those of us whom the others have

appointed to discuss our statement.  
2. ASK you to explain to citizen Sovkov the clauses (referred to in this complaint) of the USSR Constitution and of the above-mentioned Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.  
We hope that we will be given a reply corresponding to the norms of Soviet legislation and we reserve the right to receive that answer at the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet within the time-limit laid down by law.

\* \* \*  
On 3 September several participants in the Moscow scientific seminars (Chronicle 60) received written summonses to district offices of the KGB.  
Irina Brailovskaya - the wife of V. Brailovsky (trial - Chronicle 62) - was told that if she continued holding seminars she would be sent out of Moscow and her husband's situation would worsen.  
A. Lerner was warned to give up holding his seminar - holding a seminar would be interpreted 'as a criminally punishable action'.  
Ya. Alpert, S. Alber, Ya. Grechanik, A. Ioffe, A. Leonov, G. Rosenshtein, Yu. Chernyak and S. Yantovsky were also summoned.

On 5 September N. Meiman was twice brought a summons to go to the District Procurator. He refused to go. The man who delivered the summons informed Meiman in conversation that they wanted to talk to him about the seminars.  
On Sunday 6 September the Brailovskys' flat was blocked off by a policeman and several KGB officials. Two plain-clothes officials were outside in a black Volga car. On approaching the entrance of the house, participants in the seminar were asked to leave immediately. They were informed that the seminar 'no longer comes under article 190-1, but has the smell of article 64 (ie 'treason' - Chronicle), since information is exchanged at it'. The authorities also kept watch on Ioffe's flat that day.

\* \* \*  
On 21 September two KGB officials demanded of Vladimir Zhuravsky that he stop teaching Hebrew.

\* \* \*  
On 24 September a policeman and somebody in plain clothes detained Boris Teplitzky as he was leaving his home. At a police support point the plain-clothes man talked to Teplitzky for half-an-hour, demanding that he cease teaching Hebrew. 'Your lessons are a spawning ground for Zionist propaganda', said the official.

\* \* \*  
On 24 September Vladimir Rozin was asked to go to the district UVD. There somebody in plain clothes informed Rozin that if he wished for an eventual satisfactory outcome to his petition to emigrate to Israel, he should not write 'unnecessary' statements to Soviet institutions, nor should he sign statements unconnected with his emigration from the USSR, nor should he take part in 'meetings'.  
On 30 December Rozin and Valeria Babayeva were summoned to the Moscow KGB. Two men talked to Rozin for one-and-a-half hours; one of them gave his name as V.V. Kuznetsov, deputy head of department. Kuznetsov informed Rozin that he was familiar with his case, and that if he thought that his rights were being violated by someone he should write

a complaint and go to the authorities, but not 'compose letters of anti-Soviet content and not organize Zionist gatherings'. Kuznetsov reminded Rozin that they had already talked to him and that his 'activities' were on the verge of violating the law. 'Chernobylsky stepped over that verge and was convicted'. Rozin was told that Lerner and V. Prestin (Chronicle 62) would not receive permission to emigrate because of their 'activities', and P. Abramovich (Chronicle 61) was simply 'an agent of Zionism and imperialism'.

They chatted to Babayeva for an hour. They cautioned her against 'active participation in Zionist gatherings'. They also warned her that her 'activities' were on the verge of breaking the law.

\* \* \*  
On 15 October searches were conducted at the homes of Natalya Khasina (Chronicle 50), Yuly Kosharovsky (Chronicle 61) and Pavel Abramovich in connection with the case against L. Shefer and V. Elchin, who had been arrested in Sverdlovsk (see below). Interrogations were conducted after the searches.

\* \* \*  
Senior Investigator S.R. Andreyev of the Moscow Procuracy conducted the search at the home of Abramovich; it began with the front door being broken in. Two KGB officials participated in it (so said Andreyev himself) whose names were written on the record as 'Inspector E.I. Orlov of the City UVD Criminal Investigation Department' and 'Criminal Investigations Inspector L.P. Shapovalov'. Also taking part was 'research officer A.P. Kozlov of the Institute of Eastern Studies'. Among the articles confiscated were: Hebrew text-books, Hebrew books and newspapers, tape cassettes, photographs, slides, films, letters, notebooks, three tape-recorders, a cine-camera, a projector and a radio.  
Abramovich noted on the record:

1. In reality a robbery has taken place, since things of material value such as a radio and tape-recorders were taken - maybe they are the 'anti-Soviet materials' which the investigation was looking for.

2. The record was drawn up in violation of every law: the titles of the books, notes and exercise books taken were not written down. It will not be surprising if I am afterwards confronted with materials which will, from the investigation's point of view, be 'anti-Soviet', and which will allegedly have been found at my home.

After the search the investigator wanted Abramovich to go for questioning. Abramovich asked to be questioned at home. When it was discovered that Abramovich knew neither Shefer nor Elchin, the interrogation was stopped. (A few days before the search Abramovich had been stopped near his home for purpose of identification'. A KGB official had 'chatted' to him at the police station. He said that Abramovich would not be leaving in either ten or fifteen years. 'You've got a new tactic - banking up your fire by manipulating other people. You persuaded Chernobylsky to hide, you got Lorentsson put away, you planned the demonstration at the reception room of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 12 October, you organized the trip by a group of Jews to Kiev, to Baby Yar. We have enough material against you. Don't think that you, like others, will be tried under

article 190-1. We'll try you as an agent of world Zionism.' Finally they demanded that Abramovich cease teaching Hebrew.)

On 21 October Captain Yu.A. Filatov interrogated Abramovich at the Moscow Procuracy. Abramovich said that he did not remember whether he had met Shefer (according to Filatov, Shefer had testified to meeting Abramovich at the home of Prestin). Filatov stated that a photocopy of the journal Israel Today which had been confiscated from Abramovich was similar to a photocopy confiscated from Shefer. 'The so-called search of my flat violated the Code of Criminal Procedure. As the materials and objects taken were not described, anything could be presented as something that was confiscated from me', replied Abramovich. Abramovich refused to answer questions on whether he could use a camera and whether he had access to copying equipment, on the grounds that they were not relevant to the case.

At the end of the interrogation Filatov said that he would do everything he could to separate out a case against Abramovich from the case against Shefer and Elchin.

\* \* \*

Investigator Borovik of the Moscow Procuracy conducted the search of Kosharovsky's home. Among the articles confiscated were: books in Hebrew and Arabic, a few books in English, notebooks, tape cassettes, a tape-recorder, a camera, a film projector and a battery recharger. After the search Kosharovsky spent two hours making notes on the record. He wrote:

Unfortunately there was material confiscated at the search which has no connection with the resolution to conduct a search in connection with the case against L.G. Shefer and V.A. Elchin under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Moreover, a man who did not show me his documents and who does not figure on this record was permitted to address me with insulting remarks of a slanderous nature. The investigator mentioned that none of those present knew any foreign language, so almost everything he took was incomprehensible to him, thus introducing many inaccuracies. (There later follows a four-page list of the materials which were either not written down or incorrectly written down on the record - Chronicle.)

Kosharovsky was then taken for interrogation to the 119th police station (the nearest to his home).

At first Borovik and Kosharovsky argued at length on whether an investigator is obliged to name the case in connection with which the witness is being questioned. Kosharovsky began to answer questions only after Borovik had told him that the case in question was that against Shefer and Elchin. After the record had been written Borovik gave it to Kosharovsky to read through. Kosharovsky wrote: 'The contents of this record are so different from the actual conversation, that I repudiate it in full'. Borovik then tore up the record, fetched a new one and again started to fill it out.

Kosharovsky said he had met Shefer two or three times and they had discussed matters concerning emigration. He had neither given slanderous literature to Shefer nor taken it from him. He did not remember whether he had met Elchin.

On 21 October Filatov interrogated Kosharovsky at the Moscow Procuracy. Kosharovsky stated that his mother tongue was Hebrew and that he wished to testify in that language; however, understanding the difficulty of finding a transla-

tor, he was prepared to testify in Russian 'as an exception, understanding your difficulties. However, I am warning you in advance that next time I will testify only in Hebrew'.

Filatov wanted to know whether Kosharovsky had introduced Shefer to Abramovich, Prestin, L. Vilenskaya, R. Zelichenok (see below) or N. Rozen (who had emigrated in 1980), what he had given Shefer to read, and what they had talked about. Finally Filatov expressed a desire to meet Kosharovsky's wife.

\* \* \*

Investigator Lazarev of the Moscow Procuracy conducted the search at the home of Khasina. He was accompanied by ten people (three were witnesses). Four bags of materials, books and objects were taken; in particular: all the literature in Hebrew (two bags), Hebrew, Yiddish and English records, ceremonial objects, various documents (one bag), tape cassettes, five tape-recorders and a radio. (On the matter of the records in English, Khasina was told at the interrogation: 'If we like them we'll keep them; if not, we'll give them back'.)

After the search Lazarev interrogated Khasina. She said that she had heard the name Shefer, since 'You've made such a noise throughout the country with this case'. In connection with the books in Hebrew she said: 'We read in that language, converse in it and study it. The majority of the books come via the postal service, where there are qualified people who would not let them through if they contained anti-Soviet statements or slander'. On 19 October Natalya and Gennady Khasin (husband and wife) sent a statement to the Moscow Procurator asking to have the things taken at the search returned.

On 22 October Filatov interrogated Khasina at the Moscow Procuracy. Khasina stated that she would not testify in connection with this case until she received a reply to her statement to the Moscow Procurator of 19 October. She noted her refusal to testify and an explanation of her reasons on the interrogation record. Filatov promised her that he would make every effort to bring a criminal charge against her on the basis of materials which, according to him, were uncovered during the search of the Khasins' home. (It is worth pointing out that according to the summonses, it was Yu.A. Burtsev who summoned Abramovich, Kosharovsky and Khasina to be interrogated at the Procuracy.)

\* \* \*

On 3-5 November KGB officials held 'conversations' with women refuseniks Elena Dubyanskaya, Yudif Ratner, Svetlana Terletsckaya-Kredovaya, Faina Rozina and Lyudmila Koganova. Some were summoned to police stations, others were visited at home. They were all warned against 'antisocial' acts on a 'nationalistic basis'. A KGB official replied to Dubyanskaya, who had said that she would strive to emigrate to Israel by acting within the boundaries of Soviet laws, by saying: 'Go and visit official bodies, write complaints, but don't form groups'. They were all told: if you want to emigrate, do not sign slanderous, nationalistic letters.

\* \* \*

On 9 November Oleg Popov was issued an 'official warning' for 'parasitism' at the 54th police station. Popov left the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Petrochemical Synthesis in August 1979 after applying to emigrate. Until March 1981 he worked as a night watchman. In February 1981 he

he received a refusal, after which he started to look for work in his specialist field. (He is a Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences and a specialist in the field of plasma physics and gas electronics.) In July Popov was telephoned from OVIR and told that his petition would be re-examined; it was therefore recommended that he should not find a job. When Popov asked the police official making out his 'warning': 'Why such a rush?', the official replied: 'The bosses are in a hurry'.

\* \* \*

On 7 December the film actress Zoya Föderova was received by a top OVIR official, who confirmed the earlier refusal she had been given on applying for permission to visit her daughter Victoria Föderova (a former Soviet film actress [who married an American]) in the USA.

On the afternoon of 11 December Zoya Föderova was killed in her flat. The obituary published on 16 December in the newspaper Evening Moscow stated that she had died suddenly. Victoria Föderova tried to go to her mother's funeral, but the Soviet Embassy would give her a visa only on the condition that she went to the USSR as a Soviet citizen (she has American citizenship); she refused.

\* \* \*

On 24 December, the anniversary of the sentencing of the 'aeroplane people' (Chronicle 17), a demonstration of solidarity was due to take place outside the Lenin Library (Chronicle 60). On 22 December a 'well-wisher' telephoned Irina Sapiro and told her that if her husband Vladimir Vail appeared in the centre of Moscow on 24 December, 'he will not be returning home soon'. On 23 December people calling themselves police officials telephoned Valeria Babayeva, Lyudmila Lubenskaya, V. Magarik's daughter Anna Magarik, and Irina Yakobson, and likewise warned them not to go to the Lenin Library on 24 December, 'otherwise it will be 15 days before you go home'.

Early in the morning of 24 December a man who showed the credentials of a Criminal Investigations official visited Vladimir Rozin and warned him against going to the Lenin Library. This man and two others followed Rozin continuously until 7 p.m. Lubenskaya was subjected to a similar surveillance. She was 'escorted' until 2 p.m.

On 24 December at the place where the demonstration was to be held a large number of policeman and plain-clothes men (about 30-35 people) were standing at the conjunction of the little square and the pedestrian crossing across Kalinin Prospect, at the exit from the Lenin Library underground station, and also around the actual square in front of the library entrance. A bus was standing at the side exit from the station (this exit was closed).

Only Dmitry Shchiglik and Anna Magarik managed to get to the square. Shchiglik was detained on the square in front of the library, after he had been identified by a plain-clothes man, and immediately taken away to the bus.

Magarik walked on to the square and removed her hat. A policeman approached her and told her to put her headgear on. She refused. A second policeman approached. Both policemen then moved away and began conferring with a man in plain clothes who, during operations connected with Jewish refuseniks, usually introduced himself as 'Igor Vasilevich Anisimov'. The three of them approached her and told her to put her headgear on, after which 'Anisimov' asked to see her documents. Magarik stated that she would show her

documents only to the police officials. 'Anisimov' stepped away a few paces and Magarik showed the policemen her documents. 'Anisimov' approached, glanced at her documents, asked: 'Where's daddy, then?', and gave orders to detain her. Four plain-clothes men came up and dragged A. Magarik off to the administration building of the library. Magarik resisted desperately. She was raised by the arms, dragged, gagged, and forced into one of the rooms of the administration building. There was a man there who began to accuse her of acting like a hooligan, whereupon she demanded to be told the name of the man who had taken her passport. They refused to do this and moved her into a neighbouring room. Magarik's attempt to use the telephone was sharply squashed. Policemen began to draw up a record; 'Anisimov' insisted that the fact of malicious hooliganism be noted - the delivery of a kick to the face.

At about 12 o'clock she was taken away to the bus where Shchiglik was. At about 2 p.m. Shchiglik and Magarik were taken to a support point of the 5th police station, where they were put in the same room. After some time Shchiglik was taken into a neighbouring room, talked to for half-an-hour and released.

Magarik was then called. Apart from a policeman and two witnesses, there were two men in the room who introduced themselves as Criminal Investigations Inspectors Nikolayev and Bryuchkov. Magarik was threatened with 15 days' imprisonment and then taken back. About 15 minutes later she was called again and a conversation began which was friendly in tone; they discussed emigration matters and her father. At about 4 p.m. they returned Magarik's passport and released her.

\* \* \*

On 24 December 21 Muscovites and six people from Odessa declared a one-day hunger-strike in solidarity with the prisoners of Zion.

\* \* \*

On 24 December, when Abramovich, Elena Dubyanskaya and Viktor Fulmakht were phoning abroad from the post-office, two men began to bang on the cabin. One of them turned out to be a people's vigilante, the other 'was in the War'. They shouted that these people were holding 'anti-Soviet conversations'. A KGB official and a policeman immediately appeared and took them all to the Dzerzhinsky District 22nd police station, where 'the citizens' left a statement in which they expressed their indignation at the holding of anti-Soviet conversations by telephone. A KGB official conducted separate conversations with each of those detained.

#### Leningrad

##### The Trial of Lein

On 10 May the police blocked off the flat of Evgeny Lein (in Chronicle 62 his name was mis-spelled)<sup>31</sup>, and did not let through the guests who had come to celebrate Israel's Independence Day. On 15 May Lein wrote a complaint about this.

On 17 May Lein was arrested at a session of the cultural seminar (Chronicle 62). He was charged with kicking a policeman. On 20 May Procurator Zaporozhets offered Lein a

choice: to admit his guilt, in which case he would be released from custody, or to remain in custody until the trial. Lein was in a cell which contained four bunks and eight people. For forty days he slept on the floor. During 53 days spent in detention Lein did not have one meeting with an investigator. The case was then closed within three days.

\* \* \*

On 4-5 August a court presided over by V.D. Denisenkov examined the case against Evgeny Borisovich Lein (b.1939), who was charged under article 191-1, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The prosecutor was Procurator V.I. Novikov. Lein acted as his own defence counsel.

\* \* \*

The trial was open. One of the people present, who had tried to take photographs in the courtroom, was forcibly dragged out; his hands were twisted behind his back, the film was exposed and he was taken to a police station, where his passport particulars were written down. The particulars of three of his friends who had followed him to the station were also written down. On the evening of 4 August one of Lein's friends who had been in the courtroom was beaten up near his house by four men.

\* \* \*

Lein was charged with hindering local policeman Captain Semenov and members of a Komsomol Operations Detachment who had come, 'following a statement by a citizen', to discover

why citizens were gathering, violating public order and dirtying a landing. The defendant, E.B. Lein, hindered the investigation of these circumstances by shouting and making a noise. He refused the police officials' demand that he show his documents, and categorically refused to follow them to the police point for identification; he grabbed Semenov by the uniform, tore off an epaulette, kicked him on his left hip, causing injury without damage to his health, resisted Zhelobov and Evseyev when they took him to the police point, pushed them away with his hands, tore himself away, and tried to escape...

The Procurator demanded that Lein be sentenced to a three-year term, with the imprisonment suspended but with compulsory labour.

In his defence speech Lein refuted all the charges. He said that the area of the hallway into which 15-20 people were piled was 4.5 square metres, so that it would not have been possible to deliver a kick causing 'a bruise of 80 square centimetres'. The expert medical examination was only conducted on 5 June (19 days after the incident); Lein was not invited to the examination and was therefore denied the opportunity to question the expert. It was established in court that Lein had been taken to the police point by bus, but Zhelobov and Evseyev had returned from the lift to the flat so that he could not have resisted them while being taken to the police station. Lein demanded acquittal. In his final speech Lein emphasized the following:

I am not guilty. The circumstances of my arrest and the course taken by the investigation make it absolutely clear that the prosecution is prejudiced and the authorities are wreaking vengeance on myself and my family because

of our desire to know the history and language of the Jewish people, and our desire to leave the USSR for Israel. Three years ago, on 3 July 1978, I handed my documents to OVIR and asked for permission for myself and the members of my family to emigrate to the state of Israel, but I received a refusal. Over the past years my intention has not changed but grown stronger. Prison will not force me to change my decision.

The sentence was a two-year term with imprisonment suspended but with compulsory labour imposed. Lein was to remain in custody until he reached his assigned place of work.

\* \* \*

Lein is a Doctor of Technical Sciences. He received his refusal for 'possession of classified information'. He was working as a night watchman. He took part in the Leningrad seminar on applied mathematics which was first organized by refusenik-scholars in 1977.

\* \* \*

On 15 September Lein was sent to Abakan District. On 22 September an appeal hearing took place which left the sentence in force.

\* \* \*

The following text was circulated in samizdat in connection with the trial of Lein:

...this case began slightly earlier, when Leningrad MVD officials started doing everything possible to stop people interested in Jewish history and traditions from meeting. Everyone who took part in the discussions was taken to a police station for identification; the flats where the meetings were to take place were blocked off by MVD officials; unofficial chats were held with the participants at their places of work or study; they were also summoned to District Party committees, where it was explained to them that attending these talks could have unwelcome consequences for them.

Having described the events which took place on 17 May, the investigation of the case against Lein, and the course of the trial, the authors end by saying:

We consider that Evgeny Lein's guilt has not been proven and that the sentence is harsh and without foundation. And involuntarily we ask ourselves the question: well, what next? It has become dangerous to take an interest in one's history and culture. And who can say for sure that there is not someone deciding on a similar fate for one of us at this very moment? Who will be next in the dock?

#### Miscellaneous

After the events of 17 May which resulted in E. Lein's arrest, M. Elman was stripped of his security clearance and dismissed from the institute where he was working.

\* \* \*

On 22 November 1980 Nelly Naumovna Skvirskaya wrote a statement resigning from the CPSU:

In connection with my intention to be repatriated to the

historical land of my ancestors, the state of Israel, I consider it unethical for me to remain in the ranks of the CPSU...In correspondence with para.8 of the CPSU Charter I do not consider myself a party member, as:

a. I have not paid my membership dues for eight months, this without good reason;

b. I have lost all real contact with the party organization.

On 27 January 1981 Skvirskaya was expelled from the party.

On 22 April Skvirskaya was dismissed from the Leningrad Concert Organization (Lenkontsert) under para.3 of article 254 of the RSFSR Code of Labour Laws ('the commission by an official carrying out educational functions of an amoral act which is incompatible with the continuation of such work').

From 12 to 15 May the Kuibyshev District Court examined Skvirskaya's suit against the management of Lenkontsert for unlawful dismissal. The Judge was L.A. Karpova and the Procurator was E.A. Vasileva. Defence counsel V.V. Nazarov acted for Skvirskaya; defence counsel M.Ya. Linde defended the interests of Lenkontsert.

During the court hearing it was established that the meeting of the trades-union committee which had discussed the question of Skvirskaya's dismissal had not had a quorum and that representatives of the administration and the committee had given false testimony on this matter.

On 14 May an order was given at Lenkontsert to reinstate Skvirskaya as from 15 May and to pay her for her enforced absence. Because of this the court considered the case settled. Some time later the trades-union committee again sanctioned Skvirskaya's dismissal (the meeting took place in her absence; she was on sick leave, but sent a telegram expressing her lack of confidence in the composition of the committee and refusing to attend the meeting).

\* \* \*

On 23 September a search was conducted at the home of refusenik Roald Zelichenok. Books in English and Hebrew were taken (32 items in all). After the search Zelichenok was taken to the police station, where Akimova, who had conducted the search, and a KGB official attempted to have a talk with him. Only then did Zelichenok discover that the search had been conducted in connection with the case against L. Shefer and V. Elchin (see below). Zelichenok refused to answer the questions, since the correct interrogation procedure had not been followed.

On 15 October Zelichenok was taken from his place of work to the Leningrad KGB, where Captain Yu.A. Filatov (who had also conducted interrogations in Moscow on 21 and 22 October - see above) interrogated him for five hours.

According to Filatov, Shefer had testified that he had met Zelichenok at the home of Yu. Kosharovskiy (see above). Zelichenok said he did not remember whether he had met Shefer. Filatov showed Zelichenok a typewritten sheet of paper and said: 'This is a letter to Shefer. It is yours: it was written on the same typewriter as your complaint about your telephone' (Zelichenok's telephone had been disconnected on 15 September).

On 16 October two KGB officials came to Zelichenok's home in order to take his wife Galina Babrina to an interrogation. Some time later Filatov arrived and conducted the interrogation at their home.

He asked Babrina how well she knew Shefer and Elchin,

whether she had given them anything to read and what items of theirs she had taken to read. Babrina stated that she refused to testify since reprisals were starting against her family in connection with the case: they had disconnected her telephone; they had conducted a search 'or robbery'; her husband had been taken away to the KGB right in front of his colleagues; and on the day of the search a window had been smashed with a stone, nearly killing her child. Filatov said that none of this was connected with the KGB and threatened to put Babrina in prison.

#### Sverdlovsk

##### The Arrest of Shefer and Elchin

On 1 September the Sverdlovsk Procuracy opened a case against Lev Shefer and Vladimir Elchin. On 17 September the case was transferred to the Sverdlovsk KGB. On 22 or 23 September Shefer and Elchin were arrested. They were charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (four years ago Shefer was convicted under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code).<sup>32</sup>

In connection with this case, searches were conducted in Moscow at the homes of P. Abramovich, Yu. Kosharovskiy and N. Khasina, after which they were all interrogated (see above). In Leningrad a search was conducted at the home of R. Zelichenok, after which he and his wife G. Babrina were interrogated (see above).

Also in connection with this case E. Finkelshtein (Chronicle 54) was interrogated in Vilnius on 5 October, and L. Volvovskiy (Chronicles 43, 44, 46, 50) was interrogated in Gorky.

#### Novosibirsk

On 5 March Vladimir Kozitsky, Yury Mirokhanov, Valery Dedushev and Emil Gorbman (all - Chronicle 61) appealed to the chairman of the Regional Soviet EC, V.A. Filatov, with a request to register a demonstration march which they were planning for 25 April from the EC building to the Lenin Memorial (at the Opera and Ballet Theatre). They would carry banners with these slogans:

All Power to the Soviets!

Hail to democracy!  
Every person has the right to leave any country, including his or her own - Soviet law, 1976.

'Bureaucracy, smugness and callousness cannot and must not have a place in our Soviet way of life' - Resolution of Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 21 October 1980, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's speech.

'We make many good laws, comrades. Now the main concern is for their strict and steadfast observance. A law only lives when it is being obeyed - obeyed by everyone, everywhere' - Comrade L.I. Brezhnev's report to the 26th Congress of the CPSU on 23 February 1981.

The authors stated that the purpose of their peaceful demonstration was to call public attention to scandalous episodes of violation of, and disregard for, the laws of the USSR by the administrative organs of the city of Novosibirsk.

The authors of the statement sent a letter of information to 55 party and administrative Soviet bodies in Novosibirsk, and also to L.I. Brezhnev, to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the USSR Committee for People's Control and to the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, notifying them of the peaceful demonstration planned for 25 April.

On 19 April the group sent 'Letter of Information No.2' to the same addressees; in it the authors stated that on 15 April they had all been summoned to the Regional Soviet EC. There a commission of nine people talked to each of them separately. The commission included representatives of the organizational department of the Regional Soviet EC, of the UVD and OVIR, an Assistant Regional Procurator, a Deputy Chairman of the Regional Court and a representative of the EC's Justice Department. The chairman of the commission, who was the head of the organizational department of the Regional Soviet EC, F.I. Zhukevich, informed them that the commission was forbidding the demonstration, in the name of the Regional Soviet EC and for the following reasons:

1. Few participants were named.
2. The participants did not constitute an organization.
3. The slogans listed were antisocialist.
4. Moreover, the slogans were anti-Soviet.
5. Moreover, the slogans were illegal.

They tried to back up this final allegation by showing a newspaper in which the CPSU Central Committee slogans for the 1 May demonstration were printed. Pointing them out the official said: 'There are the legal slogans!'

In a letter the authors protest against the ban on holding a demonstration and state that they consider the conclusions of the commission unlawful. At the end of the letter they petition to have the date of the demonstration changed, to 5 July if possible.

Several days before 24 April rumours about a demonstration of thousands of people set for 24 April spread around the town. From early morning on that day the flats of the authors of the letters, and the districts in which they lived, were cordoned off by the police and plain-clothes men. The districts involved in the proposed demonstration were patrolled by dense ranks of policemen and men in plain clothes. During the day many pedestrians who for whatever reasons stopped near the Lenin Memorial, close to the proposed route of the demonstration, including one journalist with a camera, were detained.

#### Krasnoyarsk

Worker V. Tsurikov has been seeking to emigrate since 1973 (Chronicles 51, 61). A letter which he has written is printed below in full:

On receiving an invitation for permanent residence in the USA from my cousin Irina Richter I applied in February 1980 to Krasnoyarsk OVIR for permission to emigrate. My documents were accepted and I was told to wait for the results of their inspection. After this, as became clear, KGB officials started to take an interest in me: they questioned all my next-door, upstairs and downstairs neighbours. They tried several times to get into my flat.

They stole letters from my post-box.

On 15 April, as I was returning home, I was detained at the door of the flat and searched; my arms were twisted and I was taken to the cells and placed in a cell on my own where I spent some time; I was then taken to the Krasnoyarsk City Psychiatric Hospital (16-17 Kurchatov Street). The local doctor, Kudrina, arranged my internment, and in the hospital the head of the First Section, Viktor Dmitrievich Smirnov, received me. He looked at me and said: 'We'll treat you'. I asked: 'What will you treat me for?' He replied: 'You have delusions about emigrating'. He prescribed: Triftazine (two large tablets) and Aminazine (two medium) - three times a day.

On 17 April Larissa Alexandrovna Novikova was made responsible for my treatment; to the Triftazine and Aminazine she added Sulphazine - five injections of three cc each. She said that I was undergoing 'a new onset of emigration delusions'.

The Triftazine paralysed me, and my legs began to tremble awkwardly. I lost the capacity to walk, but at the same time felt a powerful anxiety (restlessness) and experienced intense pain in my buttocks at every movement - this was due to the Sulphazine. My waist swelled up; I began fainting and the frequency of the faints increased sharply. I would fall, hitting my head on the floor or the brick walls. I could not eat or sleep from the pain. I had cramps. My temperature rose due to the Sulphazine and remained continuously at around 40°. Sometimes I had slight convulsions, my tongue lolled out and injections of Novocaine did not help. This nightmare lasted for a week, until I was invited to talk to some student psychiatrists. I could not walk, so I was carried to the auditorium, where it was discovered that I could not move my tongue. They then carried me back and started to administer something to correct the problem. That made me feel slightly better. I continued to suffer from the Sulphazine and I lost a lot of weight, but by the next meeting of the students I was able to talk to them. The assistant professor who was giving the talk informed the students that I had 'schizophrenia of political type'. This terminology was constantly being applied to me. Dr Novikova told me that my diagnosis - 'simple schizophrenia' - was made by Vladimir Yanovich Chistyakov, and that I had been hospitalized because I was socially dangerous. 'If you do not understand that emigration to the USA is impossible under our system, you must be ill', said Novikova. Twice she invited me to testify against my acquaintances. To my mother she stated: 'He has thoughts about emigrating - we must treat him'. 'But treatment won't change him', objected my mother. 'All the same there must be punishment - we're trying to remove with drugs his desire to go abroad'. She questioned my mother closely about what friends and acquaintances visited me, and what friends I had in Moscow. And she concluded: 'Your son is politically dangerous'. When I asked to be released she replied: 'You have subversive thoughts - I won't be soft towards you'.

I had been there for two-and-a-half months and considered that the time for my release had come, but on 30 June I suddenly discovered that there was a KGB order (based on a USSR MVD order on the intensification of the struggle against dissenters) to detain me in hospital until after the Olympic Games in Moscow. Moreover, the conditions of my detention grew worse. My work in the workshop was

stopped. Dr Ermina explained: 'You are politically dangerous and the KGB is very busy now with the Olympics. So have a little patience'. Dr Novikova told me: 'If I sign your release, you'll go to Moscow and testify to your friends'. She told my mother: 'His behaviour is normal, his health is good; I would release him, but there is an order to keep him here. His release does not depend on me, not on me nor the head of department nor the hospital's chief doctor, but on the people that put him here'.

On 7 July Novikova went on holiday. Dr Eduard Ivanovich Rusakov became responsible for my treatment; he, by the way, is a member of the Writers' Union, a prose writer. 'Choose', he said. 'Either give up your desire to emigrate and live peacefully, or insist on emigrating and choose the future of a recluse, because you won't leave psychiatric hospital.' Then he stated: 'In the present situation in the Soviet Union your emigration to the USA is impossible. But since you don't understand that, you are receiving treatment'.

In the provinces doctors are more straightforward and open about the fact that they are treating people for dissent. V.Ya. Chistyakov is a doctor by profession, but a butcher by vocation. Novikova is like him, a cynical type. V.D. Smirnov hates dissidents with all his heart: he showed me what he was like by ordering me, after something I had done, to have my hair close-cropped - as a means of humiliation that is not generally done in hospital.

To give a broader picture of the hospital situation I will add a few details that astonished me. When I was led into the section I saw people loafing from corner to corner who were dressed shabbily in rags and who had lice and unhealed scabs. They all had lice on their clothes and pubic hair. When I saw my neighbour catching and crushing them I went to the nurse and asked whether I could wash and change him. 'Everyone has lice here', answered the nurse, and that was the end of the conversation. Soon I became lousy myself. But head of department Smirnov always looked impeccably dressed, pressed and pomaded.

At the time when KGB officials seized me and put me in hospital I was undergoing a course of treatment for chronic inflammation of the prostate. Expensive drugs which I ordered and paid for were waiting to be collected (but were not kept for long enough) at the chemist's. Because the treatment was stopped, this illness as well as a cold I had caught in hospital (a runny nose and a cough) caused me additional suffering. Moreover, when they hit me they hurt my jaw and for several days I could not eat.

When my mother found out that I had been detained by the KGB and put in hospital she became ill; her leg started to malfunction and she had to undergo treatment. In July she went to see the head of OVIR and asked him to let me emigrate to my cousin Irina, to which he replied: 'No one will let him go to the USA. He's mad, defective. The medical people have identified political delusions. We are trying to re-educate him in hospital and hope to succeed. We're human, we didn't send him off to camp, we haven't destroyed him, we have other ways of doing things. He has no such cousin, we know better than that. If he gives up the idea of going to the USA we won't bother him. It is not in our interests for our citizens to emigrate. If he cannot keep his tongue behind his

teeth, if he is going to engage in propaganda, then we will punish him and punish him very severely'.

On 4 August, immediately after the Olympics, I was released. My imprisonment and compulsory treatment had lasted for three months and 20 days. Novikova: 'The organs of state security put you in hospital and your illness consists of your desire to emigrate'. At the trials of V. Bakhmin and A. Podrabinek psychiatrists were called on to testify, but not their victims.

On 27 June 1981 Tsurikov was beaten up near his home by an unknown person. Covered in blood, Tsurikov went to the Zheleznodorozhny District OVD, which was nearby. The policeman on duty said to him: 'Oh, you swine! You've come to complain again!' Tsurikov went to Procurator Antsiferova. According to Tsurikov, she grinned mockingly in his face and said: 'No one attacked you on 27 June. No one wounded you and you did not go to the Zheleznodorozhny District OVD'.

An extract from a letter by Tsurikov:

Dr Shepetunina says: 'Complain and we'll put you in the psychiatric hospital', while Petrova says: 'Complain and we'll have you declared mentally incompetent'.

