

A CHRONICLE OF
CURRENT EVENTS

Nrs 55-6

Journal of the Human Rights
Movement in the USSR



Amnesty International
Publications

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A Chronicle of Current Events Numbers 55-6

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Current Events**

Numbers 55-6



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Abbreviations

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

Note on Transliteration

It is always problematic what to do in English with the Russian letter 'ë'. Hitherto it has sometimes transliterated as 'yo', sometimes as 'e'. In future 'ë' will mostly be used, so that, for example, 'Kovalyov' becomes 'Kovalëv' and 'Pyotr' will become 'Pëtr'.

Preface

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

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

In February 1971, starting with number 16, Amnesty International began publishing English translations of the *Chronicles* as they appeared. This latest volume, containing *Chronicles* 55-6, is, like previous ones, a translation of copies of the original typewritten texts (which reached London on 1 and 29 September 1980). The editorial insertions are the endnotes (numbered) and the words in square brackets. The table of contents, abbreviations, illustrations, index of names, bibliographical note and material on the outside and inside of the cover have been added to help the general reader. None of this material appeared in the original texts.

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

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

Amnesty International November 1980

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 55

31 December 1979

Contents

The Trials of Streltsov; Pëtr and Vasily Sichko; Litvin; Berdnik; Badzë; Reshat Dzhemilev; Stasevich, V. Mikhailov and Kochneva. Arrests, searches, interrogations. In the prisons and camps. In exile. After release. Events in Lithuania. Persecution of believers. The right to leave. Miscellaneous reports. Letters and statements. Samizdat news. Addenda and corrigenda.

TWELFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Trials

The Trial of Streltsov

On 25 October Vasily Streltsov (*Chronicle 53*), a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was arrested in Dolina (Ivano-Frankovsk Region) for a 'violation of residence regulations'. Two years ago he renounced his Soviet citizenship and sent his passport to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (*Chronicle 54*).

On 12 November a Dolina court sentenced Streltsov under article 196 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code to two years in strict-regime camps. (In the corresponding article 198 of the R S F S R Criminal Code the maximum sentence is one year.)

Neither the inhabitants of the town where Streltsov had been a teacher for many years, nor Vasily's brother and only relative Pavel, knew anything about the trial. There were only two 'men in civilian clothes' in the courtroom. There was no defence lawyer. The trial lasted three hours.

After the trial Pavel Streltsov was refused a meeting with his brother on the grounds that he was 'in quarantine'. He was still in quarantine on 31 December.

The Trial of Pëtr and Vasily Sichko

On 4 December the Lvov Regional Court, presided over by Kryuchkov, examined the case of members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group Pëtr Sichko and his son Vasily, who were charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code). The prosecutor was Deputy Regional Procurator Rudenko. Defence lawyers were appointed by the investigators, in spite of the fact that the accused refused them. The court sentenced Pëtr Sichko to three years in strict-regime camps and Vasily Sichko to three years in hard-regime camps.

Only a 'specially invited' public was allowed into the courtroom. Stefania Petrash, Pëtr's wife and Vasily's mother, discovered only by chance, on December 7, that the trial had taken place.

Pëtr and Vasily Sichko were arrested on 5 July (*Chronicle 53*). The pre-trial investigation of their case was concluded on 26 September (*Chronicle 54*). They refused to take part in the investigation and did not sign a single record. Each time they were handcuffed and dragged to the investigator's office.

The trial started thus: 'The trial is beginning. All rise!' P. Sichko turned to his son: 'Do we sit, son?' — 'We sit, dad'. Police escorts grabbed them by the arms and lifted them up; they were forced to

hold them in a hanging position as they lifted their feet off the ground. 'Do we hang, son?' — 'We hang, pop!'

Father and son both refused to take part in the court proceedings. They were both charged in connection with their behaviour on 10 June at the grave of composer V. Ivasyuk (*Chronicles* 53, 54). There were no witnesses to support this charge, nor were there any of the leaflets mentioned in the newspapers *Ukrainian Youth* and *Red Dolina* (9 and 23 August respectively).

Vasily Sichko was also charged in connection with his poems, which had been confiscated at a search on the day of his arrest (in a hand-written notebook). Pëtr Sichko was also charged in connection with a letter which he had sent to the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on 30 April, protesting about the repressive measures taken against the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, commenting on the country's socio-economic position and renouncing his Soviet citizenship (*Chronicle* 53).

Two witnesses who were former fellow-students of Vasily Sichko testified that he had dreamed of forming an underground student organization. Pëtr Sichko responded by saying: 'Shame on students who defame the sacred values of learning!' He was then escorted from the courtroom and brought back only an hour before the trial ended.

Pëtr and Vasily Sichko refused to make final speeches and also to submit appeals. In prison after the trial Pëtr Sichko had a heart-attack. On 25 December he was transferred to a camp — uchr. UL-314/11 (town of Bryanka, Voroshilovgrad Region).

The Trial of Litvin

On 17 December in Vasilkov, Kiev Region, a court presided over by Vasileva examined the case of Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Yury Litvin, who was charged under article 188-1 part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('resisting a police official or people's vigilante'). Lawyer V. V. Medvedchuk defended Litvin.

Litvin had been arrested on 6 August (*Chronicle* 54). The trial was originally set for 13 December, but on that day it was postponed. Relatives and friends of the accused did not know the new date for the trial. Litvin's mother was called as a witness, but was handed the summons only on the day of the trial and arrived in court two hours late.

The indictment, based on the evidence of five district OVD officials, maintained that on July 19 Litvin was detained on a beach by police officials and that he put up resistance when they attempted to take him to a sobering-up station.

Witnesses Parubchenko and Bobyr, who had been with Litvin on the beach, testified that he had been completely sober and that he had tried to persuade the OVD officials to refrain from violence. Only

when they were dragging him to their car did he call them fascists and Nazi police. Sergeant Poligolov, who had participated in Litvin's detention and beaten him up at the sobering-up station, figured at the trial as a 'victim'.

The Judge said that the evidence of Parubchenko and Bobyr was untrustworthy, since one of them was a relative of the accused and the other an acquaintance. The sentence was three years in strict-regime camps. Kiev Regional Court left the original sentence unchanged on appeal.

The Trial of Berdnik

From 17 to 19 December in Kagarlyk, Kiev Region, the trial took place of Alexander Berdnik, charged under article 62 part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 70 of the R S F S R Code). Berdnik had been a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group from the moment of its inception in November 1976. He became its chairman after N. Rudenko's arrest in February 1977. He was arrested on 6 March 1979 (*Chronicle* 53).

For the Procurator's speech all who wished to do so were allowed to enter the courtroom. The Procurator said that he had intended to demand ten years in camps and five years' exile (the maximum under article 62 part 2), but in view of Berdnik's repentance he was demanding eight and three.

The defence counsel asked for lenience since Berdnik had admitted his mistakes; furthermore the time limit had expired for his first conviction (in 1949) to be taken into account, and therefore part 2 of article 62 was not applicable to him.

In his final speech Berdnik said that in principle the aims of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were good, but in practice the Group had harmed the interests of the State. He approved the activities of N. Rudenko. He was sentenced to six years in strict-regime camps and three years' exile.

The Trial of Badzë [previously transliterated Badzyo]

From 19 to 21 December Kiev City Court, presided over by Usatenko, examined the case of Yury Badzë, who was charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. The prosecutor was Procurator Lesnoi.

Badzë's wife S. Kirichenko (*Chronicle* 54) refused to engage a lawyer for her husband on the grounds that she did not consider a single Soviet lawyer would be prepared to question the constitutional legality of article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code and therefore be able to provide a valid defence at a political trial. Therefore Defence

Counsel L. P. Korytchenko was appointed by the court to defend Badzë.

The first search of Badzë's home was conducted on the night of 3-4 February (*Chronicle 52*). He was arrested on 23 April (*Chronicle 53*).

At the end of May a search was conducted in connection with the Badzë case at the home of the 79-year-old writer B. Antonenko-Davidovich (*Chronicle 45*; see also 'Miscellaneous Reports' in this issue). Memoirs and stories on which he had been working were confiscated. After the search Antonenko-Davidovich was summoned several times for interrogations. On the eve of his eightieth birthday he was obliged to leave Kiev. (The Ukrainian Writers' Union did not mark his birthday in any way.)

The investigation of the Badzë case was conducted by K G B Major M. M. Slobozhenyuk, who also conducted the case of G. Snegiryov (*Chronicle 52*; he was only a captain at that time).

Badzë's friends were not admitted to the courtroom, which had been filled with a specially invited public. Badzë's wife and 19-year-old son were summoned as witnesses and were the last to take the stand.¹ Svetlana Kirichenko announced that she would not give evidence at a closed trial such as she was convinced this was. The presiding Judge interpreted these words as an insult to the court and excluded Kirichenko from the proceeding. Sergei Badzë was not permitted to remain in the courtroom after he had given evidence.²

The main charge in the indictment concerned 'a document of anti-Soviet nature entitled *The Right to Live*', a book written by Yury Badzë. There was also a charge relating to the first draft of the book which had been stolen from acquaintances of Badzë in 1977. The only thing officially known about this 'document' was that it had existed, and this was known only through the evidence of Badzë himself. As regards the book's second draft, it was argued that Badzë must have intended to circulate it, since five typewritten copies of the first 50 pages had been confiscated along with the manuscript.

None of the witnesses confirmed that the book had been circulated. The girl who had typed out the first 50 pages said that she had not read any of the rest. Badzë's acquaintances, who had kept the book for him, testified that they had not looked inside the briefcase where it was kept. Svetlana Kirichenko, in whose hand the book had been rewritten, gave no evidence at all.

Badzë was also charged in connection with a letter he had written to the Sixth Ukrainian Writers' Congress. The anti-Soviet nature of the letter consisted of Badzë's defence of the 'anti-Sovietists' Svetlichny

and Stus. (When the letter was written, in 1971, neither Svetlichny nor Stus had been arrested.)

Badzë was also charged in connection with possession and circulation of the following documents:—

— a brochure entitled *The Assimilation of Ukrainians and Belorussians by the Poles*, published in Poland in 1937.

— N. Rudenko's book *Economic Monologues*.

— I. Dzyuba's work *Internationalism or Russification?*

Badzë testified that he had not read the first two works and had had no intention of circulating them. There was no other evidence on this subject. As regards Dzyuba's work, the story that it had been in Badzë's possession came from a single witness— Igor Buchinsky. The accused refuted his evidence categorically.

The final charge was that in 1966 Badzë had prepared and circulated a slanderous anti-Soviet document— an explanation to a Party meeting investigating a disciplinary case against him. Witnesses confirmed that the meeting had asked Badzë to explain his behaviour on 4 September 1965 in the Ukraina Cinema (where public protests had been made against political arrests), and that Badzë had given a politically immature explanation. Badzë himself had stated that he had 'read out' his speech and this was counted as proof of preparation and dissemination. Neither the document itself nor Badzë's statement was in the case file.

In the judgment it was said that Badzë had conducted anti-Soviet propaganda 'to undermine faith in the Communist Party', on which his book *The Right to Live* poured filth. He had shown himself to be anti-Soviet in 1965 at the Party hearing of his case. There were no extenuating circumstances in the case; the accused had not admitted his guilt, although he had admitted that some of his assertions were untrue. Svetlana Kirichenko was named in the judgement as a criminal accomplice, since she had made a copy of the book *The Right to Live*.

Yu. Badzë received the maximum sentence under article 62— seven years in strict-regime camps and five years of exile. After the judgement had been read out Yury Badzë said that he had never admitted that assertions incriminating him were 'untrue' and demanded that this sentence be erased from the judgment.

The Trial of Reshat Dzhemilev

The trial of Reshat Dzhemilev, arrested on 4 April (*Chronicle 53*), was resumed (*Chronicle 54*) in Tashkent on 11 December. Dzhemilev's relatives and friends were allowed into the courtroom.

On the second or third day of the trial Dzhemilev said that he no longer wished to be defended, since his counsel was behaving like a

prosecutor. The court passed sentence on 17 December: three years in strict-regime camps.

The Trial of Stasevich, V. Mikhailov and Kochneva

On the night of 7-8 October Aleksei Stasevich (b. 1957), Vladimir Mikhailov (b. 1952) and Alevtina Kochneva (b. 1959) were arrested in Leningrad for writing on the walls of houses the slogans: 'Down with State Capitalism!' and 'Democracy, not Demagogy', and also for posting a sticker signed 'the Revolutionary Communards'.

The sticker said that the Revolutionary Communards saw the source of evil in the world in the existence of the State, private property and the family. They invited people to join together in a world revolutionary organization so as to fight by every means possible against society's inhumanity in all its manifestations.

There was a document in the case file which said that on October 7 the police station had received a telephone call informing them of the address of a flat where leaflets were being printed and anti-Soviet literature read, and that that evening three people would be in the flat writing slogans.

On 8 October the occupant of this flat, Yu. A. [Yury Arkadievich] Zaidenshnir, was beaten up by eight unknown men when returning from work in the evening; he was then taken to a police station and given 15 days for hooliganism. His wife went to visit the 'witnesses' at the addresses given in the record and found out that no such people lived there.

One hour after Zaidenshnir's detention his flat was searched. Religious and philosophical books, samizdat, copies of *A Chronicle of Current Events*, a bulletin of the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives, a typewriter and notebooks were confiscated (71 items in all).

In Leningrad on the same day the flats of A. [Aleksei] Osipov's wife and mother were searched. Religious literature and the book *The Essence of Anarchism* were confiscated. After the search A. Osipov was taken to the police station, where he was detained until morning. He was interrogated and testified that he had intended to go out with Stasevich, Mikhailov and Kochneva to stick up posters, and that the Revolutionary Communards had no leader. Osipov later wrote a statement to the Procurator retracting all his evidence on the grounds that the interrogators had violated the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Stasevich, Mikhailov and Kochneva were detained in a KGB investigations prison. The investigator conducting the interrogations alleged that they would be tried not for their convictions, but all the same tried to find out who else shared their way of thinking.

* * *

The trial took place on 25 December. The judge was Demchenko, the

Procurator — Lyubavina. The accused were charged under article 206, part 2 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism'). The seats in the small courtroom were occupied in the main by unknown people. There were not enough seats for the friends of the accused.

Stasevich refused the services of a lawyer. Mikhailov's and Kochneva's lawyers, Ya. Gurevich and Goroshevskaya, submitted a petition for the charges to be reformulated under article 190-1. The court rejected the petition.

In his speech for the prosecution the Procurator said that the motives of the accused were not political but were pure hooliganism. For example, the stickers contained a load of nonsense incomprehensible both to himself and to the other members of the court; was this not hooliganism? The stickers had been posted with the intention of violating public order. The Procurator demanded three years in strict-regime camps for Stasevich and Mikhailov and one-and-a-half years in ordinary-regime camps for Kochneva.

The lawyers and the accused insisted on a reformulation of the case under article 190-1. Stasevich and Mikhailov pleaded not guilty. Kochneva pleaded guilty and said that her activities had been anti-social.

In his final speech Stasevich commented on the contents of the sticker:

What's anti-social in it? The fact that we consider people to be exploited in our society and their consciousness manipulated? That conditions do not exist for people's free development and creativity? That we feel solidarity with the French youth movement of 1968? That we consider the commune the kernel of a communist society?

The sentences passed were those demanded by the Procurator.

* * *

During the investigation Stasevich and Mikhailov were interrogated in connection with the cases of V. Poresh (*Chronicle 54*) and A. Ogorodnikov (*Chronicle 54* and this issue). Right there in the courtroom KGB officials detained A. Osipov and Mikhailov's wife Galina for interrogation as witnesses in these cases.

Arrests, Searches, Interrogations

The Case of T. Velikanova

At the end of December former political prisoner V. Novoseltsev and

Moscow Helsinki Group member T. Osipova were interrogated in Moscow in connection with the case of T. Velikanova.

* * *

The investigator informed Novoseltsev that a document entitled *Memorandum of the Fifty-Seven* (*Chronicle 51*) had been confiscated during a search of T. Velikanova's flat. The investigator asked Novoseltsev whether he was the author of this document. Novoseltsev said that he was not. The investigator said that the *Chronicle of Current Events* had named him as the author of the 'Memorandum', but Novoseltsev replied that this was not proof.

When the investigator asked whether it was true that Novoseltsev was in opposition to the *Chronicle of Current Events* and to Sakharov, Novoseltsev replied that he was also in opposition to the K G B. When asked whether the *Chronicle of Current Events* was objective, Novoseltsev refused to answer.

* * *

On 29 December Investigator Katalikov interrogated Osipova. He said that T. Velikanova had been charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

Osipova stated that she considered the initiation of criminal charges against Velikanova absurd and refused to take part in the investigation. She also informed the investigator that several people, herself included, had sent an open appeal to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet stating that they shared equal responsibility with Velikanova for her activities (*Chronicle 54*).

In spite of Osipova's refusal to give evidence, Katalikov asked her what she knew about Velikanova's involvement in preparing, signing and distributing collective letters, statements and appeals; about her anti-Soviet activities in preparing and distributing slanderous documents; and about her dispatch abroad of various materials to be used for purposes hostile to the Soviet State.

Having recorded Osipova's refusal to answer all these questions, Katalikov asked her whether she understood article 182 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('refusal by a witness or evasion ... in giving evidence') and what was the purpose of her refusal. Osipova replied that she understood the article, that she had given her reasons, and that she had no purpose in mind.

* * *

A Committee to defend Tatyana Velikanova has been set up in Moscow. The Committee's 'Declaration' says in part:

We consider T. Velikanova's arrest, the investigation now in progress

and the impending trial to be acts of tyranny and lawlessness and we resolve to do everything possible in our situation to serve the function of public defenders and to facilitate publicity and public vigilance in the case.

We appeal to the public of other countries to form committees to defend Tatyana Velikanova and to inform our Committee of their activities.

The Committee is resolved to collect and circulate all the information we obtain about the investigation and examination of Velikanova's case and to give out information about what is being done to defend her. We will publish this information in special bulletins.

L. Bogoraz, E. Bonner, S. Kalistratova, L. Kopelev, A. Lavut and L. Ternovsky constituted the Committee.

Information Bulletin No. 1 (44 pages) was issued on 12 December. As well as the responses noted in *Chronicle 54*, the bulletin also contains: a letter by T. M. Velikanova's children describing her ceaseless activities as a human rights worker and the circumstances of her arrest; M. Gefter's statement 'This Should Not Be'; and G. Pomerant's essay 'On the Eve of Moloch's Anniversary', which finishes thus:

It is our common duty to fight the shades of Stalin, which are claiming these new victims on the eve of his hundredth anniversary; just a few more bodies to throw into the mass grave of the 30, 40 or 60 millions.

* * *

As noted in *Chronicle 54*, the statement 'On the Arrest of Tatyana Velikanova' was circulated for signatures. The final number of signatories was 393.³

The Yakunin Case

On 19 November a K G B investigator for especially important cases, Lt Col Martemyanov from Saratov, who 'specializes' in cases involving Christians, interrogated L. Poluektova (this was her second interrogation — see *Chronicle 54*).

During the interrogation Major Yakovlev, the head of the team investigating the Yakunin case, came into the office. He said: 'Here you are saying nothing, while Fr Gleb, on the other hand, is very chatty. What's going on, do you really think that the Committee to Defend Believers' Rights is a legal organization? Father Gleb alleges that it is'.

The following people were also interrogated in connection with the Yakunin case: P. Fomin (who had worked in the same church as

Fr Gleb); P. Volkov (a member of the Christian Seminar, on which see *Chronicles* 41, 43, 46; at his interrogation on 17 December he was asked what assignments Fr Gleb had given him); a certain Alik, Yakunin's aunts' neighbour; V. Tamakov (a friend of Yakunin who serves at the Nikolo-Kuzminky Church). Tamakov signed a statement at the interrogation condemning Fr Gleb's activities. Later he went to see Yakunin's wife and explained that the investigators had twisted his words and that he had been very tired and also in a hurry.

One of the witnesses was told that Fr Gleb had been charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda; however, judging from some of the questions put at the interrogations, one cannot exclude the possibility that there will be a charge of financial speculation.

For a long time Yakovlev refused to allow Fr Gleb to be given his prayer-book and psalter on the grounds that Fr Gleb 'ought to know all the prayers off by heart'. Eventually Yakovlev did permit Yakunin to be given the books, and also an Orthodox Calendar published by the Moscow Patriarchate.

* * *

On 17 November Fr Gleb's wife Iraida Yakunina wrote a letter to the USSR Procurator-General in which she described how the arrest and searches of their flat had taken place (*Chronicle* 54).

I demand a thorough investigation of the violations of legality I have described, the release of my husband and the return of the religious books, holy icons and crucifix illegally confiscated from us. All the other property confiscated at the searches should also be returned. I also demand the punishment of those guilty of this tyranny and lawlessness.

A legal analysis compiled by S. Kalistratova was attached to the statement in which she enumerated 12 articles of the Code of Criminal Procedure which had been violated by KGB officials during the arrest of G. Yakunin and searches of his flat.

* * *

The Pentecostals have published a statement in defence of Fr Gleb:

... The Orthodox priest Father Gleb Yakunin has played an active part in the struggle against violations of the rights of religious minorities in the Soviet Union. We wish to express our sincere gratitude to Father Gleb Yakunin for his invaluable work in dissipating the hostility which the atheistic state sows between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians ...

We appeal to the governments and parliaments of every country, to the Christians of the world, and to all people of good will, to join

in the battle to free Gleb Yakunin, using whatever strength God has given you.⁴

The Case of the Journal *Searches* (*Chronicles* 52-4) The Arrest of Abramkin

On 16 November one of the editors of the journal *Searches*, Gleb Pavlovsky (*Chronicle* 52), was taken to a police station for a 'chat'. It was conducted by two men in civilian clothes who refused to give their names and occupations in view of the 'unofficial nature of the meeting'. Pavlovsky was informed that his work with the journal constituted 'unlawful activity'; however, he could avoid prosecution if he promised the KGB that he would cease to take part in publishing the journal. They offered to help find him a job suited to his qualifications (Pavlovsky is an historian, but works as a stoker). His anonymous acquaintances then asked him whether he would like to leave the USSR. Pavlovsky replied that he had no such intention.

The men said they would give him a week to consider their offers and asked him not to discuss the conversation or do any work on the journal before their next meeting. Pavlovsky refused to promise this.

Another 'chat' took place on 3 December. Pavlovsky immediately suggested that the KGB officials make a distinction between the personal requests which they had made of him, which he refused to discuss, and the situation created by the persecution of *Searches*: he said that he was prepared to discuss the possibility of registering the journal officially and being given the wherewithal to print it. The officials demanded that Pavlovsky tell them whether he would cease his participation in the journal, or whether he was making a contrary statement 'on the continuation of his antisocial activities'. Pavlovsky did not answer this question. Eventually, after various threats and promises (of imprisonment, of better living conditions, etc), Pavlovsky was asked to give his assurance that even if he remained formally on the editorial board of *Searches*, he would have nothing to do with his publication. Pavlovsky refused.

* * *

In the middle of November Mikhail Yakovlev, a regular contributor to *Searches*, was detained in Moscow near the home of Valery Abramkin. Yakovlev had arrived from Odessa two or three days previously and noticed that he was being followed. He was taken to a police station, where they searched him (and confiscated A. Zinoviev's book *Notes of a Nightwatchman*) and told him — firstly to leave Moscow within 72 hours and to return to Odessa, where he was registered; and secondly to find a job in Odessa and to keep it

for at least a year. This was the second time that Yakovlev had been detained in the course of two months (see *Chronicle 54*).

On 4 December seven searches were conducted in connection with the *Searches* case (all the search warrants were signed by Yu. A. Burtsev); they took place at the homes of V. Abramkin, V. Sorokin, G. Pavlovsky, Yu. Grimm, P. Egides, M. Gefter and A. Gorgan.

As Valery Abramkin was returning from work in the morning he was put into a car and driven home. A search then took place during which the record of a previous search (*Chronicle 52*) and personal correspondence were confiscated, as well as editorial materials. Burtsev was in charge of the search and informed his subordinates that they could show their credentials only with his permission. (However, nobody received his permission.)

After the search Abramkin was asked to go for an interrogation. He started to collect some things together. Burtsev told him that this was unnecessary as he would be returning home after the talk. However, Abramkin did not return home. The next day his wife Ekaterina Gaidamachuk (*Chronicles 41, 45*) telephoned Burtsev, who told her to contact the police station. There they told her that Abramkin had long ago been taken to Butyrka Prison. When she telephoned Burtsev again, he confirmed that Abramkin had been arrested.

On 10 December V. Kuvakin (*Chronicle 54*) was interrogated in connection with the Abramkin case. Investigator Knyazev told him that Abramkin had been charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. On 11 December the Moscow Helsinki Group protested against Abramkin's arrest (Document No 114 — see 'Letters and Statements').

They came to search Viktor Sorokin's flat (in Pushkino, Moscow Region) early in the morning. While he was dressing the door was broken in and a number of people in civilian clothes burst into his room. They behaved exceptionally rudely, turned the house upside-down and provoked and insulted the occupants. Sorokin said that their actions were 'fascist' and 'Gestapo-like'.

Materials relating to *Searches*, manuscripts of scientific papers (Sorokin is an economist), blank paper, a picture of Solzhenitsyn, personal correspondence and addresses were confiscated. Many books were taken but not entered on the record. Sorokin was not allowed to look through the confiscated articles or to add any notes to the record.

Immediately after the search Sorokin was taken 'for interrogation', but was told that he would be back home in a few hours. He was taken to the district police station and interrogated about the *Searches* case. (The interrogation was conducted by First Lt Novikov, one of the people who had conducted the search.) Sorokin refused to answer questions and was then taken to the investigations prison.

The next day Sorokin was handed a warrant for his detention in connection with suspected violations of article 192 ('insulting a representative of the authorities...') and article 192-1 ('insulting a police official') of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

On the morning of 7 December Sorokin was taken for a psychiatric examination and then to a neuropathologist in a town clinic. He made the journey in handcuffs. On the evening of the same day he was made to sign a statement that he would not leave Pushkino and was then released. On 17 December Sorokin was charged with the use of 'insulting expressions and intolerable comparisons'. From being a 'suspect' he became an 'accused'.

Yury Grimm was also taken to a police station for insulting officials — he told the people searching his flat that they were behaving like bandits. He was released a few hours later.

Pëtr Egides was taken to a police station after the search of his home, but released after half-an-hour. About a week beforehand, O V I R had informed him that he had permission to emigrate.

Mikhail Yakovlevich Gefter is an historian and specialist in the nineteenth-century Revolutionary movements. Several of his articles have been published in *Searches*. The search of his home lasted fourteen hours and a large number of his papers was confiscated.

Poems by Iosif Brodsky and manuscripts of literary works were confiscated from the home of Abramkin's acquaintance Angelina Gorgan.

On 6 December P. Egides, V. Gershuni, R. Lert, Yu. Grimm, G. Pavlovsky and V. Sokirko wrote 'A Statement from the Editors of *Searches*':

All of us — the six members of the editorial board of *Searches* who remain at liberty — were and shall remain the EDITORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE JOURNAL *SEARCHES*. We are ready to stand trial together with Abramkin and Sorokin and to DEFEND OUR INNOCENCE OPENLY IN A PUBLIC COURT HEARING.

Members of the Moscow Helsinki Group I. Kovalëv, T. Osipova and Yu. Yarym-Agayev appealed for the release of Abramkin and Sorokin

and for efforts to prevent the arrest of Pavlovsky. A member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, F. Serebrov, joined them in their appeal.

* * *

Muscovites **Aleksei and Irina Zalessky** published 'An Appeal to the Christians of Our Country':

Dear brothers and sisters,

The clouds are again thickening over our heads. Father Gleb Yakunin, a member of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights, was arrested a month ago... Not long ago, several more defenders of human rights were arrested: Valery Abramkin, Tatyana Velikanova and others... It is the duty of every honest Christian to answer these repressions with a decisive 'No!'

In the place of every religious or human rights activist who is arrested or loses his job dozens of new ones will appear... The time has come for every Christian — Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant and Baptist — to test his conscience. Let each one ask himself the following questions: Who is he with? With Christ or with the anti-Christ? Is he ready to suffer for Christ or for his neighbour (which is one and the same thing) today, this minute? ... We are asking all Christians to pray for the prisoners of conscience Gleb Yakunin, Tatyana Velikanova, Valery Abramkin and others.

The Case of the Journal *Community* (Chronicle 54)

On 20 November **A. Ogorodnikov** should have been released after serving his sentence for 'parasitism' (*Chronicles* 51, 52), but he is still being held in custody in Leningrad, where he was brought from camp. He is facing a new charge.

On 22 November Ogorodnikov's mother was interrogated. Investigator Cherkosov told her that on 15 September a criminal case had been instituted against her son under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. She refused to sign the interrogation record. His father was also interrogated and asked where Ogorodnikov had found the money to buy the house in Redkino where he had been living before his arrest.

On 14 November **T. Goricheva** (*Chronicles* 38, 43, 48, 49) was summoned to an interrogation in Leningrad. She refused to give evidence. On 28 November the Moscow homes of **V. Burtsev** and **V. Kovalenko** were searched. The searches were conducted by two investigators from Leningrad — Lepetunov and Cherkosov. Burtsev was taken away for interrogation after the search. The next day his wife Lyudmila was interrogated, and told that Poresh had been charged under article

190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. She refused to give evidence. Kovalenko was also interrogated.

By 7 December **L. Regelson**, **V. Kapitanchuk**, **E. Barabanov**, **Fr Dmitry (Dudko)** and member of the Christian Seminar **V. Popkov** had all been summoned for interrogation. Regelson and Kapitanchuk did not go. Barabanov said that he knew neither Poresh nor Ogorodnikov.

V. Popkov (who lives in Smolensk) was in Moscow for several days. On 4 or 5 December he was grabbed in the street and taken off to a police station, where he was threatened with a criminal charge for violating residence regulations and for a parasitic way of life. He was ordered to leave Moscow within 72 hours. From the police station he was taken to Lefortovo Prison for interrogation. The investigator told him that he would be interrogated in connection with the case of Poresh, Ogorodnikov and Yakunin. Popkov objected that these were three different cases. The investigator did not argue. The interrogation lasted about seven hours. When he left Lefortovo Popkov noticed that he was being followed. He was followed for two days, until he left for Smolensk.

On 6 December **D. Dudko** was interrogated at Lefortovo. In reply to questions put by Investigator Cherkosov, Dudko said that Ogorodnikov was his spiritual son, that he did not remember Poresh and that he knew nothing about the journal *Community*. He remarked that the authorities had lost contact with young people and stated that the K G B aggravated conflicts between believers. Cherkosov told Dudko that Poresh was being allowed to have spiritual literature in his cell.

* * *

On 12 December the Moscow Helsinki Group issued a protest against the persecution of participants in the Christian Seminar and publishers of *Community* (Document No. 115 — see 'Letters and Statements').⁵

The Arrest of Lesiv

On 15 November Yaroslav Lesiv was arrested in the town of Bolekhov, Ivano-Frankovsk Region, and charged with possessing narcotics.

Lesiv was searched before his arrest; the people searching him went straight for his jacket, in which they found a packet of drugs. Several days before the arrest Lesiv had been to a clinic for an X-ray and had hung his jacket out of sight in a room next door to the doctor's office.

'A small quantity', as the record put it, of some sort of white powder was also found during the search. Lesiv assumes that the powder was planted on the spot.⁶

The Arrest of Ryzhov-Davydov

On 28 November a series of searches took place in Kuibyshev. The

warrants were signed by Senior Investigator G. I. Inovlotsky of the City Procuracy. Searches were conducted at the homes of Viktor Davydov (on 27 October Viktor Ryzhov — see *Chronicles* 51, 53 — was married and adopted the surname Davydov), his wife Lyubov Davydova, Anatoly Sarbayev (who was not in Kuibyshev at the time — see below), his wife Larissa Sarbayeva, philology student at Kuibyshev University Sofia Yuzefpolskaya and R. V. Yushkina.

A typewriter, the samizdat works *The Phenomenon of Totalitarianism*, *Problems of Contemporary Christianity* and 'There Will be No Second Coming (A Composition in Memory of Stalin)' (*Chronicle* 54), a photocopy of a letter from Boris Zubakhin (*Chronicle* 54) containing a critique of the projected Constitution, copies of statements from his wife to the Regional Procuracy, *Information Bulletin No. 19 of The Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes*, *New Journal [Novyi Zhurnal]* (U S A) No. 93, the books *A Diary of My Meetings* by the émigré artist Yu. Annenkov and *Hegelianism in the Service of German Fascism* by Arzhanov, typewritten copies of V. Bebko's letters from camp (*Chronicle* 54), typewritten copies of poetry by O. Mandelshtam, a signed photograph from P. Yakir, and a notebook were confiscated from Davydov (who was named Ryzhov-Davydov in the search record).

Copies of the same poems by Mandelshtam, a syringe, 18 blank 'Memoranda on Temporary Inability to Work', four blank U V D polyclinic prescription forms, the books *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (vol. 2) and *From Erasmus of Rotterdam to Bertrand Russell*, notebooks, letters, notes and a sample of the print from her typewriter were confiscated from L. Davydova.

On 28 November Viktor Davydov was arrested. He was charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. On the same day Investigator Inovlotsky interrogated Lyubov Davydova. He asked her who was the author of *The Phenomenon of Totalitarianism*, what her husband thought about the Soviet system, and who had been with him on his birthday. The next day Davydova was seized on the street and taken to the Procurator of Kuibyshev, V. V. Kazakov. Kazakov asked Davydova to tell him about her husband. When she refused Kazakov promised her that 'there will be talks for her in other places'.

On 29 November S. Yuzefpolskaya was summoned to see the Assistant Dean for Academic Studies, L. G. Kachedykov. He told her that if she did not take study leave or resign from the university of her own accord she would be expelled.

On 30 November a search was conducted at the home of Olga Mukhina. During the search Gennady Konstantinov (*Chronicles* 51, 53) dropped in. He also was searched and copies of the letters from F. Raskolnikov to Stalin and M. Bulgakov 'To the Soviet Government',

a notebook and a prescription bearing the stamp of a clinic for venereal skin diseases were confiscated.

On 7 December Anatoly Sarbayev (*Chronicles* 51, 53) arrived in Kuibyshev from Vladimir, where he is studying. Investigator Inovlotsky actually met him at the station and had him searched at the station police department. A portable typewriter, the book *The Theory and Practice of Anarchism* (published in 1919), a book in French — *The New Dissidents*, an unposted letter addressed to V. Bebko, a notebook, postal receipts and notes (including a page with the inscription 'Middle Volga Group for the Defence of Human Rights') were confiscated. After the search Sarbayev was taken to the Procuracy for interrogation. There he was informed that he was suspected of being an accomplice in a crime committed by V. Davydov. He had to sign statements that he would not leave Kuibyshev, that he would not tell anyone anything he knew about the investigation, and that he would not hinder the investigation. The next day he was summoned to the district K G B for a 'chat'. This was conducted by S. V. Grishin. On 18 December he was told he was free to leave Kuibyshev.

L. Sarbayeva, S. Yuzefpolskaya, O. Mukhina, G. Konstantinov and N. Romanova have also been summoned for interrogations in connection with the Davydov case. Grishin has joined Inovlotsky for most of the interrogations.

On 19 December Konstantinov gave Inovlotsky a statement:

In connection with the violation of codes of procedure during the investigation — when I was illegally and forcibly brought to an interrogation as a witness — I was asked leading questions, threatened with being charged as an accomplice; and references and quotes were given me from the evidence of other witnesses to try to force me to give the evidence which the investigation needs to convict Ryzhov-Davydov. I retract all the evidence that I have given or that I may be asked to give, since I consider that Viktor is an honest man who is incapable of deliberate lies and slander, and I share many of his convictions.

O. Mukhina sent Inovlotsky a similar statement.

In a statement to the Procurator of Kuibyshev, Kazakov, L. Sarbayeva wrote in part:

Right up to today I was certain that the law guaranteed me privacy of correspondence, but today I had to stand meekly and watch my own letters, papers and diaries, which were afterwards almost all confiscated, being read by the people conducting the search, and even by witnesses ...

Investigator G. I. Inovlotsky reacted in a rather contradictory manner to my protest on this subject, saying first, indifferently:

'I don't know anything about it', and then trying to tell me that article 135 of the Code of Criminal Procedure could be interpreted as the right of witnesses to read any confiscated document.

The above is one of the reasons for my refusal to give evidence in the case of V. V. Ryzhov-Davydov.'

The Arrest of Kadiyev

Rollan Kadiyev (*Chronicles* 9, 22, 47, 51), an activist in the Crimean Tatar movement, was helping to pick cotton with his students (he teaches Physics at Samarkand University) when he received information that his flat had been burgled. Those in charge agreed to let him go home for a couple of days. On his return a university Party organizer, in the presence of the students, started to rebuke him for his absence in a rude and insulting manner. Kadiyev answered sharply and hit him. On 28 November R. Kadiyev was arrested on a charge of malicious hooliganism.

The Arrest of Kalinichenko

On 29 November Vitaly Kalinichenko (*Chronicle* 54), a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was arrested in Vasilkovka, Dnepropetrovsk Region.

A Search at the Home of Lisovaya

On 29 November Vera Lisovaya's home in Kiev was searched. Lisovaya is the wife of Vasily Lisovoi (*Chronicles* 30, 54).

The Arrest of Nekipelov

On 7 December Viktor Nekipelov (*Chronicle* 54), a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, was arrested in Kameshkovo, Vladimir Region.

In the morning, while he was at work, a car arrived to collect him. He had time to telephone his wife, Nina Komarova, who saw him being taken away.

She went to the police station and then to the Procuracy. In both places she was told that nothing was known about her husband. When she returned to work there was a car waiting for her. KGB officials took her home for a search. Thirty-nine items were listed on the search record. Several *Chronicles*, a typewriter, cassette tapes and manuscripts were confiscated. Some of the items listed related to a large quantity of handwritten texts — up to 90 pages.

N. Komarova has discovered that her husband is in Vladimir Prison, charged under article 70 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. Senior

Investigator Pleshkov (*Chronicles* 32, 34, 41) of the Vladimir KGB is conducting the case.

* * *

The following day Pleshkov conducted a search at the home of M. Landa (Petushki, Vladimir Region). The searchers were actively helped by witnesses. The search lasted for two hours. There was almost no description of the items taken. M. Landa refused to sign the record. The following articles were confiscated:—

—Documents of the Aid Fund for Political Prisoners, in particular a card-index of political prisoners and their relatives' addresses, information on living conditions in the camps, a card-index of releases and a list of political prisoners for July to September 1979.

—Moscow Helsinki Group documents.

—Statements by workers about bad socio-economic conditions, corruption and violations of law.

—Baptist bulletins and material published by the [samizdat] Adventist publishing house 'The True Witness'.

—Books, journals and newspapers published abroad.

After the search Landa tried unsuccessfully to telephone A. Sakharov in Moscow. The telephonist alleged that there was no reply, and in fact the telephone in Sakharov's flat on that day was working only for outgoing calls.

* * *

On the same day, 8 December, member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled V. Fefelov was searched in Yurev-Polsky, Vladimir Region. Pleshkov authorized the search. Initiative Group papers (questionnaires filled in by disabled people, *Information Bulletins*, statements, articles, addresses), personal letters, religious literature and a typewriter were confiscated. (One hundred and thirty points were listed on the record; however, point 130 states: 'A packet containing letters from inside the Soviet Union — 84 letters ...'). Fefelov refused to sign the record, but wrote on it his protest against the search.

* * *

On 8 December F. Serebrov wrote an appeal calling for support for V. Nekipelov. On 15 December he sent a letter to the editor of the newspaper *Die Welt*, describing what had happened to Nekipelov and asking him to inform the public of his fate.

* * *

On 8 December Nina Komarova wrote 'A Statement for the Press and Radio':

... When I asked why my husband had been arrested, Senior Investigator Krivov of the Vladimir Regional K G B answered: 'For activities harmful to the system'.

Well, so what! I am content with that answer.

If the help which Viktor Nekipelov gave to the people who turned to him is called 'activities harmful to the system' by a captain of the U S S R K G B, it means that it is possible to struggle and that Nekipelov was not a silent witness of evil.

I appeal to my close friends, to writers and the public in the West, and to the members of the French P E N Club, which made Nekipelov a member of their brotherhood, to speak out in his defence and to do everything possible to secure his release.

* * *

On 27 February 1977 V. Nekipelov had received a summons from the Vladimir Regional Procuracy and had written an appeal 'If I Don't Return':

... Will I return? I have every reason to doubt it: this is exactly how, on 11 July 1973, I was invited to the Procuracy 'to sign a search record' and returned exactly two years later.

I am not frightened of going back to prison, but am filled with enormous loathing and purely physical squeamishness ...

I am resolved from the first day neither to talk to my fellow-prisoners, nor to sign anything, nor to play their game in any way.

I will do all I can not to endanger my friends, even obliquely.

For their part, I ask them (I'm thinking of my friends abroad) to help my wife and little children to leave the country as soon as possible — a country in which there is no truth or justice, nothing but an ideology which crushes everything in its grasp ... I ask this simply for the sake of my children.

On 9 December 1979 Viktor Nekipelov's eldest son Sergei wrote:

On that occasion he returned. And every day after that he put his shaving gear, an English language text-book and a Bible into his briefcase before he left for work. Every day he left the house as if for many years ... He was not afraid of this horror and walked towards its all-devouring jaws with his head held high. He did not hide from its approach, nor did he withdraw into himself. A poet by calling, he whole-heartedly devoted himself to civic activity. His responsibilities included exhausting journeys to Moscow for Helsinki Group meetings, and giving all feasible help to dozens of political prisoners in camps and exile. The problems of disabled persons in the U S S R took up much of his energy and time. Complete isolation at work, glances in the street, endless searches and threats ...

In spite of all this he did not slow down or give up any of his burden, and his work took up every free minute.

And then, on 7 December 1979, he picked up his briefcase as usual and went to work. And did not return.

So now I am publicizing my father's three-year-old testament and asking that it be taken as Viktor Nekipelov's last appeal to the international public before his arrest.⁸

The Arrest of Solovov

On 12 December Mikhail Solovov (b. 1949) was arrested in Moscow. The arrest took place after a search (on the record of which 48 points were listed). Three days earlier the group 'Election-79' had been due to meet in Solovov's flat, but in the morning Solovov was detained by the police who alleged that he looked like a criminal for whom they were searching. Solovov was released only at 6 pm.

Mikhail Solovov had been a sailor on long-distance voyages. In 1978 he was caught trying to bring a book by R. Medvedev into the U S S R, for which he was cautioned 'according to the Decree'⁹ and dismissed from work. In the spring of 1979 Solovov made a speech in a bus about Brezhnev, Stalin and the Soviet people. He was taken to a police station, threatened and released. As far as is known, this incident served as the grounds for his arrest. Solovov has been charged under article 206 part 2 of the the R S F S R Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism'). At the present time, Solovov is in the investigations prison on Matrosskaya Tishina Street.

A Search at the Home of Niklus

On 21 December in Tartu (Estonia) the home of Mart Niklus (*Chronicle 54*) was searched on a warrant issued by Major Markevičius of the Lithuanian K G B in connection with Case No. 58 (*Chronicle 54*). Confiscated were: materials about the Petkus case, a letter from Niklus to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet concerning the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, extracts from pre-war Estonian books about Stalin's repressions, two articles by A. Terleckas, photocopies of items in British and Swedish newspapers, a copy of the *New York Times*, the brochure *Reports from Estonia* (published in Estonian in Sweden), and a list, enclosed in the brochure, of K G B officials living in Estonia and their addresses. The list was headed 'Muscovite Police Spies in Occupied Estonia Unmasked'. (An envelope containing the brochure and list had arrived by post two days before the search.) Letters from Niklus addressed to Sweden and photographs of him with A. Sakharov were also confiscated.

Mart Niklus wrote on the record that since he had not been shown

the original search warrant (he was shown a Xeroxed copy) he protested against the search and refused to recognize its legality.

* * *

On 20 November (a week after his dismissal from his job — *Chronicle 54*) Niklus had asked the employment bureau for work in his field but received no answer.

On 22 November he brought an action against the administration. On 30 November the decision to fire him was ruled to be justified. However, an appeals court revoked the decision of the court of the first instance and handed the case back for reexamination. When Niklus asked whether this meant that he could go back to work, the Judge answered that he could be reinstated only with the agreement of the administrators of the courses.

The Arrest of Regelson

On 24 December Muscovite Lev Regelson, a member of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the U S S R, was detained on a street in Tallinn on the pretext of a check of his documents, and then arrested. He was informed that the police had been looking for him as he was suspected of foreign currency speculation. He was taken to Moscow and is now in the K G B Investigations Prison (Lefortovo).

In the Prisons and Camps

Chistopol Prison

The surnames of the four remaining 'striped ones' (*Chronicle 53*) brought here in October 1978 from Vladimir Prison are **Balakin**, **Verkhov**, **Zorichev** and **Chernoglazov**. Zorichev has already been transferred to Mordovian Camp 1.

There are now about 130 prisoners in Chistopol Prison, including 15 sentenced under 'political' articles. On 5 September, the Day of the Victims of Red Terror, the political prisoners staged a hunger-strike. The administration is spreading a rumour that the political prisoners are agents of foreign intelligence services.

* * *

A. Shcharansky's relatives are pressing for him to be examined and treated in hospital (*Chronicle 53*). In October the U S S R M V D Medical Department informed his mother that an order had been given to admit him for examination. On 14 November a therapist, a surgeon and an oculist came from Kazan to examine him. They

diagnosed 'fatigue of the eye muscles', recommended eye exercises, and prescribed vitamin injections. After this Shcharansky's relatives were informed that he did not need to go into hospital for an in-patient examination.

On 10 December **M. Kazachkov** (*Chronicles 53, 54*) was given seven days in a punishment cell. After that he was put in solitary.

M. Ravinš was taken to Riga (the journey took more than two months — from 14 July to 17 September). In Riga they tried to recruit him in return for his immediate release. On 19 November he returned to Chistopol.

The Mordovian Camps

Camp 1 (special-regime)

In November **L. Lukyanenko's** scheduled long visit was cancelled. His wife Nadezhda Lukyanenko appealed to the Camp Administration and to the Main Administration for Collective Labour Institutions with a request that she be allowed to send her husband a small parcel: pants, a T-shirt, socks, mittens and an electric shaver (in accordance with the Corrective Labour Code, L. Lukyanenko should be allowed his first parcel only in December 1982). She was refused by both of them. Most of the letters which Nadezhda Lukyanenko sends to her husband are confiscated.

Camp 3

When Camp 19 was closed down (*Chronicle 54*) **Akper Radzhabov** was among those transferred here.

On 30 October, Political Prisoners Day, **Nazaryan, Soldatov, Popadyuk, Osipov** and **Rudenko** staged a hunger-strike.

On 10 December, Human Rights Day, **Nazaryan, Soldatov** and **Popadyuk** staged a hunger-strike (Osipov had a visitor and Rudenko was in Saransk).

The Perm Camps

Camp 35

Between January and November 1979 **N. Matusevich's** mother sent him 44 letters; he was given 30. His sister **T. Matusevich** sent him 36 letters; he was given 24. In the autumn **P. Plumpa** was banned from receiving parcels.

Camp 36

M. Marinovich was in the punishment cells from June to December (*Chronicle 53*).

* * *

On 4 December **S. Koval'ev's** wife and son arrived for a short visit. It transpired that on 30 November the visit had been cancelled on the

grounds that Kovalëv had deliberately not fulfilled his work norm. According to the administration, about two months ago Kovalëv was transferred to a job that was new to him (*Chronicle 54*). The norm was to put 780 machine parts together. Kovalëv was doing 350-400. Captain Borisov, who that day was deputizing for the head of the camp, informed Kovalëv's wife and son that a number of prisoners, including Kovalëv, were deliberately not fulfilling the norm, in spite of the fact that the administration had shown the prisoners that it was possible to fulfil it by inviting some 'specialists' to work a shift with prisoners; the 'specialists' had managed to fulfil their norm. Kovalëv had said that he could not do it, but according to Borisov it should take only three days to learn the operation.

No letters have been received from Kovalëv since September: even after the ban on correspondence (*Chronicle 54*) was lifted, only one letter and a telegram were received. The administration maintains that Kovalëv has not handed in any letters to be posted. His relatives think this may mean a renewed ban on his correspondence.

According to some sources Kovalëv spent 20 days, in October and November, in the cooler.

* * *

On 5 December L. Boitsova and I. Kovalëv sent a statement to the USSR Procuracy demanding urgent intervention. The statement ends thus:

We again state: Kovalëv has been refused visits on absurd grounds. This was clearly deliberate. We demand the cancellation of the relevant resolutions and a restoration of the visits. We would also like to be informed what other punishments, apart from the ban on visits, Kovalëv has had during the period August to December 1979.

On 27 December I. Kovalëv issued a statement:

An 'Especially Dangerous' Freedom

It is for five years today that my father Sergei Adamovich Kovalëv has been behind bars.

He was deprived of freedom because he dared, and was able, to defend freedom — his own and that of others. But no jailers can deprive him of the most important freedom — the inner one. And in spite of any number of obstacles — fences the height of three men, 'ordinary' barbed wire, electrified wire, barbed-wire meshes and the ploughed-up 'forbidden zone' strip — all the same, he remains free, which means that he remains 'especially dangerous'.

Unconcerned about his own well-being, he stood up for the persecuted while he himself was still at liberty. And at his trial he tried to defend — not himself, but the *Chronicle of Current Events*

— from fabricated charges of libel. At one of our camp meetings, when he was seriously ill and did not know whether we would see each other again, he spent our last minutes together talking not about himself but about Slobodyan, who was also sick.

And this is why every word he utters is 'dangerous'. And this is why they deprive him of every right, leave him to rot, do everything they can to force him to be silent!

We are forbidden to see him; our correspondence is confiscated; they lie insolently to our faces. But all the same little grains of information about him reach us. We know that he has remained himself even in camp — kind, sympathetic and untainted, continuing, whatever his surroundings, to do that which he considers his moral duty.

I am proud of my father. Remember him today.

Camp 37

On 20 October, after five years of imprisonment, B. Mukhametshin (trial — *Chronicle 37*) was sent off for his two years of exile. His camp term expired on 25 November but on 31 December he was still in transit — at Magadan Prison.

In Other Prisons and Camps

On 22 December A. Bolonkin (*Chronicle 53*) was taken to hospital with appendicitis and a high temperature. He also has bronchitis and inflammation of the gall-bladder.

* * *

On 21 December L. Volokhonsky (*Chronicle 54*) arrived in camp: 618320, Permskaya obl., g.Kizel, uchr. VV-201/1.