#### Kiev

##### The Trial of Zubko

On 21 July the Darnitsky District People's Court in Kiev, presided over by A.A. Dadkovsky, examined the case against Stanislav Alekseyevich Zubko (b. 1937; arrested 16 May - Chronicle 62), who was charged under article 222, part 1 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code ('illegal...possession... of arms') and under article 229-6, part 1 (possession of narcotics without the intention to sell). The prosecutor was Procurator E.S. Zhukova, the lay prosecutor was V.N. Verigin (from Zubko's former place of work) and defence counsel was lawyer N.N. Zakharov.

\* \* \*

The entrance into the court-yard of the court building was blocked by police and plain-clothes men. The courtroom was filled with a specially invited public. At first they allowed Zubko's mother Anna Levitskaya (Chronicle 62) into the courtroom, but after a while the Judge ordered her out since she was to be questioned as a witness (she had not received a summons). After she testified she remained in the courtroom for a while, but was then taken away on the Judge's orders ('for shouting from her seat').

\* \* \*

Zubko related that when they had come to search his home on the morning of 16 May, he was still asleep. His mother had therefore first woken him, then opened the door. The man who was conducting the search said that a flat had been robbed and that the occupant had noticed that one of the criminals had a beard. When asked what they were searching for, they told Zubko: 'valuables and arms'. They opened a sideboard in his mother's room and took out a sweet-box; they found nothing there and took out another box - inside lay some small object, wrapped in foil like a sweet. They asked: 'What's this?' Zubko said that he supposed that it was an old sweet that they had forgotten to eat. At this



the man who was conducting the search said, unwrapping the foil: 'No, it's hashish - it smells of hemp'. They inspected Zubko's own room, the store-room, the bathroom and the toilet only perfunctorily. In the kitchen they asked: 'What's under the fridge?' Then the man who was conducting the search lay down on the floor and took something in a cellophane bag from under the fridge. Zubko remarked sarcastically to his mother: 'And now they've found the arms'. At this point the search ended.

Zubko stated that he pleaded not guilty, as these objects had been planted on him. 'Why on you particularly?', asked the Judge. 'Because my mother and I want to emigrate to Israel. Precisely this has occasioned every type of persecution; in particular, during the last year I have been subjected to administrative arrest six times on trumped-up charges, and now they've planted a pistol and some hashish on me'. When the Judge asked who could have done such a thing, Zubko replied: 'The police or the KGB'. He explained that on 14 and 15 May his mother had inexplicably been summoned to see the local policeman - on the first occasion the policeman had not been there, but all the same his mother had been detained at the police station for about an hour. When his mother returned home the locks had only been single-locked, although she was in the habit of double-locking them.

One of the two men who were involved in the search, who was questioned as a witness, said that he had not seen the hashish and the pistol being found, as he was writing the record. The other searcher (Leontyuk) said that when he entered Zubko's flat he had said that he was going to look for valuables, but had said nothing about arms; he had recognized the hashish 'by its smell and colour'. The concierge, who was a witness at the search, said that she had been called and told that they were looking for 'arms and valuables'.

Various documents were then read out. According to the expert testimonies Zubko was not a drug addict. The reference from the place where Zubko was working until he applied to emigrate emphasized his conscientious attitude to work. On the negative side it noted that he did not take part in extra-curricular or political activities.

The Procurator said that Zubko's mother's testimony should not be believed, as she was an interested party, and asked for the defendant to be given three years for possession of arms and two years for possession of narcotics without intention to sell - five years in total. The lay prosecutor said: 'Zubko worked well and responded to his obligations conscientiously. We demand that he be severely punished'.

The defence lawyer said that no fingerprints had been found on the pistol or the hashish and the investigation had examined only one side of the story, although the objects could indeed have been planted ('I am in no way maintaining that the pistol and the hashish were planted by police officials, but they could have been planted by someone else'). The lawyer asked for Zubko to be acquitted.

In his final speech Zubko said:

I have lived for nearly 44 years and in that time I have committed no crimes. The things found in our flat do not belong to me. I consider that the judgment must be acquittal and I would consider anything else to be unjust.

The sentence was five years in ordinary-regime camps (three years under article 222, plus two years under article

229-6).

\* \* \*

On 30 July, 19 people from Kiev sent a letter to Brezhnev:

...The trial of Stanislav Zubko was not the first grossly unjust trial in the town of Kiev. During the past year the refuseniks Valery Pilnikov, Kim Fridman and Vladimir Kislik have been sentenced on trumped-up charges to long terms of imprisonment.

We demand:

- that a stop be put to the persecution of those inhabitants of Kiev who have been refused permission to emigrate to Israel;
- the immediate release of Stanislav Zubko;
- the immediate release of V. Pilnikov, K. Fridman and V. Kislik, who were convicted earlier.

On 20 August the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 180, 'The Arrest and Conviction of Stanislav Zubko'.

\* \* \*

On 27 August an appeal court left the sentence in force.

\* \* \*

On 22 September Levitskaya sent a telegram to Andropov and Shcheglov:

I ask you to protect me from the persecution of the Kiev authorities. On 18 September two policemen and one plain-clothes man broke into my flat. Without evidence and ignoring my advancing age - 68 years old - they accused me of drunkenness and indecent behaviour. They inspected my flat without a warrant and, finding no traces of drunkenness or debauchery, demanded written explanations. I fear for my future, since they have already used the same methods to put my son in prison for four years.

Zubko is serving his sentence at: 245930, Sumskaya obl., Romenskii r-n, s. Perekrestovka, uchr. US-319/56-7-72.

#### Miscellaneous

Kiev refuseniks are continuing to try and force the USSR Supreme Court to examine their suit against the USSR MVD (Chronicle 62). On 14 July they asked the USSR Supreme Court for a second time about the time-limits for examining suits. On 31 July the head of the Supreme Court Chancellery, M.P. Mironova, sent Mark Mikhlik (one of 14 petitioners) a reply:

I inform you that, in accordance with existing legislation, the USSR Supreme Court examines, in a supervisory capacity, concrete judicial matters within its competence and has no authority to decide questions relating to emigration.

(The petitioners received this letter at the end of August.)

On 5 August the petitioners sent a letter to USSR Procurator-General Rekunkov in which they demanded:

that the Supreme Court be called on to make a ruling on our petition in the immediate future, since the period of time laid down by law is running out.

On 10 August a reply was sent from a Procurator in the

letters section of the USSR Procuracy which informed them that 'the complaint has been sent to the USSR MVD'.

From 31 August to 17 September the petitioners were invited, individually and in groups, to Kiev OVIR. There they were informed that their suit was 'not within the jurisdiction' of the Supreme Court, and some of them were also told that 'after re-examination of their petitions for emigration they were again refused', since 'from November 1979, permission is given only to those people who have immediate family in Israel'.

On 9 September (after they had received Mironova's letter) the petitioners sent a telegram to the President of the USSR Supreme Court: 'In accordance with article 129 of the RSFSR Code of Civil Procedure the question of whether to accept a suit must be decided by the Judges and not by the head of the Chancellery'. On the same day a letter was sent to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in which the petitioners demanded 'decisive intervention' in their struggle with the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR Procuracy.

In a letter to Rekunkov dated 22 September the petitioners again insisted on making the USSR MVD answer. On the same day Leonid Varvak, Alexander Gorodetsky, Svetlana Efanova and Vladimir Tereshchenko were summoned to the Ukraine OVIR, where K.N. Föderov informed them that their cases had been requested by the USSR MVD in Moscow - but 'the negative decision has been left in force'.

On 26 September, in a new letter to the President of the USSR Supreme Court (to which all the previous correspondence was attached), they wrote, in particular:

We did not appeal to the Supreme Court in order to receive or not receive permission to emigrate to Israel, but in order to establish whether we really possess the right to choose our place of residence. If we do not have that right, then we must know of our slave status, so as not to live in a world of illusions.

In connection with the above, we insist on the examination of our petition judicially.

\* \* \*

Two days before this, on 24 December, Efanova and Tereshchenko were given 15 days' imprisonment each for 'petty hooliganism'. This is how it happened:

At about 2.30 p.m. Efanova and Tereshchenko were walking to the Levoberezhnaya underground station. Suddenly some man flew at them, hit Efanova on the back, ran off 15-20 metres, turned round and walked back towards them. He came alongside them and started to shove them and heap foul-mouthed abuse on them. Then about eight men appeared, saying they were from the police. They seized the hooligan and asked Efanova and Tereshchenko to come with them as victims and witnesses. At the police station their passports were taken and about an hour later a senior police lieutenant, who refused to give his name, showed them a record accusing them of hooliganism and demanded explanations. After that Efanova and Tereshchenko were taken by bus to Darnitsky District Court. After they had described the circumstances of the case, Judge V.I. Ermakova sent them back and demanded the summoning of witnesses to the court.

One-and-a-half to two hours later Efanova and Tereshchenko were taken back to the same court. A certain V.I. Tkachenko appeared as a witness; both Efanova and Tereshchenko (they were tried separately) saw that he was the hooligan who had bothered them near the underground station.

In the special detention centre Efanova and Tereshchenko were immediately put in the punishment block, where they were fed every other day. The head of the reception centre, I.N. Prokopenko, sent a message through the duty officer that he would not talk to them under any circumstances.

Procurator Kaveshnikov of Darnitsky District sent a letter in response to Efanova's and Tereshchenko's statement in which he wrote that he found no grounds for appealing against the Judge's decision. On 3 December Efanova and Tereshchenko appealed in a statement to the Kiev Procurator. On 30 December a Procurator of the Investigations Administration of the Kiev Procuracy informed Efanova in writing: 'No grounds...have been found for appealing against the decision of the People's Judge'.

\* \* \*

At the beginning of August KGB officials Lt-Col Shabliva and Major Avilov went to Igor Gerashchenko's home and took him to the Ukraine KGB, where Major-General Poskrëbyshev talked to him.

Poskrëbyshev said that the reason for the talk was not Gerashchenko's desire to emigrate to the West, but the fact that his name was being heard there (Gerashchenko is the son of a Ukrainian academic). 'Your actions qualify as treason', stated Poskrëbyshev, and read out a denunciation which had led him to believe that Gerashchenko, through some woman, had sent abroad plans for the manufacture of Soviet submarines and also poems by his wife Irina Ratushinskaya which contain anti-Soviet propaganda. Finally Gerashchenko was issued a warning 'under the Decree'.<sup>33</sup> Gerashchenko refused to sign it. On the following day his wife Ratushinskaya was also issued a warning. Ratushinskaya refused to sign it.

\* \* \*

On 11 November Leonid Bronfeld (b. 1938), a group 1 disabled person, appealed to the UN Committee on Social and Humanitarian Questions for help. He has been refused permission to emigrate due to 'absence of immediate family' abroad.

\* \* \*

According to incomplete data there are about 7,000 Jewish refuseniks in Kiev at the present time. The majority have been refused on the grounds of 'absence of grounds for reuniting a family'.

#### Kharkov

##### The Trial of Paritsky

On 28 August Alexander Solomonovich Paritsky (Chronicles 47, 48, 52, 53 [photograph in 54]) was arrested after a search. Among the articles confiscated at the search were Hebrew text-books and letters from abroad. Paritsky was charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= 190-1 of the RSFSR Code). Investigator S.M. Storozhenko conducted the case (he also conducted the case of E. Antsupov). On the same day searches were conducted at the home of A. David and Chudnovsky.

The trial of Paritsky (b. 1938) took place on 11-12 November. The main charges concerned:

- The production on a typewriter of two copies of a school essay written by his daughter and the dispatch of

the essay abroad;

- A statement to OVIR, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Procuracy and the USSR Supreme Soviet;
  - An unsent letter to his brother in Israel, confiscated during the search (written in 1978);
  - The use of international telephone communication to send slanderous information to the West;
  - Receiving in his flat the 'Zionist emissaries' Molain and his wife;
  - Slanderous complaints about his difficult material situation;
  - The use by foreign radio-stations of Paritsky's information;
  - The signing of a collective letter to the CPSU Central Committee about the refuseniks' difficult situation.
- The following was of particular note in Paritsky's defence speech:

I have many times been asked for the reasons impelling me - a man who has attained a high position, who has many scientific achievements, followers and students who could have continued the work I began - to reject all of this, sacrificing many years, maybe the most productive of my life, and to emigrate to Israel, a country where I have never been. But the fact is that I decided to devote my remaining years to live amongst my people, in accordance with my desire and that of my wife. I have always been governed by the Biblical saying 'Man does not live by bread alone'. My father, a Party member since 1917, who took part in the Civil War and in the industrialization and creation of kolkhozes in the Kharkov area, burst into tears when I once asked him with the spontaneity of childhood: 'What are Hebrew letters like?' I have come to understand that I have a responsibility to my children and grandchildren. At the 5th Writers' Congress K. Simonov said: 'We, the children of one nationality, cannot and must not relate with disrespect to the children of another nationality, to their culture, history, national holidays and national heroes'. I understood that I must live amidst my people. I resigned from work well before handing in my statement to OVIR, so as not to embarrass my colleagues and the management at the institute. Soon after I had handed in my statement I was refused permission to emigrate. I was prepared for a refusal, knowing that my work was connected with secret matters, but I wanted to be quite certain for how long this orally announced refusal was valid. The refusal was declared valid until 1980, then until 1981, and then they were giving refusals without setting any time-limits. The only purpose to which my statements were directed was to know the exact time-limit after which I could go to Israel. I wrote many dozens of letters to OVIR and to various departments. All those were returned to OVIR and attached to my case. From this source the prosecution has chosen four statements which are allegedly slanderous. Although they have been classified as slanderous they contain no slander whatsoever and express one main thought in a sentence common to all the statements - 'I ask you to examine my question and give me a positive decision'.

In his final speech Paritsky said:

I took part in constructive work for the good of the USSR and my actions were dictated by the desperate position

in which I have found myself since 1976, when I handed in my application to emigrate. Could I really have now started to destroy with slanderous attacks that which I have constructed for so many years, devoting my heart and all my knowledge and capabilities to it? I ask the court to bear in mind that I have never taken, I am not taking, and in the future I will not take any steps against the Soviet people. But I have tried to obtain, am trying to obtain, and will try to obtain permission to emigrate to Israel.

The sentence was three years of ordinary-regime camps.

\* \* \*

Paritsky is a Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences. After he applied to emigrate, his degree was revoked.

#### Odessa

On 15 July searches were conducted at the homes of the refuseniks (since 1979) Mark Nepomnyashchy and Avrely (Valery) Kofman. Religious literature, ceremonial objects and two tape-recorders were confiscated. The search of Kofman's home was conducted without a warrant. After the search Nepomnyashchy's daughter Eda was fined 20 roubles by administrative order for 'hooligan-like behaviour' during it.

On 19 July Kofman sent a statement to the CPSU Central Committee Administrative Organs Section. After describing the search, he writes:

I ask you to investigate this and to punish those guilty of many violations of Soviet laws. I ask you to help secure the return of the illegally confiscated books and objects. I also ask you to help secure a positive decision to the question of my right to move to the state of Israel. I ask you to ensure that my constitutional rights are not violated in the future and that I can live in accordance with my religious beliefs without being subjected to reprisals.

Kofman's wife Olga wrote a letter to the International Red Cross:

The tendentious selection of literature and objects confiscated leads one to think that we are being subjected to pressure by certain officials, in Odessa for my husband's religious beliefs and for our desire to leave here and live permanently in the land which is sacred to us, where the Jewish religion and people were born.

All the persecutions have led to a situation where our child, who is present through everything, and who is weak after an operation, has developed a neurosis of obsessive movements; the child's normal routine is being disrupted and that augurs the worst possible consequences, since the post-operative period should last for no less than three years.

Moreover, I am pregnant at the moment and the police visit between 6 and 7 a.m., the search of the flat, and my husband's summons to the KGB, are damaging my health and the health of my future child. Because I am so nervous, sleep has completely deserted me and I cannot

eat anything.

Finding myself in complete despair and seeing no end to the persecution, I beg the representatives of the International Red Cross Society to intervene and to help me restore my first child to health after the operation and safeguard the life and health of my unborn child. I ask you to use your influence on the officials of the bodies concerned and to stop them transforming the life of our family into hell.

On 3 October, Kofman, Eda Nepomnyashchaya and her mother were summoned to the Odessa KGB. They were accused of 'Zionist propaganda' and threatened with jail.

\* \* \*

On 16 November searches were conducted at the homes of the refuseniks Valery Pevzner and Yan (Yakov) Mesh. Hebrew text-books and letters from abroad were confiscated. On 18 and 22 December KGB officials 'chatted' with Mesh. He was issued with a warning 'under the Decree'.<sup>34</sup> Mesh refused to sign the warning. On 21 and 23 December KGB officials 'chatted' with Pevzner. He was issued a warning 'under the Decree' for 'acts of incitement and for the circulation of Zionist views in the Odessa Region'. Pevzner refused to sign the warning.

\* \* \*

According to incomplete data there are about 2,000 families in Odessa who have received refusals. Only 200 of them were given a reason connected with security considerations. The others were refused in connection with 'the distant nature of the relationship'. In June a tourist ship came to Odessa from Romania with a large number of Jews who had earlier emigrated from the USSR on board. A crowd of many thousands of relatives stood on the shore, but the authorities forbade the emigres to leave the boat.

#### Chernovtsy

David Tokar (Chronicle 62) wrote a statement to the CPSU Central Committee on 30 October:

In June 1981, during my fifth year at the Moscow Mining Institute, I was expelled for, officially, academic failure (officially, since I had always studied well, was engaged in research work and started to fail only in the tenth semester), but really because of my wish to emigrate to Israel. I complained about this action to the Oktyabr District and Moscow City Committees of the CPSU (I received no replies from them) and to the USSR Ministry of Higher Education, who replied to me with an official refusal to do anything. From June to October 1981 I tried unsuccessfully to find work. At the dozens of places I applied to I was turned down because at 24 years old I had no professional certificate and my five years' study at the Institute were not taken into account. I took the problem to the City Party Committee, the Regional Soviet EC's Labour Department and the Chernovtsy UVD, but none of them helped me...

At the present time I have been called up for the Army, and my departure is on 13 November. It is obvious that military service could serve as a future obstacle to my

emigration. I therefore earnestly beg you to speed up the examination of this statement...

On 2 November Tokar sent a statement to USSR Minister of Defence Ustinov, asking him to defer his military call-up because of his desire to emigrate and his poor state of health.

#### Riga

Since 1979 Frida Breslav and her husband and mother have been trying to emigrate to Israel and have received refusals on the grounds of 'no immediate family' (in 1980 her mother's brother, who had handed in his documents at the same time as the Breslavs, emigrated to Israel).

On 5 August 1981 Breslav started a hunger-strike and maintained it for 48 days. This is what she writes in 'An Appeal to the Progressive World Public':

After two years, having written endless appeals to all the Soviet authorities within whose competence it is to resolve the tragic situation which has befallen my family, and not having received an answer from any of them, I have been obliged to start a hunger-strike in protest against the illegal actions of the USSR government departments. It seemed to me that my lawful action had to bring the desired result.

I warned all the governing authorities of Latvia and the USSR, right up to the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, that I was starting a hunger-strike. Every 15 days I informed them of its continuation, hoping to receive some sort of response. In the course of 48 days I did not receive a reply from a single one of the officials to whom I had written. On the 49th day, at the request of my mother, an old woman, I ended my hunger-strike. I sent out a statement accordingly and was immediately invited to OVIR, where again permission for me to emigrate to join my relatives in Israel was refused on the same grounds. For 48 days the authorities waited. The 48 days of my hunger-strike led to a new Jesuitical step on their part.

Soon afterwards I was dismissed from work, allegedly for absenteeism, although I had warned the management of the enterprise where I worked, in good time and in writing, of the step I was taking. Moreover, for the first 23 days of my hunger-strike I continued to fulfil my obligations at work. I was dismissed despite my statement about the illegality of this action, since the right to freedom of expression (and my protest hunger-strike fits into that category of activity) is stipulated by the USSR Constitution.

My mother is very ill, and the hunger-strike has not left me unmarked either. The USSR claims to have humane policies, but remained indifferent to my gesture of despair.

Now, having again submitted a 'request' for permission to emigrate to Israel, I no longer believe in a just decision. I appeal to the progressive public of the world to help me in my struggle to emigrate to Israel. I ask for help in my struggle to make the Soviet Union observe the Helsinki Agreement. I believe that not only Jews in other countries but also people of different faiths will

not hear me and remain indifferent to the tyranny of the authorities in the USSR.

Vilnius

On 10 July the Pentecostalist E. Bulakh (Chronicle 62) was summoned to the police station. From there he was sent to a psychiatric hospital for examination. On 21 July, having been pronounced healthy, he was released from the hospital. On 9 September he was arrested for 'evasion of military service' and sentenced to one year in an ordinary-regime camp.

On 4 January [1981] Zita Šalaševičiute<sup>35</sup> (born 1947), who lives in Vilnius, came to Moscow and went into Red Square with a placard - 'I demand the right to emigrate'. She was sent to Psychiatric Hospital No.3, where she was 'treated' with insulin. When Šalaševičiute returned to Vilnius, she renounced her Soviet citizenship.

The Departure of Elizaveta Alekseyeva

On 26 May 1981 A.D. Sakharov sent a letter to Brezhnev:

Deeply respected Leonid Ilich!  
I am addressing to you a request that you should help my daughter-in-law Elizaveta Alekseyeva to go and join my son Aleksei Semenov. More than three years ago Al'sha<sup>36</sup> was obliged to emigrate from the USSR to the USA, and ever since, Liza (his fiancée - to all intents and purposes his wife) has been attempting unsuccessfully to be reunited with him. She is being subjected to persecutions, to slander in the press, to blackmail, and to threats; they are trying to deprive her of hope, to drive her to despair, to destruction. I am convinced that it is only her involvement with our family that is making this business so difficult and so tragic.

Elizaveta Alekseyeva sent off her documents to Moscow Regional OVIR over a year and a half ago, after many difficulties and delays due to the opposition of the authorities. She also sent to the Moscow Regional OVIR the official invitation which Al'sha had sent her as his fiancée, which confirmed that their desire to be reunited was mutual. Until recently she received no reply whatever from OVIR. On 12 May this year Alekseyeva was summoned to Moscow Regional OVIR where its chief, Romanenkov, informed her that she had been refused permission to emigrate 'for lack of grounds for reunification'. At the same time Romanenkov, and a man who was present at the conversation and did not name himself, attempted to obtain from her a written renunciation of her intention to leave in order to join Aleksei Semenov. Immediately after Alekseyeva had had her application turned down, she was twice summoned for interrogation by the KGB; formally, in connection with the case of F. Serebrov, but in fact in connection with her signature on a document in defence of Tatyana Velikanova and the priest Yakunin. The interrogations were accompanied by threats of arrest and of physical reprisals, by shouting, and by insults and intimidation forbidden by law. The refusal which Alekseyeva received, and the subsequent interrogations, rep-

resent the culmination of many years of actions undertaken with regard to her by the authorities.

Liza was made the subject of two whole feuilletons in the journal Nedelya, which were full of slander, lies and contradictions, but were reprinted in regional newspapers and abroad in the pro-Soviet press. She wasn't allowed to complete her education and was illegally dismissed from her job. In May of last year Liza was detained at the station as she was travelling to Gorky to see me, and KGB officials made crude threats to her; subsequently Alekseyeva was summoned to the KGB and warned of her criminal liability under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code - although it is not clear what for; not long ago some people travelling with her, whom she did not know, openly and spitefully told her: 'We'll kill you'. There was also an attempt made to prepare the possibility of psychiatric persecution - the KGB tried to obtain appropriate testimony from her parents.

...I am also writing to a number of foreign Heads of State with requests for assistance in the matter of Alekseyeva's emigration.

On 21 October Sakharov sent Brezhnev a telegram:

In a telegram of July 1980 and a letter of May 1981 I twice requested you to intervene in the fate of someone close to me - my daughter-in-law, effectively the wife of my son. Having received no answer from you, to which I have a constitutional right as a citizen of the USSR; and in view of the continuing tragic separation of two people who love one another - the cause of which I consider to be their kinship to me, their role as hostages - finding myself in an extreme situation, I find myself compelled to start from 22 November 1981 a hunger-strike for the reunification of my daughter-in-law Elizaveta Alekseyeva and my son Aleksei Semenov. My wife Elena Bonner, who took part in the Great Patriotic War as a lieutenant in the medical service and is a war invalid Class II, will also go on hunger-strike. As before, I await your reply and intervention.

On the same day he sent telegrams to Academician A.P. Aleksandrov, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and to its Vice-President, Academician E.P. Velikhov:

A year ago I turned to you, and through you to the Presidium of the Academy, with a request that you should assist me in bringing to an end the use of a member of my family, Elizaveta Alekseyeva, as a hostage. I did not even receive a reply from you, nor any assistance in this vitally important business, any more than I had in the general problem of my own situation and the situation of other oppressed scholars. I consider this inadmissible and unworthy. Let me inform you that because of my extreme situation I feel compelled to begin a hunger-strike from 22 November for the reunification of Liza and my son Aleksei. My wife Elena Bonner is declaring a hunger-strike together with me.

On the evening of 23 October, as Sakharov and Bonner were driving through Gorky in their car, the battery which had been brought from Moscow not long before began to play up. Following the advice of a man they didn't know, a teacher, they parked the car in the court-yard of a school nearby.

This was at 8.30 in the evening. The next morning, when they came to have a look at the car, it was not there. From the same teacher Sakharov and Bonner learned that when he had gone out to glance at the car at 9 p.m., it had already disappeared. They made a statement to the police, asking for inquiries to be made.

On 3 November E. Alekseyeva submitted a statement to V.I. Romanenkov, the chief of Moscow Regional OVIR:

On 12 May 1981 you informed me that I had been refused permission to leave the USSR in order to be reunited with my fiancé. At the same time you told me that I could apply for permission again in six months' time. This period will have elapsed on 13 November, in view of which I am again applying to OVIR with a request that I be allowed to leave.

I consider it necessary to inform you that on 9 June 1981 I was married to Aleksei Semenov (in accordance with the laws of the USA, State of Montana); but the Soviet Consulate in Washington refused to certify his invitation to me to come to the USA (see the enclosure with this application). For this reason I am again asking you, as in my first application to OVIR, to grant me permission to emigrate from the USSR to the state of Israel on the strength of an invitation from a close relative of A. Semenov, Tomor Samoilovna Feigin, an invitation from whom can be found in the office of the Moscow Regional OVIR.

On 16 November Bonner handed a statement from Sakharov to foreign correspondents:

On November 22 my wife and I will begin a hunger-strike for the reunification of our son Aleksei and our daughter-in-law Liza. My wife and I have decided on the extreme step of a hunger-strike because of the responsibility we feel for the fate of two people dear to us, and because we have exhausted all other means of helping them. The KGB, by making Liza a hostage for my public activity, have not only caused her and Aleksei many years of suffering. They have also changed this from a personal matter into a public, even a political affair. The fight for Liza and Aleksei has become a necessary, logical component of my long-term defence of human rights, of an open society, of law, of humaneness, of international security and mutual trust. It is important for me that those friends who are speaking out in my defence around the world understand my feelings on this subject. I hope that Liza and Aleksei will also understand and accept our decision calmly and with a clear conscience.

The beginning of our hunger-strike coincides with Brezhnev's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, which inevitably lends it a political coloration. The KGB, not I, are responsible for this. We can oppose illegality, brutality and cynicism only with firmness in our non-violent, open struggle. We count on the support of world opinion and of our friends here and abroad, and on help from my scientific colleagues and from public figures and statesmen everywhere.

In addition I consider it necessary to inform you that one of the two citizens of Gorky allowed to visit me, K., was summoned to the KGB on 11 November for a conversation which touched upon two themes - the theft of our car and the hunger-strike. On the first subject (the theft of the car two days after I had dispatched telegrams to Brezhnev

and Aleksandrov about the hunger-strike), the KGB official, as though in passing, said that my wife had been intending to buy a new car and had abandoned the old one somewhere; and he commented that the car would probably have turned up by the spring. The second subject - the hunger-strike - was rather more serious. The KGB official said that she (that is, my wife), in this seemly and even effective manner, wanted to kill her husband and be rid of him. It was further said that K. was forbidden to come and see me during the hunger-strike, since there was no point.

I consider these comments by the KGB official a direct threat, and he, of course, knew that the substance of their conversation would be transmitted to me, which was why the conversation took place. Its sense was as follows: if Sakharov dies, either as a result of the hunger-strike or with the assistance of the KGB, Bonner will be declared guilty - on top of which the death or murder will occur without witnesses, and the world will find out about it only from the KGB, and will hear a version that suits the KGB. For those who know the KGB's 'language', this is a murder threat. I make known this conversation of K.'s with the KGB so that in the event of any unexpected or dangerous occurrences in the future connected with our hunger-strike, their hidden causes and their possible link with the actions of the KGB should be clearer.

But wouldn't it be easier, instead of all these complicated actions and threats, to let Liza go? Then the necessity of a hunger-strike would no longer arise.

At the same time Bonner gave the correspondents his 'Letter to Foreign Colleagues':

I have twice addressed requests for intervention to L. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In July 1980 I sent him a telegram, and in May 1981 a letter. I presume that neither of my missives reached Brezhnev, nor even his office, and that they were blocked by the KGB, who consider that having deprived me of the title of three-times Hero of Socialist Labour and other decorations, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has thereby sanctioned any unlawful actions against me. And it is precisely for this reason that I would ask my foreign friends to request public figures in their own countries, when they have contacts with Brezhnev and other highly-placed leaders of the USSR, to bring this problem to their attention and help to solve it; this is the only means of breaking through the KGB blockade. Unfortunately I have not as yet received evidence of any efforts in this direction.

A year ago I turned to the President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A. Aleksandrov, and to the Vice-President, E. Velikhov, with a request that they should protect me from this hostage policy, but I have received no reply from them either - any more than I have to repeated telegrams and letters to Ya. Zeldovich, with whom I am associated through long years of collaboration and, as I thought, friendship; and to Academician Khariton, the director of the institution in which I worked for 18 years. In June 1981 I addressed similar requests for help in this affair of Liza to Academicians P. Kapitsa and B. Kadomtsev, who work on problems of controlled thermonuclear reaction. Ya. Zeldovich replied with a letter in which he categorically refused to help me, referring

(unjustifiably in my view) to the shakiness of his own position, which supposedly is manifested in the fact that 'they won't let him further afield than Hungary'. Zeldovich is an Academician like myself, he is a three-times Hero of Socialist Labour, he has had the same access as I have to secret information, but he has not become involved in public affairs and activities in defence of rights. All I asked him and the other Academicians for was not public, but just 'behind-the-scenes' action. Academicians Yu. Khariton, P. Kapitsa and B. Kadomtsev sent no reply at all to my letters. Zeldovich's answer and the position taken by the other Soviet scholars were a bitter disappointment to me, not only on a personal level, but also as a manifestation of their total retreat from responsibility, from opportunities to influence the course of events (I'm not just referring to matters which affect myself) - and, what's more, not at all from considerations of principle, but for shamefully petty reasons.

I sense around me a wall of incomprehension, indifference and passivity. The tragedy of Liza and Al'sha continues and could - if nothing changes - continue for a long time yet. In this extreme situation, after long and painful reflection, I and my wife Elena Bonner, a Second World War invalid, have taken the decision to embark on a hunger-strike from 22 November, demanding that permission be granted immediately for Liza to leave the USSR. In informing you of this decision, I hope that you will understand correctly the motives which have led us to take this step, its intrinsic necessity for us in the tragic situation which has been created. In the past I have gone on hunger-strike in defence of prisoners of conscience in the USSR. I consider my defence of our children just as reasonable as that of other victims of injustice; but in this particular case it is I and my public activity which have been the cause of human misery. I also consider this step to be a continuation of my speeches over many years in defence of the right freely to choose one's country of residence, the absence of which in our country leads to many tragedies.

I am hoping for your help!

On the evening of 20 November Bonner left Moscow for Gorky. On 22 November Sakharov and Bonner began their hunger-strike. On 27 November Sakharov sent a reply to telegrams from the New York Academy of Sciences and the Federation of American Scientists (FAS):

Deep gratitude for your energetic endeavours, care, attention. For more than two years I have been striving for the solution of a purely human problem, which is both morally and legally incontrovertible; I have addressed myself to the Head of State, to the USSR Academy of Sciences, to Soviet scholars, to foreign colleagues, and to statesmen. Now the only reason to call off our hunger-strike will be the departure of Liza - the ending of an act of hostage-taking by the state, of dangerous alogicality, irresponsibility, cruelty and illegality. I can no longer believe any promises on the part of the authorities which are not reinforced by action. I beg you to understand this correctly and to take it into account.

During those same days a note from Sakharov and Bonner dated 28 November was received in Moscow:

We're holding on, our mood is determined and for the time being we feel quite all right: all the symptoms and signs are as they say in the books. We know about the State Department's declaration and the Senate resolution and are deeply grateful, but we are hoping for similar help from the governments and statesmen of the European nations, and from European scientific associations. And also - thank you to Florence and to its Mayor for his speech. Only information transmitted to Liza is reliable. At the moment we are particularly concerned at the absence of a link with Liza, there are no telegrams from her. Evidently that's what the KGB wants.

On 28 November S. Khodorovich sent a telegram to the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU:

A.D. Sakharov and E. Bonner, who have found themselves in an intolerable situation, artificially created for them, have begun a hunger-strike and thereby placed their health and their lives entirely in your hands. Understanding full well that you nurture no warm feelings towards A.D. Sakharov and his wife, I nevertheless presume to implore you: 'Do not destroy them. Do not take upon yourselves that mortal sin as well'.