* * *

N. Nikitin has been in the Leningrad 'Crosses' Prison since his trial (*Chronicle 54*). He has been applying unsuccessfully to have someone examine him for tuberculosis. In protest he began a new hunger-strike on 10 December. Nikitin has a bullet in his lung and his liver was shot through in an accident in the Army. He also has a bad heart.

* * *

On 25 November Iosif Zisels returned from hospital (*Chronicle 54*) to camp. The results of the examination confirmed the earlier conclusion: scars from an ulcer, limited physical labour, special diet. On 26 November Zisels was dispatched to the cooler to serve the 15 days he had been given on 10 November. He was let out on 12 December.

Zisels has received an answer to the statement which he sent to the Ukrainian Procuracy on 1 October (*Chronicle 54*). The answer came from the Chernovtsy Regional Procuracy and was signed by Deputy Regional Procurator M. K. Pashkovsky: 'Your account has not been corroborated'.

During Zisels's absence his notes on his case, together with statements, addresses and personal comments disappeared. The administration is trying to recruit prisoners to give evidence against Zisels. Zisels's next scheduled long visit has been cancelled.

* * *

Former political prisoner **Taras Melnichuk** has been sentenced to four years under article 206 part 2 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('malicious hooliganism'). He is now in this camp: 287100, Vinnitsa, uchr. IV-301/8. He was arrested in March (*Chronicle 53*).

* * *

Igor Polyakov (trial — *Chronicle 54*) is serving his sentence at: 601400, Vladimirskaia obl., g. Vyazniki, uchr. OD-1/4-8-32. He is working as a duty electrician in the workshop. There is no safety equipment in the workshop and machine repairs have to be undertaken without switching off the high industrial current. The work is in two shifts: 6 am-2 pm and 3 pm-11 pm. There is often trouble (fights, even murders) among the prisoners in the camp.

* * *

The Baptists **P. I. Kravchuk** and **F. A. Korkodilov** are not allowed to send or receive letters in which Holy Writ is quoted.

Every letter written by Baptist **Pëtr Peters** (*Chronicle 53*) has to be checked by the security section as well as the normal censor. First Lt Gulko has told Peters that he will not pass any letter which mentions God or quotes from the Bible. Peters does not receive any letters from his mother as she writes in German and — so Peters was informed — there is no translator.

* * *

Baptist **Ya. G. Skornyakov** (trial — *Chronicle 53*) is serving his sentence at: Dzhambul, uchr. ZhD-158/4. He is not at all well. On one of her statements to the highest official bodies his wife N. S. Skornyakova writes:

Since the last visit we have been very worried about his state of health. After all, there is still a long time ahead of him ...

Considering the conditions there and his age and illness, I cannot help but think that he may not live to leave the camp.

In Defence of Political Prisoners

From a letter written by **Irina Valitova** on 30 November:

During a long visit on 21 August my husband [Yury Orlov] said bitterly that he had no chance of sending an already finished article to a scientific journal or even of handing it to us, his relatives. This is what he told us about his article: 'For the moment I'm quite content with it. True, it's probably still too early to judge whether my model will stand up to being tested. But I think that the attempt to construct a consistent, scientific, physical — ie quantitative — model of psychological and spiritual phenomena has a role to play in science. But of course, and I do understand this, it still has to be finished. Even if it bears no relation to reality, it has heuristic value and it's important to me because I've touched in some ways on ideas developed in my former work. Of course, a lot remains unclear. For example, the concrete mechanism of poor resolving capability is not completely clear when one is talking about conceptions linked to the inner convictions of a subject. Maybe this is worth mentioning in a future note.'

Not long ago my husband attempted to send his scientific article out of the camp. The attempt did not succeed and the paper was confiscated. At an interrogation KGB officials said to my husband: 'Orlov, forget that you're a scientist. You're never going to leave here!'

The authorities hate my husband, but at the same time they fear him; they subject him to severe pressures to revenge themselves for the fact that they cannot force him to be silent. For he continues the fight in the camp. His only weapons there are his intelligence and his pen.

My husband has written a long article in which he gives evidence as a witness and observer. In this article he pays particular attention to the analysis and demonstration of reasons for the loss of moral and ethical principles, for the growth of criminality, for the harsh conditions of imprisonment, not just for political prisoners, but for all the others, for the inhuman principle of 're-education' in camps where each man treats the other as a wolf, and for the great length of prison sentences.

In camp, basing himself on his own experience, my husband confirms that the information collected by the Moscow Helsinki Group is correct.

I appeal to the scientific world to intervene for my husband, not to let him die before his sentence expires.

Suppression of his intellect and gradual physical annihilation — this is the sentence passed on Yury Fëdorovich Orlov.

Releases

Yu. Okulova-Voznesenskaya (*Chronicles* 46-8) was released in June at the end of a two-year sentence.

N. P. Shatalov (trial — *Chronicle* 51) was released in July at the end of an 18-month sentence (see also 'The Right to Leave' in this issue).

* * *

Artem Yuskevich and **Mati Klirend** (trial — *Chronicle* 38) were released in Tallinn on 13 December at the end of five-year sentences.

Yuskevich was despatched from Perm Camp 36 on 19 October (*Chronicle* 54). He was brought to Tallinn on 31 October. In Tallinn Prison he was held in an unheated cell (the administration explained that the heating was not working 'because of repairs').

On 28 December Yuskevich was placed under administrative surveillance for one year: he is forbidden to leave Tallinn; he has to be at home between 10 pm and 6 am; after 6 pm he is not allowed to visit public places in which spirits are drunk; he has to report to a police station once a week.

In Exile

On 5 December **V. Lapienis** (*Chronicle* 54) arrived in his place of exile: Krasnoyarsky krai, Severo-Eniseisky raion, pos. Teya, Pervomaiskaya ul. 4. His exile ends in July 1981.

* * *

On 1 December searches were conducted in connection with the case of **P. Rozumny** (*Chronicle* 54) on orders from the Dnepropetrovsk Regional Procuracy at the homes of **E. Sverstyuk** (*Chronicle* 54) at his place of exile in Bagdarin (Irkutsk Region) and in Kiev, 'where E. Sverstyuk also lives, together with his wife' (these are the words on the warrant!). In Bagdarin all Sverstyuk's manuscripts and several books in English were confiscated; they were all returned once they had been checked.

Sverstyuk applied for permission to visit his seriously-ill 86-year-old mother. Unexpectedly an answer arrived from F. Naglayev, the Minister of Internal Affairs for the Buryat ASSR, granting permission. The head of the local OVD gave Sverstyuk a travel warrant. Sverstyuk bought an air ticket and cabled his mother about his arrival. However, at the last moment Kosinov, the head of the Bagdarin expedition, refused to give Sverstyuk leave, because he had been late for work once without good reason.

In a letter to the Buryat MVD Sverstyuk writes:

I received your answer to my statement.

There is no longer any doubt that your letter was the main component in a hideous scenario.

Do you know what struck me most of all? That I had not expected such blatant deceit at ministerial level. I had thought that at ministerial level there existed such a thing as professional self-respect.

* * *

V. Chornovil (*Chronicles* 49, 51-4) has been ill with chronic atrophic pharyngitis since 1969 and arthritis of the left shoulder joint since 1972. In camp these diagnoses were confirmed every year by medical commissions which placed Chornovil on a limited work routine (no heavy work and no work in damp or cold places).

When Chornovil arrived at his place of exile doctors at the Lenin District Clinic in the Yakutskaya ASSR (Nyurba settlement) in March 1978 confirmed these diagnoses and diagnosed a further illness. Chornovil was given a certificate exempting him from heavy physical labour.

The police and the KGB did not like this. The district's chief surgeon, who headed the commission which examined Chornovil, was summoned to the police and to the KGB. In April 1978 a letter was sent to the Clinic from the Lenin District OVD office, which said that Chornovil was abusing the Clinic's decision and asked them to make a new diagnosis. Doctors at the Clinic signed a new certificate, dated the day in March when the commission was held, which mentioned only one illness (arthritis) but still exempted Chornovil from heavy work.

In August 1979 the Lenin District OVD sent Chornovil to another medical commission. In a letter to the Yakutskaya ASSR Ministry of Health dated 23 August Chornovil writes:

It is as if they have replaced the polite and correct doctors of eighteen months ago. These ones treated me like an enemy and insulted me to my face. They completely ignored my complaints that on account of the severe climate and the fact that I have been working in a basement for a year and have not received treatment (there are not even physiotherapy facilities at the Chapanda Village Hospital) my throat has become significantly worse, I have a constantly sub-febrile temperature in the evenings and spasms in my respiratory tract. My temperature at the examination (37.8°) was deliberately not written down because it proved that my illness had got worse. My coughing, because of a permanent sensation of having a lump in my throat, was called 'unnatural'

by the chief doctor, Popova, i.e. she accused me of simulation. They also ignored the fact — confirmed on my medical card — that as well as several bad attacks of my chronic illnesses I had also suffered from bronchitis and sciatica over the past year. 'We all have sciatica,' commented the 'doctor'-neurologist, almost out of Ilf and Petrov.¹⁰ They laughed at my complaints that I have periodic spells of weakness, almost to the extent of fainting. They paid no attention to the X-rays and my complaints of permanent pain in my shoulder even when I am not carrying anything, and the 'doctor'-surgeon mockingly suggested that I take up wrestling.

As a result of this scandalous 'commission' a diagnosis was reached that I suffered from mild pharyngitis with no bad attacks (a little over a year ago the same commission diagnosed chronic atrophic pharyngitis. One does not have to be a doctor to understand that the idea of such a radical improvement after a year's 'treatment' in a damp cellar is fantastic), and from mild arthritis (ie an illness which had been progressing for six years suddenly made a U-turn); that I am basically healthy and that 'physical labour is not contra-indicated' (with no mention of exemption from heavy work)...

Since the persecutory medical commission of 9-10 August 1979 was put together on the initiative of the 'special services', I have no alternative but to use my own initiative and ask you to send me to Yakutsk for an objective examination by qualified doctors, and also for the treatment of which I am completely deprived in this taiga village.

In summer 1979 after seven years in camp **Evgeny Pronyuk** (*Chronicles* 27, 52, 53) arrived for his five years of exile at: 743134, Karakalpakskaya A S S R, Leninabadsky raion, sovkhos '22 partsezd'. Pronyuk, a philosopher, has a job as a metal-worker in a construction unit. Until 1 December he was doing 'metal-work' in the cotton fields.

The Presidium of the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet has responded to a petition of unknown origin and started to investigate the possibility of pardoning Pronyuk. The Presidium requested a petition from Pronyuk himself, which he refused to submit.

On 26 November **A. Sergienko** (*Chronicle* 54) returned from Khabarovsk to Ayan. In Khabarovsk he was given this diagnosis: atrophy of the gastric mucous membrane with achlorhydria and atrophy of the mucous membrane of the stomach and the intestinal tract [ie pernicious anaemia]; he was ordered to stay in bed and, even if his

illness takes a turn for the better, he is forbidden to undertake heavy physical labour; he must have a special diet. On his return to Ayan Sergienko was dispatched to finish his 15 days in the cells (before he left for Khabarovsk he had completed only two days there).

On 11 December **O. Ya. Meshko** again (*Chronicle* 54) appealed to the USSR Ministries of Internal Affairs and Health and to the USSR Procurator-General:

... I am making a strong request for you to designate a place with more auspicious climatic conditions and geographically nearer the territory's hospitals.

On the basis of the concrete and irrefutable facts which I have described above showing abuses of power with respect to my son, allow me to hope that you will confirm my belief in justice by resolving the question of the political exile A. Sergienko according to the law.

On 26 November **Z. Antonyuk** was summoned to a police station and asked to read the answer which the head of the 5th Department of the Irkutsk UVD, Lt Col A. D. Vladimirov, had made to his letter to Shchelokov dated 3 October: he would stay in exile in Bodaibo, he had already been allowed to leave the area once; concerning medical treatment he should apply to the Ministry of Health. After Antonyuk had read the letter Captain E. I. Blinov, head of the Bodaibo Town OVD, told Antonyuk to start work: 'Doctors Melnikov and Volkov consider you fit to live and work in Bodaibo'.

On 3 December Blinov told Antonyuk that he could go back to Irkutsk for examination, but first he must find a job — any job. 'It's important for me that you should be working. When the doctors have made out all your documents, then we can decide the question of your making a trip. Find yourself a job.' Antonyuk had hoped that, even if only during his holiday, he would be allowed to go to Kiev to be examined by good specialists, but a telegram arrived from him on 30 December which said: 'Leave refused to 'ny because unemployed'.

Some of the literature which was confiscated from **S. Germanyuk** (*Chronicle* 53) at a search on 22 March was returned to him. He writes in a letter that this happened 'after a protest by fellow-believers' (Germanyuk is a Baptist).

V. Dolishny (*Chronicle* 52) is working as a labourer in a state farm garage.

Pētr Gladun (b. 1938), a Jehovah's Witness, is serving his term of exile in Yakutia (Zyryanka settlement, Verkhne-Kolymsky District). In 1962 he finished serving a sentence for refusing to serve in the Army (on religious grounds). In 1974 in Ivano-Frankovsk he was sentenced to four years in strict-regime camps and three years in exile under [religious] article 209 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 227 of the RSFSR Code). He described the circumstances of the second arrest as follows:

In 1974, after I had refused to be recruited by the relevant organs, a search was conducted in my flat. On finding nothing, they took 60 roubles out of my wife's purse (for examination) and linked me to the case of three women who were already being held for investigation. They found three witnesses, which was not very difficult ...

Gladun was working as a lathe-operator, but in March 1979 he had an accident at work in which he broke his right arm. The bone at the elbow has still not healed.

Releases

On 29 November **Stefania Shabatura** (*Chronicles* 44, 48) completed her three-year term of exile in Kurgan Region. On her release she was told that she would now be under administrative surveillance for six months. They told her to go straight to Lvov and gave her an itinerary for exactly how she was to get there. She arrived in Lvov on 2 December. Two days before Shabatura's arrival, her mother was summoned to the K G B and told that it would be 'better' if her daughter settled in a village outside Lvov, rather than in the city itself.

In December **Bagrat Shakhverdyan** (*Chronicles* 49, 51, 52) completed his two-year term of exile.

After Release

On 7 December **V. Stus** (*Chronicle* 54) was placed under administrative surveillance for a year. As well as being subject to the standard rules and regulations he was 'forbidden to visit the domicile in Kiev at 16 Verboloznaya Street (the home of O. Meshko — *Chronicle*), which might be used for criminal purposes'.

Events in Lithuania

Searches in Vilnius

On 24 November three more searches were carried out in connection with Case No. 58 (*Chronicle* 54; also 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations' in this issue).

A group of K G B officials, under the leadership of Lieutenant-Colonel Liniauskas, carried out a search at the flat of **Povilas Pečeliūnas**, a Lithuanian Language teacher. They confiscated his personal papers, correspondence, manuscripts, copies of the samizdat journals *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, *Alma Mater*, *Perspectives* and *Lithuanian Archive*.

A typewriter, paper and carbon paper were confiscated from **Danute Keršiute**, an employee of the Ministry of Culture. Keršiute was also subjected to a body-search.

At the same time a search was being carried out at the home of **Vytautas Skuodis**, an assistant professor at Vilnius State University. The following were discovered and confiscated: the manuscript of a book about atheist propaganda *Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania*, and copies of *Aušra*, *Rupintojėlis*, *Perspectives* and *Pastoge (Shelter)*.

Then the interrogations began. Pečeliūnas was accused of being an editor of *Alma Mater* (*Chronicle* 52) and working on two illegal journals. He was asked about Skuodis and the writer R. Lankauskas; attempts were made to persuade him to 'help' the K G B.

Skuodis was interrogated three times: he stated that he was the author of the book *Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania* and refused to give any further evidence.

Keršiute refused to answer questions about other people. After the search she was asked to hand in her resignation at work 'at her own request'. She refused.

The Arrest of Sasnauskas

On 11 December, after a routine search in Vilnius in connection with Case No. 58, K G B officials arrested Julius Sasnauskas (*Chronicles* 47, 52, 54). During the search copies of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and *Tiesos Kelias (Way of Truth)*, letters and notebooks were confiscated.

* * *

On 30 November the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights appealed 'To the Bishops and Priests of the Lithuanian Catholic Church' (Document No. 26), calling on them not to answer questions put in atheist questionnaires.

In November 35 Catholic priests of Lithuania sent a protest to

Brezhnev about the arrest of T. Velikanova, Fr G. Yakunin and A. Terleckas.

148,149 signatures have been collected on a petition demanding that the church built by the believers of Klaipeda should be returned to them (*Chronicle 54*). The signatures made up a book of 1,589 pages, copies of which have been sent to Brezhnev, the Council of Ministers, the Council for Religious Affairs, all the Lithuanian bishops and also to the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights.

At the end of August leaflets summarizing an article on the situation of students (from the samizdat journal *Rupintojelis*) were distributed at the Kaunas Polytechnic.

Persecution of Believers

Orthodox Christians

The trial of T. Shchipkova (*Chronicle 54*) was fixed for 17 December but did not take place, because the 'injured party' did not turn up. The next time the trial began was on 27 December, but it was postponed at the request of the accused, because her glaucoma had worsened.

Adventists

The Adventists sentenced in Tashkent in March (*Chronicle 53*) have been sent to camps.

On 30 July the 84-year-old V. A. Shelkov was sent from Tashkent to Yakutia — to serve his five-year sentence. In the Tashkent prison he had constantly been under observation by doctors.

A. A. Spalin was sent to Kurgan Region at the same time. On the eve of his departure his wife received information that he was in the prison hospital (Spalin suffers from a stomach ulcer). After the trial she had not been allowed the visit to which she was legally entitled. While Spalin was being transferred to the transit prison, he had the notes he had taken during the trial hearing (45 notebooks) confiscated. When Spalin asked that they be returned, the books were destroyed. The K G B officials explained this by saying the notes were libellous.

S. P. Furllet was sent to Chelyabinsk Region.

I. S. Lepshin was transferred from Tashkent Prison to the prison in Kokand.

Baptists

Trials

On 6 December the trial of Ivan Grigorevich Danilyuk, Presbyter of the Baptist congregation in Chernovtsy, took place in Chernovtsy. He had been arrested on 1 August after carrying out a baptism by immersion in the river Prut (*Chronicle 54*).

On 4 December his wife had been told that the trial would be in the Chernovtsy Regional Court. Danilyuk's relatives and fellow-believers, who gathered outside the building, were told by the Court Chairman that the trial would be at the accused's place of work (the 'Izmeritel' factory), and were offered a minibus with 10 seats. The wife and parents of the accused got in, but were driven to the other end of the town instead. Meanwhile the buses from the town to the 'Izmeritel' factory stopped running for over two hours. Those who had been left outside the court-house began to try to reach the factory by taxi or by thumbing lifts from traffic going in that direction.

However, on the way the police stopped cars, turning them back or confiscating the drivers' licences. Many people walked. Those who managed to reach the entrance to the factory began to demand free admittance to the courtroom, as the trial had been declared to be open. Danilyuk's wife, relatives and some of those who had gathered by the entrance were given permission to go in. They refused to do so, demanding free admittance for all, including those who were still to arrive. As a result, none of the Baptists got into the courtroom. The trial took place in working hours. Most workers were not allowed to enter the room where the court sat.

Danilyuk refused the services of a lawyer appointed by the court. As he could not see his relatives and fellow-believers in the courtroom, Danilyuk refused to participate in the trial. The judge told him that his relatives and the believers had refused to attend the trial, but Danilyuk did not believe them as the singing of the believers in the street was audible in the courtroom.

Danilyuk was sentenced to two-and-a-half years in ordinary-regime camps under articles 187-3 ('Organization or active participation in group activities which violate public order') and 138 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Violation of the laws separating church from state and school from church').

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On 22 October, in Donetsk, F. V. Gordienko (*Chronicles 53, 54*) was sentenced to two years' imprisonment under articles 187-1 and 187-3 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= articles 190-1 and 190-3 of the RSFSR Code).

* * *

In Beltsy **F. Borinsky** (*Chronicle 53*) was sentenced to three years in ordinary-regime camps.

Arrests

On 13 November **N. I. Kinash** was arrested in the town of Gorlovka, Donetsk Region. He faces a charge of parasitism (Kinash is 33 years old and has 15 years' work experience).

For the past eight months Kinash has not been able to get a job because of the constant surveillance of State Security; over the past two years, for the same reason, he had to change his place of work four times. He tried to take up permanent residence in Khabarovsk Region, but when the authorities found out he was a believer, they refused him a residence permit. Not long before his arrest Kinash wrote a declaration to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, asking that he and his family be allowed to leave the U S S R.

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On 13 December a resident of Novosibirsk, **Yu. Khandeshin**, was detained on the street in Moscow while carrying two bags containing the journals *Vestnik Istiny* (*Messenger of Truth*), *Bulletins of the Council of E C B Prisoners' Relatives* and *Bratsky Listok* (*Fraternal Leaflet*). He is being held in the pre-trial investigation prison on Matrosskaya Tishina Street. The investigator in charge of his case is refusing to tell his relatives the charge against Khandeshin.

Searches

On 22 June a search was carried out at the home of **A. D. Leshchenko** in Kiev. Religious literature and tape-recordings were confiscated.

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On 31 October in Kishinëv the Muscovite **Veniamin Naprienko** (brother of prisoner Valentin Naprienko — *Chronicle 53*), who had driven to Moldavia with his mother and two children, was searched. Naprienko was deprived of his passport, the keys to his car and flat, and 3,000 roubles. He was not given a copy of the search record. On the way to the police station he was beaten up. On 14 December Naprienko's Moscow flat was searched.

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On 3 December a search was carried out at the **Rytikovs'** house in Krasnodon (*Chronicle 51*). On the same day **N. P. Morozov's** flat in Donetsk was searched.

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On 4 December in Beltsy the homes of **Misuruk** and **Zheleznov** were

searched; on 12 December **I. Oselsky's** home was also searched. On 5 December in Brest a search was carried out at the **Vilchinskys'** home. On the same day **N. I. Eremenko's** home in Kaluga was searched.

Breaking-up of Prayer-meetings, Confiscation of Houses

In Vladivostok the house of **Terekhova**, where the believers used to gather for religious services, has been demolished by bulldozers. Prayer-meetings now take place in the open air.

A house in Dzhabul, where prayer-meetings take place, is under threat of confiscation. In Perm a house in which believers used to hold services has been confiscated. The owners of the house (one is 84 years old, the other 70) have been evicted.

On 27 October the prayer-house in the town of Nikolsky, Dzhelkazgan Region, was demolished. Policemen led by Major L. Yavorsky dragged all the believers who were found there out of the house. They then brought in a group of young men and handed out axes to them. **I. Frizen**, who tried to photograph this pogrom, was beaten up and later sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment for allegedly trying to throw a tile off the roof at one of the officials. On 5 November the believers of Nikolsky sent Brezhnev a declaration (with copies to the Moscow Helsinki Group, Waldheim, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Kunayev, and the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives), in which they describe what happened and ask to be granted the freedom of conscience guaranteed by the Constitution and the Decrees of Lenin. The declaration was signed by 48 people.

On 16 and 21 December prayer-meetings in the town of Khartsyzsk were broken up. Deacon **V. Chepikov** was sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment.

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On 25 December in Chernovtsy a hut registered by a Baptist congregation for religious services was demolished. The hut was built by members of the congregation, wired for sound and equipped with electricity.

That morning policemen in uniform and in civilian clothes surrounded the district, stopped the traffic and would not allow anyone to pass. People living in neighbouring houses were not allowed to come out; it was explained to them that there were bombs in the hut. Soon three buses drove up, full of students from an engineering college. They were ordered to demolish the hut. It was dismantled and all the materials were taken to the Housing Department. The operation took five hours. Then the cordon was removed and the police answered enquiries by saying that all the bombs had been defused.

The next day the believers held a service on the spot. They are now meeting in the open air. Police officers threaten them with arrest. The authorities are constantly fining Presbyter V. E. Shvets and the chairman of the Chernovtsy congregation, A. P. Romanishin. Other believers are also fined. Those who drive to services in their own cars are deprived of their licences.

The congregation has appealed to the municipal authorities, asking them to put an end to this oppression. The believers declare that if the persecution does not stop the whole congregation (1,200 people) will apply for exit visas to any country where religion is not persecuted.

Dismissals from Work

L. Andryushchenko worked at the municipal heating department in Voroshilovgrad. She was constantly visited at work by a K G B official and a deputy commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs. The administration asked L. Andryushchenko to resign and she submitted. In the town of Valga (Estonian SSR) M. Petrov has been sacked from his work.

School and Religion

A. N. Sokolov, headmaster of a school in Makinsk, Tselinograd Region, and V. F. Yakovleva, the senior teacher, spent the school break telling the pupils about the bestial activities of believers, and insulted religious pupils Ya. Schmidt and R. Klyatt. Afterwards their fellow-pupils began to beat them up, egged on by the teachers.

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S. Gura was a student at the Novokakhovsk Technical College. The director and a class instructor tried to persuade him to abandon his religious beliefs and incited the other students against him. When he refused to join the Komsomol, Gura was beaten up by fellow-students. Yu. Smirnov, leader of the group which organized the beating, said: 'Do you really think I can't beat you? I wasn't in the Army for two years for nothing.'

Class instructor T. Tishchenko rummaged through Gura's personal effects in the college hostel and confiscated religious books (in spite of the fact that they had been published in the USSR). Gura was accused of spreading religious propaganda (although keeping these books in the hostel was not illegal). In addition, the order for his expulsion (of 13 December) stated that S. Gura had been expelled for refusing to do socially useful work and speaking tactlessly to the class instructor.

The Family and Religion

L. V. Shirobokova (from the village of Shpakovskoye, Stavropol

Territory) is the mother of three children. Her husband beat her cruelly and threatened to kill her if she did not stop believing in God. When they were divorced the court awarded the custody of the children to the father. Shirobokova took the children and left Shpakovskoye. She is compelled to live without work and without a residence permit.

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Mothers with large families are being deprived of the benefits to which they are entitled, because of their religious convictions. For example, M. Fot (with 12 children, town of Prokopevsk), A. Kozorezova (with 10 children, Volgograd) and S. Yudinseva (from Khart-syzsk) have been deprived of the awards and benefits due to them for having many children.

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N. Kravchenko (*Chronicles* 46, 47) was discharged from the Army after breaking his lower jaw and crushing a facial nerve. This injury was the result of being beaten up by his fellow conscripts (they beat him because he was a believer). The Medical Commission on Labour Fitness in the town of Sumy, where Kravchenko lives, will not give him invalid status.

The Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives reports that S. Bulygin and V. Gotman, now serving in the Army, have been threatened with arrest. They both refused to take the military oath.

* * *

On 1 October V. N. Konyayev, an investigator of the Kuibyshev District Procuracy in Tashkent, summoned 13-year-old Pavlik Khrapov as a witness. Pavlik's mother E. A. Khrapova refused to take her son to the Procuracy. On 19 October Konyayev 'talked' to Khrapova. He accused the Baptists of committing all the mortal sins and then demanded that she bring her son for interrogation. Khrapova refused and Konyayev took her to the Procurator. The Procurator threatened to put Khrapova in a detention cell and demanded that she sign a promise not to leave town. (The Procurator did not give his name and Konyayev also refused to name him.)

Meanwhile the Khrapovs decided that Pavlik should leave home. At the Procuracy E. Khrapova was told that she would be held responsible for every school-day that her son missed.

On 20 October Konyayev sent a note stating that 'E. A. Khrapova is required here, together with her sons, daughters and husband.' On 22 October, in a letter to the Procurator-General of the USSR, Khrapova asked for a guarantee that Pavel Krapov 'may freely and fearlessly live with his family and be guaranteed safety while studying at school'.

Pentecostals

Breaking-up of Weddings

On 3 August in the village of Gritsevola, Radekhov District, Lvov Region, the wedding of **Evgeny Alekseyenko** and **Anna Prokulevich** was broken up. The village was surrounded by soldiers. The radio forbade anyone to go out in the direction of the woods until midday. The roads leading to the village were blocked. All the wedding-guests were detained. Over 30 people who had come in their own cars had their driving licences confiscated. The chief of police, the chairman of the collective farm and the chairman of the village soviet took turns to guard the house and yard. The electricity in the house was cut off. The people standing guard in the street shouted threats at the believers.

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On 9 September, in the town of Dzerzhinsk, Donetsk Region, **Galina Cherneichuk** should have got married. Many guests had been invited to the wedding. During the night K G B officials broke into the yard and destroyed the tent which had been put up for the guests. They put the materials which had been used to build the tent in their car and drove away. In the morning patrols were posted on the streets who would not let wedding-guests pass. Only a few were allowed through to attend the ceremony. All those present had their names taken by Novikov, the commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs, and Police Captain Egorov. After the wedding a search was carried out in the house — written proof of ownership was demanded for each article there. As no document could be produced concerning a heap of bricks which had long been lying by the gates the police took it away, telling the mistress of the house that it had been stolen.

School and Religion

In October 1979 **Kolya Dzhuga** and **Tolya Faldshtein**, pupils at School No. 18 in Rovno, were beaten up by their class-mates, with the knowledge of teacher **V. V. Shemchuk**, because they refused to join the Octobrists.¹¹

The next day the boys' fathers came to the school. During a talk with them, the teacher asked them not to complain to anyone and promised that the incident would never be repeated.

However, after this conversation **Shemchuk** wrote a declaration to the Rovno U V D. In the declaration he alleged that the fathers of the injured boys, **Porfiry Dzhuga** and **Vasily Faldshtein**, had threatened to beat him up, had behaved rudely, and wrecked the class he was giving. As a result, **P. Dzhuga** and **V. Faldshtein** were given a 15-day sentence each, at work their 'behaviour' was discussed by a

'comrades' court' and threats were made to both of them that the case would be sent to the People's Court.

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Kherson. **Volodya Polyansky** is a pupil in class 5. He is being forced to join the Pioneers¹² and is not allowed into the school without a Pioneer necktie. When he tries to enter the classroom he is beaten up. (His father **Iosif Polyansky** has renounced Soviet citizenship. The Polyanskys have applied to emigrate.)

Fines

Pentecostals who participate in prayer-meetings at private houses are constantly being arrested by the police.

In **Zhdanov** **F. V. Lupanov** and his wife **I. A. Lupanova**, parents of nine children, were fined 40 roubles on 28 September and 10 roubles on 1 November; **S. V. Samoilovich**, a life-long invalid who receives a monthly pension of 45 roubles, was fined 10 roubles on 16 June and 20 roubles on 28 September; **A. P. Vinokurova** was fined 20 roubles on 28 September and 10 roubles on 5 November; **N. V. Makarov** and his wife **M. S. Makarova** were fined 90 roubles on 28 September and 50 roubles on 1 December; **I. S. Stepanov** and his wife **A. I. Stepanova** were fined 25 roubles on 3 October; **O. D. Stepanova** was fined 10 roubles on 28 September, and **P. D. Petrenko** was fined 10 roubles on 30 October.

In the town of **Taganrog** **A. F. Bavyko**, a pensioner who has an income of 20 roubles a month, was fined 50 roubles on 29 November; her daughter **L. M. Bavyko**, who served a four-year sentence 'for religion' in 1952-56 (he earns 70 roubles a month), was also fined 50 roubles.

In the settlement of **Starotitarovskaya** (Krasnodar Territory) Senior Bishop **N. P. Goretoi** (see also 'The Right to Leave') and **A. Tishchenko** were fined 50 roubles each in October.

Catholics in Moldavia

In November the fight put up for many years by the Catholics of **Beltsy** to obtain official recognition ended in victory. On 27 November they received permission to register their congregation and open a prayer-house.

On 2 December the priest **Vladislav Zavalnyuk** (*Chronicles* 47, 48, 53), the only Catholic priest in Moldavia, travelled from **Kishinëv** to **Beltsy** for the first time.

On 5 December the Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs [C R A] summoned the chairman of the **Kishinëv** parish council and stated that **Fr Vladislav** would not be working in Moldavia any more.

On 6 December the Commissioner asked Father Vladislav to return his registration permit, as he had violated a C R A order forbidding him to conduct religious rituals beyond the limits of Kishinëv District. So now there is not a single Catholic priest left in Moldavia.

The Right to Leave

At the end of October at least 50 families in Kiev had their permission to emigrate cancelled. The reason given was that their relatives were too distant. On 20 November the head of the Kiev O V I R told those who had come to see him that new instructions had been received and that people were now to be allowed to leave only if they had close relatives abroad (parents, children, brothers and sisters of the same blood); he also said that all those who had no invitation from a close relative should get a job, as they had no hope of emigrating (in Kiev people wishing to hand in applications to O V I R have to leave their jobs, as otherwise their employers will not give them the necessary certificate for O V I R). In Kiev about 2,000 families are waiting for permission to emigrate. On 4 December some of them received refusals 'because the relatives are too distant'.

In Kiev and Leningrad young families and unmarried people are receiving refusals if their parents do not apply to emigrate simultaneously. In these towns invitations with their validity extended by the Dutch Embassy [acting for the Israelis] and invitations with corrections authorized by the Dutch Embassy are no longer being accepted. In Leningrad the number of refusenik families has risen from 100 to 400 in a year.

In Kharkov there used to be few refusenik families, now there are about 400. In Kharkov and Odessa refusals are also being issued on the grounds that relatives are 'too distant'. In Tashkent 20 families have received refusals on this pretext.

In Petrozavodsk the following have been refused emigration visas because their relatives were too distant: **Mikhail Kozlov** (as soon as he applied for a certificate for O V I R he was expelled from the Conservatory — he was in the fifth year); **Ya. D. Karp** and her son **Mark Karp** (she was the leader of the Conservatory orchestra, he is an economist — both lost their jobs); the **Poznyakov couple** (both are pianists, both were sacked — the husband from the Conservatory, his wife from a children's music school); **M. A. Pekler's** family (**M. A. Pekler** and his wife **N. N. Avetisyan** are Doctors of Philology, both are senior lecturers; **M. A. Pekler** was dismissed following a job competition, **N. N. Avetisyan** was transferred to the post of secre-

tary at a wage of 100 roubles a month after a meeting of the academic council); **T. D. Borisova** (a pianist who taught at the Conservatory; she has now been transferred to the post of orchestra leader) and the family of **Yu. M. Ryuntyu** (a biologist who worked in the Karelian branch of the U S S R Academy of Sciences; after handing in his application to emigrate, he was dismissed as having 'no scientific prospects').

On 7 December **O. Matusevich** wrote an 'Open Letter':

... I ask you to help me to emigrate from the U S S R, as I am being placed in an impossible situation by K G B officials.

(See *Chronicle* 54 and 'Beatings-up in Ukraine' in 'Miscellaneous Reports' in this issue). On 20 December she appealed again to Brezhnev, asking that obstacles should not be placed in the way of her emigration.

On 21 December **Evgeny Nikolayev** (*Chronicles* 48, 49, 51, 52, 54) was refused permission to emigrate. **N. R. Baimasova**, an inspector of Moscow O V I R, told him the reason for the refusal: he was not taking part in socially useful work and not participating in public life; she advised Nikolayev to get a job and obtain a good character reference there. Then O V I R might reconsider its decision. When Nikolayev protested that he was, for reasons connected with psychiatry, an invalid of the second group, with no right to work, she replied: 'Well, you see — all the more reason why we can't let you leave!'

In October **Justas Gimbutas** (*Chronicle* 53) was put under surveillance for a year. As before, he refuses to accept a Soviet passport. He was summoned to the K G B and threatened with criminal prosecution for violating the residence regulations, also if he renewed his attempts to get in touch with the American Embassy (after his release from camp he had travelled to Moscow and tried to enter the American Embassy; he was detained and the declaration he had written asking the American ambassador for help in emigrating was taken away from him; he was then sent back to Klaipeda). Gimbutas had received an invitation from the U S A, but O V I R would not accept any application if unaccompanied by a passport. At the end of November Gimbutas was told that materials for a criminal case against him on a charge of violating the residence regulations had been sent to the Procuracy.

On 19 November Ivanov, head of the Odessa O V I R, refused the Sery couple (*Chronicles* 47, 49, 52-54) permission to emigrate; the reason given was that their parents had not agreed to it. Not long before, K G B Captain Grazhdan (*Chronicles* 48, 54) had told Valentina Seraya's mother that if she gave her daughter permission to emigrate, it would mean she shared her views; the mother was afraid that she would have trouble at work (she is a cleaner). Then K G B official Shumilo told Leonid Sery's mother that the State had supported Sery's family and given them a flat (their new address is: 270010, Odessa, Geranievskaya ul.12, kv.58), but that they were issuing slanderous statements. The frightened mother wrote that she renounced such a son and signed a statement that she would never agree to Leonid's emigration from the U S S R.

The Serys have evidence that KGB officials have written in their name to people who were sending them parcels, stating that they did not need any 'handouts'.

On 28 December Leonid Sery was summoned for a talk by General M. Z. Banduristy, head of the Odessa K G B Department. L. Sery's 'guardians', Colonel Kasyan and Captain Grazhdan, were also present in Banduristy's office. During the conversation Sery was insulted and threatened with criminal charges. Kasyan asked Sery more than once about his friendship with Monakov, about their relationship and about the 'Party of the Working People' (*Chronicles* 53, 54). Kasyan and Banduristy tried to persuade Sery to be more open, as 'this is not an interrogation, just a chat'. At present Sery is being constantly followed.

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On 21 November the police of Svetlograd, Stavropol Territory, arrested Vasily Shatalov (born 1958) for the second time — for refusing to serve in the Army — although in 1976-8 he had already served two years in a camp on this charge (*Chronicles* 48, 51). On 1 December his father N. P. Shatalov, who himself had served one-and-a-half years in camps under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code (see *Chronicles* 48, 51 and 'Releases' in the 'Prisons and Camps' section of this issue), sent the following declaration to the Procurator-General of the U S S R (with a copy to Amnesty International in London):

Such actions cannot be considered as anything but revenge directed against our family ...

The authorities have taken revenge because in March 1976 our family of five renounced Soviet citizenship and applied to emigrate from the U S S R. Now, when we have so often been told by officials that we will soon be able to leave, and, as we have discovered, the immigration committee in Geneva was also so informed,

at this very moment our son is again being conscripted into the Army.

(The Shatalovs had applied to emigrate to the United States at the invitation of Congressman MacDonald.)

* * *

In a letter to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, Riga resident Yury Maksimov (*Chronicle* 53) again asks for permission to renounce Soviet citizenship and lists the ordeals he has undergone since 1974, when he first applied to emigrate.

* * *

In 1975, when Alexander Maksimov (from the town of Uzhgorod) reached his sixteenth birthday, he refused to accept a Soviet passport. He was not allowed to graduate from school, not being permitted to take the examinations.

In 1977 A. Maksimov and his mother G. A. Maksimova tried to hand in applications to emigrate. The Uzhgorod O V I R refused to accept their documents, as they had no invitation from abroad. On 27 October 1978 the Maksimovs renounced Soviet citizenship.

A. Maksimov wrote to the Military Enlistment Office, stating that he would not serve in the Army as he was not a citizen of the U S S R. He was summoned twice to the Procuracy and threatened with prosecution. However, he was not conscripted, as he is supporting his seriously-ill mother.

On 20 and 22 November 1979 the police tried to get into the Maksimovs' flat. On 28 November Maksimov sent a declaration to the Moscow Helsinki Group, telling them about himself and asking for help in obtaining permission to emigrate from the U S S R.

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On 7 May B. A. Zalevsky and his family (wife and two children) received permission to join a relative in the U S A. They sold their house in Vasilkov, Kiev Region, left their jobs and obtained passports for foreign travel. However, on the day of their departure the passports were taken away and they were told that their departure would be delayed.

Zalevsky began to apply to all official departments to find out when he would be allowed to leave. In reply he started to receive threats that he would be charged with vagrancy and parasitism.

Zalevsky and members of his family have sent a complaint to A. Pelše, the Chairman of the Party Control Committee attached to the C P S U Central Committee. In the complaint they ask to be provided with accommodation until they leave the U S S R and for an end to their persecution. The Zalevskys also ask that permission for emigration be speeded up.

Jews

In December Mark Nashpits (*Chronicle* 54) issued a second 'Open Letter to the Press' (for the first, see below in this issue), in which he described his battle to emigrate, now of several years' duration.

On 1 February 1971 he and his mother applied to emigrate. Two months later they received a refusal, motivated by the fact that Nashpits's father had failed to return from a trip abroad in 1956.

In 1972, during President R. Nixon's visit to the USSR, M. Nashpits was called up into the Army; he refused, so as not to give the authorities a further reason for refusing him permission to emigrate (possession of 'military secrets') — he was then tried and sentenced to a term of corrective labour (*Chronicle* 26). M. Nashpits continued to campaign for emigration and took part in demonstrations.

In June 1974 a K G B representative told M. Nashpits that if he stopped participating in demonstrations he and his mother would soon be able to leave. M. Nashpits asked for guarantees: as his mother had not taken part in any demonstrations, she should be let out first, then he would 'behave himself' for a time and would leave later. The K G B officials agreed — on 1 August 1974 Nashpits's mother left the USSR.

In December 1974 K G B officials told Nashpits that he would soon be leaving, if he 'gave them a little help' first: if he did not, a criminal charge would be brought against him and he would take a trip to 'some place that isn't so far away'. In reply Nashpits put out 'An Open Letter to the International Public'.

On 24 February 1975 he walked in front of the Lenin Library, together with others, carrying a placard saying 'Visas instead of prisons!' The response was his arrest, a trial and five years in exile (*Chronicle* 36).

On 26 July 1979¹³ he was released and returned to Moscow. The authorities now refuse to register him as a resident or accept his application to O V I R. He ends his 'Open Letter' as follows:

I have a feeling that a new trial is being prepared for me. I have no permanent place of residence and no job. I have been deprived of all this because the authorities, breaking their own Law, are refusing me the opportunity to obtain these things.

Soon a child will be born to our family, but where are we to live? Where will we bring him up? There is one sensible way out of this situation for the authorities — to allow us to emigrate to Israel.

On 11 December the Moscow refuseniks Viktor Elistratov (*Chronicles* 46, 47, 50, 53, 54) and Yakov Shmayevich went to Post-Office 288, where they had booked time to receive a telephone call at 7 pm from activists of the Campaign for Soviet Jewry in London. They had

already rung Elistratov and Shmayevich at this post-office a number of times.

Elistratov and Shmayevich arrived 10 minutes before the appointed time and were somewhat surprised at the unusual amount of activity going on in such a small post-office: a man who later said he was on holiday from Chelyabinsk took 20 minutes to write a telegram, fussing about beside the counter; a woman was sitting at the table, pulling an air ticket out of her bag from time to time; another woman was having a lively discussion about her telegram with all those present and also displaying an air ticket; afterwards two more men appeared (one tall, one shorter) carrying 'diplomat-type' briefcases and parcels in their hands and sat down to write a letter, loudly discussing how to begin it.

At 7 o'clock a bell sounded and Shmayevich went into the telephone booth indicated to him by the woman on duty. At the same time Elistratov stationed himself outside the door of the booth, which Shmayevich had closed behind him.

Suddenly complete silence reigned in the building. What Shmayevich was saying could not be heard. All at once the taller man rushed towards the booth, shouting: 'Listen to what they're saying! Anti-Soviet talk! They're relaying anti-Soviet information!' Pointing out Elistratov to the shorter man — 'Hold him, Kolya, make sure he doesn't get away!' — he pushed his way into the booth, grabbed some papers lying in front of Shmayevich and started to drag him away from the telephone. Shmayevich shouted into the receiver: 'We're being dragged off to the police station!' The taller man forcibly twisted Shmayevich's arm and showed him his little red [K G B] book with the gold stamp; in giving orders to his assistants he remarked more than once: 'It's a good thing Kolya has such a sensitive ear for music!' Elistratov kept asking 'Kolya': 'What did you overhear, then?' In reply 'Kolya' mumbled indistinctly: 'He was speaking against the Soviets'. 'What Soviets? What exactly did you hear?' The only answer was silence and an impudent grin.

Elistratov and Shmayevich were pushed into 'a car that happened to be passing' and taken to Police Station 101. During the journey the taller man actively demonstrated that he was in charge of dangerous criminals: he constantly told his assistants to hold Elistratov and Shmayevich tightly, and when the car drove up to Police Station 101 he would not open the door until a sufficiently large force of policemen had come up to convey the 'criminals' from the car door to the reception office. The policeman on duty at Station 101 detained Elistratov and Shmayevich for two hours, then ordered them to be searched and confiscated Elistratov's notebook and a few papers. Then he let them both go.

On 13 December the police broke into the communal flat in Kiev where **Sergei Rotshtein** (*Chronicles* 53, 54), a Jewish activist and refusenik, lives. At the time Rotshtein was being visited by some tourists from the USA who had come to see him and his sister **Elena Oleinik** (*Chronicles* 53, 54), who had served 30 days of administrative arrest from 12 October to 11 November (*Chronicle* 54 reported only the first half of this term). Sergei would not allow the policemen to enter, but they broke in when Sergei's neighbour left the flat. The police were accompanied by men in civilian clothes, one of whom Sergei knew by sight (he had taken Sergei to K G B headquarters on a number of occasions). This official asked the tourists in English for their identity documents. The tourists gave their names, after which the uninvited guests left, leaving a summons for Sergei to come to the police station on 15 December. Sergei did not go to the police station. He was subjected to round-the-clock surveillance.

On 20 December, when Jews who had applied for emigration (about 20-30 people) had gathered at the city O V I R building, they were attacked by police, men in civilian clothes and vigilantes, who told them to disperse. The Jews crossed over to the other side of the street, but the police nevertheless detained a number of people: two were fined and **Iosif Bussel** was sentenced to 15 days' administrative arrest for 'resisting the authorities'. E. Oleinik went to see the relatives of those who had been fined, but they refused to tell her their names.

Sergei Rotshtein was caught by the authorities while still only approaching O V I R. He was pushed into a car and taken to the detention cells. Later the police took him to a court, where the Judge sentenced him to 15 days for 'resisting the authorities', for obstructing traffic and pedestrians, and for having 'the intention to organize a disturbance'. This is the fourth 15-day sentence S. Rotshtein has served since April this year.

The Moscow Jewish refuseniks sent the following telegram to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian CP:

On 20 December the police detained a number of Jews on the streets of Kiev just because they allowed themselves to meet openly at the city O V I R to discuss the problem of emigration from the USSR to Israel. Two of them — Sergei Rotshtein and Iosif Bussel — were later sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment on fabricated charges. We strongly protest at the campaign of repression against the Jews of Kiev who want to emigrate from the USSR. We demand the immediate release of Rotshtein and Bussel.

(signed) *Elistratov, Shvartsman, Bogomolny, Falkovich, Chernyak, Minkin, Sapiro, Vail, Levitansky, Rozenshtein, Lerner, Mai, Seidel, Meiman, Ioffe, Livshits, Talyanker, Chernobylsky, Drugova, Rakh-*

lenko, Kosharovsky, Zherdev, Shmayevich, Krivonos, Kremen, Lukatsky, Sorin, Okuneva, Tufeld, Shchiglik, Shcharansky, Sorkin, Gabovich, Goldshtein, Shabashov, Liberman, Fiskin, Elinson, Blitshtein, Likhterev, Cherkassky, Khasina

* * *

The ordeals of Kiev resident **Igor Kushnirenko** (born 1953) are continuing (*Chronicle* 54). At the order of Kiev Procurator Gaidamak, the resolution dropping the criminal case against him was rescinded and the case was sent to the District Procuracy for further investigation (I. Kushnirenko was exempted from military service by a medical commission, then accused of deliberately avoiding it; he and his family had already received permission to emigrate to Israel).

On 21 November police and officials of the District Military Enlistment Office broke into I. Kushnirenko's flat and took him away. As Igor's mother and wife were out at the time, he had to take his three-year-old son with him. It was only in the evening that his wife managed to find her son and husband at the Enlistment Office. Igor handed his son over to his wife and said to her: 'Don't believe anything they tell you. I refuse to be examined by any commissions and I'm going on hunger-strike'.

On 27 November I. Kushnirenko rang from Kharkov, gave the number of the military unit he was with, and stated that he would not take the military oath. Igor's wife **Viktoria Kushnirenko** was informed at the CPSU Central Committee building that the criminal case against her husband had been closed (retrospectively).

Germans

On 20 November 67 Germans from many different places in the Soviet Union, 'reduced to despair by their unsuccessful efforts to return to their historical homeland — Germany (both parts)', appealed to the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government, 'calling for a show of good will and generosity'.

* * *

In 1977 an accumulator assistant at Taganrog combine harvester factory, **Zoya Antonovna Vagner** (born 1935, Russian by nationality, had worked in the factory since 1953), began to ask for permission to emigrate from the country 'to stop the harassment of her son' **Yury Vagner** (born 1961, German by nationality). On 22 June 1979 Yury himself appealed to Brezhnev, asking for 'a visa to emigrate from the USSR':

I am a German and I want to live and work together with my own people ...

Soon I should be called up into the Army, but how can I defend another people if I love my own? It's not my fault that my ancestors landed up in Russia for various circumstances and reasons ...

I earnestly beg you to expedite the granting of my visa. By so doing you will save me from persecution and harassment, which have intensified over the last few years.

I have been forbidden to fall in love or to have any friends, I was not allowed to study and was not even given a job. I have known nothing in my life except beatings and mockery, merely because I am a German and love my people.

On 12 September Z. A. Vagner appealed to the Military Commissar of Taganrog, S. S. Loginov, asking him 'to exempt my son from military service because he is waiting for permission from the Soviet government to emigrate from the U S S R'.

On 27 September Yury Vagner renounced Soviet citizenship. On 1 November he wrote to Loginov:

Now that I have renounced citizenship of the U S S R, I am being called up for active service in the ranks of the Soviet Army.

Who am I to defend? Those who have mocked me, those who will not let me join my own German people, and threaten me with imprisonment for wanting this?

Never!

I am not a citizen of the U S S R.

In November Z. A. Vagner began to receive urgent invitations to visit a psychiatric clinic. (On 5 February 1979 psychiatrists wrote to the town police station: '... Z. A. Vagner's statements regarding persecution are not considered by us to be symptoms of illness.')

* * *

On 10 November the Laub family from Ordzhonikidze appealed to Brezhnev in an 'Open Letter', asking for permission to emigrate to the Federal Republic of Germany. They report that they had been trying to achieve permission for four years, so that:

we can live out our lives among our nearest and dearest, in a familiar culture, a national and religious environment we are used to.