On 1 December the physicists Ya. Alpert, B. Altshuler and Yu. Gollfand, the mathematicians I. Brailovskaya, A. Lerner, N. Meiman and G. Freiman, and the biologist V. Soifer sent a message 'To the scientists of the world':

The hunger-strike of Academician Andrei Sakharov and his wife Elena Bonner has already lasted 10 days, and is assuming an utterly tragic character. Andrei Sakharov is the initiator of one of the most important undertakings of our time - the realization of a controlled thermonuclear synthesis. 'Sakharov has roused us to confront an awesome atomic problem of the twentieth century - the obtaining of an inexhaustible supply of energy by burning the waters of the oceans.' That is from I.N. Golovin's book I.V. Kurchatov (Moscow, Atomizdat, 1967, 1972). For more than twenty years now all research in this sphere has been carried out openly and with close international collaboration. Is such collaboration compatible with the persecution of Sakharov and his family? We call upon scientists to support Sakharov on the widest possible scale and, in particular, to influence the governments and parliaments of their countries with the aim of affording genuine support to Sakharov in his current tragic situation.

Academician Sakharov must be returned to Moscow. The practice of taking hostages from amongst those close to him must cease. We summon you to rapid and decisive action, because in a few days' time it could be too late.

On 2 December Yu. Shikhanovich sent a photo-telegram to Brezhnev:

Show yourself to be more humane than Margaret Thatcher: save the lives of Academician Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov and his wife Elena Georgievna Bonner - an invalid from the Great Patriotic War. Let Elizaveta Alekseyeva out of the USSR.

During these days a note from Sakharov dated 1 December was

received in Moscow:

We are in the tenth day of our hunger-strike for the emigration of our daughter-in-law to join our son. This is not only a defence of our nearest and dearests' right to love and to live, when all approaches to the authorities, to the scholars of the Academy, all references to the laws and international obligations of the USSR, have been fruitless. It is also a battle for the general right to leave and return freely to a country, a battle for freedom in general. And it is a defence of my personal dignity and honour in conditions of illegal exile and isolation. No change in the state of our health, no unsubstantiated promises by the authorities will end our hunger-strike. Only Liza's departure.

On 2 December Sakharov sent a reply to a telegram from the American physicist S. Drell:

Dear Sidney:

We are touched by your solicitude and efforts. We know that it is infinitely hard for all our friends, for [Elena's] mother and for the children, we suffer for them. But we have no alternative. We are not aiming at suicide. A tragic outcome would be an indication only of murder, sanctioned by the KGB and by the complete silence of my colleagues in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Faced with a cunning machine, we can bring an end to our hunger-strike only when Liza leaves.

On 2 December Alekseyeva spent about three hours in the entrance of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, trying to gain admittance to see A.P. Aleksandrov or E.P. Velikhov. On 3 December she sent Aleksandrov a telegram:

Yesterday, the second of December, I tried in vain to be seen either by you or by Vice-President Velikhov. Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov's hunger-strike has lasted almost two weeks, and he is now every day in danger of his life. I implore you not to allow this. I would like to meet you in person. I will wait for your reply tomorrow morning, 4 December, in the waiting-room of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences.

On the morning of 4 December Alekseyeva went to the Presidium. She rang from the entrance on the internal telephone, and heard Aleksandrov's reply from his secretary: 'I've done all I can. Let her go to Gorky herself and put an end to this disgrace'. After an answer like that she cried beside the telephone for a long time. Then she went to the station and bought a ticket to Gorky for the evening of 5 December.

On the same morning two French physicists, official emissaries of the French Academy of Sciences, visited the Presidium in order to try and obtain a meeting with Sakharov. Aleksandrov told them that a meeting with Sakharov was impossible since he was on hunger-strike, and that evidently he was going to be hospitalized.

On 4 December in the afternoon Alekseyeva sent a telegram to Brezhnev:

Respected Leonid Ilich!

The hunger-strike of Academician Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov has lasted nearly two weeks. I would also ask you to take into consideration the fact that any attempt

at force-feeding could lead to sudden death...

She sent similar telegrams at the same time to Academician Skryabin, the Chief Scientific Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and to its Vice-Presidents, Academicians Ovchinnikov and Velikhov.

On the afternoon of 4 December, when Sakharov and Bonner were walking up and down in the hall-way of their flat (their flat is on the ground floor; during the hunger-strike they never left it - they communicated with the postal officials who brought them telegrams with the chain on the door), officials of the State Vehicles Inspectorate started up a conversation with them - not for the first time: 'A car like yours has been found. You have to come and look at it'. At that moment eight people (KGB officials and doctors), bursting the chain on the door, broke the door down and rushed into the flat. Seeing that resistance was useless Bonner said: 'Only together!', to which they replied: 'Yes, yes, of course'. However, when they left the house they were put into two cars and taken off to different hospitals.

On the evening of 4 December the people read in the Moscow evening edition of the newspaper Izvestiya an article entitled 'Another Provocation' (signed by L. Grigorev and V. Nilin).

The article was packed with lies. One example: in the article it said that '...Alekseyeva's disabled parents categorically protest against their daughter's emigration from the USSR'; in fact, Alekseyeva's father works, and in the summer, when her parents found out that their daughter had entered (by proxy) into a marriage with A. Semenov, they sent a telegram to Brezhnev that she should be allowed out of the USSR.

(In the article it was also said that '...in the Soviet Union it is not American but Soviet laws which apply, and they do not permit...marriage by proxy'. However, in article 162 of the RSFSR Code on Marriage and the Family it says: '...In those cases where...the marriages of Soviet citizens with foreigners take place outside the boundaries of the USSR with due respect to the formalities of marriage as laid down by the law of the place where it is solemnized, those marriages are recognized as valid in the USSR...')

After the article an item of news was printed:

According to information from the doctors who are treating them, Sakharov and Bonner have been hospitalized. They are being accorded prophylactic medical treatment to ward off any possible complications in their state of health.

On 5 December E. Alekseyeva tried to go to Gorky, but at [Moscow's] Yaroslavl Station 'people in plain clothes' put her into a car, drove her 20-25 kilometres outside Moscow, and left her there. Alekseyeva returned to Moscow in a car which happened to be passing.

On 6 December she sent Aleksandrov a second telegram:

Yesterday I tried, on your advice, to go to Gorky - but I was detained. I am sure that forced hospitalization and complete isolation will not compel the Sakharovs to call off their hunger-strike; and that will mean either their deaths before long, or the protracted torture of force-feeding. I again beg you to see me in person.

On 7 December a special messenger brought Alekseyeva a summons to Moscow Regional OVIR for 11 o'clock on 8 Decem-



ber. At 6.0 in the evening Alekseyeva called in at the USSR KGB. There a KGB official called Sokolov told her to come and see them at 12 on 8 December.

On 8 December at 10.0 in the morning Alekseyeva rang Aleksandrov. Aleksandrov's secretary asked her to ring back in an hour's time: 'Anatoly Petrovich can't speak to you at the moment - he's speaking to the Kremlin'. An hour later the secretary put Alekseyeva through to Aleksandrov. Aleksandrov said that the question of Sakharov's hunger-strike was being dealt with at the highest level, and that it would probably be sorted out that evening or the next day.

'But it's all made more complicated by the fact that Andrei Dmitrievich is in a very serious condition. Was there really no other way of solving your problem?'

'Over the last two years Andrei Dmitrievich asked you and other colleagues more than once for help, and you didn't even reply to him. Only Zeldovich replied, but in such a way that it would be better not to show his reply to anyone. Why didn't you answer Sakharov's letter?'

'Well, that's such a question...'  
With Aleksandrov's permission Alekseyeva read him Sakharov's note dated 1 December (see above). The entire conversation with Aleksandrov lasted 10-15 minutes.

At OVIR they told Alekseyeva that the inspector in charge of her case had fallen ill the previous evening. At 12.0 Sokolov told Alekseyeva, at the offices of the USSR KGB, that Baranov was dealing with her case, and that the latter wanted her to go and see him at 6.0 that evening. During the day Alekseyeva sent 25 Soviet Academicians Sakharov's note dated 1 December and his answer to Dreil dated 2 December. At 6.0, Baranov received Alekseyeva and asked her: 'So what is it that you want?' In reply Alekseyeva handed him Sakharov's note of 1 December.

At the hospitals, Sakharov and Bonner were placed in wards which each contained two other people. The doctors tried to persuade them to call off the hunger-strike: 'You're not 20 years old - heart failure could occur at any moment'. The doctors refused to tell Sakharov where his wife was, and how she was, or to tell Bonner about her husband, even though the same doctor visited both of them. Sakharov and Bonner refused examinations and treatment, demanding to be reunited. Sakharov's fellow-patients ate in the ward. The nurses also put food in front of Sakharov - he carried it immediately out of the ward. Bonner insisted that no food should be brought to her. Bonner discovered by chance that she had been admitted to hospital under a different surname; she immediately announced who she was at the top of her voice. They tried not to let her out of the ward, but she obtained the right to walk along the corridor.

On the afternoon of 8 December the doctors pretended that they were intending to start force-feeding Bonner. She declared categorically that she wouldn't give her consent. That same day, in the morning, a doctor threateningly told Sakharov: 'You must decide to call off your hunger-strike. You have only a few hours at your disposal'.

During the day a man suddenly came in and identified himself as a KGB official, Major Ryabinin: 'A positive decision has been taken with regard to your case. You must call off the hunger-strike'. Sakharov replied that he had taken the decision about the hunger-strike jointly with his wife, and that only together could they take the decision to stop. A few hours later Ryabinin visited Bonner with the same information and received the same reply.

On the evening of 8 December Bonner was taken to Sakharov.

Sakharov was brought to this 'confrontation' in a wheelchair. Ryabinin repeated to them that a decision had been taken to allow Alekseyeva out. Sakharov and Bonner agreed to believe him and to call off their hunger-strike. Bonner was taken back after this 'confrontation'. That evening Sakharov and Bonner drank a few spoonfuls of fruit-juice each. On the morning of 9 December, at her insistence, Bonner was taken to be with Sakharov. They were placed in a ward on their own.

On the morning of 9 December a special messenger asked Alekseyeva to go to the offices of the USSR KGB at 3.0 in the afternoon (it was the same messenger who had brought her the summons to OVIR). At 3.0 Baranov told her that 'yesterday' the decision had been taken to allow her to leave, and that yesterday, too, Sakharov and Bonner had called off their hunger-strike; the question of her trip to Gorky was being decided.

On the morning of 10 December a special messenger again asked Alekseyeva to go to the offices of the USSR KGB at 11.0. There Baranov told her that the date of her departure depended on her behaviour (by which they meant her contacts with foreign correspondents; all this time they had visited Alekseyeva daily 'for news'); and that the doctors would allow her to visit Sakharov and Bonner on Monday 14 December.

When she left the KGB offices, Alekseyeva telephoned OVIR - and they replied that they could tell her nothing new. Then she called the foreign correspondents together at 12.0 and announced that it was not possible to treat the KGB's information about the calling-off of the hunger-strike seriously: 'We have no facts about the situation of Sakharov and his wife except those which have been provided by the KGB. They have been making use of me for some game of their own. I beg the world's pardon for having involuntarily played the role of a KGB spokeswoman'.

At one o'clock Alekseyeva was brought a summons to OVIR for the morning of 11 December. At 4.0 Alekseyeva rang Aleksandrov. Aleksandrov told her that Sakharov really had stopped fasting on the evening of 8 December and was now taking fruit-juice.

On 11 December Alekseyeva was met at OVIR by the OVIR chief Romanenkov, and by Baranov. Romanenkov told Alekseyeva that she would be issued with an international Soviet passport for foreign travel (this meant that she was being allowed out not 'to Israel', but to the USA, and that she would not lose her Soviet citizenship at the moment of departure); she was to get some photographs of herself made, and to present herself on Monday to collect the passport. When Alekseyeva protested that on Monday she would be in Gorky, Baranov intervened: 'No, no, go today - the doctors have given permission for you to visit Sakharov and Bonner tomorrow, Saturday'.

On the evening of 11 December Alekseyeva received two telegrams from Gorky. The first had been dispatched on the afternoon of 10 December:

Immensely glad.  
Recovering together.

Kiss you and all our friends.

and the second on the afternoon of 11 December:

Stopped drinking Borzhomi evening of 8th.

Expecting you fourteenth.

Kisses.

On 12 December E. Alekseyeva and N. Gesse [Chronicle 55] visited Sakharov and Bonner in hospital. They discovered

by chance that in their 'admission papers' Sakharov and Bonner appeared under other names. On the evening of 12 December the people of Moscow read a brief news item in the Moscow evening edition of Izvestiya:

At the OVIR of the USSR MVD since the parents of E. Alekseyeva have withdrawn their objection to their daughter's departure from the USSR it has been decided, as an exception, to issue her with documents for her departure.

On 14 December Alekseyeva was issued with a passport for foreign travel valid for departure from the USSR until 21 December (the usual period given to people who receive such passports is three months).

On 16 December Bonner came to Moscow. She had been allowed out of the hospital only after she and Sakharov had signed a statement assuming full responsibility for themselves. On 13 December Bonner had gone to Sakharov's flat; she was allowed into the flat under the supervision of a policeman, who said that he was responsible for the safety of Sakharov's belongings. They made her draw up a list of the things (her own personal belongings) which she had taken. Bonner brought to Moscow a statement by Sakharov which was dated 15 December:

We are deeply grateful to everyone who supported us in these hard times - to the statesmen, to the religious leaders and public figures, to the scientists and journalists, to our dear ones and friends, to those whom we know and to those whom we do not know. There were so many - it is impossible to name them all. It was a struggle not only for the life and happiness of our children, not only for my honour and dignity, but also for the right of every human being to be free and happy, for the right to live in accordance with one's ideals and beliefs, and in the final count - it was a struggle for all prisoners of conscience.

Today we are happy that we did not cast gloom over Christmas and the New Year for our dear ones and for our friends throughout the world. Wishing Liza a happy journey, I hope for the reunion of all who are separated, and I recall the wonderful words of Mihajlo Mihajlov that motherland is neither a geographical, nor a national concept; motherland is freedom.

On 19 December Alekseyeva left the USSR by air.

\* \* \*

On 22 December Sakharov began to suffer from heart trouble. On 24 December he was unexpectedly discharged from hospital (the doctor treating him was Professor Vagralik), although they had been intending to discharge him on 25 December, when his wife would come to fetch him. The explanation for the unexpected discharge: that there wasn't enough space and they needed an extra bed.

On 25 December Bonner arrived in Gorky. All the 'papers' in Sakharov's flat were intact. (Sakharov had taken a bag with documents with him to hospital, and it had stayed with him all the time). The radio was damaged. On 26 December Sakharov suffered renewed pains in the chest.

#### Have Left

At the beginning of July, after release from exile, Yu.I. Fëderov (Chronicles 42, 45, 46) left from Leningrad. On 16 July the Muscovite Leonid Makar-Limanov (Chronicles 60-2) left the USSR. In August the artist Lev Sergeyev (Chronicle 54) left from Leningrad. Having been released from camp, Vasily Shatalov (see 'Releases' in the section 'In the Prisons and Camps') left the USSR.

Peter Khonneker, Viktor and Lydia Ebel (who all three demonstrated on Red Square on 31 March 1980 - Chronicle 56), and Bruno Birk, Rudolf Kapis, Artur Ebert and Rudolf Yakov (who were all four detained in Moscow on 31 March 1980) have left the USSR for West Germany.

On 5 November Boris Mukhametshin (see 'In Exile') left the USSR by air. In November a long-standing refusenik and activist in the Jewish emigration movement, Evgeny Baraz, left from Moscow. On 22 December Evgenia Nartova (see 'The 40th Anniversary of Baby Yar') left the USSR.

#### IN THE PRISONS AND CAMPS

##### The Trial of Airikyan

From 26 August to 15 September the Perm Regional Court, presided over by V.M. Khrenovsky, examined the case of political prisoner Paruir Airikyan (Chronicles 60-2), charged under article 174, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('The giving of bribes'); of prisoner Vladimir Sverdlov (Chronicle 52), charged under articles 174, part 2, and 174-1, part 2 ('Acting as an intermediary for bribery'); and of a previously free foreman, Vladimir Zhilin, charged under article 173, part 2 ('The taking of bribes'). The prosecutor was Yu.V. Naborshchikov. The defence lawyers were: for Airikyan - P.B. Abrikosov (from Moscow); for Sverdlov - V.S. Yaslavsky; and for Zhilin - A.S. Demenev (the last two both from Perm).

According to the indictment, Zhilin, who was the head of a metal workshop in the labour zone of Perm Camp 35, entered in 1979 into an illegal association with Sverdlov, who was his subordinate. Zhilin used to receive parcels and packages with food products and other things, and would then take advantage of his official position to carry them into the zone and give them to Sverdlov, who would reward him with a proportion of the food and other things (in all Zhilin received seven parcels for Sverdlov and was recompensed by him to the sum of 135 roubles 26 kopecks). Sverdlov also gave him letters for mailing to friends and relatives, thus avoiding the censorship. Apart from that, Zhilin, following a request transmitted by Sverdlov, received two parcels on behalf of Airikyan; Sverdlov gave Zhilin food and other items from these parcels, on Airikyan's instructions, to the value of 102 roubles 88 kopecks.

On 27 August a break was announced in the trial, to allow Airikyan to study a translation of the indictment into Armenian. On 1 and 2 September the interrogation of witnesses took place, and then on 7 September the pleadings of

both sides.

On 15 September the sentence was read out: Airikyan was sentenced to three years in strict-regime camp in addition to the three months in camp and three years of exile which he had still not served under his previous sentence (the new term was to date from 28 October 1980); Sverdlov was sentenced under article 174 to four-and-a-half years, and under article 174-1 to three years, which together made six years of strict-regime camp, to run concurrently with the three years in camp which he had still not served under the previous sentence; Zhilin was given a suspended sentence of three years in camp.

On 23 September Airikyan sent an appeal to the RSFSR Supreme Court. In it he admitted that he had received two parcels from Sverdlov, but denied the existence of any agreement between himself and Sverdlov, or between himself and Zhilin, concerning the remuneration of the latter.

#### The Trial of Ovsienko

In August the Zhitomir Regional Court sentenced Vasily Ovsienko (Chronicle 62) under article 62, part 2, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the RSFSR Code) to 10 years in strict-regime camp and five years of exile. He was sent to the Perm camps.

#### The Trial of Streltsov

Not long before the end of his two-year term (25 October - see Chronicle 55), Vasily Streltsov, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was given under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code a further sentence - six years in strict-regime camp. E. Pronyuk (Chronicle 55), who is serving his term of exile, was interrogated about Streltsov.

#### The Trial of Lesiv

Not long before the end of his two-year term (15 November - see Chronicle 56), under article 229-6, part 2, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (possession of narcotics without intention to sell), the former political prisoner Yaroslav Lesiv (who in his time served a term under article 62, part 1, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code - equivalent to article 70 of the RSFSR Code) was sentenced, again under article 229-6, to five years. The witnesses were fellow-prisoners and administration officials. Lesiv was arrested in May. Before the trial, which took place in November, he went on hunger-strike. Lesiv is in a camp near Lvov, and is working as a loader.

#### The Case of Vasily Sichko

On 3 December, seven months before the end of his three-year sentence (5 July 1982 - Chronicle 55), a small glass box was found in the bedside table of Vasily Sichko, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Sichko declared that he

had no such box amongst his belongings, and insisted that it should be tested for fingerprints. This was not done. Sichko was placed in an investigations prison.

On 10 December the Pridneprovsky District OVD in the city of Cherkassy instituted criminal proceedings against Vasily Sichko under article 229-6, part 1, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (possession of narcotics without intention to sell). He was charged on 17 December. The indictment said that 'During September-December 1981 V.P. Sichko illegally kept the narcotic substance hashish. On 3 December 1981 12.4 grams of hashish were discovered in his food-box'. According to the indictment, the prisoners A. Parferov and V. Slivko had testified that on 26 September, when they were in hospital with Vasily Sichko, he had treated them to cigarettes containing the narcotic.

#### The Case of Kukobaka

At the end of 1979 M. Kukobaka was sentenced to six months in the punishment block (Chronicle 56). He was released in very poor condition. A few months later he was sentenced to another six months in the punishment block. In May 1981 Kukobaka was transferred to prison (Lipetskaya obl., Elets, uchr.YuU-323/ST-2; the same prison where K. Podrabinek was held - Chronicle 61).

In prison Kukobaka was placed in a 'pressure-cell' (Chronicle 61 [pp.188-92]), where he was beaten up by prisoners Vadim Kiselev, Yury Gukov and Sergei Lomakin until he wrote a letter at their dictation to the prisoners of the camp from which he had been transferred to prison. Kukobaka copied out the prepared text, but deliberately distorted the address of the camp and the surname of the camp commandant.

On 16 June, as soon as Kukobaka's cell-mates handed the letter he had written over to the section chief, First Lieutenant V.N. Malyn, Kukobaka made an appointment to see him. There he told how he had been coerced into writing 'his' letter (and indicated the distortions he had slipped in as proof), demanded that it should be destroyed, and refused to return to the 'pressure-cell'. Kukobaka was transferred to another cell. On 17 June Kukobaka wrote a complaint to the Procurator of Lipetsk Region, but the prison administration did not dispatch it.

In July the prison Commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Tarasov, told Kukobaka that he would not be subjected to this sort of measure any more. In October, shortly before the completion of his term (19 October), a new charge was laid against Kukobaka - again (Chronicle 53), the 'circulation of deliberate fabrications which defame...'. On 30 October ('Political Prisoners' Day') and 10 December ('Human Rights Day') Kukobaka went on hunger-strike.

#### Chistopol Prison

R. Nazaryan has arrived here from Mordovian Camp 3 (his term ends on 22 December 1982, then he still has two years of exile - Chronicle 51); so has A. Shcharansky (in November) from Perm Camp 35, and Klimchak from Perm Camp 36. In October V. Balakhonov was transferred to a camp (see 'The Perm Camps') on completion of his second 'three-year stint'

in prison.

On 18 December S. Koval'ev was transported to Magadan Region (he was due to finish his camp term on 27 December). He now faces three years of exile. On 28 December Koval'ev sent a telegram to say that he had been taken to Matrosovo settlement (where V. Stus spent his exile - Chronicles 45, 54, 58).

In answer to her inquiry about the possibility of a visit to M. Kazachkov, his mother D. Kazachkova received the reply that it would 'depend on his behaviour'. The reply was signed 'Nikolavev'.

On 21 October warders led by First Lieutenant Chashin beat up Yu. Shukhevich in the exercise yard. After returning to his cell, he started to demand a doctor - and was given 10 days in the cooler.

In the course of 'negotiations' in Leningrad, KGB officials demanded that Ogurtsov (Chronicle 61) should appear at a press conference like the one given by Yakir and Krasin (Chronicle 30). He wasn't expected to show any great repentance - just to talk about the All-Russian Union of Social-Christians for the Liberation of the People (Chronicle 1) and the fate of those members who had been released or had emigrated. He was promised that immediately afterwards he would leave for France. Ogurtsov agreed, on condition that before the press conference he would be shown the decree pardoning him, and that the French consul would be present at the press conference. It seemed as though the 'negotiations' were moving towards a successful outcome, but then (it is not known why) they were broken off, and a short time later Ogurtsov was 'dispatched' on the journey back to Chistopol.

#### The Mordovian Camps

##### Camp 3

The engineer Grigory Nichiporenko has arrived in the men's political zone of Camp 3 (uchr. ZhKh-385/3-5). On 4 August he had been tried in Dnepropetrovsk under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code - = article 70 of the RSFSR Code - on a charge of Ukrainian nationalism; the Chronicle does not know the length of his sentence. In the late 1940s he was imprisoned on the same charge, but was legally exculpated in the 50s.

On 15 June, the anniversary of the entry of Soviet troops into Lithuania (in 1940), V. Skuodis went on hunger-strike. In June he earned 1 rouble 70 kopecks to spend in the 'camp shop'.

On 27 October a local court decided to send R. Nazaryan to prison until the end of his term. In protest against this, V. Osipov went on a three-day hunger-strike. On 29 October Nichiporenko and Chan Kan Kho (Chronicle 60) joined the hunger-strike; on 30 October so did Badz'ë, Mazur, Antsupov, Skuodis, Janulis and Zarin's.

The nine hunger-strikers wrote identical statements in which they said that they were marking Political Prisoners' Day; that they demanded the abrogation of article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and analogous articles in the Criminal Codes of the other Republics; that they demanded the exculpation of all people sentenced under these articles; and that they protested against the sending to prison of Nazaryan. Chan Kan Kho added a protest about the Russification of Koreans.

For failing to appear at the meeting to celebrate 7 November [Revolution Day], Osipov was deprived of parcels and of access to the camp shop. At the end of November Nazaryan was sent to prison. Before 10 December Osipov, Antsupov, Badz'ë, Mazur, Krainik, Nichiporenko, Skuodis and Janulis wrote statements in which they declared that on 10 December, in connection with Human Rights Day, they would go on hunger-strike and make the following demands: the abrogation of article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and of analogous articles in the Criminal Codes of the other Republics; the rehabilitation of all people sentenced under these articles; that the Soviet government should make a public declaration of its attitude to Stalinism, should set up a commission to expose the crimes of the Stalin era, should allow free discussion of topics 'relating to Stalin', and should nip in the bud the covert tendency in internal policies towards a rehabilitation of Stalin and his methods.

\* \* \*

On 7 August Oksana Popovich (Chronicle 62) returned to the women's political zone (uchr. ZhKh-385/3-4) from 're-education' in Ivano-Frankovsk. At the end of July she had been taken home by KGB officials for a meeting with her mother and sister.

\* \* \*

On 11 September Raisa Rudenko arrived at the camp (see this issue for her trial). All her papers were taken away from her on her departure from Kiev. In answer to her inquiry, she was told that the speech by the defence and the extracts from the case file had been destroyed, and that the rest had been sent on. All they gave back to her was her final speech. To her second inquiry (where were the indictment, the judgment and the inventory of her possessions?), they answered that it had all been sent off on 4 September to Yavas, to the administration offices for the Mordovian camps. R. Rudenko was told of this only in the middle of December - after she had written a complaint to the Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions.

Shortly before R. Rudenko's arrival at the camp, her husband N. Rudenko was sent from the men's political zone to the Perm camps. Paragraph 34 of the Rules for Internal Procedures states that 'Meetings between convicted persons held in different corrective labour institutions are not permitted'.

From 25 September to 13 November R. Rudenko was in hospital for examination. She has a bad heart, nephritis, inflammation of the gall-bladder and a stomach ulcer, which is why she has kept to a strict diet for about 10 years - no salt, meat or fish. Otherwise she suffers immediately from oedemas. In Kiev, in the KGB Investigations Prison, food was prepared for her specially. In the camp hospital they didn't provide a special diet; they only gave her extra food in the form of butter, milk, sugar, white bread and stewed fruit. In consequence she scarcely ate anything at all in hospital. When she was discharged from hospital she was told that her condition was no longer acute, and that she had no ulcer at all.

The women - partly because of R. Rudenko, and partly because the food is unpalatable and monotonous (there is almost always fish soup for supper) - are campaigning for the right to prepare their food for themselves.

\* \* \*

On 21 July Osipova wrote a statement to the Procuracy of the Mordovian camps concerning her complaint to the Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions, which had not been sent off (Chronicle 62); this statement too was not sent. When I. Koval'ev came in July for a visit (which didn't take place) to his wife T. Osipova (Chronicle 62), Captain Gainichenko (Chronicle 62) allowed him to hand in a parcel for Osipova; the parcel was taken from Koval'ev, but Osipova never received it. On 9 July Koval'ev sent a package to Osipova from Barashevo post-office - it was delivered to Osipova on 12 August.

On 6 August I. Koval'ev again came to visit Osipova. They wouldn't allow the visit - they said that a quarantine had been declared because of dysentery (the quarantine had been declared on 27 July). The Deputy Camp Head in charge of political matters, N. Brezgin (Chronicle 62), told Koval'ev that on 31 July he, Brezgin, had sent Koval'ev Osipova's telegram telling him that the visit had been postponed. They refused to accept a record-player which Koval'ev had brought, even though Brezgin had earlier given permission to the relatives of T. Velikanova for it to be brought. 'I said that I would decide the question, but I didn't say that I had decided it', he announced. (In a letter which Koval'ev received on his return, Osipova asked him to bring the record-player.) As for the Bible for which permission had been granted at the same time, Brezgin said that he had given no such permission. At the beginning of August KGB official Tyurin said to Osipova: 'So it seems that you had some grievances against us concerning your visit?' - 'Against you? But what bearing can you have on the question of my visit?' - 'If we want to, we can have a bearing on anything. Whatever we want, we get'.

\* \* \*  
The newspapers Pravda and Izvestiya are delivered to the women's political zone four to six days late. The newspapers often go astray, since they go first to the criminal zone (uchr. ZhKh-385/3-1), where one of the prisoners sorts them out. On 2 December Velikanova and Osipova wrote complaints about this - confirmation of the dispatch of their complaints was brought to them two weeks later.

Many letters go astray without any sort of documents to say that they have been confiscated (no fewer than six letters addressed to Velikanova went astray in November, and of 13 letters sent by Raisa Rudenko to her husband N. Rudenko in January-April, he received only one). Requests to the post-office that they should make inquiries about the registered letters which have disappeared do not get sent off.

T. Gainichenko, the wife of Captain Gainichenko, works as a censor in Mordovian Camp 3. On 15 September Osipova sent a statement to the Procuracy of the Mordovian Camps:

On 15 August this year a letter of mine addressed to my husband I.S. Koval'ev was confiscated by censor Gainichenko. The pretext for the confiscation was provided by the following passage: 'I think it's quite possible that I will be able to sign receipts for letters myself; only, as you recall, there are different traditions in different camps. I don't know who they depend on - perhaps on the personal opinion of the censor. I remember that from some camps receipts always come back signed by the prisoners; but from the special camp in Perm Region it varied, and what it will be like from here I don't know. But I will naturally always inform you whom I have received letters

from, and you must let me know when you have received mine, since receipts can get lost'.

The official reason was that this was 'confidential information', but the oral explanation was that I 'had mentioned the censor, thereby divulging secret information'; whereas in fact the censor is specifically mentioned in the RSFSR Corrective Labour Code, article 22: 'Prisoners' correspondence is subject to censorship'. My reference to the Code provoked the interesting retort 'So what!'. Evidently citizeness Gainichenko considers the Code a secret document which cannot be referred to.

In his letter to me of 20 August my husband asks whether 300 roubles have arrived for me from... - the surname was crossed out by censor Gainichenko. The reason: it is forbidden to mention any surnames in letters. According to my information the restriction concerning the mentioning of surnames relates only to prisoners' letters; it is forbidden for them to mention either the surnames of officials of the Corrective Labour Colonies or the surnames of other prisoners.

On 11 September censor Gainichenko informed me of the confiscation of a letter I had written to S.V. Kalistratova (I enclose a copy). Furthermore, she would not allow me to read the document of confiscation, despite my explicit request to do so, and despite her obligation to present the document of confiscation so that an individual can read it; and she suggested that I should sign on the back to say that I had read it - which I naturally refused to do. The official reason given by censor Gainichenko was 'confidential information'. Her oral explanation was that I had mentioned my husband's arrest in the letter, thereby divulging the information. According to the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, the fact of an arrest is by no means considered a secret.

By confiscating the letter, Gainichenko deprived me of the chance to give advice on the preparation of parcels for my husband. I ask you to bring censor Gainichenko's 'creative initiatives' within the bounds of the law, and that you should instruct her to send the confiscated letters to their addressees.

On 6 August Velikanova and Osipova wrote to the Commandant of Mordovian Camp 3, Major Pavlov, asking him to come and see them, or that they be taken to see him. They received no answer, even though one day a week is allocated by the camp commandant for seeing prisoners.

At the beginning of September a KGB official arrived from Leningrad to talk to Silivonchik and Listvina. He expressed regret that when G. Silivonchik's brother Y.V. Vasilev (Chronicle 54) came to Leningrad on holiday, he didn't go to see them.

For about a month from the end of September bread was issued which had a bitter taste and a smell of DDT. On the first day everybody, including the hospital staff, refused to accept it. On 17 November Velikanova and Osipova sent this declaration to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

The Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR draws the attention of the public to the fact that invalid and aged women are being held in camps in the Soviet Union (see the Group's Document No.109). In 1982 the camp terms of these prisoners in our camp, ZhKh-385/3-4, will come to an end: Galina Silivon-

chik, Oksana Popovich, Aleksandra Khvotkova and Maria Sem#nova. They all still face exile, from three to five years in length.

Meanwhile they are all, except for Silivonchik - whose health has also been broken down by 13 years of imprisonment - invalids of the 2nd category, and they all require nursing for their health. The latter has been undermined by many years of camps, dating back even to the Stalinist era. For Oksana Popovich this is a second term (eight years of camp and five of exile); for Aleksandra Khvotkova (born 1906) it is her third (10 years of camp and three of exile); for Maria Sem#nova (born 1923) it is also the third term (10 years of camp and three of exile) - all in all, she has spent 30 years in prison. A journey of several weeks and the conditions of exile - which are as hard from the point of view of climate as they are from that of living standards (see the Group's Document No. 116) - could lead to tragic consequences. That this is the case is confirmed by the story of Tatiana Karpovna Krasnova, who was sent into exile regardless of the fact that she was 75. She died less than three months after her arrival.

For Khvotkova and Sem#nova, living in exile will be further complicated by the fact that, as members of the IPKh (Truly Orthodox Christians), they refuse to accept any official documents, and without them they will not be handed any parcels or remittances of money. They are not eligible to a pension under Soviet law. In this way they will be deprived of all means of existence. All this makes exile far more difficult for them even than life in camp.

We ask that Silivonchik, Sem#nova, Khvotkova and Popovich should have their sentences of exile revoked, which would constitute a reasonable and humane step on the government's part.

T.M. Velikanova  
Member of the Initiative Group For  
the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR

T.S. Osipova  
Member of the Group to Assist the Implementation  
of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR

The camp administration ruled that the declaration could not be sent, since, according to article 33 of the Rules on Internal Procedures, 'A prisoner can make complaints and declarations only in his own name and on questions affecting him personally...'. On 10 December Velikanova, Osipova, Rudenko and Popovich went on hunger-strike.

#### The Perm Camps

##### Camp 35

There are about 70 people here. At the end of August or beginning of September A. Shcharansky, who was in the punishment block, had a fainting fit. He was put in hospital. In November he was transferred to Chistopol Prison.

Also here are the Pentecostalist deacon N. Bobarykin from Starotitarovskaya Station (Chronicle 57); he was arrested in November 1982 and got six years of strict-regime camp and five years of exile under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code; on 20 January 1981 V. Petrov's article 'Purveyors of Slander', about N.P. Goretoi - Chronicle 58

- and Bobarykin was printed in the newspaper Sovetskaya Kuban); A. Zinchenko (trial in Chronicle 61); V. Meilanov (trial in Chronicle 60); S. Khmara (trial in Chronicle 60); and V. Kalap (trial in Chronicle 62). In September M. Kazachkov (Chronicles 61, 62) was brought here from Chistopol Prison.

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On 17 December Anatoly Marchenko was again brought here (see 'The Trial of Anatoly Marchenko'). He still had not been given a place in a hut, felt boots or mittens, when he was sent out to clear snow from the forbidden strip. Marchenko refused, saying that he suffered from deafness to such an extent that he might not hear a warning shout from a guard. The deputy camp commandant for discipline, Chaika, began to draw up a punishment charge against him. When Marchenko pointed out that the court had sentenced him to strict-regime rather than special-regime precisely because of his poor state of health, Chaika retorted that he had received no information about special conditions for Marchenko because of his health. A recently appointed young doctor said that only a medical commission could determine Marchenko's capacity for work, and that one was due to visit the camp in June; until then, Marchenko could be sent out to do any kind of work. Marchenko was sent to do one of the hardest jobs in the camp - as a stoker in the boiler-room.

##### Camp 36 (Special-Regime)

There are 29 people here. In July KGB officials came from Vilnius to see B. Gajauskas. They asked Gajauskas whether he lacked anything and whether he had any complaints about the conditions in which he was being kept.

In August I. Gel and A. Tikhy each got 15 days in the cooler. After haemorrhaging for three months Tikhy was put in the camp hospital. There a diagnosis was made that he had an ulcer of the duodenum. In November Tikhy was sent to the hospital in Perm, where he stayed from 18 November to 24 December. Here the doctors could not find any ulcer; they gave him Atropin, Corvalol, Valocordin and Citramon and vitamins B1 and B12, and gave them intravenously. Tikhy weighs 60 kg although his height is 178 cm. Before he was discharged Tikhy again felt ill; he had pains in his heart, stomach and liver; blotches appeared on his body, and his finger-nails began to disintegrate. When he returned to the camp Tikhy was put in solitary. He was deprived of his parcel for 1982.

A. Berdnik has been transported somewhere else. Yu. [P.] F#dorov, who had earlier been transferred to strict regime (Chronicle 61), has been brought back here. He has painful gums: vitamin deficiency. During a visit from his mother he could not eat. He was so emaciated that his mother 'only recognized him with difficulty'. According to Yu. F#dorov, the regime got much worse after E. Kuznetsov (Chronicle 53) was deported abroad, and the administration kept getting at him, even though he was 'carefully toeing the line'. After the visit Yu. F#dorov was given 15 days in the cooler.

Since E. Kuznetsov was deported (in April 1979) A. Murzhenko has spent 90 days in the cooler. He was in the cooler from 25 November to 5 December. A few days after he came out he was given 15 days in the cooler again.

On 21 December the Moscow refuseniks A. Lerner, V. and B. Elistratov, G. and N. Khasin and A. Ioffe, A. Shcharansky's mother I. Milgrom, L. Ternovsky's wife Lyudmila Ternovskaya, the Moscow Helsinki Group Members E. Bonner,

S. Kalistratova and N. Meiman (who is also a refusenik), A. Murzhenko's wife L. Murzhenko and Yu. Fëdorov's mother P. Fëdorova issued an appeal:

24 December will be the eleventh anniversary of the sentencing in the Leningrad 'aeroplane case'... Academician Sakharov has only just ended a hunger-strike through which, according to his own declaration, he was striving yet again to draw the attention of world public opinion to the importance of observing one of the key human rights - the right freely to choose one's country of residence, the right to leave one's country and to come back to it.

Today we call upon all those who supported Sakharov in his struggle to the death to speak out in defence of Fëdorov and Murzhenko.

Another 29 inhabitants of Moscow signed this appeal.

\* \* \*

In the summer, Petkus, Lukyanenko and Evgrafov were in cell no.18, Gajauskas and Stus in cell no.20, and Jaškunas and Fedorenko in the barracks (Chronicle 57 (p.87)).

Camp 36 (Strict-Regime)

There are 70 people here. Viktor Niitsoo (trial in Chronicle 62), Nikolai Rudenko (from Mordovian Camp 3), and Vasily Ovsienko have been brought here.

Vyacheslav Cherepanov, whose testimony confirmed one of the charges against A. Terleckas (Chronicle 58), is held here. Cherepanov told Terleckas's wife that KGB officials had promised to give him permission to go and join his wife in Canada (Chronicle 52) in return for this testimony. After they failed to keep their promise, Cherepanov attempted to flee the USSR, and for 'betraying the motherland' got 12 years of camp and four of exile. Cherepanov was put into the same section of the barracks as Terleckas.

\* \* \*

On 11 August Altunyan's relatives came for a visit. One room for long visits and the room for short visits were free. Nevertheless, the deputy Commandant of the camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Fëdorov, refused to allow a visit for two days. On 13 August a quarantine was declared. Altunyan addressed a complaint about Fëdorov to the procurator.

A few days later he was informed that he had been deprived of visits (it was not specified which kind) 'for organizing a demonstration by the prisoners'. (While they were watching a film on television the deputy camp head in charge of political matters came into the room and switched off the television; there was a lot of noise; Altunyan and Nekipelov began to pacify their comrades, after which Altunyan went up to the deputy head and said that the latter was deliberately provoking people into this sort of open anger.)

Altunyan declared a dry hunger-strike until the arrival of the procurator. On the third day he was put into the cooler. On the fifth day Altunyan began to drink water. On the ninth day he was informed of 'Solomon's judgment' (that's how they put it) - that he should be deprived of a short visit.

\* \* \*

A. Shevchenko (first name - Alexander, familiar form - Oles) sent the Procurator-General of the USSR a statement in which

he declared that he remained true to the beliefs he had held before his arrest, and requested that his statement to Fedorchuk, the chairman of the Ukrainian KGB, should be considered invalid (after the trial - Chronicle 60 - A. Shevchenko sent Fedorchuk a statement requesting leniency).

On 21 May Nekipelov sent Sakharov a telegram with birthday greetings. The telegram was confiscated. A few days later Nekipelov was given 15 days in the cooler because 20 minutes before the end of his shift, having fulfilled his norm (800 parts for irons), he had left his place of work.

Diary (June-October)

2 June. It was announced that the following would do extra duty details: Aliyev, for careless work; Safronov, for not fulfilling his norms; and Klimchak for refusing to work. The latter was also deprived of his next visit for this (prolonged) infringement of the rules.<sup>38</sup>

4 June. Klimchak was put into the cooler for 15 days for his refusal to work. Zhgenti (trial in Chronicle 61) had a letter to the newspaper Literaturnaya Gruzija, in which he discussed the nationality question, confiscated.

5 June. For refusing to do heavy work Zhgenti was put into the cooler for 15 days. Lubman came out of the punishment block.

7 June. O. Kulak was taken away from the zone, his 25-year term having come to an end.

9 June. Osipov ended his hunger-strike after receiving a promise that his case would be reviewed by the courts (this was subsequently refused). Simokaitis declared a partial and temporary hunger-strike (he is eating only supper) because the conditions in which he is being held have been made harsher (in Simokaitis's estimation). Under instructions from the Donetsk KGB Administration, an investigator called Shchukan from the Perm Procuracy conducted an interrogation of Yu. Zalepa in connection with the case of Yu. A. Melnik; the latter is not known to Zalepa, a fact of which he informed the investigator. Ogorodnikov was put into the cooler for one day for having a dispute with the duty officer, Lieutenant Serkov.

10 June. Ogorodnikov declared a hunger-strike, protesting against his unjustified committal to the cooler; his sentence in the cooler was prolonged for another four days. Oles Evgenievich Shevchenko came back to the zone (from the cooler?).

16 June. Ogorodnikov ended his hunger-strike.

17 June. Borovoi was transported to an unknown destination.

18 June. Yu. Fëdorov arrived from Camp 37 (the large one).

19 June. Genrikh Ovanesovich Altunyan and Vyacheslav Cherepanov came back to the zone (from the cooler).

23 June. A hunger-strike demanding that special statutes for political prisoners should be adopted in law, and protesting against national, cultural and religious discrimination: Altunyan, Aliyev, Arenberg, Berdnichuk, Bochin, Grigoryan, Zaslomov, Marinovich, Monakov, Nekipelov, Ogorodnikov, Terleckas, Fëdorov, Shevchenko, Zagirnyak, Safronov and Lubman all took part. Aliyev was put into the cooler for failing to fulfil his norm.

24 June. Captain Rak and Ensign Samokar applied physical force to Klimchak while checking his exercise-book, even though Klimchak had shown no resistance. Altunyan, Arenberg, Berdnichuk, Bochin, Grigoryan, Zhgenti, Zaslomov, Zagirnyak, Marinovich, Monakov, Nekipelov, Ogorodnikov, Safronov, Fëdorov, Cherepanov and Shevchenko refused to go out to work after lunch until a doctor had been called to examine

Klimchak. The doctor was summoned and established the presence of scratches on his forehead. A conversation was held with Zhuravkov, the camp commandant, after which the prisoners went out to work. The strike lasted from 13.40 to 15.30.

2 July. Simokaitis sent a telegram of congratulations to President Reagan for US Independence Day. On 7 July he was told of its confiscation on the grounds that it contained ambiguities.

3 July. Arenberg sent a telegram of congratulations to Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister, on his victory in the elections.

4 July. Safronov and Zagirnyak were given extra duty details by Lieutenant-Colonel Fëdorov for minor offences (an unfastened button, etc.). Arenberg was promised the cooler for the same reason.

6 July. Arenberg was put in the cooler for 15 days. Klimchak was put in the cooler. Grigoryan was taken away with his things - as it turned out, for a meeting in Perm with his relatives.

7 July. At getting-up time in the morning Captain Rak reproved Altunyan for having supposedly been walking about before it was time to get up. The suspicion arose that getting up and, correspondingly, lining up for breakfast had been delayed for a few minutes. As they proceeded to breakfast Marinovich (who was later joined by Altunyan, Nekipelov and Safronov) tried to find out the exact time from Ensign Samokar, but he refused to tell them. Later he drew up a false report saying that Marinovich had 'twisted his arms', and that the rest had shouted, calling the prisoners to disobedience and mass disorders.

8 July. Altunyan, Bochin, Zagirnyak, Lubman, Marinovich, Monakov, Safronov, Ogorodnikov and Fëdorov sent a protest to the camp commandant about the fact that Arenberg had effectively been put into the cooler for having sent a telegram to Begin. Altunyan and Nekipelov were given extra duty details on the basis of Ensign Samokar's false report about the incident of 7 July. Ogorodnikov was deprived of access to the camp shop for various minor offences (he had stripped to the waist and sunbathed on Sunday, and had not worn a hat at work).

9 July. On the basis of the same false report Safronov was put in the cooler for five days.

10 July. Juris Karlovich Bumeisters arrived (articles 64 and 83 of the Latvian Criminal Code; he was arrested on 8 November 1980 and sentenced to 15 years), 39.

13 July. Altunyan, Bochin, Zagirnyak, Marinovich, Nekipelov and Ogorodnikov sent a protest to the camp commandant about the fact that Safronov had been put into the cooler on the basis of the false report by Samokar, which had distorted events. Aliyev was put into the cooler for one day for an altercation with the detail. Grigoryan returned (from Perm) from his meeting.

14 July. Aliyev's term in the cooler was extended by another six days. Lubman was put into the cooler for 15 days for non-fulfilment of the norm, and for sleeping at work. Safronov was released from the cooler.

15 July. Arrival of Colonel Gonchar, an official of the Ukrainian KGB. Zalepa, Marinovich, Chërny and A. Shevchenko were summoned for 'prophylactic conversations'.

16 July. The Ukrainians continue to be summoned: now Nazaruk and Sërotsen. A court sentenced Klimchak to three years in prison. Cherepanov was put into the cooler for 15 days. The reason (in his words): 'that he had considered plans for

an escape' (documents were presented to show that on one occasion he had got into the cab of a vehicle, and that he had closely examined a watch-tower from a flower-bed).

18 July. Lieutenant-Colonel Fëdorov arrived in the workshop a few minutes before work broke off and reprimanded Marinovich for having stopped working, even though he had fulfilled the daily norm earlier than the regulations stipulated. For the same offence he also 'booked' all the people in the washroom (Altunyan, Braga, Nekipelov, Simokaitis).

20 July. Ogorodnikov was put into the cooler for 10 days for minor offences (not wearing a hat at work, etc.). Aliyev came out of the cooler, having spent seven days there.

21 July. Nekipelov was put into the cooler for five days for having stopped work earlier than was provided for in the day's regulations on 18 and 20 July (on both these days he fulfilled the norm). Conversations between Lieutenant-Colonel Staškevičius, an official of the Lithuanian KGB, and Terleckas, Simokaitis and Cherepanov.

22 July. Bochin, Grigoryan, Marinovich and Simokaitis were given extra duty details for having finished work early. Marinovich refused to do extra work.

23 July. Further conversation between Lieutenant-Colonel Staškevičius and Terleckas.

26 July. Nekipelov came out of the cooler.

29 July. Lubman came out of the cooler. Arrival at the camp of three officials of the Leningrad KGB Administration. Conversations with Arenberg, Lubman, Leshkun and Oves.

30 July. Ogorodnikov came out of the cooler.

3 August. Grigoryan, Marinovich and Ogorodnikov were given extra duty details for refusing to work where they were told. Marinovich refused to do the extra work.

5 August. Bochin and Ogorodnikov were put into the cooler for refusing to load railings destined for the fencing of the zone, but were both released within two hours. Three people are transferred to the zone from the special-regime zone: Dmitry Andreyevich Ivanenko (born 1912; article 64; arrested in 1970; 15 years); Ivan Mikhailovich Lozinsky (born 1922; article 61 of the Belorussian Criminal Code; arrested in 1973; sentenced by the Grodno court to execution by firing-squad; this was commuted 14 months later to 15 years); and Ostap Fëdorovich Knap (born 1922; same details - he was a co-defendant of Lozinsky).

11 August. Ogorodnikov was put into the cooler for 15 days for various infringements of the regulations. Viktor Nitsoo appeared in the camp (Tiit Madisson and Veljo Kalep were involved in the same case, although they were tried separately). A. Shevchenko was taken away to hospital. Bogdan Veduta was brought from Camp 35 and put into the cooler to continue serving a 15-day sentence (article 58 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, in prison since 1968).

12 August. Aliyev was put into the cooler for 15 days. Reason (in his own words): 'Because I took a large number of sleeping-tablets'.

13 August. A sign was put up saying that a quarantine had been imposed and that visits were cancelled until further notice. There have indeed been a few cases of some sort of gastro-intestinal illness in the camp.

20 August. Veduta came out into the zone.

23 August. Hunger-strike by Nitsoo on a day of Baltic national mourning - the 42nd anniversary of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which deprived the Baltic countries of their independence.

25 August. Zasinov sent a statement to the Supreme Soviet Presidium renouncing his citizenship.



26 August. Ogorodnikov was given 10 more days in the cooler for supposedly producing careless work, and for other infringements of the regulations. Terleckas was transported; we were informed that he was going to hospital.

28 August. Nekipelov was told that six of his letters were to be confiscated all at once - from his wife, his son, his daughter-in-law and others; and Altunyan had three confiscated.

31 August. Altunyan was told that he had been deprived of his next visit, and he declared a dry hunger-strike in response. The story of Altunyan being deprived of a visit is this: his relatives (four people) came for a visit on 11 August, when there was still no quarantine; they were refused a visit because there were supposedly no rooms, although there was one (Safronov had had a visit in one room on 10 August, and the other one was free); his relatives waited until 13 August, after which they were informed of the quarantine and were refused even a short visit; when he found out about this Altunyan submitted, together with complaints to the Procurator, other complaints to the court against the administration, demanding that his family should be reimbursed for its expenses; he was refused permission for various reasons to send this statement to the court; and at the same time documents were compiled about certain infringements of the regulations which Altunyan had supposedly committed - which he considers tendentious and falsified; for example, that he had supposedly 'terrorized duty officer Galedin, demanding the return of exercise-books removed during a search' (in fact Altunyan had simply inquired when he would be shown the document authorizing their removal). Altunyan declared the hunger-strike from 18.00 on 31 August, demanding that either the punishments be withdrawn, or that the Procurator should come and see him. On 31 August Arenberg was sentenced to three years in prison.

2 September. Aliyev's relatives came to visit him but were not allowed a meeting (even a brief one) because of the quarantine.

3 September. The lifting of the quarantine was announced. In fact, as became known from answers sent by the Procurator to Altunyan, the quarantine had already been lifted on 30 August.

5 September. Altunyan called off his dry hunger-strike, since his eyesight had begun seriously to deteriorate, but he is still continuing an ordinary hunger-strike. Ogorodnikov was given another 10 days for offences committed in the cooler; he has already served 25 days in a row.

8 September. Aliyev was given 10 days in the cooler for poor work.

9 September. Altunyan ended his hunger-strike after the administration had promised to grant him a long visit.

12 September. Aliyev was transferred from the cooler to the medical unit; on 11 September Ensign Makhmudov had called him unprintable names and had taken away a body-belt which the previous duty-officer had allowed him to keep. In protest against such actions Aliyev declared a hunger-strike and also attempted to hang himself, using his own clothes.

14 September. Aliyev called off his hunger-strike.

15 September. Nikolai Danilovich Rudenko arrived from Mordovia and Anatoly Mikhailovich Bedarkov (born 1940; article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, sentenced to five years plus three) from Chernigov. Terleckas and A. Shevchenko also both arrived from the hospital in Zone 35. Both had there been granted long visits. Ogorodnikov came out of the

cooler, having spent 35 days there in a row. Tarasenko was taken away to be transported to an unknown destination.

17 September. Stepan Petriv was released after serving 25 years. In the first half of September Vyacheslav Aksentevich Pushkar (born 1938; article 56 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code; sentenced to 10 years) arrived from Kiev. Klimchak, who had previously been sentenced to three years in prison, was taken away. On 17 September Nekipelov was put into the medical unit suffering from sharp pains in the region of the kidneys and urethra. There was no medical assistance available in the medical unit, and no diagnosis was made. Nekipelov was blamed for having called out the doctor at night. In order that Nekipelov should be given a pain-killing injection, the prisoners in the zone were obliged to warn the administration several times of the possibility of a strike. Nekipelov's condition was deteriorating all the time, while the doctors had not even made a rapid analysis of his urine.

25 September. A strike was declared to demand that a qualified urologist should come to see him. The participants: Aliyev, Altunyan, Berdnichuk, Bochin, Grigorov, Zagirnyak, Zaslomov, Marinovich, Ogorodnikov, Safronov, Rudenko, Nitsso, Osipov, Terleckas, Fedorov and A. Shevchenko. That very day Altunyan, Rudenko and Fedorov were sent to the cooler for 15 days.

26 September. Berdnichuk was given seven days in the cooler; Marinovich got 10 days and Nitsso got seven.

27 September. Because of the absence of a local doctor at the time when Nekipelov's illness became critically more acute, a hunger-strike was declared (the participants were the same as before, excepting those who were in the cooler). Safronov was put into the cooler for five days.

29 September. Ogorodnikov and Shevchenko were put in the cooler for 10 days. Later that day the hunger-strike was called off (Ogorodnikov continued it until 1 October). After a conversation with the administration Zaslomov went out to work and ended his hunger-strike.

30 September. A urologist arrived. A diagnosis was made and Nekipelov was given assistance.

1 October. In response to this the strike was called off.

9 October. Altunyan was given four months in the punishment block, and Rudenko was given six months.

10 October. Ogorodnikov was given six months in the punishment block. V. Balakhonov returned to the camp, having served three years in Chistopol Prison.

14 October. Safronov was taken off to be transported to an unknown destination.

16 October. Nekipelov was transported to hospital.

20 October. Zagirnyak was taken away to hospital.

28 October. In connection with the resumption of the work of the Madrid Conference, a three-day hunger-strike was started, with the following themes: on the first day, the problem of the rule of terror, administrative vindictiveness, and the arbitrary behaviour of particular representatives of the administration; on the second day, the problems of the medical service and living standards; and on the third day, USSR Political Prisoners' Day, the demand for special statutes for political prisoners. The participants on the first two days were: Balakhonov, Berdnichuk, Marinovich, Nitsso, A. Shevchenko. On the third day they were joined by Aliyev, Lubman, Osipov and Cherepanov. Other participants in this hunger-strike were Altunyan, Ogorodnikov and Rudenko, who were in the punishment block. During the hunger-strike A. Shevchenko, who suffers from a heart

ailment, was twice refused a tablet of validol by the doctors.

#### Camp 37

There are 40 people in the 'large zone' and 20 in the 'small zone'. T. Madisson (trial in Chronicle 62), Marzpet Arutyunyan (trial in Chronicle 62), The Latvian Vlesters Poliss-Abolins (sentenced for leaflets) and Robert Anikeyev (who returned from Italy in 1980 and was given 12 years under article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) have arrived here.

Nikolai Ivlyushkin (Chronicle 57; he got six years of camp under article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) and his co-defendant A. Yurev (Chronicle 57 - sentenced to five years) were transferred here in January 1981 from Chistopol Prison.

Sergei Korekhov (Chronicles 47, 51) was transferred here from Camp 36 (special-regime) in December 1980. Korekhov (born 1956) was first arrested on 9 June 1974 in Nizhny Tagil; the Sverdlovsk Regional Court sentenced him under article 70, part 1, of the RSFSR Criminal Code to two years of strict-regime camp (there were inaccuracies in Chronicle 47) for composing and disseminating leaflets demanding the democratization of public affairs. On 1 May 1977 Korekhov was again arrested for circulating leaflets; he was given six years under article 70, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

In October 1980 A. Tsurkov was put into the cooler for 15 days, then he was given another 15 days there, and then he was given four-and-a-half months in the punishment block. Tsurkov came out of the punishment block on 25 March. Karpenok was in the punishment block from November 1980 to March 1981.

At the end of March the administration took away books for personal use and was intending to send them out of the zone to be stored. In response to this Yu. Fëdorov, A. Tsurkov, V. Chitanava, M. Lukyanovich (who was arrested in June-July 1979 and sentenced to five years of strict-regime for disseminating leaflets), N. Ivlyushkin, V. Kuznetsov, Belov, Magdeyev, I. Izvekov and Surguchev wrote complaints to the Central Committee of the CPSU and to Brezhnev, in which they declared that unless the order concerning the books was rescinded they would go on hunger-strike. A few days later Pomaz, the head of the KGB administration, and Afanasev, his deputy, attempted to convince the prisoners that the administration was right. The prisoners stood by their positions. The administration then agreed to a compromise and guaranteed access to the books.

On 22 April Chitanava, Lukyanovich, Ivlyushkin, Kuznetsov, Magdeyev and Surguchev declared a hunger-strike in protest against violations of the regulations concerning safety precautions in the factory, and against the absence of necessary work training. They sent statements about this to the Central Committee of the CPSU and to the USSR Procuracy.

Ivlyushkin was put into the cooler for 15 days for refusing to do unpaid work. He declared a dry hunger-strike and was force-fed. Surguchev was put into the cooler for 10 days for the same reason.

On 4 May Yu. Orlov, G. Yakunin, Yu. Fëdorov, A. Tsurkov, S. Korekhov, M. Karpenok, M. Lukyanovich, V. Chitanava, A. Nilov, N. Ivlyushkin, A. Yurev, V. Kuznetsov, Belov, Magdeyev, I. Izvekov and Surguchev declared a hunger-strike in protest against violations of human rights in the USSR, and demanding political status.

Orlov, Yakunin, Fëdorov, Tsurkov, Chitanava, Nilov,

Ivlyushkin, Kuznetsov and Izvekov put their signatures to the following letter to the Madrid Conference:

Respected heads of delegations!

Your Conference is taking place against the background of the devastation of the human rights movement in the USSR, the majority of the participants in which, including the Helsinki Groups which were set up in the USSR on the basis of the Final Act of Helsinki, are now languishing in concentration camps.

In the near future you are due to sign the Final Communiqué of the Conference. One of the most important aspects of the Helsinki Agreements was the recognition by the governments of the participant states of their solemn obligation to observe human rights in their countries, and this was reflected in 'basket three' of the Helsinki Agreements.

One of the most scandalous violations of the rights of man in the USSR is the regime for keeping prisoners in places of detention, and in particular, the regime for political prisoners and prisoners of conscience. Even a cursory acquaintance with the recently introduced so-called 'Corrective Labour Code' will make clear to any unprejudiced person its inhumanity, its cruelty, and the absence of statutes for political prisoners in the USSR.

But even those truncated rights afforded by the RSFSR Corrective Labour Code are continually being violated by officials. The spiritual, religious and cultural genocide to which political prisoners are also systematically subjected in the USSR is particularly horrifying. This has an especially destructive effect on those who are serving prolonged sentences of imprisonment. There is harsh censorship and prisoners' correspondence gets delayed; there are also: an effective ban on access to vital books and literature; a complete prohibition on the use of religious literature in concentration camps, including the Bible and the Gospels; the forced shaving of hair and beards, even for priests, which is an affront to human dignity; the compulsory wearing of uniforms with names sewn to the front, which is reminiscent of the Fascist death camps; and punishments which are an offence to human dignity, such as being deprived of food for a certain period, especially for refusing to do forced labour.

The regime in the concentration camps is particularly humiliating for political prisoners, including prisoners of conscience: the Soviet leadership refuses to accord them the appropriate status. The sad experience and dramatic history of the human rights movement in the USSR, which was shattered by the authorities in the period between the solemn signing of the Helsinki Agreement and the Madrid Conference, graphically demonstrate that the noble and beautiful words uttered at the signing by the leader in charge of the USSR delegation were only a demagogically convenient screen behind which the authorities were crudely to flout human rights in real life.

We, political prisoners and prisoners of conscience who have lived through the tragedy of the crushing of the human rights movement in the USSR, wish to draw your attention to the sad experience of recent events in our country, lest the Madrid Conference should be transformed into a 'Human Rights Munich'. We call upon you to put your signatures to the Final Act of the Conference only if you have in front of you firm guarantees and confidence that

the USSR will cease discrimination against its citizens in the realm of human rights.

We would like to inform you of the protest hunger-strike which took place on the eve of the opening of the final stage of the Conference, on 4 May 1981, and of the fact that on the eve of the closing stage, in June 1981, we will again declare a protest hunger-strike as a protest against the violation of human rights in the USSR and in support of our demands.

On 16 September Yakunin declared a hunger-strike in protest at the taking away of his religious books, and on 26 September they began to force-feed him. At different times Orlov, Koryagin, Korekhov, M. Arutyunyan, Lukyanovich, Chitanava, Iviyushkin, Yurev, Kuznetsov and Belov went on hunger-strike in solidarity with him.

On 30 October 19 prisoners declared a hunger-strike, demanding that a provocateur should be removed from the camp. Amongst them was Yu. Orlov. At first they gave him 15 days in the cooler, but on 31 October they put him into the punishment block for six months. This is his third term in the punishment block (Chronicles 54, 60). The following is from a letter by his wife T. Valitova:

The second time my husband was punished for complaining. The camp administration was preparing a provocation against him. Orlov discovered this and wrote a complaint to the USSR Procuracy, in which he unmasked the administration's intentions. Orlov was charged with slander and again put into the punishment block for six months.

In October Vitaly Shevchenko was deprived of a visit for 'violations of the regulations'. He was put to work as a dish-washer.

#### In Other Prisons and Camps

Vladimir Sergeyevich Fokanov (trial in Chronicle 62) is serving his sentence at the following address: 663950, Krasnoyarsky krai, st. Reshdy, pos. Pokonaevka, uchr. 235/4'E'. He was arrested on 10 July 1980.

His sister Lyubov Sergeyevna Fokanova (born 1959) is serving her sentence at the following address: 155400, Ivanovskaya obl., g. Kineshma, uchr. OK-3/3'G'. She was arrested on 30 July 1980. She was sentenced to three years of ordinary-regime camp under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

His other sister Maria Sergeyevna Chulkova (trial in Chronicle 62) is serving her sentence at the following address: 370068, Erevan-68, uchr. 10. She was arrested on 7 December 1980 (see also 'Releases').

Vytautas Vaičiūnas (trial in Chronicle 62) is serving his sentence at the following address: 456902, Chelyabinskaya obl., g. Bakal-2, uchr. YaV-48/9-10-100.

Mečislovas Jurevičius (trial in Chronicle 62) is serving his sentence at the following address: 456870, Chelyabinskaya obl., g. Kyshtym, uchr. YaV-48/10-3.

In September Olga Matusevich was in Kiev, in Lukyanovo Prison. In December she was again (Chronicle 58) in Odessa, in camp.

Vladimir Kislik (trial in Chronicle 62) is serving his sentence at the following address: 343552, Donetskaya obl.,

g. Dzerzhinsk-2, uchr. YuE-312/2A-1.

In December Stanislav Zubko (trial in this issue) wrote to his mother that he didn't know who he was corresponding with, with her or with the camp security office: his correspondence was being 'filtered', the letters were being delayed, and excerpts from them were read out at meetings of his detachment. The detachment chief was threatening to bring criminal charges against Zubko for the 'slander against the administration' which was contained in his letters.

Pavel Kampov (see 'Events in the Ukraine') is serving his sentence in Lvov - uchr. VL-315/30. In his letter to the UN, a part of which was quoted above, he writes:

I am a prisoner in a camp in Lvov. The Deputy Camp Head in charge of political matters, Povshenko, reproaches me for the fact that he has to feed me. Captain Savatimov kicks me with his feet since I cannot go to the work zone in the evening. Warder Stavrin beats me because I cannot go quickly out of the canteen, and Shpek shouts at me because I cannot see how to sew my name to my chest. I am a cripple, I cannot work or move about independently... They held me for 10 days in the cooler. I declared a 160-day hunger-strike, but nothing has any effect on the punishers.

For 38 years now they've been transporting six carriages of prisoners every month from the Transcarpathians to the camps. When will it all end? I am addressing all the peoples of this planet, all states, all heads of state and governments, and the invalids of the world. Defend me. Ransom me or exchange me, to get me out of this Soviet captivity!

Larissa Lohvitskaya (trial in Chronicle 62) is serving her sentence at the following address: Khar'kov-124, uchr. YuZh-313/54-6. Inna Chernyavskaya (trial in Chronicle 62) is serving her sentence at the following address: 270059, Odessa-59, uchr. YuG-311/74.

Leonid Milyavsky (trial in Chronicle 62) is serving his sentence at the following address: Khersonskaya obl., Golopristsansky r-n, s. St. Zburevka, uchr. YuZ-17/7-11-40. He is weaving nets. At the beginning of September, because of the beatings and the poor food, the prisoners set fire to the buildings housing the library, the censor's office and the provisions store, and threw stones at the guards on the watch-towers - one was killed. Soldiers who were called out suppressed the rebellion. The most active participants were taken away to Kherson.

Sergei Naboka (trial in Chronicle 62) is serving his sentence at the following address: Khmel'nitskaya obl., Khmel'nitsky r-n, s. Raikovtsy, uchr. MKh-324/78-12-121 (the camp commandant is Rebeznyuk). He is working in the galvanizing workshop of the factory, making transformers. At the end of his stay in Lukyanovo Prison (Kiev) the administration summoned certain prisoners and said to them: 'You've got an anti-Soviet bloke there (they named Naboka and gave a description of him) - you give him a good beating and you won't get into any trouble, he's being transported soon'.

When he arrived at the camp the administration demanded that he should not talk to anybody about the article under which he had been sentenced or the reason for his imprisonment, and that he should not talk to anyone at all for very long. On the very first day they confiscated his diary and forbade him to keep notes.

Naboka has a weak heart. On the first day the doctors gave him a work exemption, but the Deputy Camp Head, Kozak, declared: 'Well, if you're so ill, you can do an unhealthy job, breathing in acid fumes in the galvanizing workshop. You shouldn't have written slander!'

In October the doctors ordered that Naboka should be transferred to light work, but the administration ignored their instructions. In December Naboka went on hunger-strike, demanding to be transferred to work appropriate to the state of his health, and to be transferred to a political camp.

Even before the hunger-strike Naboka had sent a complaint to the Administration of Corrective Labour Institutions for the Ukrainian SSR. A bureaucrat who arrived from Kiev declared: 'There's no point in complaining; nothing will help you in this question of getting transferred to different work, and as for a political camp - you're a criminal'. On 23 December Naboka was put into the cooler for 15 days. He was also deprived of a visit.

\* \* \*

On 30 November Reshet Dzhemilev (Chronicle 62) was transported. In the middle of December he arrived at a new camp: Tashkentskaya obl., pos. Zengi-Ata, uchr. UYa-64/2. His term is due to end on 4 April 1982.

In August Leonard Ternovsky (Chronicle 62) was already in a new camp: Omsk-35, uchr. UKh-1678-15. Serafim Evsyukov (Chronicle 61) was transferred to the same camp in October. Iosif Dyadkin (Chronicle 62) is working as a cleaner in a school. In August he was allocated a special diet.

\* \* \*

On the night of 17 July Ishkhan Mkrtchyan (trial in Chronicle 62) and two of his cell-mates escaped from a Eransie cell of Rostov Prison (there is a misprint in Chronicle 62). On 18 July, when they were obtaining information about the escaped prisoners, a lieutenant and a second lieutenant of the MVD, who did not give their names, beat up Mkrtchyan's accomplice Marzpet Arutyunyan - who had been in the same cell - with metal objects concealed in their gloves. As a result Arutyunyan turned out to have three broken ribs and damaged kidneys. The people who were beating him up left when Arutyunyan lost consciousness. Despite the pleas of prisoners in neighbouring cells, Arutyunyan was given no medical attention.