The Laubs write:

Is it really possible that in the evening of our lives we will be left with no choice but that of renouncing Soviet citizenship and chaining ourselves to the Kremlin walls? Must we really pay the price of imprisonment for the right to emigrate to our historic homeland? If there is no other alternative, Comrade Brezhnev, we feel it

would be better to burn ourselves to death. We would thus rid ourselves of your country and of people whose activity is devoted to the forcible detention of others.

In December the Laubs received permission to emigrate.

Pentecostals. The Arrest of N. P. Goretoi

On 13 December in the settlement of Starotitarovskaya (Krasnodar Territory), Senior Bishop Nikolai Petrovich Goretoi (*Chronicles* 47-9, 54) was arrested. During a search of his home, all those present were subjected to body-searches, including the women and children. Goretoi's relatives were informed that criminal charges were to be pressed against him.

On the same day searches took place at the homes of seven other Pentecostals in Starotitarovskaya, who, like Goretoi, had applied to emigrate from the U S S R. The following were confiscated: religious and legal literature, photographs, tape-recorders, cassette-recorders with tapes, and a record course of English Language lessons.

* * *

On 16 November in the town of Bataisk, Rostov Region, N. P. Goretoi's son Ilya (born 1954) and I. Goretoi's brother-in-law Vladimir Morozov (born 1956) were sentenced under article 198-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code for refusing to participate in military instruction. In August 1978 they had both renounced Soviet citizenship, and so regarded their summons for military instruction as unlawful; they wrote about this to the highest authorities.

After I. Goretoi and V. Morozov had studied the indictment they wrote a declaration to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, the Procurator-General of the U S S R, the Procurator of Rostov Region, and the Procurator of Bataisk, stating that their summons for military instruction was unlawful but agreeing to attend the course. Nevertheless they were sentenced: I. Goretoi to six months' imprisonment and Morozov to one year of corrective labour with confiscation of 20% of his wages.

* * *

On 11 December Pavel Matyash (born 1961) was arrested in the settlement of Starotitarovskaya. He had renounced his citizenship, applied to emigrate and refused to accept a Soviet passport. While he was being called up for military service, he wrote more than once to the Enlistment Board, stating that he would join the Army, but would not take the military oath.

In reply to a demand from Matyash's parents for the release of their son, investigator Gnoyevoi took them to court: on 21 December

Pavel's father was sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment and his mother was fined 10 roubles.

In 1977 Pavel Lupanov from Zhdanov handed in an application to emigrate and in August 1978 he renounced Soviet citizenship. After the failure of a number of attempts by K G B officials to make him take back his application, he was sentenced to six months' corrective labour on a fabricated charge.

On 22 November 1979 Pavel was summoned to the Military Enlistment Board for a medical examination. He wrote a declaration to the Board and to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, giving reasons for his refusal to serve in the Army. On 27 November he was arrested. During interrogation Lupanov's parents were told that he was accused of 'avoiding a standard call-up for active military service' (article 72 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code).

On 15 December a search was carried out at the home of Presbyter V. S. Bilyk (*Chronicles* 48, 54) in the town of Sukhodolsk, Voroshilovgrad Region. Letters and religious poems were confiscated from him. On 26 December he was handed an order from the police chief forbidding him to leave town until he received special instructions. Bilyk is again under threat of imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital.

A. A. Pilipenko from the town of Zhdanov (*Chronicle* 52) applied to emigrate in 1978 and renounced Soviet citizenship. She has to support three small children and a paralysed mother. She works as a cleaner. For three years K G B officials and police have been trying to force her to give up the idea of emigrating, threatening to take away her children. When religious friends or relatives of the Pilipenkos have come to their home to visit the sick woman, the police have driven up, taken everybody's names and fined the mistress of the house. On 27 May 1979 her mother died. The funeral procession was escorted by the police. The procession was forbidden to stop. A religious service was not allowed.

The Roshchupkin family applied to emigrate and renounced Soviet citizenship. The daughters — Vera, Valentina and Maria — work at the 'Tyazhmash' [heavy machinery] factory in Zhdanov. In trying to get them to renounce emigration, the K G B is operating through the factory administration. Valya's wages fell from 150 roubles a month to 37. In her workshop, meetings have been organized more

than once where the 20-year-old girl has heard cries such as 'Get rid of them to Israel, kill them!' At a meeting on 20 August the department head and the head of the workshop suggested that there should be a vote on the question of sacking the Roshchupkina sisters. The meeting voted to deprive the girls of their jobs and, if possible, to drive them out of the USSR. However, as there was no genuine reason to dismiss them, their work conditions were made unbearable. On 22 August Valya was forced to resign her job.

After Lyudmila Yarets from the town of Dzerzhinsk, Donetsk Region, renounced her citizenship in August 1978, she was summoned many times to the City E.C., which tried to force her to take back her application for emigration from the USSR. On 18 August 1979 she was visited by Reutskaya and Polupon, officials of the City E.C. They threatened Lyudmila that she would not be allowed to take her children with her, as they were Soviet citizens. 'The Soviet authorities will not allow the souls of children to be crippled by religious rubbish', they told her on leaving.

The Trial of I. Korchnoi

On 19 December the case against 20-year-old Igor Korchnoi on a charge of evading call-up for military service (article 80 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) was examined in Leningrad.

Igor Korchnoi is the son of Viktor Korchnoi. In August 1977 Viktor Korchnoi's wife Bella and Igor applied to emigrate (*Chronicle* 51). After this Igor was obliged to leave college and thus lost his right to deferment of military service. In November 1977 the Korchnois were refused permission to emigrate. They then appealed to the Party City Committee to allow Igor to return to the institute. They were told that, as a condition, they would have to renounce their intention of leaving the USSR. They did not agree to this and again submitted a petition to emigrate.

On 5 May 1978 Igor Korchnoi received his call-up papers. On 24 May he was detained by the police. A statement was drawn up concerning his non-appearance in response to call-up. Igor stated that he would not go to the Military Enlistment Office and refused to sign for another set of call-up papers. Criminal Investigation Department official Semchenkov (who appeared at the trial as a witness) officially cautioned him that evasion of military service was a criminal offence, but Korchnoi stood his ground. After this he left home and stayed away for eighteen months. He was arrested on 15 November 1979.

The case was examined by Vasileostrovsky District People's Court in Leningrad and presided over by N. N. Kubasova. The prosecutor was Procurator Skritsky; Drabkin defended. They tried not to admit

relatives and friends of the accused into the courtroom, giving the usual excuse — 'no places', but after stormy arguments the police admitted 12 people. The Judge ordered another three people to be admitted after the first break and another five after the second. About twenty more people were unable to gain admittance to the courtroom.

The accused pleaded not guilty. He explained that in current practice people who wanted to emigrate after they had served in the Army were often refused permission on the grounds of safeguarding State secrets. He also considered that it was unjust to refuse him the right to higher education and at the same time demand him to fulfil the duty of serving in the Army. This, he said, contradicted the unity of the rights and duties of citizens declared in the U S S R Constitution. He explained that the reason why he had gone into hiding after his refusal to serve in the Army was that he feared his arrest would be too traumatic for his father, who was at the time preparing for the World Championship match (in 1978).

B. Korchnaya, who was summoned as a witness, expressed the same considerations. She further stated that she and her son were being used as hostages to put psychological pressure on her husband, and, in her opinion, this was the reason why her son had been called up and why they had been refused permission to leave the U S S R four times without explanation.

The court did not even begin to consider the particular circumstances of Igor Korchnoi and his mother. (The Judge merely ascertained that they could not name an official source for their information about 'secrecy' after military service.) Witnesses' evidence concerned the facts of I. Korchnoi's evasion of call-up. The court also rejected a petition from the lawyer to appoint a medical team to ascertain Igor's fitness for military service. The lawyer said that if Korchnoi had the right to deferment on health grounds he would have committed only a so-called 'notional offence', for which he could not be charged. The court pointed out (and repeated in the judgment) that the degree of fitness of the accused for military service was determinable by the Military Medical Committee of the District Military Enlistment Office, and not by a court. (It should be noted that during Igor's pre-trial imprisonment he did undergo a medical examination, on the investigator's insistence, and was ruled fit.)

The Procurator said in his speech that Igor Korchnoi's guilt had been fully proven. He did not analyse Korchnoi's reasons for evading military service and brushed them aside as unworthy of attention. 'The accused and his mother', announced the Procurator, 'hold forth about so-called human rights to try to cast a shadow over the organs of Soviet power'. He demanded the maximum sentence for Korchnoi — three years in camps.

The defence lawyer's speech was devoted to the inner motivation of

Igor Korchnoi's actions. He said that the yearning for his family to be reunited, which had gradually come to dominate his consciousness, his life and his behaviour, lay at the root of his actions. He called the court's attention to the fact that 'it was not without external influence' that Igor had made his choice between observing the law and trying to reunite his family.

In his final speech Igor Korchnoi emphasized that he had acted as his duty as a son and love for his father demanded. If this was considered a crime then he admitted his 'crime' and his 'guilt'. He pointed out that he had not chosen the situation which had come about — he had had no alternative but to refuse to do military service. Korchnoi asked the court to 'bear in mind that the situation is unique', and also to take his mother's ill-health into consideration and to show humanity by passing the minimum sentence allowable by law. The sentence was two-and-a-half years in ordinary-regime camps.

* * *

After the trial Bella Korchnaya sent a telegram to the World Champion A. Karpov and to the players in the challengers' matches — Grand Masters Adoryan, Petrosyan, Polugayevsky, Portisch, Spassky, Tal and Hübner. She said that the charge against her son had been 'trumped-up'.

With harsh words she accuses the Grand Masters of 'silent participation in the reprisals' against Igor, and asserts directly that 'he was convicted so that you would find it easier to fight for the championship' — in order to 'prevent Viktor Korchnoi from playing at full strength'.

B. Korchnaya considers that it would be enough for one chess-player to threaten to refuse to take part in the next round of the World Championship Tournament to stop the persecution of herself and Igor:

Why can you not resolve to demonstrate your sense of honour and attain the right to fight Viktor Korchnoi on equal terms? ... If you do not do this, how can you fight with a clear conscience for the title of World Champion?

With these words Bella Korchnaya concludes her appeal.

Bella Korchnaya sent an even harsher telegram to the President of the World Chess Federation [FIDE], Grand Master F. Olafson. She accused the Federation and Olafson personally of 'silent connivance' and 'practical cooperation' in the persecution of V. Korchnoi, and, in particular, in the reprisals against his son:

Only decisive intervention can save us. Summon a World Chess

Federation Congress. Suspend the matches for the world title. At least do *something!*

Maybe, Mr. Olafson, now that Igor Korchnoi is in jail, this time you will have enough courage and energy?

This was Korchnaya's appeal to the president of F I D E.

Have Left

The mathematician **Boris Shain** (*Chronicle 54*) left the USSR on 18 November.

The former political prisoners **Svyatoslav Karavansky** and his wife **Nina Strokatova** (*Chronicle 54*) left the USSR on 30 November. Even when, just after 20 November, they were given permission to leave (and they had to leave not later than 30 November), surveillance of them was not lifted. They were only allowed to travel from Tarusa to Moscow individually to fill out their emigration papers, and each time they had to ask the permission of the 'surveillance officials'. Just before they left they were each reported for a violation of surveillance regulations: Karavansky missed one appointment and Strokatova arrived home one evening 20 minutes after the 'surveillance curfew'. They received a court summons for 26 November, but on the evening of 25 November the court secretary came to their house and asked them to return the summons. On 23 November Karavansky, who had gone to Moscow on business connected with his emigration, was detained by the police and ordered to leave Moscow within 24 hours. Only on 27 November did Karavansky and Strokatova receive permission to leave Tarusa for Moscow.

At the beginning of December **V. F. Livchak** (*Chronicles 39, 48*) left the USSR. In December **Natalya Buzyreva**, wife of 'airplane man' **Yury Fëdorov** [previously **Fyodorov**] (*Chronicles 17, 20, 53*), left the USSR. On 30 December the artists **Alexander and Irina Pasmur** (*Chronicle 53*) left the USSR.

On 30 December **Vladimir Malinkovich** from Kiev (*Chronicles 49, 52-4*) left the USSR. On 16 November he had been summoned by an investigator, who told him that citizeness **Gunayeva** from Chernovtsy had sent a statement to the Procuracy claiming that Malinkovich had infected her with a venereal disease; this was said to have happened in Chernovtsy in May (in actual fact Malinkovich never left Kiev in May). The investigator informed Malinkovich that a criminal case had been brought against him.

On 29 November (when the Ukrainian Writers' Union was holding an evening in memory of **Kosynka** — see below) Malinkovich was summoned to a police station and detained all evening. A local police-

man talked to Malinkovich for an hour and a half and rebuked him for 'parasitism' (although Malinkovich had been out of work for little more than a month). He said that he was not 'letting Malinkovich go off to some Israel'.

On 26 December Malinkovich received permission to emigrate — he was to leave the country not later than 31 December. On the eve of his departure Malinkovich went to O V I R, where he was met by K G B officials of his acquaintance. They invited Malinkovich to come to their car and drove him to a restaurant out of town, where they advised him to behave circumspectly abroad, otherwise they would get hold of him even there.

Miscellaneous Reports

On 18 October the R S F S R Supreme Court examined the appeals of **E. Kuleshov** and his lawyer (*Chronicle 53*) and ruled that the judgment of the Rostov Regional Court was based on insufficient evidence (the testimony of the single prosecution witness — **Kurbatsky** — was contradictory), cancelled the sentence and sent the case for a new investigation from scratch. The Procurator who spoke at the Supreme Court hearing also considered it necessary to cancel the sentence.

Annes Enehielm, who had been sentenced in Tartu on 20 September to 18 months in ordinary-regime camps (*Chronicle 54*), was not taken into custody until 13 December, after the Estonian Supreme Court had examined his appeal and left the sentence in force. Until then he had been at liberty on condition that he did not leave Tartu.

On Christmas Eve, 24 December, many of the inhabitants of Tartu visited the cemetery in order to place candles on the graves of relatives and fellow-patriots who had died during the 1918-20 War. A large crowd went from the cemetery to the town square. There speeches were made in which liberty and national independence were discussed. The police detained several people, but soon released them. There was a second meeting at the cemetery on 31 December.

Human Rights Day in Moscow

On 10 December the traditional silent demonstration (*Chronicle 52*) was due to take place on Pushkin Square. By 6 pm about a hundred K G B officials, policemen and vigilantes had gathered around the

statue of Pushkin. Several people decided that the demonstration should begin at 6 pm, so at that hour they uncovered their heads and stood silently for several minutes — they were not hindered. At 6.40 pm all available 'officials', led by a police lieutenant-colonel, began, very roughly, to clear the area around the statue. When they were asked why people were being driven off the square they gave various answers; for example: 'Something else is taking place here; the City Council will explain tomorrow', or 'They're starting repairs on the statue'. By 6.50 pm the area around the statue had been cleared of 'bystanders' and enclosed with metal barriers; lamps were lit around the statue and the exit from the Metro to the statue was closed.

The 'bystanders' were taken to the Metro station and escorted through the pay-barriers. Here KGB officials picked out various individuals and loaded them into minibuses; while one of the buses was being loaded a searchlight on the *Izvestia* building was turned on. About 50 people were loaded into the buses and about the same number were detained at the approach to the square. The people detained (S. Khodorovich, S. Nekipelov and O. Matusevich were among them) were taken to various police stations (but mostly to No. 108) and 'support points'. Their passport particulars were noted down and they were asked where they worked and why they had been on the square. When some of them protested against the illegal detention which had taken place, moreover with the use of force, the man in civilian clothes who was talking to them said that he knew nothing about it and could not himself deal with complaints. When one of the people detained asked permission to telephone his wife and put her mind at rest a woman in civilian clothes turned the request down, quoting Nekrasov: 'She'll bear all and carve for herself a wide, clear road'. Gradually all the people detained were released (at 15 to 20-minute intervals).

A. Lavut, on getting out of a trolleybus on the other side of the square, was immediately shoved into a waiting car. The 'explanation' 'We're from the Criminal Investigation Department' was given to Lavut, who was putting up a token resistance, and to the passers-by who had begun to gather round. They then drove Lavut round the city in complete silence for an hour and a half, stopping by the Ilich Gates (at the beginning of Entuziastov Highway — formerly Vladimirka) at the USSR KGB investigations block (Lefortovo), at the gates of the USSR KGB Investigations Prison, at the house on the Solyanka where Lavut had once lived, at the City OVIR, and in the court-yard of Police Station 26 (18 Lyalin Alley). They let him out of the car behind the Triumphal Arch.

Moscow Helsinki Group members I. Kovalëv and T. Osipova were detained when leaving the building where they live. They were asked to go home and, when they refused, were taken to the nearest

'support point', where they were detained for a couple of hours. Yu. S. Zakharov, who had taken part in the search on 11 October (*Chronicle 54*), was in charge of the detention. (At the search he had presented credentials as a Criminal Investigation official, but to judge by all the evidence he must be a KGB official.) During their talk at the support point Zakharov told Kovalëv and Osipova that he considered their 'chronicling activity' an unnecessary occupation and hoped that they would grasp the error of their ways and mend them.

On 10 December P. Egides, Yu. Grimm, V. Gershuni, G. Pavlovsky, V. Sokirko, S. Sorokina, V. Kuvakin, P. Starchik and S. Belanovsky had all been summoned to the police for 5 pm appointments (Pavlovsky and Sorokina did not go; Belanovsky went to the address shown on the summons, where he discovered that the Procurator's Office had moved two weeks previously.) M. Petrenko, N. Meiman and A. Naidenovich were put under house arrest on the same day. V. Bakhmin, I. Grivnina and E. Nikolayev were demonstratively followed all day.

On the evening of December 9 a man who introduced himself as 'KGB official Vladimir Nikolayevich' (later he gave a surname — 'Alekseyev') telephoned the flat where V. Senderov lives. 'Vladimir Nikolayevich' asked for a message to be given to Senderov, that he should not leave the flat 'today or tomorrow'. When Senderov left the flat on the morning of December 10 he was detained 'on suspicion of robbing a flat' and taken to Police Station 68. There 'comrades in plain clothes' asked Senderov questions about his acquaintances and how he spent his time. Senderov asked one of the 'officials' to show him his identification and was shown a pass in the name of City Computer Centre engineer Kukhtinov. Senderov asked for something more plausible and 'Kukhtinov' fulfilled his request: he made a telephone call and was brought a document identifying him as a Criminal Investigation official. When Senderov mentioned that his detention was illegal, a man whose documents identified him as 'V. N. Nikolayev' objected: 'What detention? Nobody's twisted your arm'. After three-and-a-half hours one of the officials took Senderov home and again told him not to leave the house that day. Senderov took no notice. At 1 pm he was on the street when a car approached him and the occupants asked where he was going. 'To the foreign literature library'. 'Will you be long?' 'Till 8 o'clock'. 'Come on. We'll give you a lift'. Senderov was not allowed to refuse their 'kind offer'. When he left the library at 8 pm his 'guardians' had disappeared.

A short time before 10 December L. Ternovsky had sent a letter to the Moscow City Procurator:

I am hereby informing you that on 10 December 1979 at 7 pm I intend to take part in a peaceful demonstration on Pushkin Square in support of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights which was adopted on 10 December 1948 by the United Nations. I am informing you of this because on the same day last year my constitutional rights were crudely violated. I was detained for no reason at the exit from the Metro Station Pushkinskaya and taken to Police Station 108, where I was held for one-and-a-half hours. I have already described all this to you in my statement dated 26 December 1978.

I appeal to you to take active steps to defend my constitutional right to peaceful demonstration from illegal infringements from whatever source.

(On 28 December 1978 Senior Counsellor of Justice V. D. Matyukhina informed Ternovsky that his letter of 26 December had been sent to the Procurator of Frunze District for examination and reply; however, Ternovsky did not receive a reply from there.)

On 10 December at 5 pm a 'commission' of three people appeared at the X-ray department where Ternovsky works. The 'commission' looked through a journal until past 7 pm. D. Leontev and V. Shepelev were also detained at work. On the same day Deputy Director of the All-Union Vitamin Scientific Research Institute E. I. Kozlov summoned N. P. Lisovskaya for an 'educative chat'. The 'chat' ended with a threat: 'If we discover that you've taken part in today's action, then we're going to have to consider the question of your future employment at this institute'.

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Leningrad. A demonstration took place on 10 December outside Kazan Cathedral. K G B officials nosed around and greeted the dissidents they knew. When the police started to break up the demonstrators they sprayed something from portable cylinders. The crowd quickly dispersed.

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Leningrad. In November one of the editors of the almanac *Women and Russia* (see 'Samizdat News'), T. A. Mamonova, was summoned to the Kuibyshev District K G B Department in Leningrad. K G B officials Efimov and Khazanov tried to persuade her to stop helping to produce the almanac. Mamonova refused. They also asked her whether she had any intention of emigrating.

On 10 December she was again summoned to the K G B, where she was cautioned 'according to the Decree'.¹⁴ According to the record, Mamonova was accused of being 'one of a group of people who are producing a tendentious, ideological journal entitled *Women and Russia* with the intention of giving it to representatives of capitalist states for publication abroad'.

On 14 December Mamonova sent a statement to the Procurator of Leningrad, Solovëv:

... I still consider that feminism is a progressive phenomenon and that the women's movement is an essential part of the world democratic movement. Our publication, the almanac *Women and Russia*, is no more ideological or tendentious than any other feminist publication. K G B officials are deliberately distorting our almanac's purpose and incorrectly interpreting its sense. I and my like-minded associates are not ashamed of communicating our beliefs to anyone and everyone — Russians and foreigners. We very much regret that K G B repressions are depriving us of the chance to work in the field of feminism.

I am requesting that you protect my associates and myself from the illegal actions of K G B officials.

* * *

On 27 November Sofia Sokolova was summoned to the Leningrad K G B. K G B official Egerev (*Chronicles* 29, 43, 49) issued her with a caution 'according to the Decree' for her participation in the almanac *Women and Russia*. Sokolova refused to sign the caution.

* * *

On 30 November the same Egerev issued a caution to Yury Melnik (*Chronicles* 24, 35, 36) for 'signing letters detrimental to the interests of the Soviet state'. Melnik wrote on the record of the caution: 'I do not agree with this caution'.

* * *

On 21 November Yury Ushakov (*Chronicle* 54) was summoned to the Leningrad K G B. K G B official A. I. Kulakov told Ushakov that he had signed letters which were passed to him by Volokhonsky (trial — *Chronicle* 53) and Nikitin (trial — *Chronicle* 54), and which had been 'ruled by a court to be anti-Soviet and were detrimental to the interests of the Soviet state'. Ushakov wrote that neither Volokhonsky nor Nikitin had handed him any letters, that he did not consider the letters he had signed to be either anti-Soviet or slanderous, and that he would study the text of the letters carefully in order to see whether they could cause damage to the Soviet state.

Beatings-up in the Ukraine

At 6 pm on 24 November Mikhailina Kotsyubinskaya (*Chronicle* 45) was beaten up on a Kiev street. She lost consciousness.

At 4 pm on 29 November Olga Matusevich was struck by a passer-by on one of Kiev's main streets. Vasily Kulya, who was with her

at the time, tried to intervene and was immediately attacked by a second passer-by. At once a policeman appeared, grabbed Matusevich's arms and pushed her into a waiting car. The attackers also got in. On the way to the police station they threatened Matusevich with an even worse beating. When Matusevich and Kulya arrived at the police station they discovered that their attackers were police officials in civilian clothes. The police detained them for five hours and then informed Matusevich that she would have to appear in court for starting a fight on the street and resisting police officials.

At the end of November the father-in-law of Nikolai Gorbali (*Chronicle 54*) and grandfather of political prisoner Valery Marchenko was beaten up in Kiev. Two hooligans insulted and then attacked him, a very old man, as he was taking his daily walk near his home. One assaulted him while the other smeared him with something green. Afterwards he went down with pneumonia and became mentally disturbed.

On 7 December 55-year-old Leonida Svetlichnaya, the wife of political exile I. Svetlichny (*Chronicles 52, 54*), was attacked at the entrance of the building where she lives in Kiev. She was threatened with rape.

At the beginning of December Nadezhda Lukyanenko, the wife of political prisoner L. Lukyanenko, was attacked on a staircase landing in Chernigov. She was almost suffocated.

N. Lukyanenko does not receive any of the letters or parcels sent to her from abroad. Not all the letters which are sent to her from inside the Soviet Union reach her. In December N. Lukyanenko was 'made redundant' (she had worked in a factory as an engineer).

Several days before the beginning of the December trials (see 'Trials') V. Lisovaya's telephone was disconnected. It was reconnected a few weeks after the trials. The day before the start of Yu. Badzë's trial his wife S. Kirichenko's telephone was again disconnected (see *Chronicle 54*).

On 29 November the Ukrainian Union of Writers held an evening in memory of the Ukrainian writer Kosynka, who was arrested in 1937 and rehabilitated after his death.

Policemen stood in front of the Writers' Union building and checked the documents of everyone trying to get in to attend. They

(*Chronicle 45*), who spent about 20 years in Stalin's camps, wanted to attend. In order to make this impossible he was subjected to house-arrest and KGB officials came to 'chat' to him. After the 'chat' Antonenko-Davidovich's health deteriorated sharply.

Galina Tomovna Didyk (*Chronicle 54*) died at the end of December.