A few days later Arutyunyan was transported to Volgograd Prison. There, at the insistence of the prisoners, an X-ray was made. Then they bandaged him up with sheets and sent him on to Perm Prison, and from there to Chusovo Prison. In view of Arutyunyan's poor condition (half a month had now passed since the beating), the administration of Chusovo Prison refused to accept him and sent him back to Perm.

From Perm Prison he was again sent to Chusovo, from there on to Solikamsk Prison, back from there to Chusovo and then on to Perm Camp 37.

In a statement to the Procurator-General of the USSR dated 25 December, M. Arutyunyan's wife Anush Mkrtchyan writes:

I urgently demand that the aggressors who barbarically beat up my husband for no reason at all should be strictly punished, and that the administration of the Rostov, Volgograd, Perm, Chusovo and Solikamsk prisons, who showed such an inhumane attitude to my husband, not providing him with even elementary medical assistance, should be

brought to justice.

\* \* \*

Vyacheslav Bakhmin (Chronicle 62) was given a job in the kitchen as a dish-washer. The prisoners used to work there for 13 hours a day. Bakhmin managed to get the number of dish-washers increased, so that it now works out at eight working hours a day. On 10 August, during a search, they took away his notes and reminiscences about the time he spent in Lefortovo Prison. At the end of August he was given a loading job.

At the beginning of September Bakhmin was granted a two-day visit from his brother. Before the visit his brother was closely searched. At two o'clock in the morning another search was unexpectedly carried out in the building where the visit was taking place. According to the Commentary on the Corrective Labour Code of the RSFSR (Moscow, 'Yuridicheskaya Literatura', 1979), an examination of the rooms for prolonged visits may take place only before and after visits.

\* \* \*

In October S. Grimm, the wife of Yury Grimm, came to visit him. Since he considered Yu. Grimm a good worker, detachment chief Lukyanov promised S. Grimm that he would approach Kashkarov, the camp commandant, and ask that Yu. Grimm be granted an extra, long visit. Kashkarov refused Lukyanov.

Then S. Grimm herself went to see Kashkarov. At first Kashkarov pretended to be forgetful: 'Oh, that one...Yes, yes, I'm beginning to remember. He's the one for whom letters arrive from all over the place. Even from abroad. He's anti-Soviet. Well, how could I give him a visit when there's such a queue of people who are due to get their regular visits? If I give Grimm a privilege, those people will stir up a riot'. Kashkarov told her that a letter had arrived not long before for Yu. Grimm from Dudko: 'Such anti-Soviet stuff!' (Grimm wasn't given the letter.) S. Grimm was granted a short visit - over a telephone, through a window.

\* \* \*

On 23 July, in the office of the duty-officer, officials of the camp administration showered Valery Abramkin with unprintable insults and threats of physical violence. They made fun of Abramkin's feelings and convictions and provoked him. Abramkin's request to the duty-officer to call his subordinates to order was ignored. Abramkin sent a statement about this to the camp commandant. Senior Inspector Gundov of the security department threatened Abramkin that he would 'organize things so that he wouldn't regain his freedom till the end of his days'.

The censors kept letters addressed to Abramkin for anything from one to six weeks, although the Corrective Labour Code allows for only three days. After several fruitless complaints to the administration on this account, Abramkin declared a two-day hunger-strike in October. After the hunger-strike the Deputy Camp Head, Armaninov, received Abramkin and promised him that henceforth the regulation three days would be observed.

On 30 October, Political Prisoners' Day, Abramkin announced a one-day hunger-strike 'as a sign of solidarity with prisoners the world over'. As a result N.I. Krotov, an Assistant Procurator of the Altai Region, and N.P. Glukhacheva, head of the department for supervising corrective

labour institutions, came to the camp. They talked for about two hours with Abramkin and asked whether this hunger-strike had any connection with the Polish 'Solidarity'. In the evening they insisted that Abramkin should go to the canteen: 'You don't have to eat, but you are obliged to go to the canteen with your brigade'.

On 31 October Abramkin wrote a statement saying that he was continuing his hunger-strike as a protest against the taunts and insults. He was summoned to the authorities and promised that 'these insults will be dealt with'. On the evening of 31 October Abramkin called off his hunger-strike.

On 10 December, Human Rights Day, Abramkin again announced a hunger-strike; and furthermore, he said that in order not to break the rules he would go to the canteen, but that he would be obliged to explain there why he was not eating. The administration didn't insist that Abramkin should go to the canteen.

The administration didn't post 12 postcards with New Year greetings from Abramkin. When Inspector Kvetny of the security office informed him of this, he 'explained' the reason to Abramkin: he didn't write 'like everybody else'. Kvetny added that henceforth Abramkin would be forbidden to send poetry, fairy-tales (he used to send fairy-tales to his three-year-old son) or any kind of 'thoughts with meanings'. Excerpts from the works of L. Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky were removed from letters addressed to Abramkin.

In November, during a 'scheduled search', Kvetny 'himself' examined Abramkin's things (privates and ensigns usually search the others). In the bedside table used by two other people besides Abramkin, Kvetny found a home-made electric water-heater. One of Abramkin's fellow-prisoners wrote that he had seen Abramkin using this water-heater. On 18 November Abramkin was given a reprimand.

\* \* \*

On 16 July A. Lavut sent the Regional Procurator a complaint in which he asked him to appeal against the decision to deprive him of a visit (Chronicle 62), on the grounds that it had been made in contradiction of the facts and in violation of the law.

On 24 July his wife S. Mostinskaya sent a similar complaint to the Khabarovsk Regional UVD. In her complaint she also stated that she wasn't receiving her husband's letters. Soon she received several letters all at once from her husband, which had been written at various times but sent from the camp on the same day. At the same time Lavut was given a large proportion of the letters which had hitherto been held up.

In August Mostinskaya received this letter from the camp administration:

In answer to your communication I would like to inform you that the letters of citizen A.P. Lavut are not delayed by the administration of the institution and are sent off to their addressees.

The disciplinary penalties have been rightfully imposed, in connection with which on 25 July 1981 a commission refused to grant him conditional release.

The next prolonged visit can be granted in January 1982. Citizen Lavut's health is in a satisfactory condition.

On 30 October Lavut was given 11 days in the cooler, after which he was given a further five days. While he was inside, he was deprived of access to the camp shop for November,

and of parcels - because he had tried to get hold of cigarettes. On 16 November Lavut was put into the punishment block for three months. A few days later he was transferred to the medical unit (with thrombo-phlebitis). On 15 December he still couldn't stand on the sore leg.

\* \* \*

On 8 June K. Podrabinek arrived at the camp in Ulyanovsk Region (Chronicle 62). The following is an extract from the reply by A.I. Anikin, the Procurator of the Ulyanovsk Region, to K. Podrabinek's father P.A. Podrabinek:

K. Podrabinek was allocated work on arrival at the Corrective Labour Colony, but had a poor attitude to his work, didn't fulfil the tasks set for each shift, and infringed the regulations; for this he was put into the cooler, where he also continued to break the rules governing his detention. People who are in the cooler are not granted visits from their relatives.

However, after he came out, he did not embark on the path towards improvement, and started a fight with one of the prisoners. For this action Podrabinek was put into the punishment block for four months by the decision of the commandant dated 20.7.81. By a decision of the colony's commandant dated 18.7.81 he was deprived of his next visit from relatives for having broken the rules governing his stay there.

P.A. Podrabinek wrote to A.A. Shinkar#v, the Deputy Procurator of the Ulyanovsk Region:

My son K.P. Podrabinek, who was sentenced on 9.1.81 to three years of loss of freedom, was transported in April 1981 from Usman through Saratov and Ulyanovsk to Novouljanovsk, institution YuI-78/2, where he has been since 8 June.

In June I received from him two statements to the Procurator-General of the USSR which I sent on to their destination, adding a statement of my own. These statements were sent on to you from there for verification, after which I received your letter of 8 August. In four brief sentences you sweep aside all the complaints made by my son and by me to the Procurator-General: 'It has been established that for violating the regulations in a Corrective Labour Institution your son K.P. Podrabinek was legally and justifiably subjected to disciplinary penalties.'

This means that on 16 May, in Ulyanovsk, the reason he was put into the cooler for 10 days, extended on 26 May for a further 10 days, was not that he had protested against the beating of prisoners at the command of a lieutenant of the security office. This means that my son was lying, as were the witnesses Leonid Ivanov and Korol#v.

'No forbidden actions were taken against him.'

My son was not beaten by his escort in Saratov for having demanded a receipt for a belt which had been taken away from him, and the witnesses Vasily Ivanov and Akhmed Kolduyev weren't there. He did not suffer a wound 3 cm x 5 cm to the groin, inflicted by the boot of the zealous escort and noted in the report; it just invented itself.

The same members of the escort seized my son's shorts and soap, which were then taken from their pockets in front of Major Tsaplin, who had sanctioned a search. But

there were no shorts, no soap, no search of the thieves, nor any Major Tsaplin.

'Necessary medical assistance was and still is being given to K.P. Podrabinek.'

I maintain, and I can support my claim with documents, that my son fell ill with tuberculosis in prison, that the sickness was diagnosed after a delay of more than a year, that the treatment, which requires a prolonged stay in hospital, was carried out inadequately and unsystematically, and was indeed not given for most of the time; also lacking were the necessary diet and the conditions in which he should have been kept. But you carried out the verification on the spot, not I, and so I am lying.

'Work has been chosen for him which takes into account the state of his health.'

It turns out that work with metallic and oily dust, which causes my son's chest to wheeze, and which is particularly harmful for his weak lungs, constitutes work chosen so as to take account of the state of his health.

K. Podrabinek was transferred to a new camp: 152620, Yaroslavskaya obl., g.Uglich, uchr. YuN-83/3. The administration of this camp informed his relatives that the tuberculosis from which K. Podrabinek was suffering had reached the 'cicatization phase', but that Podrabinek himself was refusing to take antibacterial medicines. The administration also informed them of the date of their next visit - June 1982. In December a court sent K. Podrabinek to prison for one year. At the end of December he arrived at the prison: 626100, Tyumenskaya obl., Tobolsk, uchr. YaTs-34/ST-2.

\* \* \*

In June, in the camp where A. Podrabinek is being held, 20 prisoners including him refused to carry out work on the construction of a ploughed-earth strip for detecting would-be escapers. A. Podrabinek was given 15 days in the cooler. Then he was given another seven days of cooler for sleeping during the day. On 2 July he was put into the punishment block for four months (there is a mistake in Chronicle 62). On 25 August he was put into the cooler for 14 days, allowed out for four days, and then put back into the cooler, where they continually prolonged his term, keeping him there uninterruptedly until the end of the year.

The Deputy Head of the Yakut Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions, Lieutenant-Colonel Shchelchkov, told A. Podrabinek that a charge might be laid against him under article 77 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Actions disrupting the work of Corrective Labour Institutions').

In the autumn A. Podrabinek sent an urgent message to his relatives to say that he needed a lawyer - a case was being prepared against him under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. At this time the lawyer N.Ya. Nemerinskaya (Chronicles 53, 57, 58) wanted to meet A. Podrabinek to help him write an appeal for a special review of his sentence, but she was told that the period in which an appeal of this sort can be lodged had elapsed (according to the Code of Criminal Procedure there is no limit to the period in which such appeals can be submitted).

In December Dëmin, a Deputy Procurator of the Yakut ASSR, answered A. Podrabinek's complaint, saying that the administration was right to refuse to allow him to subscribe to the journal Socialist Legality and to the Bulletins of the Supreme Courts of the USSR and RSFSR - 'You have no need of them'.

\* \* \*

In August 1980, in the camp 'institution 233/23', they announced a list of those whom the administration had recommended for amnesty according to the Decree of 27 June 1980 (Chronicle 57). On this list was V. Mikhailov (Chronicle 56). A week after the announcement of the list Mikhailov was transferred to Arkhangelsk, to 'institution UG-42/1-1'.

Only six months later, after several complaints, did the Arkhangelsk Procuracy inform G. Mikhailova that her husband was not eligible for the amnesty because he was a 'malicious violator of discipline'.

In the new camp KGB officials frequently interrogate Mikhailov and threaten to lay a charge against him under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code unless he 'repents and reconsiders his beliefs'.

On 5 May 1981 Mikhailov was due to have his next visit from his wife: the camp administration confirmed this in a telegram. When she arrived, G. Mikhailova discovered that her husband had been put into the cooler for 'infringing the regulations'. The visit took place on 19 June. The authorities informed G. Mikhailova beforehand that she was being allowed the visit as a privilege, semi-officially, and asked her to 'use her influence on her husband during the visit'.

In July Mikhailov was deprived of parcels. He is furthermore effectively deprived of correspondence at the moment, since his wife lives in the country and has to receive her correspondence 'poste restante', and the administration refuses to send letters to such addresses.

\* \* \*

On arrival in camp A. Stasevich (Chronicle 56) refused to work and was given six months in the punishment block. When he came out, he again refused to work and was given another six months in the punishment block. When he came out for the second time he again refused to work; in March 1981 he was transferred to Vladimir Prison (Chronicle 62).

\* \* \*

Vyacheslav Chornovil (trial in Chronicle 57) is serving his sentence at the following address: Yakutskaya ASSR, pos. Tabaga, uchr. YaD-40/7. He was brought from the investigations prison to the camp on 13 August 1980, in the middle of a long hunger-strike (dating from the moment of his arrest on 9 April; there is an inaccuracy in Chronicle 56). At the guard-house Chornovil was put into a cell for preliminary detention, where he lay for two days on a floor smeared with vomit and excrement. Then Chornovil was transferred for three days to a 'recreational room' where there was no water. To go to the toilet he had to go down to the yard from the first floor. Since he had no strength, Chornovil crawled on all fours, sometimes losing consciousness. They poured water over him. Chornovil caught dysentery (the annual epidemic was raging in the camp). Only after this was he taken off to the medical unit, where for the first time since he had come to the camp a doctor came to see him (in particular, the force-feeding which had been carried out right up until the moment he was sent away from the prison was no longer enforced). The doctor gave Chornovil an ultimatum: 'If you don't stop your hunger-strike we won't treat your dysentery - and you'll only last a few days'. Chornovil ended his hunger-strike.

From 5 to 21 November 1980, on the orders of Captain Yu.M.

Pakhalsky, the head of the Central Hospital (which is within the same perimeter as the camp), Chornovil was kept in an isolation ward (Chronicle 60).

On 28 April 1981 Major Tumakov and Captain Tereshkin (his surname was given wrongly in Chronicle 62) removed from Chornovil's personal possessions all the materials relating to his 'case'. At much the same time a search was carried out in Lvov at the home of Chornovil's wife, Atena Pashko.

On 16 June, in the canteen where Chornovil was working as an auxiliary worker, he was for no reason struck several times in the face by prisoner Aminev (a 'trusty' with several convictions). Soon afterwards Chornovil was told of the decision that he should be deprived of his next visit for having 'started a fight'. First Lieutenant Mironchuk, the head of the detachment, refused to show him Aminev's account of the incident 'for security reasons'. The senior cook on the shift had given evidence which exposed Aminev.

On 19 July Chornovil declared a hunger-strike in protest against the confiscation of the materials relating to his 'case', and against the attack on him by a camp provocateur. On the fifth day of the hunger-strike Chornovil was put into the cooler for 10 days 'for not going to work'. A certificate from the doctor to say that Chornovil was fit enough to be put into the cooler was attached to the resolution about the punishment. The certificate was made out in his absence, with no examination. Chornovil was stripped and flung on to the bare plank-bed of the cell. The doctor came to measure his blood pressure only on the tenth day of the hunger-strike. His 'assistance' amounted to the fact that Chornovil was issued with bedding. When Chornovil called off his hunger-strike under the threat that force-feeding would be applied, he was given a piece of black bread and the worst kind of prison gruel. Chornovil was still kept in the cooler while they insisted that he took this food. In response Chornovil went on hunger-strike for another two days.

\* \* \*

On 5 March in Khabarovsk a court presided over by Chebanov sentenced a Chinese, Chu Naibo, under article 92, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Theft of state...property, carried out by means of misappropriation...'), and under article 156, part 2 ('Deception...of customers'), to six years in camp. The prosecutor was Demchenko, and Ryzhkov spoke for the defence.

Naibo (born 1934) studied at the Harbin Institute of Foreign Languages, specializing in 'Russian language and literature'. In 1962 he fled to the Soviet Union from China. He was ordered to live in Birobidzhan. In 1965 he obtained permission to travel to Moscow. There he passed the exams and was enrolled, with a right to hostel accommodation, in the vocal section of the Gnesin Institute, but was refused a residence permit for Moscow because he had 'behaved badly' in Birobidzhan - he had argued with the authorities. Naibo returned to the Far East. Since 1974 Naibo has been working as a travelling photographer.

In 1979 Pavel Chukhrai invited Naibo to join in shooting the film 'An Incident at Sea'. Naibo refused, saying that the portrayal of the Chinese in the film was false. Chukhrai suggested that Naibo should rewrite the scenario, which Naibo had almost finished doing when it emerged that the scenario had been approved at a very high level, and that it was not possible to make any changes to it.

In February 1980 Naibo was arrested. At first they kept

him for five months in a KGB prison (three-and-a-half months of this was in solitary) without laying any charges against him, but regularly interrogating him. Then he was transferred to a general criminal prison, where he was held for about a month and charged with theft committed while he was working as a photographer.

In July 1980 the court sent the case back for further investigation and Naibo was released, having promised not to attempt to leave town. They promised that the case would be dropped before long.

Naibo wrote a long letter to Brezhnev about his arrest and his case. Then they 'explained' to him: 'You have behaved wrongly and you will be put on trial'. On 5 March the court sentenced Naibo to six years of ordinary-regime. On 14 May the Court of Appeal confirmed the sentence.

Naibo is serving his sentence at the following address: 682731, Khabarovskiy krai, Solnechny r-n, pos. Mavrinsk, uchr. YaB-257/16-3. He was working in a construction brigade when at the beginning of August he ruptured himself lifting a log (he has a hernia). He was transferred to lighter work (he is now tying nets).

#### Letters and Statements by Political Prisoners

Ismantas (for his trial see Chronicle 60) appealed to the European Communist Parties to enlist the help of European lawyers in obtaining a copy of 'the fabricated case against our group' from the USSR Procurator-General. He also addressed himself to the young people of Lithuania:

Thank you for your civic and moral support during my trial. Your courage and determination in the struggle for freedom and truth are a source of great joy. You are our hope for the future! The one thing I crave is the growth of the movement for a free and independent Lithuania!

V. Osipov, E. Antsupov, Yu. Badzė, D. Mazur, V. Skuodis, A. Janulis and Zarins, who are prisoners in Mordovian Camp No. 3, have written two appeals:

#### To the Madrid Conference

We ask you to set up a world conference on Human Rights, involving the UN, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and public organizations, to form a front against dictatorship. A statute on political prisoners should be worked out (at least a model statute).

We demand that our 'cases' be examined by an international commission of jurists. We are prepared to give whatever evidence is required to those capable of objectivity.

We wish to inform you of the events of 30 October and of the fact that we are desperate on account of the conspiracy of silence which surrounds our struggles, our sufferings and our fate.

#### To Poland

We welcome your struggle for your freedom and ours, and your efforts to establish a democratic, socialist society. The Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Latvian opposition assure you of their solidarity.

Osipov, Antsupov, Badzė, Skuodis and G. Nichiporenko made

the following appeal:

To the Public of West Germany and the USA in Connection with L. Brezhnev's Visit to West Germany and the Renewed Talks (30 November) on Medium-Range Rockets:  
We have been thrown behind the barbed wire of a Soviet concentration camp because we tried to speak the truth about the needs and aspirations of our peoples; we wish to alert society in the above-named states to the dictatorial and totalitarian nature of the regime in the USSR. We regard this regime as a source of international tension.

G. Yakunin: 'To the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, L.L. Brezhnev' (12 May 1981)

On 28 August 1980 I was sentenced to imprisonment by Moscow City Court and in April of this year I arrived at institution VS-389/37, under the jurisdiction of the UVD of the Perm Regional Soviet EC, to serve my sentence.

I was allowed to bring with me to the corrective labour colony, for my own private use, religious literature which I had obtained and used in the KGB prison with the permission of the administration and the investigation authorities. On my arrival at the colony I submitted a statement to the administration, asking for permission to make use of this (religious) literature, particularly the following, which are officially published in the Soviet Union by the Moscow Patriarchate: the Bible, an Orthodox prayer-book, a Psalter, the Orthodox calendar for 1981, and issue No. 1, 1980, of the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. I have been here for a month now, but the aforementioned books remain in the hands of the administration and my request that they be returned to me has not been granted. The main reason behind my arrest, trial and imprisonment was the fact that I founded, in Moscow, the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the USSR, directed its work, and published its materials and documents widely in the West. The court judgment states that these documents and materials contain 'slandereous fabrications', particularly with regard to the USSR's domestic policies on religious affairs. Yet it is not the fact that I, a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church and now a prisoner, who have tried for many years to achieve the implementation by the state of the rights of believers and of the church to freedom of religion, am deprived of the opportunity to read the Bible and breviary, clear proof of the truth of my allegations concerning the violation of believers' rights in our country? For me, as for all priests and Christians, the Bible and prayer-book are a minimum necessity of spiritual life, the food without which I cannot live. Should my complaints to the official organs of state about the confiscation of my religious literature remain unanswered, I will be forced to resort to the extreme measure of a hunger-strike, in order to alert Christians all over the world to the fact that my right to freedom of conscience is being violated.

V. Nekipelov: 'To His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, Head of the Russian Orthodox Church' (29 April 1981)

Your Holiness!

As a Christian who finds himself in trouble, I turn to you for spiritual aid.

In violation of the basic law of the state - the USSR Constitution - and international agreements on human rights, the administration of the camp where I am a prisoner has deprived me of the right to practise my faith, refusing to give me access to my own Bible (it was confiscated from me on my arrival).

I have been given no intelligible explanation as to why a prisoner cannot have a Bible. The Procuracy (in a letter from Perm Regional Procurator Yazev, dated 27 April 1981) states that according to the Corrective Labour Code prisoners are entitled to obtain books only through the book trade network. It is obvious that such an essentially casuistic reply explains nothing, since the Bible is not included in the USSR book trade network; secondly, it is not a question of obtaining a Bible, but of using the one I already possess, which I had with me when I was arrested and which is now confiscated and lies somewhere in a store-room with my personal belongings.

I consider it my duty as a Christian to inform Your Holiness that my fellow-prisoner Alexander Ogorodnikov is in the same position - his Bible, too, was confiscated on his arrival in camp. In his efforts to have his Bible returned and also to obtain the right to some freedom to practise the Orthodox faith in camp, namely that we should be able to see a priest for confession, Ogorodnikov resorted to the extreme and very difficult measure for a Christian of a protest hunger-strike, which he maintained from 16 March to 26 April, that is, for 40 days.

As far as I am aware, there are other prisoners in camp who would like to be able to have their own Bible. I ask you, Your Holiness, to use all your spiritual power and authority, and also your authority as a Deputy, to help Ogorodnikov and me in our efforts to retrieve our Bibles. Our having them will mean the return of our spiritual, God-given and constitutionally granted right to freedom of conscience, freedom to study the word of God, freedom to practise the Orthodox faith. I would also ask you to suggest to the higher authorities in the MVD that the Bible can in no way be compared with other books, for it is a book of superior spiritual quality, the book of books - and that it should therefore be made an exception as regards the MVD's internal directives.

May God protect you. Since this letter was written on the feast of Christ's resurrection on Easter Sunday, I will conclude it with the Easter greeting: 'Christ is risen!'

Yours respectfully, humbly and hopefully

The letter was confiscated by the administration of Perm Camp No. 36.

N. Rudenko: 'To Lawyer N.Ya. Nemerinskaya' (5 November 1981)

...I have learned that I was selected, among several Soviet citizens, as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize for 1981. The Nobel Committee announces its decisions on 18-21 October every year. It follows that the judging has already taken place and that the prizewinners have been announced. However, my situation is such that I am unable to find out who was actually awarded the Peace Prize for 1981.

I consulted the administration on this matter and was



informed by the competent officials that I have the legal right to receive a reply to my question direct from the Nobel Committee, and that I should address myself to them. Since I consider this a reasonable reply and, from the juridical point of view, entirely competent, I urgently request you to help me in this noble enterprise.

#### In Defence of Political Prisoners

On 22 April Mark Morozov's (for his trial see Chronicle 61) son-in-law, A. Gotovtsev (Chronicle 62), wrote:

To All People of Good Will. To International Public Organizations. To the Soviet Government.

#### Letter in Defence of Mark Morozov

Mark Aronovich Morozov is suffering from severe poly-arthritis. He is barely able to walk and is almost completely deaf; shortly before his arrest he began to have asthmatic attacks. On 6 December 1980 he tried to take his own life by slitting his veins.

The court, presided over by Ermilov (the Procurator was Shcherbakov), pronounced what is, in effect a death sentence; knowing Morozov's state of health, I cannot be certain that he is still alive as I write these lines.

While collecting information on Morozov's case, I came across evidence that certain repressive measures were being taken against those who appeared as witnesses in the Vorkuta case; in this connection, I declare openly that I intend to help all those witnesses in the Vorkuta case whose rights were violated, using all the means at my disposal, until all their legal rights are restored.

Few people, evidently, realize how humiliating and shameful it is to appeal to those who turn the handle of this meat-grinder.

(See also 'Addenda and Corrigenda' below.)

#### Political Prisoners' Day

On 24 October Moscow Helsinki Group member N. Melman issued a 'Press Statement on Political Prisoners' Day in the USSR':

During the period 1977-81 the following were arrested and are now languishing in prisons, camps and exile: Yury Orlov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Tatyana Velikanova, Alexander Lavut, Viktor Nekipelov, Alexander Podrabinek, Tatyana Osipova, Vyacheslav Bakhmin, Leonard Ternovsky, Irina Grivnina, Ivan Koval'ov, Vladimir Kislik, Ida Nudel, Vladimir Slepak, Malva Landa and Viktor Brailovsky.

I was connected with all of them for a number of years and therefore, knowing all their circumstances and taking full responsibility for what I say, I can state that all their activities were purely humanitarian in nature. They tried, using completely open, legal means, to monitor the elementary human rights enshrined in the Soviet Constitution, in the Internal Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and in the Helsinki Agreement.

They are all, in the purest and most precise sense of the words, prisoners of conscience. I call upon everyone for whom human rights is not an empty phrase to do all they can to obtain the release of the above-named selfless and honest people.

On 28 October A. Sakharov issued a statement entitled 'Political Prisoners' Day 1981':

We first got together to commemorate Political Prisoners' Day seven years ago. Serzhzha<sup>40</sup>.Kovalyov, Tanya Velikanova, Malva Landa, Sasha<sup>41</sup>.Lavut and Volodya<sup>42</sup>.Slepak were with us. Today, they are all deprived of their freedom, fully sharing the fate of those they spoke about then. Unfortunately, all the burning problems which disturbed us seven years ago - people arrested on account of what they said and thought and their disinterested defence of victims of injustice, the harsh conditions, lawlessness and violence in places of imprisonment - are still burning issues today. These problems have become even more acute; they have affected even more people. Those tried for the second time have received exceptionally harsh sentences.

We now know a great deal about the arrests and horrific injustices of recent months. And we continue - with all our spiritual strength - to insist on the release of prisoners of conscience all over the world, the abolition of the system of lawlessness, cruelty and violence in places of imprisonment, which is so unworthy of contemporary society, and we insist that an end be put to the use of psychiatry for political purposes. We persist in our call for legality and reason.

On 30 October the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 185: '30 October - Political Prisoners' Day in the USSR' (signed by E. Bonner and S. Kalistratova):

We are observing Political Prisoners' Day for the seventh time...Today, after seven years, not only has the situation not improved, it has become considerably worse...But a court sentence is only the beginning. It is followed by a term of imprisonment, which the administration in the camps, prisons and psychiatric hospitals generally turns into real torture for the political prisoner.

It has become increasingly obvious recently that the authorities have adopted a new tactic: turning prisoners of conscience into perpetual prisoners, i.e. not releasing those who are already in camp or exile and returning to camp those who have served sentences in the past...

Today, on Political Prisoners' Day 1981, we once more demand - a universal political amnesty.

On 30 October the traditional press conference took place in A. Sakharov's Moscow flat.

#### Releases

Vasily Shatalov (Chronicle 55) was released in May, having served an 18-month sentence for refusing to do his military service. Soon afterwards he received permission to emigrate, and left the USSR.

\* \* \*

In June Onufry Kulak a 'twenty-fiver' [served 25 years], was released from Perm Camp 36.

\* \* \*

Vladimir Vyrkin (Chronicle 57) was released in July at the end of his one-year sentence.

\* \* \*  
Povilas Buzas (for his trial see Chronicle 60) was released in August on completion of his term. He served his six-month sentence in Butyrka Prison, where he worked in the services department.

\* \* \*  
Alexander Maksimov (Chronicle 62) was released at the end of his sentence in August. He wrote in a letter:

Having come out of prison, I have become even more determined never, under any circumstances, to have anything more to do with this society, and to make no contribution towards the furthering of its ideals (such as 'work is for the good of society', military service, etc.). I am quite aware that my actions may result in the severest retribution on the part of the authorities, but this does not deter me and I am ready for any ordeal. But my mother's health is in such a critical state that her arrest, which may occur at any moment, would be equivalent to her death.

At the end of August Alexander Soldatov (Chronicles 45, 58), son of Sergei (Chronicle 62), was released after completing his sentence.

\* \* \*  
Stepan Petriv, a 'twenty-fiver', was released from Perm Camp 36 in September.

\* \* \*  
Ona Vitkauskaitė (for her trial see Chronicle 60) was released in October from a camp in Panevėžys, her sentence completed.

\* \* \*  
Vladislav Bebko (Chronicles 53, 54, 57) was released on 6 November on completion of his three-year sentence.

\* \* \*  
Having served his eight-year sentence, Petras Plumpa (Chronicles 34, 60) was released in Vilnius on 20 November. He had been brought there from Chistopol Prison.

\* \* \*  
Iosif Zisels (for his trial see Chronicle 53) was released in December, having completed his three-year term.

\* \* \*  
Gennady Bogolyubov (for his arrest see Chronicle 60) and Maria Chulkova (for her trial see Chronicle 62) were released under an amnesty.

\* \* \*  
In the autumn of 1980 Viktor Monblanov (for his trial see Chronicle 53) was released under the terms of an amnesty, on condition that he serve a term of 'compulsory labour'. He was sent to do his 'compulsory labour' in the town of Drogobych. Two months later he was sent back to camp for trying to go to Kiev on his days off.

A KGB official from Kiev visited the camp several times during the summer of 1981. He told Monblanov that the Ukrainian MVD had received a letter from a Swedish group of Amnesty International, inquiring as to how Monblanov was

being treated by the camp administration, whether he was being singled out, and whether his rights were being violated. The KGB official asked Monblanov whether he would publicly demonstrate again if he were released.

On 25 December Monblanov was granted early conditional release - 'one year, two months and 12 days before the expiry of his sentence', according to the certificate (from this it is apparent that the time he spent doing 'compulsory labour' did not count). He was ordered to find a job within two weeks.

#### IN EXILE

Oksana Meshko (for her trial see Chronicle 61) did not arrive at her place of exile until 3 July (the date given in Chronicle 62 is wrong). Her son Alexander Sergienko (Chronicle 52) is completing his term of exile in the same place. From a letter:

I arrived here by steamer on 3 July in the rain and have not dried out yet. You know, of course, about the natural disaster of Khabarovsk: we too have been affected by it. In Ayan there has been continual, torrential rain as though before the great flood: it has destroyed the airport, and the air link - this is our only link with the world - has been severed; at one time the telegraph link was also cut. Over 80 telegraph poles were demolished or swept away by the mountain streams, now everything goes via Okhotsk. There have been three passenger steamers in two months, they are now expecting the fourth and last, for by September these steamers can no longer navigate the Sea of Okhotsk, and no others are planned for Ayan - the inhabitants of the Ayan pocket handkerchief number no more than 1,500-1,700, which means it is not economical. The bosses travel by helicopter and have to change several times. My son finishes here on 4 August and we still don't know how he is going to get away; and he absolutely must leave. His wife is seriously ill after giving birth for the second time, and can hardly walk. In addition to my ten-year-old grandson Ustyma, I now have a granddaughter, Olenka, born on 28 March 1981. I will be on my own in almost total isolation. The winters are so terrible here and the local people frighten me, so that living on my own is impossible. There are three problems: fire-wood, water and food. When a blizzard rages the snow piles up in front of the houses and blocks the streets, and you cannot leave your house. And although our hut is close to the grocery shop and more or less in the centre of town, no one would come to help. I asked for a telephone and appealed to the chairman of the District Soviet EC, but he refused: 'There are no spare numbers, you have to wait your turn'. My turn would come in two or three years and no one here is interested in how long I have left to live. My long trek across the boundless expanses of Europe and Asia began on 17 March: I saw all the sights as we stopped at Kharkov, Sverdlovsk, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, Nikolayev-on-Amur. I can't complain, they gave me medical treatment and prepared me to go on. Nine months ago I contracted third degree hypertension.

All medical treatments have been tried, without success. It is impossible for me, on account of my age and illness, to get used to this climate, which is totally unsuitable for me. For me to spend a winter here alone is like an untrained sportsman trying to climb Everest. But...what is to be done? Willing or not, it has to be.

I am overjoyed that my son is returning home; we are bidding each other goodbye. I think that some good people will at least write to me - it is unfortunate that communication is quite a problem at the moment, although even before the floods it was bad due to the unseasonal weather, etc.

There has been quite a to-do as regards my pension. According to the law, you are deprived of your pension while serving your basic sentence - for me this was fixed at six months - and in exile you receive your pension again. I submitted a statement to the social security on 8 July; the Kiev department, in answer to Ayan's inquiry, said that I was 'not on the list'. The local social security department made another inquiry about the pension. This is how they 'joke' with me. It is very difficult to get food here, both vegetables and fruit are preserved from last year's supplies; this season they once brought potatoes (two kilos per person) and fresh cabbage. They have promised to bring cabbage for pickling. There is milk, but there won't be any in the winter; only white bread, there is no buckwheat either. I am having difficulty because of my diabetes. I have salted some fish for the winter, but then I need to cut down on salt because of the hypertension. My son has brought me some logs; he has split them and is now chopping them. The roof of the hut leaks, so Oles [her son] is repairing it, but he is hindered by the rain. The stove smokes. But we have white-washed the inside and it was a joy not to be sleeping in a cement shell. I am suffering from rheumatism, which started again while I was there...

\* \* \*

Julius Sasnauskas (for his trial see Chronicle 58) served his entire sentence (18 months) in the KGB prison in Vilnius. He was allowed a parcel every month. They tried persistently to obtain a written 'recantation' from him. On the expiry of his sentence (11 June 1981) he was taken by special convoy (handcuffed, in an aeroplane) to Tomsk Region, to serve his five-year exile term. He is living in the village of Parabel, in a hostel (Sovetskaya ul. 147.a) and works as a medical technician.

\* \* \*

Petr Sartakov (Chronicle 54) is serving his exile term in the village of Pinchuge, Boguchansky District, Krasnoyarsk Territory.

\* \* \*

Razmik Zograbyan (Chronicles 34, 57) is serving his three-year term of exile in the town of Alzamai, Irkutsk Region.

\* \* \*

On 3 September the police at Tselinograd Airport searched Marina Rebrik (aged 21), who was returning from a visit to her father Bogdan Rebrik (Chronicle 62). She was told that she resembled a member of 'a gang active in Tselinograd'.

\* \* \*

Ivan Svetlichny (Chronicles 51-4) has been operated on for a temporal sincipital tumour.

\* \* \*

In July they tried to interrogate Malva Landa (Chronicle 57) in connection with the case of I.F. Khristyuk, charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. She made a statement refusing to take part in the investigation:

...Article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (and also article 70 - 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda') clearly mean the person charged is being persecuted for holding beliefs which for some reason are unwelcome to the authorities; furthermore, such beliefs are peremptorily defined by the authorities (the investigators and the court) as 'slander' and 'fabrications'...

The violation of any article of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and especially article 19, which proclaims the right to freedom of belief, poses a threat to humaneness and to humanity - precisely as stated in the Declaration.

My refusal to participate in this investigation constitutes a refusal to be party to a crime foreseen by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In November an attempt was made to interrogate Landa in connection with the case against I. Koval'ev (see 'The Arrest of Ivan Koval'ev').

\* \* \*

In March Vasily Tkachuk (b. 1921), having served a 15-year sentence in Perm Camp 35 for his part in the Ukrainian liberation movement, arrived at his place of exile: 636400, Tomskaya oblast, Chainsky raion, s. Podgornoe. Tkachuk has diabetes, hypertension and arteriosclerosis, and has been a Group 2 invalid for 23 years. However, during his period of exile, when he was two months short of 60, the regional Medical Work Fitness Board in Tomsk deprived him of his Group 2 invalid status and made him a Group 3 invalid, leaving him without a pension and without the right to exemption from exile. The latter is the legal right of a Group 2 invalid.

#### The Arrest of Khrantsov

An extract from a letter by Yury Khrantsov, who is serving his exile term in a psychoneurological residential home in Kazakhstan (Chronicle 60):

...Seven of my letters to you have been lost, including two which were registered, with notification of receipt. Even during the very worst times, in camp, such straight forward, unfounded seizure of letters did not happen... They told me today at the post-office that all the mail for the invalid home is sent out and collected by the cultural organizer, and the authorities at the home tell them off for accepting letters and telegrams from me in person. Everyone is suspicious of my correspondence. Even the cleaner opens the door into the room when I sit down to a write letter. When I asked her why she did this, she replied: 'The Director ordered me to'. This exile will be more difficult for me than imprisonment. It would be

much better if I were in camp. The director said as much: 'You are here for the same reasons as everybody else'. And that means that they can do whatever they want, for as far as they are concerned, I am an invalid. The director of the invalid home has already warned me several times that if I go outside the grounds, he will strip me naked and put me in a cage...

The 'state guardians' roam about day and night. The cooking is awful. If I don't manage to eat at the first sitting, I have to eat from a dirty dish. The barracks are noisy day and night. At first I was completely unable to get used to this life, I couldn't even write a letter. During the first few days, not knowing what sort of institution it was, I tried to make contact with people, but it turned out that everyone is really ill... You can't cook anything for yourself - it is very strictly forbidden. So when I feel depressed, I take a pinch of tea, chew it and chase it down with cold water - this is my way of drinking tea.

When they were bringing me here, there was an accident as a result of which I broke my arm and my side was badly bruised; I thought I would not survive and, had it not been for my cell-mates, I would have died. I'm better now, the arm has healed. It's not quite right, but I can move it, although there is no strength left.

On the day of the accident the prison doctor came to see me in my cell, towards evening, and said: 'I haven't time to examine you today, and tomorrow and the day after are my days off. Then I shall see. But if you bang on the door, we'll put you in the cooler'. And he didn't come. They're all like that, the prison doctors...

#### The Trial of Kostava

Kostava was arrested in November when his two-year term of exile (not three years, as stated in Chronicle 57) was coming to an end (his address: pos. KVIČOK, Taishetsky raion, Irkutskaya oblast). The police came to Kostava's home to check the documents of a guest, and then took the guest to the police station; Kostava went to assist his guest and was arrested. In December the Taishet Court sentenced him to five years and one month's imprisonment (equivalent to the remainder of his exile term) for 'malicious hooliganism' under article 206 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

On 30 December A. Sakharov sent a telegram to E. Shevardnadze, First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party:

Merab Kostava was re-arrested during the last few months of his exile term; he had already been sentenced to three years in camp and two years' exile and he is a prisoner of conscience. I consider him to be a very honest man. Your view of him may be different. But he has served his term of punishment. He was arrested again because he protested against the detention by the police of his guest - a man he had not previously met - and this was regarded as insulting the police. In the name of the famous Georgian tradition of hospitality, in the name of justice, in the name of Georgian honour, I beg you to help Kostava.

#### The Trial of Skvirsky

On 19 February Vladimir Skvirsky (Chronicle 56) was detained by police when carrying two buckets of coal on the Baikadam district collective farm. The detention was formally recorded. In March Skvirsky submitted a statement to A. Mustafin, director of the Motor Transport Enterprise (ATP) where he worked as a lathe operator:

I request you to instruct the accounts department to make out an invoice for the coal which I have taken with your permission, for heating during the 1980-1 season to the value of 32 roubles, a sum which I have paid.

Mustafin signed this statement.

At the end of July Skvirsky was charged with stealing coal. On 8 August his flat was searched in this connection. Letters, photographs and two SMOT (Free Inter-trade Association of Working People) bulletins were confiscated.

On 20 August there was a confrontation between Skvirsky, Mustafin and Zh. Komekbayev, the head storekeeper. Skvirsky said that he had arranged with Mustafin that he would take coal from the ATP and pay for it at the end of each month. Mustafin stated that he had allowed Skvirsky to take only one bucket of coal.

On 22 August Investigator Saulebayev concluded his investigation and committed the case for trial, but the court refused to proceed with it 'due to lack of evidence that a crime has been committed'. The case was then transferred to the Zhanatas People's Court.

\* \* \*

On 27 August Senior Lieutenant I. Chernomorsky, a Dzhambul KGB official, interrogated Skvirsky in connection with the case of V. Kuvakin (for his trial see this issue). Skvirsky testified that he knew Kuvakin, that Kuvakin was a highly respectable man and a true patriot, that he had never heard slander from him, that he had not read any of Kuvakin's works since his arrest, and that he had given Kuvakin 'the right to use his signature and extensive powers of proxy'. He refused to answer questions concerning Kuvakin's friends and acquaintances, his relations with Fainberg and Borisov, his connections with foreigners, the way he obtained and circulated books, or the authorship of letters.

\* \* \*

From 8 to 10 October an assizes session of the Zhanatas People's Court (Dzhambul Region), presided over by M.A. Orlovsky, heard Skvirsky's case in the Sarysuisky District People's Court building. He was charged under Article 77, part 2, of the Kazakh Criminal Code ('Petty embezzlement of state...property'). The state prosecutor was K. Tashe-nova, the public prosecutor (from ATP) was S. Tasybayev; Moscow lawyer A.V. Rakhmilovich (Chronicle 53) acted for the defence.

Skvirsky was charged with stealing 2,616 kilograms of coal, worth 35 roubles, 41 kopeks, from ATP, and 180.9 kilograms, worth 2 roubles, 77 kopeks, from the district collective farm.

Skvirsky said he had taken the coal with the permission of the authorities at ATP and the collective farm. He had paid the 35 roubles, 41 kopeks in March (this he had diffi-

culty doing, since they did not want to accept the money), and he had paid the 2 roubles, 77 kopeks when he learned, as a result of the charges against him, that this sum was owed.

Mustafin testified that he had allowed Skvirsky to take only one bucket of coal and that he had signed the latter's statement thinking that it referred to the coming season. Komekbayev testified that Mustafin had instructed him to give Skvirsky two buckets of coal, and that he had given him two buckets. Ya.A. Frik, head of the district collective farm, testified at the pre-trial investigation (he was ill during the trial) that he had not given Skvirsky permission to take coal.

A.A. Frik (Yu.A. Frik's brother), chief mechanic at ATP, testified that in the winter Skvirsky had, in his presence, informed Komekbayev of how many buckets he had taken. Watchman Narymbayev testified that Komekbayev had told him that Skvirsky took coal with the permission of the bosses, and that he paid for it later.

The Procurator asked the court to sentence Skvirsky to two years' imprisonment and one year's exile (the same exile term that he still had left to serve). The defence demanded Skvirsky's acquittal on the grounds that there was no evidence of a crime.

The court sentenced Skvirsky to one year and six months' imprisonment under Article 77, part 2, of the Kazakh Criminal Code. To this the court added four months' exile, which, in the court's opinion, Skvirsky still had left to serve. The court decided that Skvirsky was to be placed in custody, and that his sentence was to run from 10 October. When the judgment had been read, Skvirsky was taken into custody.

In November the Dzhambul Regional Court heard Skvirsky's appeal and changed the sentence to 18 months and 10 days' imprisonment (the outstanding exile term should not have been included). Skvirsky was still in prison at the end of December.

#### Releases

V. Lapienis (Chronicle 55) completed his term of exile in July and returned to Vilnius.

\* \* \*

A. Sergienko completed his exile term in August.

\* \* \*

On 2 September B. Mukhametshin (Chronicles 55, 62) arrived in Moscow, his sentence of exile over. On 16 September the police obtained a signed statement from him to the effect that he would leave Moscow within 72 hours. On 30 September the police came to the flat of Mukhametshin's sister (R. Fedyakina - Chronicles 60-2), where he was staying the night and made him sign yet another statement about leaving Moscow. Mukhametshin was then taken to a police station, where he was detained for 40 hours. He left Moscow for Bobruisk, Kaluga Region, where he obtained a residence permit. At the end of October a KGB official advised him to go immediately to Moscow OVIR. There he was issued with an exit visa valid for a week, based on the documents he had submitted in 1974, before he was arrested (Chronicle 34). He left the USSR on 5 November.

\* \* \*

I. Senik's (Chronicle 52) term of exile is over.

\* \* \*

Z. Antonyuk (Chronicles 52-5, 57, 61) completed his sentence of exile at the end of December. He returned to Kiev.

#### IN THE PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS

##### In the Special Hospitals

Kazan SPH [Special Psychiatric Hospital] Iosif Mikhailov (b. 1934) has been continually 'treated' with drugs for ten years (he has been here since 1971 - Chronicle 62). The doctor in charge of his case is Captain Maria Nikolayevna Reus. His body responds badly to the drugs. He has been told that the 'treatment' will stop if he renounces his faith.

Chernyakhovsk SPH

In the summer they began to 'treat' Fëdor Sidenko (Chronicle 62) forcibly with drugs. When his wife came to visit him, she was not sure whether he recognized her (see also 'Addenda and Corrigenda' below).

Tashkent SPH

Valiakhmed Timokhin (Chronicles 41, 44) was transferred here in December from Sychëvka SPH.

##### Biographies

N.I. Baranov

(Based on the samizdat document: 'Nikolai Baranov's 18 Years of Imprisonment', by V. Fefëlov and V. Tsern; September 1981, seven pages)

Nikolai Ivanovich Baranov was born in Leningrad in 1936. He spent the early years of the war in Leningrad with his family: his mother and his sister (they are twins). They were evacuated in July 1942 and returned in 1944. In November 1963 Baranov, Terentev and Fainer-Zaitsev were tried by Leningrad City Court on charges under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. Baranov was sentenced to five years' strict-regime camp.

He served his sentence in the Mordovian camps. His sentence over, Baranov was sent with a 'B' certificate (documents to be issued at his place of residence and administrative surveillance) to Tallinn. He arrived in Tallinn on 20 April 1968 and went to the city police department. An MVD major, an Estonian, looked at his certificate and said: 'Ah! a tramp! Get yourself out of here at once!' Baranov went to the city Procuracy. Procurator Brand advised him to go to the Ministry of Public Order (as the MVD was then called). Volochanov, the Deputy Minister, told Baranov: 'There are enough of your sort here already'. Baranov went to Moscow.

On 24 April 1968 Baranov presented himself at the reception office of the USSR MVD; he was told to go to the Main

Administration of Corrective Labour Institutions (GUITU). From there he was dispatched, like a football, to a special detention centre and from there back to Estonia. He appealed to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, without success. He then went to Tashkent. Having worked for 20 days and earned 114 roubles in Tashkent, Baranov went to the Crimea. He was detained in the town of Kerch and sentenced to 18 months for 'vagrancy'; the sentence was reduced to six months on appeal.

Back in Moscow, Baranov went to the USSR Supreme Soviet again. The woman who received him started shouting at him: 'Pug dog barking at an elephant! We broke Hitler's back and we'll break you all the more easily!' Baranov said that there was nothing left for him to do but to 'throw myself under the wheels of a tram or commit a crime to obtain food and a roof over my head'. He chose the latter: he handed in a statement, addressed to the Party Central Committee, in which he compared Russia's present with her past, and he posted a copy through the letterbox of the Swedish Embassy. He was taken to the reception office of the USSR KGB. A duty psychiatrist was summoned; he sent Baranov to Gannushkin Psychiatric Hospital. From there he was taken to the KGB investigations prison (Lefortovo) and then to the Serbsky Institute, where he was declared not responsible. In June 1969 Moscow City Court decided that Baranov had committed 'a socially dangerous act punishable under article 70, part 2, of the USSR Criminal Code' and sent him to an SPH for compulsory treatment.

Baranov was sent to Leningrad SPH (Chronicle 18). He was transferred to Tashkent SPH in 1972 (Chronicle 27). In 1974, in reprisals that followed a murder committed by two criminals while trying to escape, he was transferred to Kazan SPH, where he was subjected to intensive 'treatment' with neuroleptic drugs (Chronicles 39, 47). Almaz Rezayevich Merdyayev, chief doctor at the Kazan hospital, told Baranov: 'We have a blood feud with you'.

In June 1977 the People's Court in the Soviet district of Kazan declared Baranov mentally incompetent, and his mother was appointed as his guardian. Baranov was transferred from Kazan to Orël SPH (Chronicle 52) and at the end of 1979 to Alm-Ata SPH (Chronicle 56).

His mother died in October 1979, having waited for her son in vain. In December 1979 his sister, Elena Moiseyeva-Baranova, who lives in Leningrad, was appointed his guardian.

In September 1980, when Baranov was in Section 13 (a medical section) after a serious attack of pleurisy (they drained about five litres of fluid from his lungs), some orderlies tied him to his bed and beat him up. They hit him over the head, dislocated his lower jaw and his nose. Baranov was unable to get out of bed for over two months and could not write letters. A. Alekseyev, the chief doctor of Section 9, where Baranov is now held, refused to explain this incident to Baranov's sister, on the pretext that the beating did not take place in his section.

In 1980 Baranov spent a long time in an observation ward (in Baranov's view, this was because he had transmitted an autobiographical letter to another section). He was given injections of Aminazin and Haloperidol seven times a day. Chief doctor A. Porodnov explained to Baranov's sister that this was because he had transmitted to another section two letters containing plans for escape, but he refused to show her the letters.

In the summer of 1981 they lowered Baranov's dose of drugs

and changed one of the strong drugs for a weaker one. He felt better immediately: he became less constrained, began reacting to conversation, his eyes became more alert and expressive and he was generally more cheerful.

On 2 September E. Moiseyeva-Baranova had a talk with A. Alekseyev on the subject of the commission which had examined Baranov on 30 July:

Moiseyeva Why did the Commission not discharge Baranov?

Alekseyev Because he is socially dangerous.

Moiseyeva To whom and why is he dangerous?

Alekseyev He's dangerous because he's ill.

Moiseyeva What is his illness?

Alekseyev Schizophrenia.

Moiseyeva Please be more specific. What form does it take and how does it manifest itself?

Alekseyev In a paranoid form. He writes numbered, stereotyped letters (one and the same letter two or three times). He dislikes us doctors. He finds fault with the rate he is paid for his work and contrives to check it. What is more, ideas of organizing an escape are always going through his mind. And he won't spare much thought for you - he'll be a burden to you if he's released.

Moiseyeva What is the prognosis for Baranov's release?

Alekseyev Not propitious and therefore unknown.

Moiseyeva Can you not reduce the dose of my brother's drugs and, if possible, stop them altogether, at least temporarily?

Alekseyev We cannot stop them altogether, for he will get ideas again, but we can reduce them.

During the night of 29-30 September two policemen and two 'civilians' burst into Moiseyeva-Baranova's flat, saying 'Telegram!'. Without producing any documents, they shut the door behind them and began looking for something. Having found nothing, they demanded their hostess's passport and copied down the details and noted her place of work. Finally one of the policemen apologized for the intrusion: 'People don't open the door to us, and we don't have the authority to break it down'.

\* \* \*

To citizen Alexander Petrovich Vorona, Novosibirskaya oblast, Novosibirsky raion, selo Kamenka, ul. Novokamenskaya, dom 2:

This is to inform you that your statement dated 4.10.81 concerning the 'illegal' search in the flat of Elena Ivanovna Moiseyeva (Baranova) - Leningrad, pr. Yaroslavskovo, dom 38, kv. 28 - on the night of 29-30 September 1981, and the participation in this of officials from the state security organs, has been checked by us.

The search at the home of citizen E.I. Moiseyeva (Baranova) at the address you give, and the search for the persons you name - Gennady Petrovich Voronov and Alexander Petrovich Voronov - by officials of the Leningrad Regional KGB, did not take place.

Leningrad Regional KGB official Kondratev did not and does not have any connection with the visit to Moiseyeva's flat on the night of 29-30 September 1981. Ignatiev and Kononov are not employed by Leningrad Regional KGB.

V.I. Tretyakov  
Head of Investigations Department  
of the Leningrad Regional KGB

Releases

In August Ivan Fedorenko (Chronicle 60) was released from Krasnodar Psychiatric Hospital. He had been transferred there from Chernyakhovsk SPH in January.

\* \* \*

In April Pentecostalist Evgeny Martynov (b. 1943), from Novorossiisk, was released from an ordinary psychiatric hospital. He was arrested on 7 August 1978 and charged with the authorship of the diaries confiscated from him during a search on 18 July 1978, and with possessing home-distilled vodka. The decision of the Lenin District People's Court in Novorossiisk, which sent Martynov for compulsory treatment in a special psychiatric hospital (the diagnosis of the examining commission was 'schizophrenia'), mentions only the vodka. Martynov was in Chernyakhovsk SPH from March 1979 until August 1980. The hospital doctors told him plainly that he had been sent to them because of his diaries - in which he describes various malpractices and crimes committed by officials in the town.

UNDER SENTENCE OF 'COMPULSORY WORK AT OFFICIAL DIRECTION'

The Trial of Ermolayev

S. Ermolayev (Chronicle 60) is serving his term of 'compulsory work' in the town of Gusinozersk, Buryat ASSR. In July he was 15 minutes late returning from the cinema to report for the evening roll-call, and as a result he was placed under so-called 'third surveillance' (extra restrictions): he was forbidden to leave the town for a month and had to report every evening for an extra registration. No restrictions were imposed on the two people who were late with him. On 18 July Ermolayev wrote the following letter:

Once again things are, frankly speaking, not going too well. It looks as though they are preparing to send me back to camp. They have just imposed the third surveillance order in a row ('extra restrictions') - as usual, for nothing. Three of us were 15 minutes late for the evening roll-call after going to the cinema. Nothing happened to the other two, of course, but I had to 'sign'. The restrictions are actually negligible: I am forbidden to leave Gusinozersk and I have to report every evening for extra registration throughout the surveillance period (in this case, a month). The trouble lies elsewhere. Surveillance is not a criminal, but an administrative punishment, something like an officially recorded severe reprimand for free people, and consequently it is not regulated by the relatively accessible and familiar criminal law. It is not the sort of surveillance which gets you a year under article 198, part 2, of the RSFSR Criminal Code if you break the rules. My surveillance is formally a 'prophylactic' measure. But although, as I have said, there is no precise legislation as such, this is

more than compensated for by a host of all sorts of departmental orders, decrees, regulations, interpretations and instructions (the overwhelming majority little known or totally unknown to simple soldiery like me), giving the administration wide-ranging powers to use their initiative and putting us in an ambiguous position legally: on the face of it, everything is permitted, but in fact you can't do anything (it happens the other way round, too, but more rarely). There is no limit to the number of these orders and instructions, there is no escape from them. It's actually quite interesting - you learn something quite new every day! In my naivety I once thought that the American legal system was a model of confusion, as a result of the numerous amendments and the local autonomy. Not at all! It's far from that model here... Thus it is possible, if one so desires, to impose surveillance on someone for being 15 minutes late - officially everything is in order. And what would happen if, for example, I 'cut off' home for six months, or spent three nights a week in a drying-out clinic, or ran about Gusinozersk with a knife, like some others have done? It's funny, of course, but what would happen? One must conclude that they would shoot me on the spot.

Surveillance itself does not worry me, but they say (and how can one check up? it sounds true enough) that a third surveillance give the administration the right to send a 'chemist' ('chemistry' is the popular name for 'compulsory labour') back to camp. Well, let it be the third, the fourth, the fifth, or even the sixth - you can see for yourself that it's not difficult to impose it at will, and I still have 18 months to go! Furthermore, according to current legislation, in a case where a 'chemist' is returned to camp, '...the court may take into account a part or the whole of the time (read: 'and it may not take it into account at all' - S.E.) already worked on national building sites in the ratio of a day for a day...'

In plain words, theoretically the following situation might occur: some unlucky fellow 'chemists' his way through, let us say, four-and-a-half years out of five, then he is sent back to camp. For some reason his four-and-a-half years are not counted and he 'trumpets' through almost another five years in camp. This is called 'in praise of justice'. Maybe not five years; they chop off a year or 18 months fairly often...

You can complain and appeal, but, as I'm sure you understand, it does no good: they haven't instituted precise legal procedures for this either! The law is 'flexible and humane', its application, however, is 'differentiated, according to the individual'!

Wherever you turn, it happens... You're lucky if they don't give you a new sentence, as happened to Bolonkin and (just recently) to Marchenko! This is a usual and even habitual occurrence among the criminals: 'You fall in once and you're continually swept along'. This is what I am afraid of.

Here is a recent and very typical case. They took away one 'chemist' because he had pornographic literature. I don't suppose he had a lot of it, but nevertheless. They didn't give him an additional sentence, they just sent him back to camp. I think each case is treated individually - everyone has his own outcome - whatever suits him. What is significant is that the following day I was walking along the street with books and magazines under my arm; I was stopped by one of the bosses: 'What are you

carrying? Show me!' The chain of reasoning was: pornography - the West (incidentally, why the West particularly?) - me.

This was just a small incident. Soon that cursed Indian hemp - 'hashish', 'marijuana', 'grass', 'plan', 'butter', 'green', 'stupidity', 'stuff' - the muck has various names - will ripen here. It is measured in grams and the sentences given out because of it are measured in five-year terms. No manual dexterity is needed to slip a pinch of this 'anasha' into the pocket, let us say, of someone subjected to a body search (if, God forbid, it should come to that, you should demand that the person conducting the search rolls his sleeves up to the elbow, spreads out his fingers and shows his palms on both sides!). I don't know what to expect: that, or a young girl screaming under my window, so that they charge me with rape, or that they'll find a flick knife under my pillow, or foreign currency in my suitcase, and a vodka-still in my wardrobe? Like Tsar Dodon, I expect my enemies from every side!

In fact - this system breeds thousands of recidivists and would-be mental patients. Forgive me for burdening you with this digression, but I would like, just in case, to have evidence for my defence.

On 11 August Ermolayev was arrested. On 18 August he was sent back to camp for one year and three months, for 'systematic violation of the regulations'. Ermolayev is suffering from a stomach ulcer, chronic gastro-enterocolitis and pneumosclerosis. He has been in hospital on several occasions during the past year, but each time, as a result of administrative interference, he was discharged early (Chronicle 61). He has still not been operated on.

#### Releases

On 18 July V. Popkov (Chronicles 56, 60) completed his term of 'compulsory labour'. Before his release he was given a 'warning according to the Decree'.<sup>43</sup> The charges listed in the 'warning record' closely resemble the sort of charges brought under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (Chronicle 61). He was given a Moscow residence permit for a year.

\* \* \*

V. Burtsev (Chronicles 56, 60, 61) completed his term of 'compulsory labour' on 8 August.

\* \* \*

Romen Kosterin completed his 'compulsory labour' term on 24 August. He was sent back to his previous home in the town of Sovetsk, Kaliningrad Region.

#### AFTER RELEASE

When R. Kosterin arrived in Sovetsk, his wife refused to allow him a residence permit. At the same time the city police chief, Lieutenant-Colonel Kasatkin, told Kosterin that he had received an order to allow him to emigrate, but

he had to have an invitation from Israel and not from his relatives in New York.

Kosterin went to Moscow. On 25 September he went to the KGB, seeking confirmation that he would be allowed to emigrate. He was promised that he would be permitted to leave, that no obstacles would be put in his way as regards a residence permit or an exit visa, but that he had to register himself as a resident in Sovetsk.

\* \* \*

Plumpa (see 'Releases' in the section 'In the Prisons and Camps') was placed under surveillance for a year: on weekdays he is allowed to be out between 9 a.m. and 6 p.m., and on his days off between 12 p.m. and 5 p.m. His reference from Chistopol Prison states that he has not renounced his political and religious beliefs.

\* \* \*

S. Sapelyak and his fiancée N. Matyushenko (Chronicle 62) have moved to Komsomolsk-on-Amur. In mid-May Sapelyak was summoned to the police station and warned that he had been placed under official surveillance; he must not tell anybody which article he was convicted under, nor about the place where he served his sentence. 'We are informing you that it will be unpleasant for you if you correspond with anyone in the West. It's best not to write: we won't let it through in any case. If you don't go to meetings, you will be dismissed. You don't have to report, but we will be watching you: you should be at home in the evenings. Vigilantes will keep an eye on you.' Sapelyak was warned that he was obliged to join a trade union (he has not joined, but union dues are deducted from his pay).

On 12 August Sapelyak was summoned to the district OVD to talk to a local policeman and a civilian. The conversation went something like this:

'We are aware that you speak discontentedly about the authorities.'

'That is untrue, I have not done so.'

'According to our information, you have...we will put a stop to this...You were not at home when a check was carried out.'

'I was called out to the scene of an accident; I work as an electrician.'

'Do you have any questions to us, or complaints?'

'None.'

'You must always be at home. We must always know where you are.'

In a private conversation after this talk, an OVD official told Sapelyak that he had not seen 'such pressure' before, and that he really had not wanted Sapelyak to live in his district, as he had foreseen 'such trouble'.

\* \* \*

In June surveillance over Shagen Arutyunyan (Chronicle 60, 62) was extended for six months. The reason given was that he had not changed his criminal way of thinking.



### EXTRAJUDICIAL PERSECUTION

In Moscow the following have had their telephones disconnected: L. Boltsova, wife of S. Koval'ov (see 'In the Prisons and Camps'); K. Velikanova and F. Babitsky, T. Velikanova's (see 'In the Prisons and Camps') sister and son; N. Lisovskaya (see 'Searches and Interrogations'); V. Mitskevich (see 'The Arrest of Ivan Koval'ov'); E. Sirotenko (Chronicle 60); and E. Bonner's neighbour (Bonner had used this telephone several times to talk to Soviet citizens about social matters).

Also disconnected: in Kiev - S. Kirichenko, wife of Yu. Badz' (for his trial see Chronicle 55), and in Lvov - A. Pashko, wife of V. Chornovol (for his trial see Chronicle 57).

\* \* \*

In August A. Myasnikov's (for his trial see Chronicle 61) wife, N. Omelchenko (Chronicles 60-2) left, 'at her own request', the Institute of the International Labour Movement, where she had been temporarily employed as a senior laboratory assistant. When the Institute's deputy director found out that her husband had been convicted under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, he told her that she would be dismissed unless she submitted her resignation. Omelchenko had been in the job for only two days.

### AFTER THE TRIALS OF LAVUT AND OSIPOVA

A. Lavut's (Chronicle 60) trial ended on 26 December 1980, T. Osipova's (Chronicle 62) on 2 April 1981. A campaign was subsequently launched in the Centre for Geophysical Expeditions (CGE), where Lavut and Osipova had worked until their arrest (he in thematic group 14, she in thematic group 6, which is also called the Statistical Analysis Group (SAG) or the 'computing centre'). The campaign was aimed at their colleagues who had signed letters in their defence in June 1980 (Chronicle 57).

Four members of group 14 (A. Romanenko, L. Rudakova, N. Mikhaleva and G. Poletayeva) and six members of group 6 (G. Stepanets, Lavut's son-in-law V. Kronrod, L. Tertitsky, T. Gerus, A. Deyeva and L. Andreyeva) and V. Brudno had signed a letter in defence of Lavut. Four members of group 6 (G. Stepanets, V. Kronrod, T. Gerus and O. Shaidulin), L. Rudakova and T. Lavut (A. Lavut's daughter and V. Kronrod's wife) had signed a letter in defence of Osipova. The beginning of the campaign is described in Chronicles 61 and 62.

\* \* \*

Tertitsky (he appeared as a witness at Lavut's trial) was told to write a statement asking for a transfer from his leading post of 'chief geologist' to the ordinary post of 'senior geophysicist'. This he did.

The Komsomol bureau dealt with Tertitsky personally. He was asked to recant, on pain of expulsion from the Komsomol. He refused. In accordance with an unexpected request from

CGE's Party organizer, Yu. Tatrenko, the bureau recommended to a Komsomol meeting that Tertitsky be given a stern reprimand, to be noted in his personal record.

The Komsomol meeting of group 6 was in preparation for about a month and took place on 25 May (the date and the outcome are stated incorrectly in Chronicle 61).

The Komsomol organizer of group 6, Zakariyev, stated that a group of CGE staff had committed an ideological error in signing the letter in defence of Lavut; among the signatories was Komsomol member Tertitsky, who had shown political short-sightedness and ideological immaturity by his action. Zakariyev then announced the bureau's recommendation to the meeting.

Representatives of the Komsomol bureau and the party organization insisted that there was no need to go into the content of the letter Tertitsky had signed, or to assess the charges against Lavut - it was only necessary to discuss Komsomol member Tertitsky's action.

The majority of those present, however, considered it essential to know about both the contents of the letter and the charges, in order to arrive at an objective decision. Their point of view took precedence - Tertitsky read out the letter and gave a detailed account of his opinion of Lavut's arrest and trial; he said that his participation in the trial as a witness had strengthened his conviction that Alexander Pavlovich Lavut was not guilty of 'deliberately false fabrications defaming...'

The meeting lasted about two hours. At the end no one voted in favour of the bureau's recommendation and the meeting accorded Tertitsky a reprimand (an ordinary one, and not recorded).

\* \* \*

A trade-union meeting of group 6 took place on 27 June. The subject was 'Ways to improve the political and educational work of the collective'. The speaker was E. Sokolinsky (Chronicles 57, 61), head of group 6.

Sokolinsky had informed the CGE management in advance that he would bring a tape-recorder to the meeting to record the proceedings. When the meeting commenced, it turned out that there was no light in the room. Sokolinsky interrupted the meeting and said that if the light was not quickly repaired, he would transfer the meeting to another room. The light was soon repaired. Sokolinsky said:

About a month ago there was a meeting of the CGE Party bureau which discussed my report on the ideological and educational work in the Party collective. Last year's work was judged satisfactory, this year's work was unsatisfactory. The CGE management were given a month in which to examine the state of ideological and educational work in the collective and, should there be no evidence of a fundamental change in leadership style, to discuss the question of the suitability of the group head for his post. The month has now passed. This meeting is, in a sense, a watershed for us, for me, and, consequently, for you too.

Why has my work been judged unsatisfactory? ...The real reasons can be found in the following two circumstances. A group of CGE staff, and staff from our group in particular, signed letters...in support of the arrested members of staff (at that time only arrested) Alexander Pavlovich Lavut, who worked in group 14, and Tatyana Osipova, who worked in group 14, and Tatyana Osipova, who worked with

us and whom I hope many of you here know. Secondly, a rather turbulent Komsomol meeting took place...which did not carry out the Komsomol committee's recommendation to administer a severe reprimand (to be noted in his registration card)...to Komsomol member Tertitsky, on account of his having signed this letter. It must be pointed out that members of the Komsomol did not unanimously support the committee's recommendation...there was not one vote in favour of the committee's recommendation.