Moscow. Refusenik G. Rozenshtein (*Chronicle 50*) worked as a home help to A. Ginzburg's mother L. I. Ginzburg, as well as doing his official job at the Zarya firm. At the beginning of December his chief told him that he was forbidden to visit Lyudmila Ilinichna. Rozenshtein objected that she was an old, sick woman who needed help, to which his chief replied that he would find him another sick person. In the second half of December his chief told him that since he was still working for L. Ginzburg, despite the ban, he was considered to have been absent without leave and was dismissed.

On 26 November a local policeman and a man in plain clothes visited T. Osipova. They said they were investigating 'a leak' but started to examine passports. Seeing that Osipova was not yet formally married to I. Kovalëv (the wedding took place on 15 December), they said to her: 'He's not going to live here', and told her that if 'this' continued they would fine her and then evict her (I. Kovalëv is registered in Moscow). During the conversation the policeman called the man in plain clothes 'comrade Major'.

An unofficial Moscow seminar on the humanities and legal subjects has entered its third year of operation. The seminar is concerned with questions relating to Jewish traditions and history and also to the legal problems which arise when people want to leave the USSR. There are a large number of refuseniks and people petitioning to emigrate among those who attend the seminar; the number attending reaches 65 at some sessions.

The founders of the seminar — former refuseniks and engineers Ilya Tsitovsky, Yury Fishman and Eduard Nizhnikov — have already emigrated from the Soviet Union. For the past year the seminar has been headed by a Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences, the engineer and mathematician Mark Berenfeld, who is also a refusenik. Since the autumn the seminar has been based in the flat of mathematician Evgeny Gabovich (*Chronicles 53, 54*). Sessions take place every fortnight.

Six papers have been read since September: 'Labour Conflicts and their Resolution under Soviet Labour Law' and 'Alimony under Soviet Family Law' Mark Berenfeld; 'The Dreyfus Case' by Ruth Okuneva; 'The Organs of Internal Affairs and the Procuracy' by Gennady Shakhnovich; an historical survey, 'The Legal Position of Jews on Russian Territory', by Evgeny Gabovich; and 'Relations between the Family and O V I R in Practice' by Mikhail Lomonosov.

The seminar's materials and related items are published in the typewritten collection *Emigration to Israel — Legal Theory and Practice* (see 'Samizdat News' in *Chronicle 54* and this issue).

On 12 December the police tried unsuccessfully to break up a session of the seminar. Police Lt M. V. Smirnov, a Criminal Investigation inspector from Police Station 19, and three vigilantes tried to burst into the flat where the seminar was taking place in order to check documents, but were stopped by the flat occupier. On 13 December Gabovich sent a letter to the Procurator of the Dzerzhinsky District of Moscow complaining about the police actions.

On 26 December, before the next session of the seminar, policemen stood in front of the entrance to the flat, checked the documents of everyone who passed, and asked questions about their purpose in coming. Some people were sent away. However, the session still took place, with 30 people present.

* * *

In December V. Erofeyev and E. Popov, two of the five compilers of the *Metropol* almanac (*Chronicles 52, 54*), were expelled from the Writers' Union. In protest V. Aksénov, also one of the compilers, resigned from the Union.

* * *

After the signing of the Salt-2 Agreement Nikolai Galaibo, a taxi driver based at Taxi Park 14 in Moscow, put up a picture of Carter in his car. The man who drove the car on the next shift immediately reported this to the administration. Deputy head of the taxi park Lifshits ordered the picture to be removed. When Galaibo refused, Lifshits said that he would not allow him through the gates of the park. Galaibo gave in, but once he had left the park he stuck the picture back up. Several taxi controllers on duty at train station taxi ranks demanded that he remove the picture and communicated his refusal to the taxi park. Lifshits asked Galaibo to resign. He stated that Galaibo was anti-Soviet because he was not a member of a trade union, and promised to inform the K G B about him. Several days later the head of the taxi park and the Party organizer called Galaibo to see them, and again demanded that he resign. Galaibo refused. Soon afterwards a park controller made out a complaint

against Galaibo for violating regulations and on this basis Galaibo was transferred to cleaning duties. Galaibo does not intend to resign.

Letters and Statements

'Protest to the Czechoslovak Government' (Document No. 20 of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group) (17 November 1979):

We are extremely saddened by the news that in Czechoslovakia you are not only persecuting those of your citizens who defend basic human rights but are even sentencing them to long prison terms ...

We strongly condemn this criminal activity and demand that you cease these persecutions and immediately release all recently convicted defenders of human rights from their places of imprisonment.

A. Sakharov: 'On an Article in the Newspaper *Le Figaro*' (30 November 1979).

On 26 November Perret, a deputy of France's National Assembly, accompanied by a journalist who did not introduce himself by name, visited A. Sakharov. The visit lasted five minutes. On 29 November The Voice of America broadcast a summary of an article by a correspondent called Le Bois in the Paris newspaper *Le Figaro* about the meeting with Sakharov.

Sakharov protests against the many 'harmful absurdities' contained in the article. He also writes:

The world is now living through difficult times. The tragedy of the starving in Cambodia, the tragedy of Vietnamese refugees, the criminal folly of fanatics in Iran ... Political repressions in the U S S R, Czechoslovakia and China are being stepped up. These are the things we want to hear and read about, and not 'the expression in my eyes' ...

(See the summary of Sakharov's letters in *Chronicle 54*).

A. Sakharov: 'Answers to Questions from the Italian Journalist Laccua (21 December 1979).

1. How do you assess the article in *Pravda* on 21 December in honour of the centenary of I. V. Stalin's birth?

I consider that the article in *Pravda* is typical of the approach which has evolved over the past few years for explaining the Stalin period in our country's history. This approach is far from scientific or historically objective, but all the same it is not a straight apologia. In carefully weighed expressions, the article attempts to

present an official position which does not contradict common knowledge and points of view too badly, but at the same time as far as possible glides over the worst moments and remains silent about very much, so as not to irritate either the Stalinists or those of different viewpoints.

No full description exists of all the crimes committed in the Stalin era. The best work known to me is probably Conquest's book *The Great Terror*. What is contained in the article about those crimes is no more than a half-truth or, more accurately, a half-hint. Without a doubt Stalin was one of the greatest criminals in a century of great suffering, surpassing all others in the variety of his crimes and in his hypocrisy. I agree that Stalin was a contradictory figure, but this makes his role even more dangerous for present-day man and his descendants. The attempt to justify Stalin's crimes by pointing to the uniqueness of the situation, to class and inner-Party struggles, or to imperialist intrigues is untenable both morally and historically. On the political plane, the article sides with Stalin's struggle against his victims — which is highly indicative of the position in which the article's authors find themselves. All the same, the article is more critical of Stalin than, for example, the article published on the ninetieth anniversary of his birth. Without doubt this is significant.

2. Which features of the Stalin era still exist in the USSR?

The basic structures of society which were created in the Stalin era are still preserved. These are, firstly, the undivided authority of the Party-State apparatus. Then — the Party-State monopoly of the economic field (in practice a system of State capitalism) and the monopoly of politics, culture and ideology. Then — the one-party system and the fictitious 'elections without a choice'. Then — the militarization of the economy and the whole life of the country. Then — the enormous role played by the secret police — the K G B — in the State system. Then — enormous material inequality in a society with a very low general standard of living. Then — the closed nature of Soviet society: the lack of freedom of the press, of free exchange of information within the country, the severe and comprehensive censorship, isolation from information about the outside world, violation of the right to choose one's country of residence and to have freedom to emigrate and travel. Then — the persecution of dissenters, which has again increased over the past months. Then — the camp system, with its forced labour and harsh regime, carried over from the Stalin era. Of course the scale of political repressions is enormously much less. The pervasive hypocrisy of our society at all levels of public life, both within the country and in the international arena, is another left-over of

the Stalin era. And all this is telling tragically not only on the lives of our people, but on the whole world.

F. Serebrov: 'To Everybody who Wants to Come to the Olympic Games in Moscow (instead of an Invitation)' (13 December 1979): Please come to Moscow, a model communist city ...

No one and nothing will spoil your peace.

There will be no noisy children to tire you — the children are being taken out of town.

There will be no discontented Muscovites to annoy you — all the malcontents are being thrown out of town.

You will be surrounded by sporty young people. These are friends. Don't be confused: in our country they are called vigilantes. They are taught to twist people's arms, but they will only shake your hand.

V. Fefëlov, O. Zaitseva: 'The Disabled in the USSR' (December 1979).

The authors, members of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR (*Chronicles* 51-53) address the German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine* and the radio-station *Deutsche Welle*. Describing the situation of disabled people in the USSR, they write:

We think that the only way of getting something done for disabled people in the USSR is through publicity. We are therefore asking you to publish this letter. We would like Western society to find out what is really happening to the disabled in the USSR and to demand of the Soviet Government that it abide by the documents which it has signed. The Initiative Group can supply concrete data without delay on any of the complex of problems concerning the disabled in the USSR.

S. Belanovsky: 'To the Moscow City Procuracy', 'To the Moscow Division of the K G B'.

On 12 October Belanovsky was cautioned 'according to the Decree' at the Chereëmushki District Department of the Moscow K G B (*Chronicle* 54). In his statement Belanovsky writes:

During the conversation I stated that I refused to admit that any of the materials confiscated from me contained false information, and I asked the K G B official to point out exactly which samizdat works and exactly which facts the investigation considered to be false. During the conversation the K G B official agreed that the evidence about the allegedly false nature of the materials confiscated from me might turn out to be incorrect, and it was not impossible that I would succeed in disproving it. However, the official also said that

as regards the *Chronicle*, there exist court rulings which say that almost every issue of the journal has been libellous and that it was therefore 'not up to him and me to sort it out'. I have only one comment to make on that. We all know very well that court decisions can be incorrect and unjust. Times change, and legally enforced sentences can turn out to be groundless or even criminal. I do not have proof of the incompetence of court rulings on *Chronicle* cases, but I doubt (or rather — I simply do not believe) that there were grounds for them. Officially the organs of investigation are perhaps not obliged to raise the issue of the competence of court judgments, but in the interests of the FULL, COMPLETE and OBJECTIVE investigation of the circumstances of a case (article 20 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure) they could do so. They could bring out (or even publish) the records of trials and investigation materials; they could summon witnesses who had been at the trials or the convicts themselves, and undertake a number of other measures determined by law to satisfy the demands of article 20 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. On the basis of that article I consider that I am within my rights in making such a request... I am asking you to examine the following requests and reply to the following questions:

1. I request you to confirm in writing that the necessity of issuing cautions according to an unpublished decree¹⁵ (or simply the need to have an unofficial chat) does not constitute legal grounds for bringing someone to you by force, and that even the DEMAND to 'come along' from a KGB official, let alone the threat to call the police, is illegal.

2. I request you to explain to me the meaning of the act of issuing a caution. Can the investigating organs bring a case on the basis of the same grounds as were given for the caution, or does the investigation have to find new evidence? If the former is true then the investigation must, when it issues a caution, present the relevant evidence and put it down on the record. If the latter is true, the act of cautioning loses its sense. I have already asked this question in my talks with KGB officials. I have not been given a clear answer, but have gathered from their statements that the fact of issuing a caution puts the investigating organs under no obligation. Is this true?

3. I request you to explain to the KGB officials with whom I have talked that threats and insults are in all situations intolerable methods of psychological pressure. KGB officials have not made it clear to me exactly what my insolence and demagoguery consist of. I could apply the same words to them, equally aptly.

4. I request you to inform me of the surnames of the KGB officials who talked to me, or to give a lawful reason for your

refusal. The KGB officials themselves said that 'a caution is a serious business', and it is unpleasant not to know who has been talking to you.

5. And finally, I have tried to write this statement calmly and with no superfluous harsh words. If organs of the KGB or Procuracy have any complaint to make about the text, kindly inform me of it.

On 19 November Deputy Procurator of Moscow S. N. Chistyakov replied:

I hereby inform you that a check has been made in connection with your statement to the Moscow City Procuracy. There were grounds for the official caution issued by the organs of State Security. There were no violations of law committed by Moscow City or Moscow Region officials of the USSR KGB.

Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group

No. 112: 'On the acceptance of Jewish students into the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty of Moscow University' (see *Chronicles* 51, 53, 54).¹⁶

No. 113 (10 December 1979): 'The arrest of Moscow Helsinki Group member Viktor Nekipelov' (see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations').

No. 114 (11 December 1979): 'The persecution of people connected with the journal *Searches* continued. The arrest of Valery Abramkin' (see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations').

No. 115 (12 December 1979): 'The persecution of people involved in the Christian Seminar and the religious and philosophical journal *Community* continues. Alexander Ogorodnikov and Vladimir Poreh are in prison on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"' (see 'Arrests, Searches, Interrogations').

No. 116 (12 December 1979): 'On the situation of political exiles'. A list of 47 political exiles is given in an appendix.

No. 116a (13 December 1979): A message of thanks to the International League of Human Rights for awarding their 1979 prize to Yu. Orlov (telegram).

* * *

By December 1979, 502 people in our country had signed the Moscow Helsinki Group's appeal on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Document No. 69; 8 December 1978). Signatures are still being collected.

Samizdat News

A. Sakharov: 'Reflections and Memories (on F. Dyson's book *Disturbing the Universe*)' (published in *The Washington Post* on 16 August 1979):

Digressing from the text of Dyson's book, but not from its spirit, I support Salt-2, but on the strict condition that the opportunities described in the text of the Treaty for eliminating the weak spots in the American strategic arms system are applied ...

Dyson writes in his book:

The survival of human society demands either the establishment of a world state with a monopoly of military force, or the achievement of the stable division of the world into a number of independent sovereign states whose military power is strictly limited to the defence of their own territory.

Sakharov writes:

Dyson very much prefers the second model ... I have strong doubts about the stability which he attributes to the defensive military capacity of several states ... I therefore, although with great misgivings, support the first option, at least for the more-or-less distant future.

Yu. Shikhanovich: 'Six Documents' (15 August 1979, 25 pages).¹⁷

The author publishes documents relating to the criminal case against him (*Chronicles* 27, 30, 32).

These documents came into my hands a long time ago, but I decided to defer their publication until two things had happened. The second happened very recently: on 14 June 1979 a commission headed by Chief Psychiatrist of Moscow, V. P. Kotov, resolved to remove my name from the psychiatric register.

The following documents are published with short explanatory commentaries: 'Resolution to obtain a forensic-psychiatric diagnosis' (17 May 1973); report of the forensic-psychiatric team which ruled the author not responsible (22 June 1973); Moscow City Court's order for compulsory treatment (26 November 1973); report by doctors at Psychiatric Hospital No. 9 in Dmitrov recommending the ending of compulsory treatment (25 March 1974); Moscow City Court order to end the compulsory treatment (21 June 1974); and 'An extract from the medical history', which was sent to the local psychiatric clinic on discharge (July 1974).

In making these documents public I am fully aware that I will arouse the displeasure of the Organs. I hope that at least they will not call them 'libellous'.

Emigration to Israel — Legal Theory and Practice, No. 4 (November 1979, 48 pages) and No. 5 (December 1979, 50 pages).

The bulletin of the unofficial Moscow seminar on the humanities and law (see 'Miscellaneous Reports'; see also 'Samizdat News' in *Chronicle* 54). In No. 5 there is a report on E. Gabovich's dismissal from work (*Chronicles* 53, 54).

Women and Russia, No. 1 (131 pages)

The almanac came out in September. The title page describes it as 'a journal about women, for women, Saint Petersburg, 10 December 1979'. It consists of two sections: 'Contemporary Life' (119 pages, 12 authors) and 'Retrospective' (10 pages, one author).

The main contents are as follows: 'Human Births' by R. Batalova (a highly accurate description of first confinements in a Soviet maternity hospital); 'The Maternal Family' by N. Malakhovskaya (a remarkably outspoken analysis of the change in the male roles and obligations within the family throughout the family's historical evolution); 'The Other Side of the Medal' by V. Golubeva (an article about the tragic fate of single mothers in the USSR); 'Rejoice at the release of Eve's tears' by T. Goricheva; 'A Golden Childhood' by I. Pazukhin (about 'a Pioneer concentration camp'); 'A Letter from Novosibirsk' by Yu. Voznesenskaya (*Chronicle* 47); a short story, 'Flying Pangolins', by S. Sokolova; poems by T. Mamonova; and 'A History of Women's Education in Russia since 1086' by E. Likhacheva (the first chapter, which goes up to the time of Peter the Great, is printed here).

The almanac ends with an appeal:

Dear sisters! We have hardly begun to live, but we are already experiencing the full burden of women's lot ... Our situation is so unbearable that we almost feel as if it is not real, as if it will dissolve like a nightmare. However, only by coming together to talk about our sorrows and suffering, only by admitting and generalizing our experience can we find a way out, a way to help ourselves and the thousands of women who are similarly tortured. And with this in mind we decided to produce the first free journal for women in our country. We ask you to write to us about anything that troubles you. If necessary, the correspondents of our journal will come to help you in any way they can. We hope that through our combined efforts we can lift women's emancipation and the lightening of women's burden out of the mire ...

Lithuanian Samizdat

A new literary and philosophical journal entitled *Pastoge (Shelter)* has appeared in Lithuania.

The first number contains works by the late M. Tamonis (*Chronicles* 38, 39), including the article which was confiscated during a search at Virginija Vosiliute's home (*Chronicle* 54).¹⁸

Addenda and Corrigenda

The address of V. Pidgorodetsky (*Chronicles* 53, 54) is: 618292, Perm-skaya obl., g. Gubakha — II, uchr. VV-201/7-Ts-b. This is a transit camp. He is working as a barber.

The address of M. Simchich (*Chronicles* 53, 54) is: 618292, Perm-skaya obl., g. Kizel, p/o Golikovka, pos. V. Kosba, uchr. VV-201/20.

The address of S. Memetov (*Chronicle* 53) is: 265452, Rovenskaya obl., g. Sarny, uchr. OR-318/46-5.

B. Tsitlénok emigrated at the end of November (*Chronicle* 54).

Baptists N. Chekh and A. Chekh were sentenced to 11 months of corrective labour (*Chronicle* 53); since they had already been in custody for three months and 24 days, their punishment, in accordance with the Criminal Code, was considered already completed.¹⁹

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 56

30 April 1980

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THIRTEENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

The Exile of Sakharov²⁰

Chronicle 44 (16 March 1977) reported that the Novosti Press Agency was preparing a book entitled *On the Exile of A. D. Sakharov*. Now the exile has taken place.

On 22 January at 2 pm police stopped the Academy of Sciences car in which A. D. Sakharov was being driven to work. K G B officers got into the car and ordered the chauffeur to drive to the USSR Procuracy. There, Sakharov was taken to a room where he was met by A. M. Rekunkov, the First Deputy of the USSR Procurator-General, and three other people, one of whom was introduced as a representative of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Rekunkov read Sakharov this Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

In connection with the systematic acts committed by A. D. Sakharov, which discredit him as an award-holder, and in the light of numerous proposals from members of the Soviet public, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, under Article 40 of the 'General Statutes on Orders, Medals and Honorary Titles of the USSR', decrees:

That Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov be divested of the title of Hero of Socialist Labour (Sakharov had been awarded this title three times — *Chronicle*) and all the USSR State awards conferred on him.

(This decree was published in the *Gazette of the USSR Supreme Soviet*, No. 5, 30 January 1980. It was dated 8 January. From the date and the number below the decree one can see that it was meant to have been published in No. 3 of 16 January. Sakharov's family notes that his mother-in-law, **R. G. Bonner**, was granted permission on 7 January to travel to the USA to visit her children and grandchildren.)

Rekunkov requested Sakharov to return his awards and award documents. Underneath the text of the Decree presented to him, Sakharov wrote that he refused to do as requested, since he felt he had deserved his awards.

Rekunkov then said that a decision had been taken to exile Sakharov to Gorky, a town closed to foreigners. Sakharov's wife, **E. G. Bonner**, could go with him if she wished to do so. Rekunkov gave Sakharov permission to phone home. After this call, the telephone in his flat was immediately cut off.

In order to tell people what was happening, Sakharov's family had to use a public call-box. For some reason all the nearby call-boxes were out of order. After a few calls the one they managed to find —

a fairly long way from home — also stopped working.

Sakharov's flat was immediately cordoned off. Foreign correspondents who came racing to the scene were told: 'Go and look for him in Sheremetevo (ie the international airport). Sakharov was in fact taken to Domodedovo. E. G. Bonner went there as well. A special plane, on which there was a doctor and luxury food was served, flew Sakharov and Bonner to Gorky. When they arrived in Gorky Sakharov learned from the conversations of people around him that 'Tsvigun himself', [K G B Chairman] Andropov's deputy, had accompanied them from Moscow.

In Gorky, Deputy Regional Procurator Perygin informed Sakharov of the conditions of the regime imposed on him: he was under open surveillance and had to appear at the police station every ten days 'to report'; he was forbidden to leave Gorky, meet foreigners or 'criminal elements', or correspond with or hold conversations with people abroad. When Sakharov asked whether this ban included his children abroad, he was told that it did. Sakharov was introduced to the people responsible for keeping him under surveillance. He was given the use of their office telephone.

Sakharov was given three rooms (of 10, 12 and 18 square metres) in a four-room flat (603137, Gorky, Shcherbinki 2, prospekt Gagarina, 214, kv. 3). A woman who said she was the 'owner of the flat' occupied the fourth room (14 sq.m.). This woman offered them her services: 'I have always looked after the lodgers'. It was a furnished flat. There was a supply of food in the refrigerator (payment was requested later). There was no telephone.

On 23 January R. G. Bonner phoned the K G B duty-officer to ask where Sakharov was. Mentioning the USSR Procuracy, he answered that A. D. Sakharov had been 'asked to change his place of permanent residence from Moscow to Gorky'.

On 22 January the Moscow evening edition of *Izvestia* published a short report:

Concerning A. D. Sakharov

For a number of years A. D. Sakharov has conducted subversive activities against the Soviet State. Accordingly, he has been issued repeated warnings by representatives of the Soviet authorities and of social organizations and by prominent Soviet scientists, regarding the inadmissibility of such activities.

Paying no heed to these warnings, Sakharov has recently started making open appeals to reactionary circles in imperialist states to interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR.

In the light of numerous proposals from members of the Soviet public, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has divested A. D. Sakharov of his title of Hero of Socialist Labour and all

his USSR State awards, and the USSR Council of Ministers has divested him of the USSR prizes awarded him. — (TASS)

On 23 January the Moscow evening edition of *Izvestia* published an article entitled 'A Just Decision', signed K. Batmanov. This article stated:

In addition to removing Sakharov's title and awards, the competent organs have decided to remove him by administrative means from Moscow.

(The article maintains that Sakharov once made a statement:

about the beginning of an 'era of consolidation and rebirth' in Chile, when the bloodthirsty, fascist clique headed by Pinochet was in power;

and that *Pravda* referred to this statement on 25 September 1973:

The newspaper *Humanité* has published a report stating that Sakharov appealed to the military junta in Chile 'to protect the freedom and safety of the poet Pablo Neruda'.

'This time one might indeed think that this verbose herald of "freedom" has hit the mark' — writes the author of the article, Serge Leyrac. Imagine his surprise when he discovered the real reason for Sakharov's action. In his appeal to the junta he writes: 'The loss of this great man (Neruda) would cast a long shadow over the era of rebirth and consolidation proclaimed by your government'.²¹

On 29 January *Pravda* carried a short news item:

In the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences

The Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences has examined the matter of Academician A. D. Sakharov's anti-Soviet activities ...

The Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences has condemned the activities of Academician A. D. Sakharov as being directed against the interests of our country and the Soviet people, aimed at aggravating international tension, and as bringing discredit to the high calling of the Soviet scientist.

On 30 January *Literary Gazette* published an article entitled 'Slanderers and Pharisees' (signed V. Borisov). On 15 February, E. G. Bonner's birthday, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* printed an article entitled 'There Was No Caesar' (signed A. Efremov and A. Petrov). An article signed N. Tolin and entitled 'The Usual Splash of Official Hypocrisy' (*New Times*, No. 5), stated in part:

Sakharov has information on a number of matters constituting

state secrets. This is not the first time he has taken it into his head to divulge such information to foreign organs.

Recently, it has been reliably shown that he sent or tried to send abroad items of information concerning the most important problems of our national defence capabilities.

Recently, also, he has made attempts to set up some sort of organization of so-called 'dissidents', involving not only Soviet citizens but even foreigners ...

Sakharov is now living in Gorky. He has been given a four-room flat.

At first, anyone wishing to see Sakharov was allowed to do so. Admittedly, visitors were detained on leaving his flat and taken to a neighbouring house, where, in a flat used as a 'support point for keeping the peace', an 'anti-Sakharov headquarters' had been set up. Sakharov's visitors were 'advised' to stop coming to see him. One visitor was fined 30 roubles for 'disobeying the authorities'.

After that, only two people from Gorky were allowed to see him: **Mark Kovner**, a refusenik and Doctor of Mathematics (*Chronicle* 54), and a worker called **Felix Krasavin**, an old friend of the Bonner family.

On 25 January, as Kovner was setting off for Moscow, he was detained at the railway-station 'on suspicion of stealing a rucksack'. He was searched and locked up. At 2 am in the morning, on 26 January, he was released, but was ordered not to appear in the station again.

After receiving a telegram from Gorky, Sakharov's family made preparations to go there. The refusenik **Evgeny Tsyrlin** (*Chronicle* 50) had intended to accompany them on 25 January, the date set for the journey. However, on the morning of the 25th O V I R informed Tsyrlin that he had been granted permission to leave the USSR and he had five days in which to make the necessary preparations. He therefore had to withdraw his offer to accompany Sakharov's family.

On 25 January, in the afternoon, Sakharov's family left Moscow for Gorky in a passenger car. **N. V. Gesse**, an old friend from Leningrad, accompanied them. Later that day, in the evening, E. G. Bonner was on the point of leaving Gorky for Moscow. When she got into the train she was asked to leave the carriage and informed: 'In 40 minutes your mother will be arriving in Gorky'.

N. V. Gesse spent three weeks in Gorky. In March, at E. G. Bonner's request, she again made preparations to go to Gorky. On 22 March she was summoned to the Kuibyshev District Office of the Leningrad K G B, where Captain Kulakov said that she was forbidden to return to Gorky because she occasionally received foreign visitors in her home and because her son was living in the USA (he emi-

grated in 1978). If she disobeyed, she would be taken off the train by force. On 14 April N. V. Gesse sent a complaint to Andropov, Chairman of the K G B:

... I request you to examine my complaint and grant me permission to go to Gorky to see a family whom I love dearly and to help them in a purely practical, domestic way; Sakharov and his wife both have serious health problems and sometimes they need the most ordinary care and attention.

On 15 February a friend of Sakharov's family, **Yu. A. Shikhanovich** (*Chronicles* 27, 30, 32) arrived in Gorky together with E. G. Bonner. They were detained in the hall of the house, where a police squad and a K G B officer were on duty round the clock. They were escorted to the 'support point' and their passport particulars noted down. They were then taken to the airport and flown to Moscow on the next plane (for which they had to wait in the airport police office). Shikhanovich refused to pay for the ticket. 'You mean you want to travel at the state's expense?' 'Of course not, I want to go at my own expense. I have a return ticket for the evening train. I want to travel by train at my own expense'. The subject of money was then dropped. In a statement to the Head of the Gorky U V D Sakharov writes:

... When my wife and I went to the support point to explain the misunderstanding, we were taken out, on the instructions of Captain Snezhnitsky, and thrown to the floor. My wife, who is an invalid because of her eyesight, was struck across the eyes. We were then kept by force in the corridor while Shikhanovich was taken out and escorted somewhere. Captain Snezhnitsky told us to go home as Shikhanovich was waiting for us there. This turned out to be a lie. I heard that people got beaten up in police stations, but until it actually happened to us, neither my wife nor I believed it.

Almost all the attempts made to visit Sakharov have met with failure. The taxi which drove **S. Babënysheva** from the station was stopped halfway: 'We've been waiting for you here for ages!' (The taxi had made a diversion to drop off a second passenger.) The cake which she had brought for Sakharov was, however, given to him. After she had been 'thrown out' of Gorky, **M. Petrenko** went to the USSR Procuracy and the reception office of the the USSR K G B to try to obtain official permission to visit Sakharov. She was told that only close relatives were being allowed to see him and that she was an 'antisocial element'.

On 17 March two seventh-form children managed to get through the police barricade to see Sakharov. They said that they did not believe the newspapers and had come to find out the truth. When they left after a half-hour conversation, they were escorted to the

'support point', where for several hours they were held for 'talks'. Afterwards the 'Sakharov post' was moved from the hall to outside the doors of his flat.

On 29 March **A. Babënyshev** (the son of **S. Babënysheva**) managed to climb through the window to see Sakharov (whose flat is on the ground floor). After talking to Sakharov, **A. Babënyshev** left by the same way and got on a bus to the railway-station. On the way the bus was stopped. **Babënyshev** was made to get out and was taken back to the same 'support point'. Because the resulting 'talks' he missed his train.

On 10 April in the evening the 'Sakharov post' was moved back into the hall. On 11 April Sakharov received a surprise visit from Academician **V. L. Ginzburg**, Head of the Pure Physics Department of the Lebedev Physics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences [PIAS], where, until recently, Sakharov had been a senior scientific researcher. Ginzburg was accompanied by one of the members of the seminar in which Sakharov worked and the scientific secretary of one of the PIAS departments. It turned out that the day before they had been given urgent instructions to go to Gorky 'today'. (Admittedly, the PIAS people had been trying to obtain permission to visit Sakharov for a long time.) Ginzburg and the scientific secretary left after a short while, but Sakharov and his seminar colleague worked together all day. In the evening the visitors left for Moscow. After this the 'post' was once again moved back to the doors of the flat.

Roughly one month after being exiled, Sakharov found that he could no longer listen to Western radio broadcasts in his Gorky flat, although only a few yards away from the house programmes could be picked up with only 'normal' interference.

* * *

On 28 January, at a press conference for foreign correspondents organized at her Moscow flat, **E. G. Bonner** read out a statement written by **A. D. Sakharov** on 27 January. (On 30 January, for giving this press conference, she was cautioned by the USSR Procuracy 'in accordance with the Decree'.) In the statement, in which Sakharov recounts his exile, he continues:

These repressive measures against me have been taken at a time when the international situation is growing more serious and the persecution of dissenters in the USSR more intense. The aggravation of the international situation is due to the part played by the Soviet Union, which, in particular is:

1. Conducting an extensive demagogic campaign in Europe in order to strengthen its military advantage;

2. Endeavouring to destroy the possibilities of peace now beginning to emerge in the Middle East and Africa;
3. Supporting terrorist regimes in Ethiopia and several other countries;
4. Maintaining military units in Cuba;
5. Supporting the activities of Iranian quasi-governmental terrorists, who have violated the basic principles of diplomatic work.
6. The culmination of this dangerous policy was the invasion of Afghanistan, where Soviet troops are waging a merciless war against the Afghan insurrectionists and people.

In the USSR itself the authorities have taken further action against the core of the human rights movement. Those arrested include **Velikanova** and **Nekipelov**. **Landa** is threatened with arrest. The journal *Searches* is also under threat, and **Abramkin**, **Sokirko** and **Grimm** have been arrested. The movement for freedom of religious belief is being persecuted and **Fathers Dudko** and **Yakunin** have been arrested, as has **Regelson**. Trials and arrests are taking place in the Ukraine and the Baltic republics. Repression against the Crimean Tatars has been stepped up and **Reshat Dzhemilev** has been sentenced to a term of imprisonment.

The aim of the authorities' actions against myself in this context is to make it totally impossible for me to continue my social activities, to denigrate and discredit me, thereby clearing the way for all the repressive measures in store for all dissenting groups within the country (for the world will have fewer opportunities to find out about such repression) and for further international adventures. On 24 January *Izvestia* carried an article slandering me and deliberately distorting my position. My position is unchanged: I support an open, pluralistic society, one which is democratic and just. I support convergence, disarmament and peace, and the defence of human rights world-wide — including in the USSR and Eastern Europe. I try to work for a universal amnesty for prisoners of conscience and the abolition of the death penalty. I support the view that preserving peace and preventing nuclear catastrophe are the most urgent problems facing the world today. The *Izvestia* article shows clearly that the main reason for the repressive actions against me in these alarming times was my condemnation of our intervention in Afghanistan, which placed the entire world under threat — my demand that Soviet troops be withdrawn from Afghanistan and, possibly, replaced by UN peace-keeping troops (see my interview with the *New York Times* and for US television), and my association with the relevant Moscow Helsinki Group document.

As I am totally isolated and am very worried about the members of my family — my mother-in-law and **Liza Alekseyeva** — to

whom I can no longer afford any protection, I demand that **Liza Alekseyeva** be allowed to leave the USSR at once, together with my mother-in-law, **R. G. Bonner**, who has already been granted permission to visit our children and grandchildren in the USA. Although my wife is officially free, I will, of course, be afraid not only for her health but even for her life if she is forced to travel constantly to Moscow to see them. (We know that, unfortunately, the KGB sometimes employ Mafia-like methods.)

The measures taken by the Soviet authorities are a flagrant violation of my basic right to receive and impart information (Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). Representatives of the Soviet authorities are attempting to assuage world public opinion by convincing it that I am able to carry on my scientific work and am not threatened with criminal prosecution. But I am ready to appear before an open and public court. What good to me is a golden cage? What I need is the right to fulfil my social obligations according to the dictates of my conscience.

I am grateful to all those who have spoken out in my defence. My fate has proved fortunate: I have been able to be heard. But I ask you not to overlook the fate of others who have selflessly served and are serving in the defence of human rights. I am referring in particular to those whom I have already mentioned in this letter, but also to all those of whom I have said nothing.

On 3 February Sakharov wrote a further statement:

On 28 January I was summoned to the UVD, where KGB officers talked with me. They complained that certain people were getting past their barriers. I, in turn, replied that I needed a telephone in order to keep in touch with my family in Moscow, that my wife needed one to talk to our children and grandchildren in the USA, and that **Liza Alekseyeva**, our son's fiancée, required permission to emigrate from the USSR. If she and my mother-in-law emigrated, my wife would be able to stay with me all the time.

That same day two men claiming to be workmen and pretending to be drunk came to the flat. One of them started playing around with a Makarov pistol. He said that they were crack shots from any angle and threatened to 'devastate the flat and turn it into Afghanistan'. They went on: 'Don't get the idea you'll be here much longer. They've already prepared you a place at the psychiatric hospital 30 kilometres from Gorky.' Today I received a letter containing threats to murder me. It was delivered on a Sunday, when there is no postal service. In the past, on a number of occasions we have received all kinds of threats, but in the total isolation in which we are being kept, guarded by KGB officers, I regard these threats as very serious.

On 30 January I was summoned to see Pereygin, Deputy Regional Procurator of Gorky Region. He asked me to write an explanation concerning the statement I had written and my wife had made public. He said that I had violated the ban imposed on me by the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (or imposed on the basis of that Decree), and that I had been in contact with foreigners either directly or through go-betweens. This was the first time I had heard this particular formula, or, indeed, the reference to the Supreme Soviet in any connection other than the withdrawal of my awards. I wrote a statement setting out the reasons why I objected on principle to the restrictions on my civil and political rights, which had been imposed without trial, and declaring my personal responsibility for all my actions. Pereygin stated that if I committed any further violations, my place of exile and the regime imposed on me would be changed, and sanctions would be applied against my wife.

On 31 January I sent a statement to Rekunkov, the Deputy Procurator-General, who had notified me of the withdrawal of my awards and of my exile, but had not informed me of anything else since then. In my letter I demand a trial.

I consider the regime imposed on me to be an act of tyranny on the part of the K G B, and refuse to submit to it. I am aware of the consequences this may have for myself and my wife. Any talk of humanitarianism is designed to mollify the West and is pure deceit.

In a postscript Sakharov added:

I fear that many people who are attempting to visit me may encounter serious unpleasantness. I do not want this to happen and would like to have this announced by radio-stations broadcasting to the USSR.

On the same day, in connection with an article entitled 'Judas in the Role of Don Quixote' published in the newspaper *Soviet Russia* [*Sovetskaya Rossiya*] on 3 February, Sakharov issued a statement entitled 'Lev Kopelev Under Fire'. The statement concludes as follows:

I wish to express my solidarity with Lev Kopelev. Truth and moral strength are on his side. And I am certain that he also has on his side the sympathy of many, many honest people.

On 12 February Sakharov wrote a statement entitled 'Our post':

From the middle of last week we started receiving mail — 20 to 25 letters per day. A little over a half of them are from abroad. We have received many letters from Italy and the Netherlands,

some from Austria, Denmark and other Western European countries, and one or two from the U S A. Most of the letters from the West consist of greetings and many are post-cards with one or two words. We have not, however, received a single letter from personal acquaintances of myself or my wife, nor a single word from our children.

The letters from inside the USSR can be divided into three categories:

1. Those accusing me of stirring up war and appealing to the whole world to oppose the Soviet people, of living at other people's expense, and of never having worked or fought. They level the same accusation at my wife, a Group 2 war invalid and a doctor with over twenty years' experience.
2. Letters wishing me good cheer and health and expressing total solidarity with me.
3. What I would term 'discussion' letters. Their authors try to compare what the Soviet press says about me with what they have heard themselves from Western radio broadcasts. The tone of these letters is not hostile, more bewildered. It is interesting that almost all the many letters I have received from Gorky, where I am now living, are abusive, even cutting. None of the letters arriving these days gives the impression of being written to order. I think that they express their authors' true feelings, but it is interesting that most of the abusive letters are unsigned, while those from well-wishers usually give a return address.

As I am unable to reply to all these letters, I would like to thank everyone, both in the USSR and in the West, who has voiced his or her sympathy and solidarity with my thoughts and actions. All I can do for those who would like to understand my position better is to refer them to foreign radio broadcasts based on what I have written in the past, and also to my statement of 27 January. As for the abusive letters, I have no reply to make.

Attached to the statement is a letter from the first category, signed 'V. Bushuyev, Honoured Master of Sport of the USSR, three times world champion and champion of the XVII Olympic Games'.

On 23 February Sakharov sent his passport to the USSR Procuracy, together with a statement addressed to Rekunkov:

On 29 January 1980 A. N. Glossen, an official of the Gorky M V D Administration, took my passport to register me temporarily in Gorky. The permit was returned to me in the passport office of Prioksky District M V D. My name has been struck off the Moscow register and my passport stamped with a permanent residence permit for Gorky. The housing controller in Moscow was not notified and I did not complete any forms relating to my departure

or arrival. The head of the passport office and Glossen stated that they had nothing to do with this operation. This was sheer deception on the part of the police officials and a flagrant violation of the law. I request you to protest against the actions of the MVD. I demand that my permanent residence permit for Moscow be restored. I demand that you inform me in writing of the decisions and original documents in accordance with which I have been exiled to Gorky and am being subjected to restrictions which have not been imposed by any court and are not derived from any law. The unlawful actions of the Gorky police only confirm my belief that similar unlawful measures are being taken at a higher level, and even by the USSR Procuracy itself. You did not inform me exactly which 'competent organs' decreed my exile and residence regime in Gorky. Nor did you inform me of the names of the officials who signed these decisions, nor of the length of the exile. The Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet published in the press relates only to the withdrawal of my government awards. Until I am given the relevant documents I will be forced to regard the measures taken against me as unlawful acts of tyranny; I do not know at what level they originated, nor which organs were responsible. Where are the guarantees that this tyranny will not turn into direct physical reprisals against myself and my family? The provocative libel in the press claiming that I am an enemy of disarmament (while I have always supported Salt-2), of peace (while I am continually calling for an end to war), of the people (whose son I am), the constant threats issued via my mail or the 'chance' visits of hooligans (while I am isolated from friends), the uncertain nature and illegality of the regime imposed on me — all this makes such reprisals, for which no one will bear responsibility, an entirely real possibility. I once again reiterate my willingness to stand trial before an open court, in the belief that in a state which respects its laws trials are the sole means of determining the degree and form of punishment.

I am sending you my passport by registered post. I refuse to have it returned to me, or to use it, until my demands are met.

At the same time Sakharov sent a telegram containing a similar statement to Andropov.

On 12 February Sakharov sent a telegram to the President of the USSR Academy of Sciences:

I request an invitation to the General Assembly of the USSR Academy of Sciences, to be sent to the following address: Gorky, Gagarina 214, flat 3.

I request your assistance in enabling me to attend the General Assembly in accordance with the Constitution of the Academy.

On 3 March, the day before the General Assembly, Sakharov received a telegram in reply:

Since it is not envisaged that you will be in Moscow while the General Assembly is being held, you are relieved of the duty of attending the session.

If you have any comments to make on the agenda, please address them in writing to the Presidium.

The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences

On the same day Sakharov sent a telegram to the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences:

Who does not envisage my attendance at the General Assembly? Who has relieved me of the duty of attending the session, a duty laid down in the Constitution for every member of the Assembly? I once again demand assurance that I will be able to take part in the Assembly. I insist that the General Assembly discuss this violation of the Constitution.

At the same time he wrote the following statement:

Participation in the General Assembly of the Academy of Sciences is the constitutional right and duty of every member of the Academy. By its reply to my request, the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences is in fact assuming responsibility for depriving me of my rights, and has relieved me of my duty as an academician, although I have not been expelled from the Academy.

The Presidium evidently believes that the anonymous decision to exile me is quite proper, although it has no legal or, more particularly, judicial basis.

I consider both these attitudes to be inadmissible.

(The 'Sakharov case' was not discussed at the General Assembly of the USSR Academy of Sciences.)

In March the radio-station Voice of America broadcast an interview entitled 'Some Thoughts as we Enter the '80s', given by Sakharov in written form to a correspondent of *The Washington Post* on 22 February. The newspaper published this interview on 9 March:

1. What will be the future of the human rights movement in the USSR in the 1980s?

In answering this and other questions about the future, I can only voice my own fears and hopes, but cannot make any forecasts. In the '80s we will be working in difficult conditions. Taking advantage of this period in which the international situation is becoming generally more serious, the authorities have made massive attempts to stifle dissent wherever it appears, whether in Moscow or the pro-

vines. This attack is directed against the human rights movement as a whole, against independent samizdat journals which are independent of the authorities, for example, the information journal *A Chronicle of Current Events*, the journal of debate *Searches*, and against members of The Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR and related commissions (such as those dealing with psychiatry and religious problems). Religious persecution has increased, the number of exit visas granted has dropped dramatically, and the persecution of Crimean Tatars has been intensified. The measures taken against me are part of an extensive campaign against dissenters. The statements I made on the events in Afghanistan were probably the immediate cause of these measures, but I imagine that they were prepared long ago. Over the past few months **Tatyana Velikanova** and **Viktor Neki-pelov** have been arrested and criminal proceedings have been instituted against **Malva Landa**. These people have for many years worked selflessly for the human rights cause and are greatly respected and loved. Their imprisonment (like that of **Kovalëv** and **Orlov**, sentenced before them) is of particular importance to the authorities, since each of them combines in his or her activities all the various strands of the struggle for human rights in the USSR. The following have also been arrested: **Abramkin**, **Grimm** and **Sokirko** (the journal *Searches*), **Bakhmin** (The Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes), **Terleckas** and **Sasnauskas** (Lithuania), **Fathers Yakunin** and **Dudko**, **Regelson** and **Presbyter Goretoi** (religious persecution). The following have been given long sentences: **Gorbal**, **Litvin**, **Badzë** and **Berdnik** (the Ukraine), and **Reshat Dzhemilev** and **Kadiyev** (Crimean Tatars). **Kovalëv**, **Orlov**, **Shcharansky**, **Bolonkin**, **Tikhy**, **Rudenko**, **Lukyanenko**, **Petkus**, **Ogurtsov** and many others who were sentenced earlier are living in very difficult conditions. **Vladimir Shelkov**, the spiritual head of the Adventist Church, has died in a Yakutia camp at the age of 84. He was sentenced one year ago for writing a letter to the Belgrade Conference about the persecution of believers and for his religious publishing activities. Sentencing an 83-year-old man was, in itself, an appalling act of inhumanity. There is every reason to fear further repression. I appeal to world public opinion, to Amnesty International and other human rights organizations, to government figures in all countries, not to slacken their efforts to defend prisoners of conscience in the USSR, and equally in other countries. I am convinced that the work of defending human rights in the USSR will continue, even in the present, more difficult conditions. At any rate, no one can erase what has already been done and already been brought to the attention of the entire world.

2. How would you assess the significance of the human rights movement in the '70s? Did it have any real impact on the internal life of the USSR?

The moral significance of the human rights movement in the USSR, which was formed in the mid-'60s, has been enormous, although the movement itself is small in numbers and, on principle, apolitical. It changed the moral climate and created the spiritual preconditions needed for democratic changes in the USSR and for the formulation of an ideology of human rights throughout the world. Dangerous illusions about the essential characteristics of our system, which at one time were almost universal among Western intellectuals, became far less widespread. Today they are virtually non-existent. I myself was attracted and influenced by the human rights movement of the mid-'60s, which left a deep imprint on my general attitudes and the nature of my social activities.

4. Will the authorities gain, or try to gain, greater control over the country's internal life?

I fear that they will ...

10. Will you continue to speak from Gorky on matters you consider important?

I do not recognize the legality of the restrictions imposed on me, especially on my right to speak on any issue I consider crucially important for our country and the entire world, and for people whose rights are, I firmly believe, being violated. I am aware that each time I speak out in this way I may be bringing unlawful repression and Mafia-type measures against myself and my family. I am counting on people of integrity in the USSR and throughout the world — government figures, scientific colleagues and all who cherish freedom of speech and world peace — actively to defend my rights. I am grateful to all who have spoken out in defence of my rights.

On 26 April Sakharov replied to a question sent to him:

The question of boycotting the Moscow Olympic Games because of the invasion of Afghanistan is being discussed everywhere. But in my opinion uncertainty does not really arise. The USSR is engaged in military activities which are condemned by most countries throughout the world. It is precisely the separation of sport from politics which calls for refusal to take part in the Olympic Games. Otherwise, each participant and each spectator is indirectly participating in this war, and war is war, no matter how those conducting it try to explain it.

I am speaking now the day after a great tragedy — the failure of the attempt to free the hostages in Tehran. I might have been able to breathe a sigh of relief, as after the Entebbe raid. But this

was not to be. One should not pass judgment on this bold, noble attempt. It is important, however, that the Americans and their allies should now try to understand why the attempt failed, analyse the causes of the Iranian crisis and other dangerous crises of the present time, and, through the combined efforts of many countries, obtain the release of the hostages. It is wrong to look on this as the responsibility of the American government alone.

I have written these few words at the request of Dutch friends, but they are not addressed only to the Dutch, but also to the Americans, who are ever present in my thoughts during this difficult period, and to people throughout the world.

* * *

On 4 March E. Alekseyeva, who arrived from Gorky early in the morning, telephoned foreign correspondents to invite them to a press conference starting at 12.30 pm in Sakharov's Moscow flat (E. G. Bonner was in Gorky at the time). At 11 am two people came to the flat. They stated to R. G. Bonner that criminal elements were gathering in the flat (which was registered in her name) and that press conferences were being organized there for foreign correspondents. They said that this was illegal and that if it continued Ruf Grigorevna would be prosecuted (R. G. Bonner will be 80 in August this year). They said that they were from the City Procuracy. R. G. Bonner finally persuaded them to give their surnames: A. A. Golovnin and A. A. Baryshev (only Golovnin produced an identity card). At 11.30 am a police cordon was set up outside the doors of the flat. Virtually no one was allowed into the flat that day.

On the days which followed, Soviet citizens were admitted if they produced their passports. On 17 March in the morning E. G. Bonner arrived from Gorky. In the evening of that day the cordon was taken away.

On 21 March S. Kalistratova, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, found an anonymous note in her post-box: 'Measures are being planned to curtail E. G. Bonner's activities as a messenger'. That same day I. Kovalëv, also a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, found a similar note in his post. T. Velikanova's children were issued a similar 'warning' by telephone.

* * *

On 19 March policemen seized Sakharov in the street and pushed him into a car in order to take him to give his 'report' (he refused to go of his own free will). He protested. People began to gather round. The police then released him and he returned home. After a while, without any invitation from Sakharov, the head of the post-office next door to Sakharov's house called on him (she always delivers Sakharov's post personally). She took a telegram for Moscow

which Sakharov had written. The telegram was sent from Gorky at noon on 20 March. It was received at 6.00 pm. (After this, on days when E. G. Bonner had gone to Moscow, leaving Sakharov alone, he began to receive regular summonses to the police.)

On 20 March the police drew up a record concerning Sakharov's 'malicious disobedience'. He refused to sign it. Around this time, at her Moscow address, E. G. Bonner received an order from a Gorky judge fining her 50 roubles for 'petty hooliganism in a public place'. During her next visit to Gorky she found out that she had committed this 'petty hooliganism' on 15 February when, not finding Shikhanovich at home (see above), she went to the support point to tell Captain Snezhnitsky 'exactly what she thought of him'.

* * *

Three scientific papers, which Sakharov submitted on 21 January to the Physics Institute of the Academy of Sciences [PIAN] for the publication of off-prints in English (a customary procedure) were not passed by the censorship [Glavlit].

To make photocopies in PIAN of his old (published) works, special permission is required. The photocopying of the works of other scientists does not require such permission.

At the end of April Sakharov completed a paper, which he wrote in Gorky, entitled 'Cosmological Models of the Universe and the Turn of Time's Arrow'.

* * *

Sakharov's exile has aroused numerous protests: a collective 'Open Statement' (23 January, 10 signatures), a statement by the Lithuanian Helsinki Group to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Document No. 26 of 29 January), letters from A. Mizyakin (*Chronicles* 37 to 39, 45) and V. Voinovich to the editors of *Izvestia* (29 January), a statement by the Moscow Helsinki Group headed 'In Defence of Academician A. D. Sakharov' (Document No. 121 of 29 January), a statement by the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR (29 January), a collective letter written by literary figures (29 January, 15 signatures), a statement by Bella Akhmadulina (30 January), a letter from the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights (Document No. 30 of 7 February), an 'Open Letter in Defence of Andrei Sakharov' from E. G. Bonner (9 February), a statement by A. F. Arendar, a resident of Chelyabinsk, to the Chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR (9 February), a statement from political exile V. Konovalikhin (*Chronicles* 52, 54) to the USSR Procuracy (22 February), and an open letter from A. Marchenko to Academician P. L. Kapitsa (1 March).

The following is an excerpt from the collective 'Open Statement':

Andrei Sakharov embodies the conscience of our country. Andrei Sakharov is the pride of his country and people, both as a humanist and as a scientist ...

The exile of Andrei Sakharov is a tragedy and a disgrace for our country.

Voinovich wrote:

Allow me to use your newspaper to express my feelings of disgust for all the organizations, work collectives and individuals who have taken, or are still taking part in the hounding of the best person in our country — Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov.