There is yet another reason, perhaps the most important one. This is the fact that I did not share the Party bureau's attitude, I still do not share it, and until I am convinced otherwise, I will not share the position which the Party will most probably adopt in the future.

I do not think that anyone who signed the letter or did not censure Tertitsky in the required fashion, did anything disloyal. In my opinion, the normal, shall I say, human, moral process...is such that in all cases where there is some doubt - and even when there is no doubt, but for one reason or another, justly or unjustly, a person is oppressed in some way - one's moral reaction is to try and help...

Furthermore, on the subject of the quality of my work and whether I should be entrusted with educating the collective...in fact, I am a little ashamed of the collective. When, for instance, Tatyana disappeared, not one person came to me and asked what had actually happened...Looking at it this way, perhaps my work has indeed been unsatisfactory.

I think that the Komsomol meeting...was quite remarkable...If, in the first place, I consider the lack of interest in a colleague's disappearance...as my own negligence, then I regard the Komsomol meeting itself as a credit to the collective and, broadly speaking, to myself as its leader. For the meeting was stormy, many people spoke, emotions ran high...This is much better than indifferent silence.

My belief and the guiding principle in my work...is that a collective cannot exist in a normal way unless people try to discover all the circumstances relating to their work and perhaps even those not directly related to it...There, in short, lies the root of my disagreements with the Party bureau and the reason why our work has been judged unsatisfactory.

M. Tertitsky (L. Tertitsky's father, a Party member of over 30 years' standing, said:

Today we are discussing...questions concerning the relation of our people to one another and to the events which have occurred here. And the fact that a significant number of our staff have their own opinion on this matter, and express it, shows that the collective is sufficiently mature and it should not be said that there is a lack of educational work.

Furthermore, I fully agree with Evgeny Alexandrovich [Sokolinsky] that it would be much better if even more people would find the strength and the desire to say openly what they think on this matter.

What their opinion is, is unimportant. Some, perhaps, for one reason or another, may agree with those who signed the letter. Others may find this form of action unacceptable. Still others may also regard the subject matter as unacceptable. But when a person does not make his opinion

clear, then for the outside world, that opinion does not exist.

Everyone must learn the habit of working out his own view of things, his personal attitude. This is difficult, it is unusual, it is impossible to achieve immediately. There are thousands, perhaps millions of reasons for not speaking out, and only one real reason for speaking: that is when one is no longer able to withhold one's opinion of this or that question.

The fact that there are people in our group who express their opinion of this matter and of the other people and events involved, all of which, I emphasize, was expressed in the letter we are familiar with, is not, in my view, a negative element in our educational work.

I think that we still need, and very much so, to work at education and self-education and at the same time there are no grounds to believe that in this respect we are essentially in a worse position than the other subsections of the CGE.

A. Kashik (head of CGE):

I think that here, in this room, we will find people who have worked with Alexander Pavlovich Lavut...as long as I have...not many... And everything that was written in that letter about his moral qualities, his cast of mind, his behaviour in the collective, is in no doubt at all... But the form in which the letter was presented did not satisfy the administration, nor the Party organization, nor, naturally, any state bodies.

Stepanets:

Lavut is nevertheless accused of a certain moral crime - of slander. Do you think that this accusation is in keeping with the picture you have of him?

Kashik:

I can only say what I know about Alexander Pavlovich Lavut and that is what I have done. If the state has a grievance against him along some other lines which I don't know about, then I think that no one here present has the right to doubt that the harm which he evidently did the state was real...In order to be convinced that there was no harm done, that he was really always like he seemed, did not engage in slander, did not fabricate things, did not tell lies - I have to know in depth all the facts about that side of his activities. How harmful it all was, I don't know. Evidently it was worth three years and in Osipova's case, five. This is how I see it. At the moment I have no grounds to think otherwise...

L. Tertitsky:

As I understand it, you still do not consider him a slanderer, but you believe that he was engaged in some activity which was catastrophically harmful to the Soviet state.

Kashik:

We have, and have had very many enemies, open enemies (I am not now referring to our arrested colleagues) who did

the state colossal harm without inventing anything or engaging in slander...The judgment which I saw was rather severe and denunciatory. When reading it, one does not have the slightest thought that the defendant may be innocent...

Romanenko:

It is very sad to hear you say that you have worked for about ten years with a man whom you know as irreproachable, and that at the same time you believe implicitly in the monstrous judgment you have received...a piece of paper produced by people who don't know him.

Kronrod:

I believe that one of man's main vices is indifference. If everyone were indifferent when misfortune strikes your friend or neighbour, then life would be hard. So when Tanya Osipova was taken away...and when it was clear that the leaders of CGE, and also of the Party, did not particularly welcome attempts to defend an arrested colleague, when, despite this, people went to the trade-union committee and said that we cannot believe that our comrade whom we know well is capable of slander - when such things happen, one feels very glad for the people one is destined to work with.

Now let me tell you...my opinion of the outcome of these trials. I do not, of course, believe that when a person is accused of a serious crime (if it has indeed been committed)...there is any need whatsoever to lock the courtroom doors and then on the second day to keep people away from the street leading to the court building. And if they shut the doors, so firmly too, then...without even knowing what went on in the courtroom, I will always maintain that that person is not guilty...

Stepanets:

Those who signed the letters were also blamed for the fact that not many who knew Lavut and Osipova were acquainted with the letters' content. Taking advantage of the fact that many people who work in group 6 are now here, including the administration officials, I would like to read out an appeal to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

We, members of staff of the Centre for Geophysical Expeditions, appeal to you again on behalf of Alexander Pavlovich Lavut and Tatyana Osipova, our colleagues at work, who have been unjustly convicted on account of their public activities in defence of human rights in our country.

The trials of A.P. Lavut and Tatyana Osipova have not only not changed our opinion of them, they have strengthened our belief in their innocence. Both trials were effectively closed, the hearings were conducted with an extreme lack of objectivity, no attempt was made to examine the questions raised by the charges, and the proceedings were mainly confined to listing the documents which Lavut and Osipova had signed. At neither of the trials was anyone among us given the opportunity to speak for the defence. Furthermore, neither at A.P. Lavut's trial, nor at Tatyana Osipova's, were even the

chief prosecution witnesses present. All the defendants' petitions, supported by the defence, were refused.

The judgment in Tatyana Osipova's case, which was read out in court on the last day of the trial, stated: five years in camp and five years' exile. Some time later, after Tatyana Osipova had received her copy of the judgment, she found out that the sentence had been changed to five years' strict-regime camps and five years' exile. In answer to the complaint she addressed to the USSR Procurator-General about the changing of the sentence, she was told that what she had stated had simply not been confirmed.

Our attempt to arrange for a lay defender to appear at T. Osipova's trial was thwarted at the outset by the CGE administration. Those of the staff who were summoned to A.P. Lavut's trial as witnesses for the prosecution, and who, thanks to this, were able to see what went on in court, are still convinced that A.P. Lavut is innocent.

For these reasons neither the court hearings, nor the judgments passed in each case, can be regarded as just. We are deeply convinced that Alexander Pavlovich Lavut and Tatyana Osipova are above all honest people, and that their place is among us, at liberty.

I think that those who agree with the text of this letter could sign it, thus showing that they agree with its content.

In addition, let me propose that we send this greeting to A.P. Lavut and Tatyana Osipova:

Now, after a trade-union meeting of the computing centre of the Centre for Geophysical Expeditions, during which questions with a direct bearing on both your fates were raised, we would like you, Alexander Pavlovich and Tanya, to receive our warm words of greeting and to tell you that we remember and love you.

I invite all those who wish to and who agree with the text of the appeal and the greeting to sign them.

Kashik:

When we said at the Party meeting that it was a question of ideological sabotage we were not joking...It would seem that somewhere ideological work and ideological sabotage do go on, while here people work quietly and unobtrusively. In fact, this front, this struggle is going on right in our midst.

When we organize a platform to produce such a statement, this means (and you must all understand this clearly) that every one of you is signing several documents at once, including documents which somehow regulate, so to speak, our presence here - that is, things are extremely serious.

What chance has Sokolinsky of keeping his position here? His only chance is to carry out the Party bureau's decision. I did not expect something like this. I expected anything, but not this!

The meeting adopted a resolution which included the following point:

4. The general trade-union meeting of the SAG of CGE considers the Party bureau's assessment that ideological

and educational work in the SAG is unsatisfactory to be unfounded, and requests the CGE party bureau to re-examine its decision.

After the resolution had been adopted, Kashik spoke again:

I have this to suggest. I still think that making a speech at our meeting and putting forward the prepared text of a letter is provocative...My suggestion to the meeting is to introduce a fifth point into our resolution, which I would formulate thus:

In view of the fact that witnesses who were present at Lavut's trial were not under the impression that the case was examined fully and correctly, we ask the administration and the trade-union organization to invite relevant people to the next SAG trade-union meeting, including journalists who were present at both trials, so that they can talk to us and present a true picture of all aspects of the proceedings on a professional and specialist level.

Then if they do not convince us, we can think about how to appeal, using one or other of the letters, to higher authorities...I think this would be fair before engaging in such indiscriminate condemnation.

When we go through it...then everyone will be able, with full knowledge of what he is doing, to sign the exact document for which he is ready to answer with his life, his family, his work, etc.

The fifth point was unanimously adopted in the following form:

In view of the fact that the staff members and witnesses from CGE who were present at the trial of Lavut, and those who were not admitted to the trial of Osipova, were not entirely convinced that the judgments passed in these cases were just, to ask the administration and the Procuracy to invite competent people who were present at these trials for explanatory talks. This to be done within the next two months.

Immediately after the meeting, the appeal to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was signed by Stepanets and Kronrod. The greeting sent to Lavut was signed by: L. Tertitsky, M. Tertitsky, Deyeva, Shaidulin, E. Sokolinsky's wife I. Sokolinskaya, Romanenko and B. Goldfarb (Lavut received the greeting). The greeting sent to Osipova was signed by: Stepanets, Kronrod, L. Tertitsky, Shaidulin, Sokolinskaya, Romanenko and Goldfarb.

\* \* \*

Soon after the trade-union meeting M. Tertitsky wrote to the CGE Party bureau, saying that, in his opinion, for a society to develop normally, everyone had to have the opportunity to say what he thought, including dissidents. On the subject of Lavut's trial, Tertitsky wrote that there were three possibilities: first, the charges against him were confirmed by the evidence, in which case there was no need to have what was in effect a closed trial. A large attendance at the trial would have had greater educational impact and would have allayed all doubts about the justice of the verdict. Second, Lavut circulated information taken from

sources which contained slanderous statements, in which case it was necessary to apprehend those who were responsible for such information. Finally, if Lavut circulated correct information, those who organized his trial should be brought to justice. Tertitsky wrote that he knew Lavut well as an honest man and that this forced him to doubt the correctness of the charges and the judgment. When he learnt of the circumstances in which the trial was conducted, his doubts had grown. Some time later Kashik asked Tertitsky to come and see him and proposed that he withdraw the letter. Tertitsky refused.

\* \* \*

On 17 July an open Party meeting was held at CGE, on the subject of 'The Work of the CGE Party Organization in the Struggle Against Bourgeois Ideology'. Two non-Party members came to the meeting - the head of group 14, I. Churinova, and Romanenko, a member of the group. Before the meeting began, the CGE deputy Party organizer, S. Ptetsov, called Churinova into the corridor and told her that although it was an open meeting, the presence of non-Party members was undesirable. He asked Churinova to leave and to take Romanenko with her. This she did.

The meeting concerned itself chiefly with the personal case of M. Tertitsky and his letter to the Party bureau. At Kashik's suggestion the meeting, in consideration of M. Tertitsky's long-standing membership of the Party, accorded him a stern reprimand 'for loss of vigilance', which was noted in his personal record.

On 15 October the Voroshilov District Party Committee expelled M. Tertitsky from the Party. He, like his son, was demoted to the status of 'senior geophysicist'. In November the Voroshilov District Komsomol Committee expelled L. Tertitsky from the Komsomol.

\* \* \*

Kashik issued Stepanets a stern reprimand for being late for work on 31 March (Chronicle 62). He summoned Stepanets and proposed that he resign 'at his own request'. Stepanets refused. Kashik told him that he could nevertheless contrive to have him dismissed, and even explained how he would do it: he would send him to work at the settlement of Malakhovka. To travel there daily was difficult, the road was often impassable, the conditions at the settlement were bad.

On 8 June Stepanets was sent to the Malakhovka branch for a month, to work with group 16. On 29 June the head of group 16, A. Gorin, sent a report that Stepanets had been absent from work on 16, 17, 26 and 29 June.

On the morning of 17 July Kashik summoned Stepanets and again suggested that he 'resign', otherwise he would be dismissed for 'absence without leave'. Stepanets refused. On 18 July Stepanets submitted a statement to the Party bureau:

Throughout my period of contact with the CGE administration, which arose out of my participation in attempts to defend arrested and convicted CGE members A.P. Lavut and Tatyana Osipova, the CGE trade-union organization has made no serious attempt to investigate what is going on, nor to observe, if only superficially, the generally accepted procedures which apply in cases of dismissal on the initiative of the administration.

No, I would not exclude the possibility - in certain circumstances - of dismissal on ideological grounds, and

I would consider such a decision with regard to myself as quite acceptable, but it is being done on the grounds that I have repeatedly violated work discipline and I consider this a scandalous injustice.

Knowing that those who are responsible for the work of the CGE trade-union organization are well aware of the real reasons behind the administration's moves against me, I cannot regard their attitude towards what is happening as anything but their deliberate - and not at all passive - connivance at covering up the real reasons for my impending dismissal, which I learned about today only by word of mouth.

I offer my resignation from the trade-union organization of the Centre for Geophysical Expeditions.

On 20 July the trade-union bureau agreed to Stepanets's dismissal. On 21 July Kashik dismissed Stepanets for 'absence without leave'.

On 29 July Stepanets filed a suit at the Voroshilov District People's Court, seeking his reinstatement at work.

I went several times to the main CGE building, in connection with my usual work as well as my work at the branch in Malakhovka. With reference to A.Z. Gorin's report that I was absent for four days - on 16, 17 and 29 June, I was working in the main building and on 26 June at the Malakhovka branch. My presence at work on these dates will be confirmed by the data in the Taimkon system, by the journal of work carried out on the electronic computer on those dates, by the head of my group, E.A. Sokolinsky, and the leader of the mathematical services group with which I was working, V.A. Kronrod.

The hearing took place on 4 and 5 August. On 4 August two people unknown to any of those directly concerned with the case were present in the courtroom throughout the hearing. The court refused Stepanets's petition:

The plaintiff confirmed that he had not arranged with A.Z. Gorin to be absent from group 16, but acted at his own discretion, in accordance with the work to be done. In these circumstances the court regards the absence of the plaintiff from his place of work on 16, 17, 26 and 29 June 1981 as absenteeism.

\* \* \*

On 12 August there was a meeting of the Party activists at CGE (Sokolinsky, Kronrod and Romanenko were on holiday at this time). The meeting adopted the following resolution:

This meeting of Party activists at the Centre for Geophysical Expeditions unanimously regards the provocative actions of CGE staff members E.A. Sokolinsky, V.A. Kronrod, A.Yu. Romanenko and former staff member G.F. Stepanets as ideological sabotage against our motherland and a stain on the good name of our organization.

The unpleasant commotion created by a small, unrepresentative group of people about Lavut and Osipova, who have been convicted in a Soviet court of justice of slandering our socialist society, arouses feelings of indignation and anger in all the staff at CGE. The CGE collective believes that these renegades have no place in our collective.

We will counteract these provocative and irresponsible

actions, and we will work even more purposefully to fulfil the great tasks of developing our oil industry and achieve early fulfilment of the plan for 1981 and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

The CGE collective, under the leadership of its Party organization, will tighten its ranks even further, and will honourably rebuff any attempts to blacken our system, our way of life and our motherland.

This decision has been discussed at general meetings in all the sub-sections and has been unanimously approved.

On 18 August Romanenko, who had returned from his holiday and learned about the Party activists' meeting and its resolution, sent this letter to Kashik:

I was excited to hear that you beautifully arranged and conducted a spontaneous and unprepared general meeting during which the obviously true opinion of the majority of CGE staff was expressed so forcefully that it drowned the isolated humane objections of any renegades who were present (although most of them were absent). I am sure that the fame of this meeting will destroy and eclipse the sorry fame of some trade-union meeting of the confused Computing Centre, 'prepared' by the renegades led by Sokolinsky.

You did this after the brilliantly conducted dismissal of Garik Stepanets, by which you demonstrated that you know much more about this side of life and about how to conduct a court case than you do about 'the other side of A.P. Lavut's activities'.

In your speech at the general meeting, you demonstrated very clearly how this group of renegades encroaches upon one of the fundamental liberties of CGE staff - the liberty to go to work unhindered - thus raising the just anger of those present.

Only it seems to me that such a meeting, and some paper collective denunciation which is being circulated in CGE at the moment, are insufficient to immortalize the fame of the organization and the formation of the new man of whom you spoke to me so inspiringly. Things have already got to such a pitch that one could organize a bonfire and consign all the traitors and renegades to its cleansing flames. And this must be done by everyone, all together, with no backing out, as Vitaly Dmitrievich Gruba, one of the best representatives of the new world being born before our eyes, so rightly noted in his speech.

I am sending you this letter so that you cannot, by some chance, have any doubts as to my position. I apologize for the over-sharp tone, but the letter is aimed not so much at you personally, as at the role you have - probably rather involuntarily - played these last six months.

On 24 August Kronrod sent Kashik a statement:

..Events have taken place recently which affect not only the lives of individual CGE staff, but the whole of the organization. I refer to the arrests and trials of Alexander Pavlovich Lavut and Tatyana Osipova, our letters in their defence, the reprimanding of Stepanets and Nagle for trying to attend the trial, the trade-union meeting of 27 June, the dispatch of Stepanets to Malakhovka, and his subsequent dismissal.

A person's actions naturally affect others in one way or another. We tried to bear this in mind when we wrote

the letters in defence of Alexander Pavlovich and Tanya. Our first letter, for example, which took up just over a page, took us almost a month to write (by no means did we try to turn it into 'ideological sabotage', which we were accused of later). But we wrote the truth. As regards the events of the past year, I would describe them as the triumph of falsehood at our place of work...

You said at the meeting that you did not know what harm Lavut and Osipova had done the state, that it could probably be measured in terms of the sentences they received. I do not think so. Yet you will probably be able to assess accurately in the future the harm which you yourself have done to the organization which you have built, are building and will soon have completed successfully.

I am on holiday now until 6 September. I do not wish to work at CGE any longer and I ask you to release me from this obligation, if possible, from 7 September.

On 31 August Romanenko submitted a statement of resignation 'at his own request'.

\* \* \*

On 4 September the Ministry for the Oil Industry issued an order:

On 4 and 5 August this year the People's Court of the Voroshilov District in Moscow examined a petition from C.F. Stepanets, former employee of CGE, who had been dismissed for absenteeism, asking to be reinstated at work. In the course of the hearing it came to light that on a number of occasions the organization of work and the state of work discipline in the CGE collective, and in group 6 in particular, had been subject to serious abuse. For example, certain members of group 6, on the grounds that the group leader had given permission, availed themselves of the right to do their work without supervision during their actual working hours. There is an official record of hours worked, but no properly organized system of ensuring that staff are at their correct places. The journal registering temporary secondment from group 6 has not been maintained for a long time. Violations of work discipline, including lateness, also occur at the Computer Centre in Malakhovka.

An examination of this case has established that the leader of group 6, E.A. Sokolinsky, allowed the systems mathematicians to work without supervision, which constitutes a serious breach of labour law. The leaders of CGE, in their turn, did not in practice exert any control over the work schedule of the staff of group 6. The engineering and technical staff in other groups who use the electronic computer (EVM) have justified and serious objections to the work of group 6.

The violation of labour discipline and the shortcomings in the work of group 6 are the consequences of grave negligence in Party leadership on the part of its head, Comrade E.A. Sokolinsky, and of the chief engineer, Comrade L.A. Gapeyenko, and of poor educational work in the Party collective.

In connection with the foregoing, I [the Minister?] order:...

3. That comrade E.A. Sokolinsky, leader of group 6, who has failed to ensure that the norms of labour law are observed with regard to the work schedule in the collec-

tive entrusted to him, be relieved of his post in accordance with article 254 part 1 of the RSFSR Code of Labour Law...

5. That comrade A.S. Kashik, head of CGE, carries out the dismissal of E.A. Sokolinsky after his return from holiday.

In October Sokolinsky 'resigned'.

\* \* \*

At the beginning of November I. Nagle (Chronicle 62) 'resigned'. The following note was made in her work-book after the note that she had been dismissed: '6. 2.11.81. Reference sent to OVIR concerning emigration to Israel'.

#### MISCELLANEOUS REPORTS

It is many months since the trial of Mark Morozov (Chronicle 61) in Vorkuta, but in discussions and lectures about the ideological struggle the lecturers continually mention the names of Vorkuta residents Mesyatseva, Bogatyrëva, Stupnikov (Chronicle 61) and Ryazanov.

Valentina Mesyatseva and Alexander Stupnikov were witnesses at Morozov's trial; Igor Ryazanov and Tatyana Bogatyrëva were Morozov's friends in Vorkuta. Since the trial Mesyatseva has been issued three reprimands at work. The lecturers say that Bogatyrëva 'started a row' at the trial. In fact, neither she nor Morozov's other friends were allowed into the courtroom. Bogatyrëva had written to the court chairman, Ermilov, requesting permission to attend the open trial. Her statement remained unanswered.

The appeal in the case of Gennady Kharmts, convicted by the Vorkuta City Court of accepting a bribe for forging a sick note for Morozov, will be heard shortly. The chief witnesses in this case were Olga Gamburg and her mother (Chronicle 61).

\* \* \*

At the beginning of October several Crimean Tatars went to the reception room of the Party Central Committee. They handed in an 'appeal' for permission to return to the Crimea. About 1,000 Crimean Tatars had signed the appeal. They make a similar appeal every year.

The Tatars spoke on the telephone to M.L. Ishkov, the Central Committee official responsible for their affairs. He told them that he had been to Samarkand and Tashkent himself, and questioned the Crimean Tatars there. It turned out that they were all satisfied, and eight out of ten of those questioned denied signing the latest petition to the Central Committee. Ishkov told those to whom he was speaking to go 'home' and stop interfering with his 'work', since their people 'lived well'. The Tatars left. Some of them later had 'chats' with the KGB.

For several years, on orders 'from above', large numbers of Crimean Tatars have been coming to Mubarek (Kashkadarinskaya Region, Uzbek SSR). This settlement, which lies in a waterless desert, produces three newspapers in the Crimean Tatar language; Crimean Tatars occupy many of the leading posts. Many Crimean Tatars come to Mubarek because they are

sent there by educational establishments or are otherwise allocated work in the settlement.

The Crimean Tatars estimate their number at about one million at present. However, official Soviet publications and the census completely ignore the nationality 'Crimean Tatar'. When the census was conducted, for example, only the word 'Tatar' was written in the column marked 'nationality', notwithstanding the protests of the person concerned. Nor are the Crimean Tatars mentioned in the Small Atlas, which even shows the location of peoples numbering only a few hundred.

\* \* \*

On 31 August the traditional evening of music and poetry to mark the anniversary of Marina Tsvetayeva's death was held in P. Starchik's (Chronicle 42) flat in Moscow. At 10.30 p.m. two policemen rang the doorbell. They informed the occupants of the flat that they had been ordered to record the names of everyone present, in order to check that the residence regulations were being observed. One of the policemen stood by the door while the other, named Seliv'rstov, began checking passports. Meanwhile, P. Starchik rang the police station and asked the reason for this visit to his flat. The police chief, however, refused to accept responsibility for the incident. Seliv'rstov came to the telephone and said that he had been ordered to come to the flat, but that he could not explain on the telephone. He asked the police chief to find out from the duty-officer at another station. Soon afterwards the policemen rapidly left the flat, without having finished checking people's documents.

Two days later Starchik went to the police station. There he was told that the policemen had come from that particular station and that the police could enter any flat at any time until 11 p.m. Starchik asked how his guests, his wife and his children would react to such visits. He was told: 'Let them get used to it'.

On 7 September Starchik was summoned to the police station. He was told that he had been summoned because it was necessary to keep him under continual surveillance and to check on his 'criminal loyalty'. They hinted that there had been a murder somewhere in the district, 'so we have to keep an eye on the people who are on the register'.

\* \* \*

On 4 July there was a meeting of the Soviet (Moscow) group of Amnesty International. The following were received into the group: S. Sorokina (Chronicle 58), P. Podrabinek, V. Gershuni, O. Popov (Chronicle 62), S. Gitman, A. Luspekov and F. Kizelov (Chronicle 56). An executive group was also formed, with G. Vladimov (Chronicle 47) as chairman, S. Sorokina as secretary, and P. Podrabinek and O. Popov (Chronicle 62) as members.

In October Sorokina was summoned to the police station in the town of Pushkino, Moscow Region, where she lives, and given a warning 'according to the Decree'.<sup>45</sup> She was charged with the fact that she had been in possession of literature confiscated from her during searches in January 1979 (Chronicle 52) and December 1979 (Chronicle 55), and that she had taken part in a demonstration on 10 December 1978 (Chronicle 52) and engaged in 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' when she was being persuaded by agitators to go and vote at the elections.

\* \* \*

On 18 December M. Petrenko was given a warning 'according to the Decree' at a police station. Her 'sins' were: possession of the papers confiscated from her during a search in May 1980 (Chronicle 57). The 'warners' were displeased that 'young people gathered' at Petrenko's flat. Petrenko did not sign the record of the warning.

\* \* \*

On 5 September the display of the Association of Jewish Publishers in the USA at the Moscow Book Fair was closed an hour early and police stationed at the exit from the pavilion began to confiscate the Association's catalogues from those coming out.

The well-known incident when police and KGB officials detained Soviet citizens who had visited the Fair and searched them, confiscating prospectuses, occurred at the American and Israeli pavilions.

Alexei Magarik, son of Vladimir Magarik (Chronicles 61, 62) was taken to the police station, where he was detained while it was ascertained where he worked.

\* \* \*

In September the citizens of Kiev received printed postcards by mail:

Respected Comrades!

The staff of the public points for maintaining public order and the organs of internal affairs in our district are making a great effort to achieve exemplary public order.

This aim will be achieved much more easily if citizens react in good time to every instance of law-breaking and make sure the guilty are brought to justice. It is essential that we have the widespread support and the co-operation of the whole population in this. The sooner law-breaking and crime are reported, the sooner they can be dealt with.

We ask you to report all known violations of public order and of the rules of socialist community life: people leading an antisocial life, who do not work, who drink too much, unhappy families, adolescents giving up their studies. Without giving your name, please telephone the Council at the point for the maintenance of public order in the 'Zhdanov' micro-district between 7 p.m. and 11 p.m. - the number is 27-41-01. At other times telephone the Zalznich District Department of Internal Affairs - 76-70-21 or 77-31-00.

Council for the Maintenance of Public Order  
Zhdanov Micro-District

In some cases the card was signed: 'The Public of ..... district' (for example in the Moscow district: 'The Public of Moscow district').

\* \* \*

Pavlovsk, Leningrad Region. On the evening of 2 July Igor Tsapurin and Vladimir Bebikhov, young workers at the Pavlovsk Mechanical Factory, were confronted on a bus by a stranger in civilian clothes who demanded that they 'treat' him to some vodka (the young men had an unopened bottle with them). When they arrived at the stop at the end of the bus route, they were forced to give the stranger some vodka. The comrade in civilian clothes turned out to be Martemyanov, an investigator from the City Police Department. He

was 'very offended' that his interlocutors had not treated him with due respect, and immediately telephoned for a division of police. A group of five policemen arrived to find the two men still in the square. They knocked them off their feet and began kicking them. A group of passers-by began to form around them. One of the young men lost consciousness. A woman with a child tried to stop the beating, grabbing the arm of one of the policemen. The latter whipped out his pistol and grabbed the child: 'Keep still, or I'll kill him...' At this point the rest of the policemen dragged their victims into a police bus, where they continued beating them. By this time they were both unconscious. Bebikhov came round during the night to hear Martemyanov saying: 'We'll have to undress them. I like beating naked people'. Martemyanov and his unknown colleague then went out of the cell, leaving the door open. The injured Bebikhov crawled out into the corridor - the duty-officer was not there just then and the street door was open. Tsapurin was not released until 15 hours later.

News of what had happened spread quickly in the Pavlovsk Mechanical Factory. It became known that the police were taking Tsapurin and Bebikhov to court on charges of resisting the authorities. The chairman of the factory committee, Bychkov, a Hero of Socialist Labour, went to the city Party committee to try and obtain justice. He was told that 'everything is being done correctly' and advised not to interfere unless he wanted trouble himself.

The hearing took place on 5 November. Before the hearing the police threatened Tsapurin that if he accused the police in court he would be beaten up. Bebikhov was detained for three days and attempts were made to blackmail him in the same way.

The trial was held in the semi-basement of the City Court building. As well as the chief participants, two public defenders and some workers from the Pavlovsk Mechanical Factory took part in the trial. All the witnesses accused the police of sadism and refined mockery. They also said that the policeman who threatened the child with his pistol, and Investigator Martemyanov, who directed the beating, were drunk. During the hearing people shouted at the police from their seats; 'Bastards! Fascists!'. The public defender demanded that the policemen be placed in the dock and the defendants released immediately. He also expressed surprise at the charges which had served as the basis for the trial. There were shouts from the floor: 'The judge has orders from above!' and 'We'll get even with you, Gestapo!', after which the judge ordered the removal of the public from the courtroom. The public refused to obey. Tsapurin was clearly terrified and replied very quietly, in monosyllables. Bebikhov's answers were precise, clear and to the point. He accused the police of criminally fabricating the case. Thanks to Bebikhov's evidence, the energetic defence and the reaction of the public, both defendants were given suspended sentences: Tsapurin - two years, Bebikhov - three years.

\* \* \*

On 29 August at 3 p.m. Vasily Nazarov (aged 54) and his mother Natalya Nazarova (74) drove their car into the grounds of the US Embassy. They are both from Solnechnogorsk, Moscow Region. A consular official then announced to the foreign journalists, KGB officials and police who had gathered outside the Embassy that the Nazarovs had come to the Embassy on a personal matter and did not intend to ask for political asylum. Their car was later driven out

of the Embassy grounds and at 6.30 p.m. they came out, escorted by an Embassy official. They managed to tell the journalists who gathered round them what had brought them to the Embassy:

After many years of blameless work, Vasily Nazarov was dismissed, in his opinion unjustly, from his job. He complained about this to various bodies but did not obtain a satisfactory reply. His mother tried to help him but her complaints also went unheeded. At this time she was beaten up by unknown persons. After this, the Nazarovs decided to publicize their story and with this in mind they had come to the Embassy.

A few minutes after leaving the Embassy the Nazarovs were detained and taken to Moscow Police Station No. 11. Natalya was released after a few hours, but Vasily was arrested and sent to Butyrka Prison. He is being charged with 'illegal crossing of the border'.

\* \* \*

On 4 September Marina Pitakuria tried to dash into the French Embassy with her six-year-old daughter and seven-month-old son. She wanted to discuss the possibility of going to France to obtain medical treatment for her daughter. The police would not allow her into the Embassy grounds, but she was permitted a three-hour talk with Embassy officials, in the presence of police and KGB officials. Afterwards Pitakuria and the children were driven away in car. The men in civilian clothes who took her away told French diplomats that they were taking her 'to a Moscow hotel'.

\* \* \*

On the evening of 10 October two 15-year-old boys - Stepan Dzhigarkhanyan (son of a well-known actor) and Khachatur Muradyan (son of the sculptor) - climbed into the courtyard of the Belgian Embassy. They asked for political asylum on the grounds that they did not want to 'waste their youth' in the USSR, and because of their distaste for the lies (especially about the West) which they were forced to listen to at school. Embassy officials telephoned the boys' parents, to whom they entrusted their young visitors.

\* \* \*

On 11 October at 9.15 a.m. Boris Lesnov (42), from Ulyanovk, drove into the grounds of the American Embassy. He had a gun with him. He left the Embassy at 3 p.m. and was able to talk to foreign journalists for a few minutes before he was detained (the police forbade filming). He said that he was a mechanic, and had been dismissed from his job some time ago. He had previously spent four years in Kazan SPH, where he met Ilin.<sup>46</sup> In January 1981 he had tried to visit A.D. Sakharov in Gorky, but was detained outside his house. Depressed by the impossibility of leading a normal life, he decided to ask for political asylum. He had taken the gun with him in order to kill himself should the Americans refuse his request. 'Now I will spend the rest of my life in a mental hospital', he said. Once the Embassy official who escorted him had gone, Lesnov was detained.

#### Secret Searches

In October, when V. Tolts (Chronicles 56, 60, 62) was tempo-



rarily alone at home (his wife and son were away), he was summoned to a police station one morning and deliberately kept there for several hours. Meanwhile, a secret search was carried out in his flat.

At this time, too, V. Gershuni (Chronicle 57) was detained one evening at work, on an obviously false pretext. When he returned home he found that someone had been in his room.

Also at this time, A. Romanova (Chronicle 62 and 'The Case of Bolonkin' in this issue) found a copy of Mathematics Text-book for those Entering Institutes of Higher Education in her room. She did not know whom it belonged to.

When they came to search S. Khodorovich's flat (see 'Searches and Interrogations'), the searchers immediately summoned his mother-in-law: 'Come on, let's see what's lying in your fridge'.

#### Human Rights Day in Moscow

The traditional silent demonstration (Chronicles 43, 48, 52, 55, 60) took place by the Pushkin monument at 7 p.m. on 10 December. This time the monument was not fenced off as it had been in 1978 and 1979, and it was possible to walk about freely. But from 4 p.m. onwards the police and plainclothes men quickly put 'suspects' in minibuses and delivered them to the nearest police stations and 'support points'.

The total number of people detained is estimated at several hundred. Here is the account of one of the detainees:

'This is not an interrogation, but you're still obliged to answer...' As I remained silent, they vied with each other to shower me with questions:

'Where do you work?'

'Why don't you answer?'

Captain Perhaps you don't have a job? Then we'll help you find one.

Civilian Perhaps you're shirking your duty to work?

I turned to him and quietly (honestly - very quietly and very calmly) began: 'Listen, you...'

'And don't you be rude', he roared. Or rather he didn't roar, he said it like a second-year hooligan who has been chosen as a monitor. 'If you start being rude, we'll soon calm you down...'

'So do you have a job or not?', continued the Captain.

'Oh well', he added, after a pause. 'The local police at your place of residence will have to speak to you. And another thing: what were you doing in Pushkin Square? That's quite a long way from where you live.'

'Is he deliberately quoting Orwell?' I thought. Aloud, of course, I only expressed surprise at the strange question.

Civilian So what were you doing there? And why have we detained you anyway?

'That is what I would like to know.'

Captain Well, if you don't want to go home, that's your affair.

They took me to an empty room, kept me there for a while, then told me to go. It was only when I emerged into the street that I realized how disgusted I felt.

After a few hours, everyone except the couple I. Gerashchenko and I. Ratushinskaya (Chronicles 60, 62), who had

travelled to Moscow, was released. The 'guests of the capital' were given ten days (Ratushinskaya's account 'Ten Days' was published in the SMOT [Free Inter-trade Association of Working People] Bulletin No. 25). On 20 December the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 188: 'The Traditional 10 December Demonstration in Pushkin Square, Moscow'.

#### LETTERS AND STATEMENTS

38 signatures: 'To the Heads of State of the USSR and the countries of Northern Europe' (10 October 1981)

The public and governments of Northern Europe are at present carefully considering the proposal put forward by the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet to create a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. We propose that the Baltic Sea and the Baltic states of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia be included in this zone.

Such a step - the liberation of one region from nuclear weapons - would be a significant step on the way to achieving the greatest hope of the peoples of the world: total disarmament.

'To Venerable Nobel Peace Prize Laureate A.D. Sakharov'

A letter from Lithuanian Catholics, published in the Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church No. 48 (29 June 1981), states:

We, Lithuanians of good faith, accompany you in our hearts along the road of suffering and sacrifice. We heard on the radio about your famous sixtieth birthday celebrations on 21 May. Together with people all over the world, we congratulate you, we pray for you, and we wish you good health and ceaseless energy in the struggle to help the downtrodden and those deprived of their rights.

I. Nagle: 'To the Moscow City Procurator' (14 July 1981)

On 1 July 1981 I was interrogated by Anatoly Alexeyevich Levchenko, a senior investigator of the KGB Investigations Department for Moscow city and Moscow Region, as a witness in the case of Vsevolod Dmitrievich Kuvakin (Chronicle 62).

1. Most of the investigator's questions were put to me not as a witness, but as though I were the accused or a suspect. Furthermore, the investigator not only failed to explain the nature of the case against V.D. Kuvakin, he actually flatly refused to name the article of the Criminal Code under which he is charged.

2. The investigator recorded his questions in a distorted and incomplete fashion. As for my answers, he hardly wrote them down at all, but wrote each time, instead, that I refused, without explanation, to give evidence. The investigator also refused to describe sufficiently in the record the document which I had produced during the interrogation. In short, the record made by investigator A.A. Levchenko in no way reflects what actually went on during the interrogation, and I did not sign this record.

When I wanted to add something to the last page of the record, the investigator snatched the pen out of my hand in mid-sentence!

3. When the interrogation was already over, two strangers unexpectedly walked into the office and Levchenko went out, leaving me on my own with them. The investigator had my pass; thus the interrogation was used to force me illegally into a conversation with the remaining 'anonymous' officials.

4. Off the record, citizen Levchenko allowed himself to say things which discredit Soviet justice, such as: 'I am writing down what I consider necessary, not what you say', 'I have the right to be rude to you', 'You will sit here for as long as I consider it necessary', etc. The KGB senior investigator did not eschew threats, deception or sadly familiar phrases like: 'The investigation is very, very rarely wrong...'

I consider it my duty to draw your attention to the despotism exhibited by citizen Levchenko, and demand that the appropriate legal steps be taken.

E. Gritsyak: 'Open Letter Concerning Equal Rights in our Country' (10 October 1981)

The author (Chronicles 43, 45) has written a letter to 'The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, comrade-in-arms, pen and our common Soviet citizenship'. He had written his memoirs (this is why he calls Brezhnev a 'comrade of the pen'), which were published abroad. He was threatened by Major Petrenko, a Ukrainian KGB official, because of this.

Your memoirs were published both in the Soviet Union and abroad; mine have only been published abroad. But you are not summoned by the KGB like I am, and asked how you sent your memoirs abroad; you are not asked to renounce your own work. You are not threatened with a trial, and provocative traps are not set for you. Quite the contrary: you are praised and admired. Now I wish to ask you: why is it that two identical actions by two citizens with equal rights are viewed so differently? Why are they planning to try me? Surely no one will try you?

#### Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group

Document No. 175 (31 July 1981): 'The Trial of Irina Grivnina' (see this issue).

Document No. 176 (29 July 1981): 'The Trial of the last member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, Felix Serebrov' (see this issue).

Document No. 177 (8 August 1981): 'The Trial of Mikhail Zotov' (Chronicle 62).

Document No. 178 (9 August 1981): 'The trial of Anatoly Koryagin' (Chronicle 62).

Document No. 179 (12 August 1981): 'The persecution of the Raush family'.

Document No. 180 (20 August 1981): 'The arrest and trial of Stanislav Zubko' (Chronicle 62 and this issue).

Document No. 181 (29 August 1981): 'The arrest of Moscow Helsinki Group member Ivan Kovalyov' (see this issue).

Document No. 182 (5 September 1981): 'Repression of those

wishing to leave the USSR'.

Document No. 183 (6 September 1981): 'The trial of Anatoly Marchenko' (see this issue).

Document No. 184 (23 October 1981): 'The 40th anniversary of the mass shooting of Jews at Baby Yar' (see 'Events in the Ukraine').

Document No. 185 (30 October 1981): '30 October: political prisoners' day in the USSR' (see 'In the Prisons and Camps').

Document No. 186 (20 November 1981): 'The arrest and trial of Raisa Rudenko' (Chronicle 62 and this issue).

Document No. 187 (18 December 1981): 'The arrest and trial of Alexander Magidovich' (Chronicle 61).

Document No. 188 (20 December 1981): 'The Traditional 10 December demonstration in Pushkin Square, Moscow' (see 'Miscellaneous Reports').

Document No. 189 (21 December 1981): 'The trial of Boris Chernobylsky' (see 'The Right to Leave').

Document No. 190 (21 December 1981): 'Persecution of the Russian Public Fund to Assist Political Prisoners and their Families' (see this issue). Extract:

...The authorities have lately been paying more 'attention' to the Fund. Pressure is being put on many people who contribute to its work. Many (in particular N. Lisovskaya and A. Romanova) have had their telephones disconnected; there are constant searches during which belongings, food and money are confiscated; people are summoned by the KGB for interrogation, dismissed from their jobs, and threatened with administrative and legal action. The threats are starting to become reality.

On 9 December the Bauman District Soviet (in Moscow) took a decision, not sanctioned by law, to order the administrative expulsion for two years from Moscow of Ruzhania Pedyakina, who had been active on the Fund's behalf.

On 8 December Valery Repin, also a Fund worker, was arrested in Leningrad. As a result of an unconfirmed report he has been charged under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'). Repin is now in a KGB investigations prison.

The home of Sergei Khodorovich, the Fund's administrator, has been searched three times during the past year. All papers and documents relating to the Fund's activities were confiscated; this seriously disrupted the compiling of the Fund's accounts for 1981.

The actions of the authorities are clearly intended to stop the work of the Fund - the only charitable organization in the USSR.

#### SAMIZDAT NEWS

Let Us Remember the Forgotten! (4 pages)

The anonymous author writes about Vasily Spinenko (Chronicles 52, 62). According to the author, Spinenko was released from Makeyevka Psychiatric Hospital in the spring of 1978. After his release he

fell into the hands of...a former comrade-in-arms and

fellow-thinker, former student at an MVD special school and former political prisoner V. Semiletov and...V. Novoseltsev. The latter...persuaded Spinenko to write a letter criticizing certain actions of A.D. Sakharov.

As a result of this, and of the provocative activities of V. Novoseltsev, Spinenko was again locked away in a psychiatric hospital, where he remains to this day.

Results of Applications to the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty of Moscow University by Pupils from Five Moscow Schools

In 1981 64 pupils from the five leading physics and mathematics schools in Moscow (Nos. 2, 7, 57, 91 and 179) applied to the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty of Moscow University. 49 of them 'had not one Jew among their parents or grandparents', and 15 did not satisfy this condition. 41 were accepted from the first group and two from the second (of these, one was the daughter of a professor of the faculty, the other was the son of a well-known theoretical physicist and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; his son was the winner of the 43rd Moscow Mathematics Olympiad and was accepted after numerous appeals and complaints). For similar documents see Chronicle 51 (regarding 1978), Chronicle 53 (for 1979) and Chronicle 60 (1980).

Selections of Problems Set in the Oral Examination in Mathematics at the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty of Moscow University in 1981

This document is a follow-up to the preceding one. It gives ten 'Russian' and ten 'Jewish' sets of problems. For analogous selections of problems see Chronicles 51, 53 and 57.

Bulletin No. 12 of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR (30 July 1981; 29 pages)

The names on the title page are: Yu. Kiselev, V. Fefilov, O. Zaitseva and F. Khusainov (see Chronicle 62).

The bulletin contains: information about the European Society to Assist the Disabled; Initiative Group Documents No. 23 - 'Free development of the individual is necessary for the free development of all' (a summary of an article in the UNESCO Courier, February 1981) - and No. 24 - 'International Year of the Disabled in the USSR' (an appendix is an autobiographical letter by M. Zotov - Chronicle 62); a letter from the Initiative Group to Brezhnev and the RSFSR Minister for Social Security, requesting the formation of an All-union society for the disabled in the USSR; letters from the Initiative Group to the World Council of Churches, the [Russian Orthodox] Archbishop of Brussels, the Metropolitan of Surozh, Dr Claes, Lady Masham, and disabled societies in other countries; 'A Further Note on Holidays and Treatment for the Disabled in the USSR' (a supplement to Document No. 15 - Chronicle 57); and a letter to the Crimean Regional Soviet EC concerning Group 1 invalid Klavdia Kornienko.

Bulletin No. 13 of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR (25 December 1981; 20 pages)

The bulletin contains: the Initiative Group's information on the outcome of the International Year of the Disabled in the USSR; an open letter from the Initiative Group to Brezhnev, Schmidt and government officials in the USSR, FRG and GDR (about conditions in psychiatric hospitals in the FRG); Initiative Group Document No. 25 concerning transport

for the disabled; Group member V. Fefilov's letter to the Disabled Association in Sweden (about the situation of the disabled in the USSR); 'In Defence of Invalid Nikolai Baranov' (see 'In the Psychiatric Hospitals').

SMOT [Free Inter-trade Association of Working People] Information Bulletins

No. 14 (1981; 9 pages), No. 15 (May 1981; 14 pages), No. 16 (June 1981; 21 pages), No. 17 (July 1981; 35 pages); No. 18 (August 1981; 39 pages), No. 19 (September 1981; 30 pages), No. 20 (October 1981; 51 pages), No. 21 (October 1981; 42 pages), No. 22 (November 1981; 28 pages), Nos. 23-24 (November 1981; 51 pages), No. 25 (December 1981; 29 pages).

No. 14 contains: 'Red Saturday' (on the subject of 'free' Saturdays [people are expected to donate their labour free on certain Saturdays]); 'They Themselves Testify'; V. Kuvakin's 'Press Statement' about his arrest (it describes Kuvakin as a member of SMOT's 'working commission'); 'Letter in Defence of Mark Morozov' by A. Gotovtsev (see 'In the Prisons and Camps'); an extract from 'Notes of an Outsider'.

No. 15 contains: information about events in Poland; an account of the disabled camp (Chronicle 62); a letter from Christians living in the town of Asino in Tomsk Region.

No. 16 contains: 'The Discussion of Psychiatric Terror Continues'; 'A Mysterious Document'.

No. 17 contains: 'A Soviet Diplomat on Francois Mitterand - a Year Before his Election'; a letter in defence of M. Zotov (for his trial see Chronicle 62); 'Yet Another Case' (on the interrogation of T. Nagle in connection with the case of V. Kuvakin - Chronicle 62); Nagle's statement to the Procurator (see 'Letters and Statements'); 'Open Letter to All who Know Vladimir Gershuni' by R. Lert (concerning Gershuni's 'psychiatric arrest' in the summer of 1980 - Chronicle 57); a letter in defence of Gershuni; 'A Letter Written on One of the Days of Enforced Liberty' and 'A Case of Defending Someone', both by Gershuni; 'Defend Irina Kaplun's child' (Chronicle 62); an article written several years ago entitled 'The Moscow Nucleus of the Democratic Movement (a critical analysis of its activities)'.

No. 18 contains: 'Hushed-up Publicity'; a letter from P. Podrabinek to the Deputy Procurator of Ulyanovsk Region (see 'In the Prisons and Camps'); 'A Sad Satirical Article'; 'The Trial of Historian Antsupov' (see 'Events in the Ukraine'); the resolution of the CGE Party and administration activists' meeting on 12 August (see 'After the Trials of Lavut and Osipova'); 'Denunciatory Psychosis or an Undisclosed Game?'; 'Public Statement' by S. Belov (Chronicle 54); and 'To Society' (about the trial of M. Morozov - Chronicle 61).

No. 19 contains: the appeal of the 'Solidarity' congress to the workers of Western Europe; 'The Revival of Stalinist and Ezhov Methods in the KGB'; 'A Little Something Concerning Publicity, "Mature Socialism" and much Else'; 'The Crime of USSR MVD Officials'; 'The Situation of Vladimir Skvirsky' (see 'In Exile'); 'Break-up of Amateur Singing Clubs'.

No. 20 contains: 'The Sixth Trial of Anatoly Marchenko' (see 'The Trial of Anatoly Marchenko'); 'Mikhail Zotov's Psychiatric Sentence' (for his trial see Chronicle 62); 'Torture in the Communist Torture Chambers' (about the beating-up of Marzpet Arutyunyan - see 'In the Prisons and Camps'); 'The Case of Skvirsky'; 'The Republic of the Black Hundreds' [armed anti-revolutionary groups, specially active in 1905-7]; 'The Case of...Spengler' (on the trial of Ant-

supov); 'Some News of Criminal Prisoners' Revolts and from Behind the Scenes in the Prisons and Camps'; 'Psychiatric Terror' (about V. Tsurikov - see 'The Right to Leave'); 'Our See-through, Hear-through Life'; 'The CPSU's Latest Offensive on Religion'.

No. 21 contains: 'Notes on the Rise in Prices'; 'Their Life, Their Morals'; 'Some Current Disputes about the Senile New Class'.

No. 22 contains: 'Bullets instead of Butter, but the Butter contains no Fat'; 'Torture in the Communist Torture Chambers' (about N. Baranov - see 'In the Psychiatric Hospitals' - and beatings in the Sychëvka SPH); 'The Situation of Prisoners of Conscience in the Mordovian Camps'; 'Prison Notes' by Yu. Voznesenskaya.

Nos. 23-4 contain: 'On Demography, Geopolitics and the National Economy'; 'In the Communist Torture Chambers'; 'Estonia Fights'; 'Russia and Poland'; 'The Situation of Working Baptists'; 'Labour Veterans or Beggars without Rights'; 'Open Letter Concerning the Creation of a Nuclear-free Zone in Northern Europe' (see 'Letters and Statements'); 'Prison Notes' by Yu. Voznesenskaya; 'Neglected Literature'; 'The Variety of Prohibitions'; 'The Convulsions of Soviet Culture'.

No. 25 contains: 'Stalinists, Hands Off Poland!'; 'New Plans - Old Methods'; 'Wholesale and Retail'; 'The Undreaming Eye' by S. Belov; I. Ratushinskaya's (Chronicles 60, 62) description of her 'Ten Days' after 10 December (see 'Miscellaneous Reports'); 'The Trial of V.D. Kuvakin' (see this issue).

Bulletin of the Soviet Group of Amnesty International Nos. 1 and 2

No. 1 contains: extracts from 'Guidelines for Groups'; a report on the formation and functioning of the Soviet group; the Group's statutes; P. Podrabinek's article 'The Death Penalty Must be Abolished'; V. Lapin's letter to the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning abolition of the death penalty (Chronicle 17) and official replies to it.

No. 2 contains: an article by P. Podrabinek entitled 'Reflections on Amnesty International'; news of the prisoners of conscience in the care of the Soviet group; resolutions by Amnesty International and other public organizations regarding penalties for refusal to serve in the Army; information about the situation of conscientious objectors in Greece; a letter from the Executive Group of the Soviet group of Amnesty International to the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet - calling for an amnesty for prisoners of conscience in the USSR.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences 12 November 1981  
Resolution No. 1369  
Concerning the Article 'Ethnic Contacts and the Natural Environment', published in the journal Nature, the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences resolves:  
1. That the publication of the article entitled 'Ethnic Contacts and the Natural Environment' by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences (Institute of Philosophical Sciences

of the USSR Academy of Sciences) Yu.M. Borodai in the journal Nature (No. 9, 1981) was a mistake, since the article sheds an incorrect light on ethnic processes.

2. To draw the attention of the editor of Nature, Academician N.G. Basov, to the need for a more thorough selection of material for publication (a popular journal should not make controversial articles available to a wide readership).

3. To point out to the deputy editor-in-chief of Nature, V.A. Goncharov, who was acting editor-in-chief for the issue in question, that passing the manuscript of Yu.M. Borodai's article for publication was in serious breach of publishing regulations.

4. To instruct Academician N.G. Basov to assemble a new editorial board for the journal Nature within two weeks, for verification by the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and to consult on this with the sections of the Presidium.

5. To instruct the editorial board of Nature to  
1) publish an article containing scientifically based criticism of the incorrect article, and also a scientific explanation of ethnic processes;  
2) discuss the breach of regulations which occurred when the manuscript of Yu.M. Borodai's article was passed for publication, and also to draw up general guidelines for preparing material, to ensure that only scientifically verified and scientifically based articles are published.

6. To instruct the Scientific Council of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences to examine the irresponsible attitude of the institute's staff to the preparation and review of the article in question.

7. To entrust the Editorial and Publications Bureau of the USSR Academy of Sciences with the responsibility for carrying out this resolution.

Academician A.P. Aleksandrov  
President of the USSR Academy of Sciences  
Academician G.K. Skryabin  
Chief Scientific Secretary of the  
Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

P.P. Lidenko, whose arrest was mentioned in the chapter 'Events in the Ukraine' in Chronicle 62 and P.P. Didenko, whose trial was described in the chapter 'Persecution of Believers' in the same issue, are one and the same person. His correct name is Didenko.<sup>47</sup>

\* \* \*

Zanis Skudra (Chronicle 52) was arrested on 7 June 1978.

\* \* \*

A. Khvotkova was sentenced to ten years in camp (and not seven, as stated in Chronicle 60) and three years' exile. She begins her exile term in 1982.

\* \* \*

An extract from a letter by Mark Morozov (for his trial see

Chronicle 61) written in 1980 during the investigation of his 'Vorkuta Case':

...after I was beaten up in prison I began to suffer from severe pains in my back and legs. For two months I was refused medical treatment in prison and the Procuracy did not investigate the beating; my investigator recommended that I should not be treated because the involvement of doctors would have confirmed that I had been beaten. They started treating me too late - when I could no longer walk. So the pain has persisted and I am permanently lame. My investigator is thus responsible for my becoming a cripple. He is the head of the Koml ASSR KGB Investigations Department, and his name is Lieutenant-Colonel G.T. Turkin. I was interrogated about Tanya Osipova, but they got nothing out of me.

\* \* \*

Yury Grimm was born in 1935 (not in 1938, as stated in Chronicle 58). He was arrested in 1964 for circulating photographed leaflets in Moscow on which there was a portrait of Khrushchev embracing some African leader, with a text about the situation in the country printed over it (Chronicle 58 states that Grimm was arrested for circulating a caricature of Krushchev). Before his arrest Grimm worked on building sites as a tower crane driver; after his release he was the director of a photographic laboratory in a design institute (not a building worker, as stated in Chronicle 58). Since 1975, when his desire to emigrate brought his dismissal from the institute, he has been a shop assistant.

#### The Case of Sidenko | a Pentecostalist|

From the ruling of Krasnodar Territory Court of 18 January 1980 (Chronicles 56, 62):

From 1976 [Fëdor] Sidenko circulated orally slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet political and social system among the citizens of Starotitarovskaya village.

During a conversation with the director of School No. 1, A.N. Kotov, in December 1976, Sidenko slandered the Soviet state and our country's leaders. He said, in particular, that 'the Soviet comes from the devil and not from God', and that he was waiting for the day when China would have her atom bomb ready and would declare war on the USSR.

During a conversation with school-teacher N.V. Tolokonnikova Sidenko slandered the Communist Party, saying: 'All communists are dishonest; during the war they sat it out in the rear and sent millions of others to face the bullets in the front line. All our rulers are bandits'.

In June 1977 Sidenko told villager Kutenko: 'I hate this system, where people live as though in concentration camps, I hate the communists. If there is a war I'll take a gun and shoot the communists'.

During a conversation with villagers P.I. Shevchenko, L.V. Trots and L.V. Filonova on 2 September 1977, Sidenko slanderously asserted that 'Soviet power spits on the souls of believers; there is lawlessness and injustice everywhere'.

In May 1978 Sidenko sent a letter to the editors of the newspaper Soviet Kuban, in which he made slanderous

allegations about the persecution of believers in the USSR on account of their religious convictions, about the state system in our country and about the rights and freedom of Soviet citizens. He wrote: 'On paper we are free, but in reality we are slaves'.

The forensic psychiatric commission has concluded that Sidenko is suffering from a mental illness in the form of continuous, fairly progressive schizophrenia (paranoid form)...

#### The Case of Yakunin

Yakunin's final speech at his trial (see Chronicle 58):

In my final speech, which will be short, I would like to discuss the reasons behind the dissident activities which are now imputed to me as a crime. The chief religious commandment which every Christian must obey is contained in the double, indivisible formula: 'Love your God with all your heart, and your neighbour as yourself'. According to this commandment, love of God is inseparable from love of one's neighbour, and serving one's neighbour is one way of serving God himself. 'Who is my neighbour?' a legal expert and interpreter of Mosaic law once asked Christ (Luke, chapter 10). In reply Christ related a parable, according to which our neighbour is a fellow-believer and fellow-countryman who has fallen on misfortune and hard times. All my human rights activities, including my work for the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR, were aimed at helping my neighbours - Orthodox, Catholic, Baptist, Pentecostalist, Adventist - the Christians of Russia, who were being attacked. My religious conscience commanded me to defend their right to freedom of belief. Furthermore, it is my religious duty as a priest to defend the interests of the Church, for Christ said: 'A good shepherd will lay down his life for his sheep'. The trial has come to an end, only the judgment remains. Whatever that may be, I will greet it with a peaceful conscience and gratitude to God for my fate, for the fact that I had the good fortune to be present at the sources of Russia's religious revival, for being granted the honour of defending the rights of believers, and for the years of life still left to me. And so, the trial is ending. But neither this trial, nor the trials of other dissidents, nor the public recantation of the faint-hearted Dudko, can suppress the truth - the truth about the real position of religion, the Church and believers in our country.

An extract from Yakunin's comments on the trial transcript:

I said: 'I believe that all my activities up to my arrest were aimed at helping believers. During the investigation I became convinced that my documents and statements had been used by the NTS [People's Labour Alliance] in the interests of harming the Soviet Union. I totally disagree with these NTS methods. I consider it harmful to use the religious revival for political purposes, including for anti-Soviet ones'. In the record my remarks look like this: the 'I believe' of the first sentence is transcribed in the past tense as 'I believed'. The second sentence: 'I became convinced', etc, has been turned into the

following: 'During the investigation I realized that these activities were harmful to the state'. On the basis of this falsified sentence the court concluded in the judgment that I apparently 'condemned my own activities'.

Yakunin's statement of 24 September 1980:

On studying the trial transcript for 16 September, I discovered in particular that it differs from some of my evidence in court, a matter which I have already pointed out. My defence lawyer, L.M. Popov, promised me when we talked on 21 August that he would send his own remarks concerning the transcript to the court if...it should not correspond to my evidence in court, but he did not keep his promise. Therefore I wish to state that I dispense with the services of lawyer L.M. Popov. Please inform my wife, I.G. Yakunina, that I authorize her to hire another lawyer to defend me in the RSFSR Supreme Court.

Addendum to the Cassation Appeal of 12 November 1981:

On 24 September the Criminal Cases Board of Moscow City Court, presided over by Lubentsova, decided not to accept my corrections to the transcript of my trial, on the grounds that they were 'incorrect'. Since an official tape-recording was made of the court proceedings, it is possible to correct any accidental mistakes in the record. This refusal to accept my corrections concerning the truth of what happened in court means that the transcript has been deliberately distorted and falsified; this constitutes a disgraceful violation of the elementary rules governing the administration of justice.

\* \* \*

During G. Yakunin's (Chronicle 58) trial, Father Kirill Chernetsky was conducting a service in the church of Our Lady of Kazan (Kolomenskoe, Moscow). He turned to his congregation and said: 'At this moment they are trying Father Gleb, a just man and a priest, in Moscow. I ask you all to pray to God with me for the health of Father Gleb'. He then led the congregation in prayer. Soon afterwards he was transferred to a church in a far corner of Moscow Region.

#### The Case of Kalep

According to the indictment, Kalep (for his trial see Chronicle 62):

During the years 1974-5 systematically prepared placards defaming the Soviet social system, which he put up in prominent places at work.

In the spring of 1978 he composed a document, dated 11 April, entitled 'The Fundamental Law and the Banning of People from their Profession', which contained slanderous fabrications. He made at least nine typed copies, which he circulated; he showed one copy to his colleagues at work, gave one to a representative of a foreign state, sent some to the mass media, and published it in the illegal, anti-Soviet collection Additional Materials on the Free Circulation of Ideas and Information in Estonia (Chronicle 57). He kept six copies, for further circulation in his home town of Pärnu, until 20 October 1980.

In 1978 he composed the document 'Statement Concerning Permission to Emigrate, No. 5', dated 5 December, which gave a distorted picture of Soviet life. He made at least ten typed copies, which he circulated; he showed a copy to his colleagues at work, sent some to state institutions, gave one to a representative of a foreign state, and published it in the illegal collection Additional Materials on the Free Circulation of Ideas and Information in Estonia. He kept seven copies for further circulation in his home town and at work, until 20 October 1980.

In the summer of 1979 he composed the document 'Statement Concerning Permission to Emigrate, No. 6', dated 10 August, which slandered the Soviet system. He made at least six typed copies, which he circulated; he showed one copy to his colleagues at work, sent some to state institutions, gave one to a representative of a foreign state, and published it in the illegal collection Additional Materials on the Free Circulation of Ideas and Information in Estonia. He kept three copies for further circulation, until 20 October 1980.

In the spring of 1980 he composed the document 'Statement Concerning Permission to Emigrate, No. 7', dated 25 March, which contained slanderous, anti-Soviet fabrications. He made seven typed copies, which he circulated; he showed one copy to his colleagues at work, gave one to a representative of a foreign state, and sent some to state institutions. He kept three copies for circulation in his home town, until 20 October 1980.

In 1979-80 he made at least three typed copies of the 'BBC Interview with A.I. Solzhenitsyn in the Summer of 1979'. He kept two copies for circulation at work, until 20 October 1980.

In the summer of 1980 he made at least [? - figure missing from the Russian text] copies of an English 'Open Letter', which defamed Soviet justice. The Estonian text was published in the illegal collection Additional Materials on the Free Circulation of Ideas and Information in Estonia. He circulated this by giving a copy to a representative of a foreign state and kept two copies for further circulation (in his home town) until 20 October 1980.

In 1974-80, in the course of several conversations with colleagues E. Mecal, H.E. Lange, A. Pajusalu, J. Põhjala, J. Altnuu, R. Tigane and H. Tooming at the Pärnu collective farm construction office, he systematically made slanderous and untrue allegations concerning the leading role of the Communist Party in Soviet society, Marxist-Leninist ideology and the economic policies of the Soviet Union. And in the summer of 1979 he called on his colleagues to disrupt their work.

#### The Case of Niitsoo

Extract from the judgment (for Niitsoo's trial see Chronicle 62):

On 16 April 1980, during an evening party at the Friendship cafe for young people in Tartu, Niitsoo made slanderous and untrue allegations concerning the Soviet political and social system, calling for violence against the communists, for the overthrow of Soviet power and the restoration of a bourgeois state in Estonia.

On 22 October 1980 he had a telephone conversation at

work in the Tartu sector of the State Institute for Cultural Monuments in the presence of others, during which he made false and distorted statements about anti-Soviet speeches which had apparently been made in Tartu. Furthermore, Nitsoo kept at work, intending to circulate them, copies of the typescripts of 'The Big Game in Afghanistan' and 'The Advice of the West at a Time of Mortal Danger', and also tape-recordings of broadcasts made in 1980 in Estonian by Swedish radio and Radio Liberty in Munich, which contained slanderous fabrications which defamed the Soviet political and social system...

Nitsoo pleaded not guilty to anti-Soviet propaganda and claims that although he did speak disparagingly of Komsomol officials on 16 April 1980 in the Friendship cafe and kept certain written material at home and at work, he did this without the intention of circulating them.

CORRECTIONS TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

Chronicle 39: p. 177: Slovodnyuk should read Slobodnyuk (see Chronicle 46 for more details).

Chronicle 56: p. 160: Šapčiuviene should read Šlapčiuviene.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Alexander Zinoviev, Svetloe budushchee.
- 2 Good Day (in German).
- 3 Works by, respectively, the poet Anna Akhmatova and the writer Boris Pasternak.
- 4 Mikhail Bulgakov (1891-1940), a well-known non-conformist writer of surrealist tendency.
- 5 Works written in the USSR, published abroad, then smuggled back into the USSR.
- 6 Published weekly in Russian in Paris.
- 7 Russian-language books by, respectively, A. Solzhenitsyn, A. Podrabinek and A. Avtorhhanov.
- 8 Berëzka stores sell goods only for foreign currency.
- 9 Published in Russian by Khronika Press, New York, 1976.
- 10 By Mikhail Sholokhov, who has long been an 'establishment' writer.
- 11 Published in Kontinent, Paris, 1976, No. 9.
- 12 Pamyat No. 3, VNCA Press, Paris, 1980 (580 pages) is a collection of writings and documents on themes of Soviet history which could not be published in the USSR because of censorship.
- 13 N.I. Kibalchich (1854-81), a scientist who helped assassinate Tsar Alexander II and was therefore executed.
- 14 See note 5.
- 15 Collection No. 1. of Pamyat, Khronika Press, New York (600 pages). See note 12.
- 16 On Pugachëv and his forced departure from Gorky University in 1969 see Chronicles 6 and 10.
- 17 Probably telegrams of support for Roginsky. A strong international campaign was conducted on his behalf by historians.
- 18 Publishing-house of the émigré anti-Soviet group NTS (Popular Labour Alliance), based in Frankfurt.
- 19 See note 18.
- 20 See note 5.
- 21 Spelled Klementovich in Chronicle 60.
- 22 As Kizilov.
- 23 A decree of 1972 providing for citizens to be formally warned in writing that their activities are bordering on crime. See details in Chronicle 32, pp. 64-7.
- 24 A wood near Moscow where Jewish refusenik families have often held picnics.
- 25 See note 23.
- 26 On the special problems of the exiled Meskhetian people see Chronicles 7, 9, 19 and 20.
- 27 This is the Georgian name of Enver Odabashev, the Meskhetians' leader who was imprisoned. On him see Chronicles 7, 9, 17, 19, 21 and 22.
- 28 He was later sentenced to one year in a camp.
- 29 See illustrations 23 and 24 in Chronicle 62.
- 30 See note 23.
- 31 Corrected in the English translation.
- 32 Both men were later sentenced under article 70 to five years in strict-regime camps.
- 33 See note 23.
- 34 See note 23.
- 35 Spelling corrected here to conform to the original Lithuanian source.
- 36 Familiar form of Aleksei.
- 37 Yu.I. Fëdorov died soon after his emigration.
- 38 Bogdan Klimchak (born about 1935-7) comes from West

- Ukraine. In 1960-3 he was imprisoned for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. In 1978 he crossed into Iran with his (allegedly nationalistic) writings, intending to publish them abroad. He was handed back by the Iranian authorities in November 1978 and sentenced to 15 years of camp, plus five of exile (articles 64 and 70).
- 39 Born in 1918, Bumeisters is an electrical engineer who worked in an institute of the Latvian Fishing Ministry. He was also, secretly, a leader of the (underground) Latvian Social Democratic Party.
- 40 Familiar form of Sergei.
- 41 Familiar form of Alexander.
- 42 Familiar form of Vladimir.
- 43 See note 23.
- 44 Presumably the psychiatric register is meant, as Starchik has in the past been forcibly interned in mental hospitals for dissent.
- 45 See note 23.
- 46 Anatoly Ilin was arrested in 1969 after apparently trying to assassinate Mr Brezhnev, and ruled not responsible by psychiatrists. In 1982 he was still held in the Kazan SPH.
- 47 Already corrected in the English translation.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The original Russian text of Chronicle 63, 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 16-62 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 Smolensk 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 9FC, 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.

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