The following is an excerpt from the statement issued by the Moscow Helsinki Group:

A. D. Sakharov did not 'move' to Gorky, he did not leave Moscow — he was *exiled*, subjected to the criminal punishment of exile without being sentenced ...

The published legislation of our country does not make any provision for *administrative* exile.

The lawlessness and tyranny committed against A. D. Sakharov, which have caused alarm throughout the world, are profoundly ominous, not just in themselves. They set a terrible precedent for every free-thinking person in our country. Now anyone can be seized in the street, at work or at home, and before evening it will turn out that he or she has 'moved' to another town and been placed under open surveillance.

The following is an extract from the letter written by literary figures (the artist B. Birger and the priest S. Zheludkov are among those who signed it):

The name of Andrei Sakharov has become synonymous with benevolence, heroism and humanity.

Who could possibly profit from hounding and persecuting the first Russian winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, a man who, in the eyes of hundreds of millions of people all over the world, enhanced and maintained the prestige of our Motherland, a man who personifies its honour and dignity?

— Only those who want the dark times of Stalinism to return.

Let us think again. If today it is possible to persecute Andrei Sakharov, then tomorrow the whole nation can expect the same treatment.

(The fifteen people who signed the letter included four members of the Union of Soviet Writers. Three of them, S. Babënysheva, R. Orlova

and F. Svetov, were expelled from the Union as a result — see 'Miscellaneous Reports'.)

E. G. Bonner's letter states in part:

Businessmen and politicians, journalists and scientists, simply private individuals who have travelled to see Russia and Sakharov ... I appeal to you to give evidence under oath in the courts and the government and public commissions of your countries concerning the substance of your conversations with Andrei Sakharov. My husband's life depends on your memory and persistence. He has been denied his right to a trial, and as soon as you forget about him or fall silent, they will pounce on him.

I appeal to scientists. The radio brings us the voices of Western scientists and each one brings us joy. We believe that their voices will not fall silent until Andrei Sakharov is given back his right to think, speak and live as a free person.

But Soviet scientists are silent ... Sakharov's colleagues in the West — do not interpret this silence as a protest! The authorities have not ordered a smear campaign. It is in their interests to deceive you with silence, so that you make contact with silent people.

Of course the Soviet Union is a difficult place for those who do not keep silent; but now silence is no defence. In appealing for defence of Sakharov, I am appealing to you, Soviet scientists, to defend yourselves and your right to be human beings.

I appeal to you to visit Sakharov. He is forbidden to meet foreigners and criminal elements, but he is not forbidden to see you, the respected Soviet colleagues of my husband. I can offer you hospitality whenever you come to the one-man prison with which they have 'humanely' provided Sakharov so that, using your silence, they can put an end to this abnormal phenomenon of our common life.

My thoughts turn to the physicists. I have heard so many good things about you from Andrei. The very word 'physicist' has a special meaning for him and to this day he is sure that physicists are essentially good, courageous people.

Today I feel like crying out: where are you, Soviet physicists? Surely the competent organs are not longer and higher than your science?

A. Marchenko states in his open letter to Academician P. L. Kapitsa:

... Why do you — a worthy and respected scientist with a world-famous name — say nothing? ... Are you really not offended, as a Nobel laureate, that a Nobel Prize is interpreted as a reward for anti-Soviet activities?

You can reassure yourself like this, of course: 'Unlike other

academicians, I have signed nothing against Sakharov and do not intend to do so'. Indeed, many academicians have shown themselves to be scoundrels over the Sakharov case. But you need not stoop to their level, Pëtr Leonidovich. More is demanded of a good man. Let others look to you as an example. Give your colleagues, fellow-scientists and students an example worth following ...

Is it possible that the only reason for the Soviet Academy going down in history will be its active or passive involvement in the destruction of its people's best sons?

It connived when Academician N. I. Vavilov, who devoted all his talents to the world-wide control of famine, starved to death in Saratov Prison.

It connived when Academician P. L. Kapitsa was banned from scientific work and thrown out of the institute which he founded himself.

It is conniving now, when disgusting scum are shutting Sakharov's mouth and immobilizing his pen ...

Was the wisest of the wise, Vladimir Ilich [Lenin], correct when he said: 'The intelligentsia are not the brain of the nation, but its shit?'

Luckily, he was not correct: our intelligentsia included Pryanishnikov²² and Kapitsa, it includes Sakharov, Orlov and Kovalëv. But perhaps Kapitsa should not yet be thought of in the past tense, Pëtr Leonidovich? Gold, as they say, shines even in muck.

Knowing how busy you are, I do not expect any reply, and this is not a personal letter.

* * *

On 6 February V. Bakhmin, S. Kalistratova, I. Kovalëv, A. Lavut, T. Osipova, A. Romanova and L. Ternovsky sent the following statement to the UN Commission on Human Rights:

We have learned of the Commission's intention to focus on the situation of Academician Sakharov. In this connection we request you to consider Document No. 121 of the Moscow Helsinki Group, written in defence of Academician Sakharov, and also his own statement describing the regime imposed on him in exile.

We would draw the Commission's particular attention to the fact that Sakharov's unlawful exile cannot be viewed in isolation from the arrests of defenders of the rule of law in recent months, the sharp increase in the extrajudicial pressure which has been brought to bear on them, and the arrests currently being prepared.

We hope that the disgraceful measures taken by the Soviet authorities against A. D. Sakharov, and indeed the general campaign of repression against the entire movement to defend the rule of law,

of which this exile is the newest culmination, will be properly evaluated.

(Three of the seven authors of this statement have already been arrested — see below.)

On 25 January in Makhachkala Vazif Meilanov staged a one-man demonstration in protest against Sakharov's exile. He was arrested a few minutes later (see 'Arrests').

The Death of Shelkov

On 27 January Vladimir Andreyevich Shelkov (*Chronicle 55*), Chairman of the All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh-Day Adventists, died at the age of 84 in a strict-regime camp in Yakutia where he was serving a sentence. Shelkov was the third person to be appointed chairman of the Church (in 1949); the two previous chairmen both died in prison (in 1937 and 1949 respectively).

Shelkov had spent 25 years in prison for his religious activities. He was last arrested in 1978 (*Chronicle 49*). On 23 March 1979 he was sentenced by Tashkent City Court to five years in strict-regime camps (*Chronicle 53*).

On 29 January the Council of the All-Union Church published the news of Shelkov's death. On receiving a telegram from the camp informing them of his death, Shelkov's relatives flew to Yakutia, hoping to be given the body: Shelkov had stated in his will that he wished his family to bury him in Samarkand. They were not allowed to take away the body.

Persecution of the Moscow Helsinki Group

The Administrative Arrest of Osipova

At 3 pm on 4 January Tatyana Osipova, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, was arrested.

She had been called on that day for questioning to the 58th District Police Station by investigator Pirogov, who charged her with petty hooliganism during a search on 26 December at the home of Irina Grivnina (see below), at which she was present.

The 'case' against her consisted of reports from two policemen, junior sergeant Paulauskas and sergeant Karpënok, and 'explanations' from two witnesses who were present at the search, V. A. Morozov and A. N. Kuleshov.

The policemen's reports state that the police went 'to assist in the

conduct of the search'. On entering Grivnina's flat they asked all those present to show their documents. However, no one showed them any documents, and when Osipova categorically refused to show her passport she pushed Karpënok away, 'accompanying her act with all sorts of words'. She used abusive language, threatened violence and insulted them (with the words 'scum', 'thieves', 'goats'), etc. She also categorically refused to comply with their 'repeated lawful request to accompany them to the police station'. Finally, 'at the request of the K G B officers' conducting the search, Osipova was left in the flat.

The witnesses wrote that Osipova behaved 'improperly, attempted to disrupt the search and create a tense atmosphere, used abusive language and ignored the policemen's requests'.

During questioning Osipova wrote a statement in which she explained what really happened during the search. She had arrived at Grivnina's flat when the search was effectively over, and had presented her passport to the K G B officers as soon as they asked for it. The policemen came not to 'assist' in the conduct of the search, but to take I. Grivnina away for questioning. The policemen did not ask Osipova for her passport (they checked only the documents of the owners of the flat); nor did they request her to accompany them to the police station. When, however, the police began to lead Grivnina away and her daughter started crying, Osipova went into another room, shutting the door behind her. Osipova remarked in her statement that both the indecent behaviour of the police officers and their slanderous reports called for condemnation and punishment, and she requested that they be made to answer for their actions.

When she arrived at the police station Grivnina wrote a statement for investigator Pirogov describing how the search had been conducted, and requested that her evidence be placed in the case file. Pirogov refused to accept her statement. Grivnina then handed it to station Chief Captain V. S. Popov, after he had promised that it would be placed in the file. Popov did not keep his promise.

After questioning, Osipova was taken to Dzerzhinsky District People's Court. Her 'case' was examined by Judge Beloborodov. The trial lasted for five or ten minutes. The Judge read the indictment to Osipova and then asked her to comment on the essence of the charges. She requested that Grivnina, who was present in the courtroom, be called as a witness, but the Judge interrupted Osipova and repeated his question. She replied that the charges were false and slanderous. Several minutes later the Judge cast the papers aside and asked investigator Pirogov if there were any witnesses. He said there were none. Beloborodov continued to ignore Grivnina's request to present evidence. The Judge then pronounced his decision — 15 days in prison — and left.

After the trial Osipova was placed in Special Women's Detention Centre No. 2. In protest against her unjust sentence Osipova refused to go out to work. On 8 January the term of her administrative arrest was extended by ten days by order of Judge Slakayev (of the Zheleznodorozhny District People's Court) 'for malicious violations of the regime'. Osipova responded by declaring a hunger-strike, which lasted until the end of her sentence. She was placed in solitary confinement, and on the seventh day, 15 January, artificial feeding began. She was not given a bed, even though in similar cases in the camps, beds are given (to those on hunger-strike in the cooler). During her hunger-strike a duty psychiatrist was called, who pronounced her healthy.

On 9 January Osipova's husband I. Kovalëv, a fellow-member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, submitted a supervisory complaint to the Dzerzhinsky District Procuracy, in which he referred to the Decree of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet of 26 July 1966, and stated that even if his wife were guilty of an act of 'petty hooliganism' she should have been detained at the time of the offence. He also stated that the Judge's order should have been issued not later than 28 December. The complaint was accompanied by the evidence from Grivnina which the court had not examined.

On 10 January Kovalëv sent a statement to the same Procuracy about the illegality of extending Osipova's arrest because of her refusal to work. He quoted the Decree of the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet of 4 April 1962, 'Measures against Malicious Disobedience' to the police:

If a person under arrest refuses to perform physical labour, then, on an order from a People's Court, that person shall be made to pay the cost of all meals provided during the period of arrest ...

On 17 January Kovalëv sent a statement to the Chairman of the Moscow City Court and to the Moscow Procurator demanding that the decisions of the Dzerzhinsky and Zheleznodorozhny People's Courts should be overruled.

On 21 February Osipova was warned at the Central Geophysical Expeditions Office, where she works, that 'her behaviour was inadmissible'. On 25 March Osipova was visited by Khoruzhy, a local police-officer. He had previously summoned her by telephone, then sent a summons to her, but she had refused to go. The reason for the summons was said to be that Osipova had to be registered as a petty hooligan liable to administrative penalties. A record card was completed in her name.

The Trial of Landa

On 3 January Malva Landa was arrested outside the house of A. D.

Sakharov in Moscow. She was taken to the town of Petushki in Vladimir Region (where she is registered as a resident). There she was informed that she was under suspicion for offences relating to Article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. She was required to sign an undertaking not to leave Petushki. The investigator told her that if she refused to sign she would be arrested immediately.

The following day Landa was summoned to Vladimir, where she was questioned about materials confiscated during a search on 8 December 1979 at her home (*Chronicle 55*). She refused to give any evidence whatsoever or to take part in the investigation.

On 11 January investigator Zhmakin of the Vladimir District Procuracy charged Landa under Article 190-1. The material incriminated against her included two unfinished versions of an article about the case of Zatikyan, Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan (*Chronicle 52*; see also 'Official Documents' in this issue); several documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group: No. 58 — 'Ten Years After', on the tenth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia (*Chronicle 51*), No. 56 — on the trials of Orlov, Ginzburg and Shcharansky (*Chronicle 51*), and No. 69 — an appeal on the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (*Chronicles 52, 55*); and also 'An Appeal to an Italian Factory', in the writing of which Landa was in no way involved (the 'Appeal' is signed by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group).

Zhmakin invited Landa to 'repent'. He said that if she did the case against her would be closed. After the exile of A. D. Sakharov (see above) Zhmakin told Landa:

Now, Malva Noyevna, whatever happens to you, nobody will ever know... As they say, even death is beautiful in this world [a Russian proverb]. But what use are you? Nobody needs you. Even if anyone says anything, it will only be a few words, something insincere.

Throughout many interrogations, which lasted two months, Landa refused to answer questions or sign the records. She also refused to answer questions concerning the case of Nekipelov when summoned to the Regional KGB office on 11 February. Both Zhmakin and the KGB investigator threatened to send her for psychiatric examination.

On 8 February a Moscow investigator arrived at the home of R. Lert (*Chronicle 52*) on behalf of the Vladimir Regional Procuracy, to ask her about her acquaintance with Landa. Lert replied that her relationships with her acquaintances were her own affair. Several days later she was visited by Zhmakin. He asked her questions about Landa and other defenders of the rule of law. On 14 February Zhmakin visited A. Germanov (Landa's son) in Moscow. Neither he

nor his wife was at home. Zhmakin talked to Germanov's daughter and mother-in-law. He was particularly interested in whether Landa had visited them in January, that is, after she had signed the undertaking not to leave Petushki. They replied: 'We don't remember'.

On 15 February a search was carried out at the home of A. Marchenko in Karabanovo by Kuranov, an investigator from the Vladimir Regional Procuracy. Some books (samizdat and tamizdat [ie samizdat published abroad] and manuscripts were confiscated.

On 18 February investigator Zhmakin said that Landa could engage any defence counsel she liked, Soviet or foreign. However, a week later he stated that only a member of the Bar, that is a Soviet citizen, could conduct her defence.

On 25 February Landa began to study the case file. On 7 March she was reaching the end of her study. In the lunch-break she managed to telephone Moscow. In the evening, when she signed the record that she had finished her study, she was arrested.

The trial took place on 26 March in the club of the MVD school attached to Vladimir Prison. The prosecutor at the trial was Procurator Obraztsov. None of Landa's friends who had travelled to Vladimir was admitted to the courtroom. Elena Bonner was not allowed to leave Gorky on that day. Landa's son was called as a witness, but he was questioned last, so that he could not be present in the courtroom during the first part of the trial.

Landa pleaded not guilty, and claimed that none of the documents incriminated against her contained 'deliberately false fabrications'. All her petitions requesting that the truthfulness and accuracy of the information contained in the documents be established were rejected by the court. Landa was sentenced to five years' exile. She was transported to Kazakhstan.

* * *

Moscow Helsinki Group Document No. 117 states:

... Malva Landa is one of the longest-standing and most active defenders of the rule of law in the USSR, and has been a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group since its creation. She is one of the organizers of the Aid Fund for Political Prisoners and their Families.

Moscow Helsinki Group Document No. 124 (19 March 1980) and the statement 'Malva Landa has been Arrested' (15 March 1980, 17 signatures) both deal with her arrest. A letter from another organizer of the Aid Fund for Political Prisoners, S. Khodorovich, states:

How morally weak that mighty power which fears honest people must be. And how dangerous are the cowards who possess such power!

They can offer only prison, exile, camps, escorts and handcuffs in opposition to the power of truth.

On 28 March the Moscow Helsinki Group published a document entitled 'The Trial of Malva Landa' (No. 127):

... Any verdict of guilty in the case of Malva Landa is incorrect and illegal, since she has committed no crime, and her conviction is another instance of the suppression of free speech, of human rights activities conducted within the law, and of those who give help to the oppressed.

One cannot help but protest against the severity of the form of punishment chosen by the court. For a woman of 62, exile, in the climatic and environmental conditions in which prisoners serve their sentences (see Document No. 116), is a virtually unendurable punishment. In this case it is also illegal. Article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code makes no provision for exile as punishment. Punishment under this article may be any of the following: deprivation of freedom for a period of up to three years; corrective labour (while not held in custody) for a period of up to one year; or a fine of 100 roubles. In sending Malva Landa into exile as a humane mitigation of sentence the authorities have in fact attempted to paralyse her civic activity for five years.

* * *

On 26 March F. Serebrov and L. Ternovsky, members of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, both joined the Moscow Helsinki Group (Document No. 125).

* * *

A Search at the Home of Osipova and I. Kovalëv

On 10 April, the day of Ternovsky's arrest (see below), a search was conducted at the flat of T. Osipova and I. Kovalëv by senior investigator of the Moscow City Procuracy G. V. Ponomarëv (*Chronicle* 44), on an order written by Ponomarëv himself. A large number of papers containing information on the movement to defend the rule of law in the U S S R were confiscated. These included: letters and statements addressed to the Moscow Helsinki Group and to official bodies; a list of political prisoners; information from the political camps, Information Bulletins of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, of the Committee to Defend Tatyana Velikanova, of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled, of the Baptist Council of Prisoners' Relatives, and of the Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People; several almost complete collections of the documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group (listed in the report as 3,610 sheets of typewritten text); docu-

ments of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights; personal letters; a notebook and writing-pad containing notes; a number of magazines — *Searches* No. 7, *Duel* No. 2, *L'Alternative* No. 3 (in French); a photocopy of the article 'Statistics on Crime in the U S S R' (from *Posev*); and a catalogue of the Y M C A Press. Of all the photographs in the flat only three pictures of V. Bakhmin were removed.

The Case of Nekipelov

At the beginning of January relatives of Victor Nekipelov, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group arrested on 7 December (*Chronicle* 55), received a briefcase which had been in his possession at the time of his arrest (it contained a Bible and an English text-book). They also received a jacket and a pair of spectacles. An investigator stated that according to his information Nekipelov was quite capable of managing without spectacles. In actual fact Nekipelov finds it difficult to read without them.

On 24 January T. Osipova, who was in a special detention centre (see above), was visited by senior investigator Major Minin of the Kamchatka K G B, who questioned her in connection with Nekipelov's case. After the first question (on whether she knew him), Osipova refused to give evidence, and wrote in the record that Nekipelov was a brilliant writer, poet and publicist, and that the criminal case against him was fabricated.

On 25 January F. Serebrov, who lives in Moscow, was visited at his home by an investigator from the team examining Nekipelov's case. Serebrov refused to talk to him. The investigator tried to serve some kind of a summons on him, and to conduct an official interrogation there and then in Serebrov's flat, but Serebrov categorically rejected this approach too.

On 26 January Mikhail Naritsa and his wife Lyudmila were summoned to the Latvian S S R K G B, where Lieutenant-Colonel Leinart asked them each three questions: did they know V. Nekipelov and his wife N. Komarova did they correspond with them, and thirdly, did they know where their own son P. Naritsa was? They answered 'no' to the first two questions, and to the third replied that they did not know.

On 31 January N. Komarova was called for questioning to the Vladimir K G B. She was questioned about Nekipelov's acquaintance with Orlov, Shcharansky, Sakharov, Kukobaka and Buzinnikov. The investigators were interested in Komarova's involvement in the writing and editing of her husband's articles, in particular an essay written by him called 'About Our Searches'. She was asked who had translated Osadchy's *Cataract*, and whether Nekipelov had received letters and articles from Osadchy, and if he had, then for what purpose. The

final question was whether Nekipelov and Komarova had received help from abroad, and whether they had helped political prisoners and their families. Komarova refused to reply to these questions. She was questioned by Belgorod K G B investigator Romanovsky.

At the end of February **Stefania Shabatura** was questioned in Lvov (see 'After Release' in the section 'Events in the Ukraine') about an article written in her defence in 1976 by M. Landa and V. Nekipelov. When shown extracts from the article, Shabatura stated that all they had written was true. She also said that she did not know either Landa or Nekipelov.

On 5 March **M. Petrenko** was served with a summons in Moscow to appear for questioning on 6 March at the Vladimir K G B before investigator Zotov. She did not go. In a statement addressed to Zotov, Petrenko wrote:

... I refuse to take part in investigations of cases concerning any articles of the Criminal Code under which people are convicted for their opinions or actions where the legality of the latter is guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Covenants on human rights, ratified by the USSR ...

Nekipelov's activities have been dedicated to the struggle against injustice and unlawful actions, and are consequently aimed at strengthening society and the rule of law. He has helped all members of society to increase their awareness of their rights and of the responsibility they bear for the present and the future. His innocence before the law is obvious.

On 13 March **A. Podrabinek** was questioned in exile in connection with the case of Nekipelov. He refused to reply to the investigator's questions.

In Yurev-Polsky (Vladimir Region) a number of attempts were made to question **V. Fefelov**, a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled, about Nekipelov. He refused to give any information (see 'Miscellaneous Reports').

On 4 April investigator Pleshkov asked Komarova to find a lawyer for her husband within ten days. She discovered that the defence could be handled only by a lawyer with a special permit to work on cases investigated by the K G B. Two Moscow lawyers, V. Ya Shveisky and S. A. Dubrovskaya, agreed to take on Nekipelov's defence, but they were refused permission to go to Vladimir by Sklyarsky, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Moscow City Bar. Komarova was forced to request a lawyer from the Vladimir Bar. She was referred to A. G. Smorchkov, who agreed to handle Nekipelov's defence. On 17 April Smorchkov talked to Nekipelov in the presence of Pleshkov. Nekipelov refused the offer of his services when Smorchkov said that it was impossible to defend him if he

did not plead guilty. Pleshkov told Komarova about this, and added that Nekipelov was sufficiently educated to undertake his own defence. **Sergei Nekipelov** (*Chronicle* 55), together with **S. Kalistratova**, **M. Petrenko** and **F. Serebrov**, sent statements to the Ministry of Justice and the Procurator-General concerning this violation of the right to a defence counsel. N. Komarova sent telegrams to the same addresses, and also to Brezhnev and Andropov. F. Serebrov wrote an appeal, 'A Lawyer for a Dissident', which was signed by seven more people. This appeal contains a request to Western lawyers to undertake Nekipelov's defence, and Pleshkov is quoted in it as saying that no Western lawyer would be allowed to work on Nekipelov's case.

An 'Open Statement in Defence of Victor Nekipelov' (December 1979, 41 signatures) states:

... By profession a laboratory doctor, who up to his arrest worked in Kameshkovo Hospital, Victor Nekipelov is by vocation a poet. His poetry and translations of poetry have been published by Soviet editors and publishing-houses. But the official career of this Soviet poet could not and did not last long. A man of the utmost sincerity, in his poetry Nekipelov never attempted either to conform to the prevailing ideology or to hide his thoughts and feelings. Even though his poems were in no way meant as political pamphlets, in 1973 this poet was put on trial, and his poems ruled anti-Soviet and slanderous. Nekipelov was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

His poetry took him to prison. Prison made him realize more profoundly his relationship with Soviet reality ...

Victor Nekipelov was not a public activist either by vocation or by nature. He became one through a sense of civic duty, a sense of justice, through his honesty, his goodness, and his responsiveness to the fates of others ...

The arrest of such people as Victor Nekipelov is undoubtedly harmful to the country. It damages its prestige, its dignity and its moral climate.

We appeal to the common sense of the government and society. Victor Nekipelov has committed no unlawful action, and should be released immediately. The case against him is without foundation and should be quashed.

* * *

Document No. 117 of the Moscow Helsinki Group states:

The arrest of Victor Nekipelov, the proceedings against Malva Landa and the administrative arrest of Tatyana Osipova all show that the authorities will stop at nothing to suppress the activities conducted by the Moscow Helsinki Group in defence of the rule of law.

Persecution of the Working Commission

A Search at the Home of Grivnina

On 26 December a search was conducted at Irina Grivnina's home in Moscow in connection with the case of V. Yanin, who had been charged by the Kuibyshev K G B under Article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ('Betrayal of the Motherland'), with illegally crossing the frontier. The search was conducted by Omsk K G B investigator Malyshev. Confiscated were: copies of the *Information Bulletins* of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes (some in many copies), a card-index of prisoners in psychiatric hospitals, papers relating to the use of psychiatry for repressive purposes, a copy of the *Chronicle of Current Events* (No. 53), books published in the West (including *Russia's Political Hospitals* by [S. Bloch and] P. Reddaway, in English), a camera with films, and an enlarger.

During the search some friends of Grivnina — V. Golitsyn, T. Osipova (see 'The Administrative Arrest of Osipova') and V. Bakhmin arrived at the flat. They were all subjected to body-searches. A notebook, a book published in the West — *Russia without Embellishments or Silences* by Vladimirov, and several pages of typewritten manuscript were confiscated from Golitsyn. Nothing was found on Osipova or Bakhmin.

After the search, which lasted from 9 am to 7 pm, Grivnina was told to report to the K G B for questioning. She refused, because her daughter was ill and she herself was on sick-leave 'to look after her child'. The investigator called the police, and Grivnina was taken to the K G B by force.

Investigator Kriventsov handed Grivnina a letter which she had sent to Yanin's wife on the subject of material help, which mentioned the existence of the Working Commission. The investigator was interested in the activities of the Working Commission. Grivnina advised him to consult the bulletins and other documents confiscated from her, where these questions were illustrated in some detail. In March Grivnina officially joined the Working Commission.

A Search at the Home of A. Podrabinek

On 29 January Dëmin, a Deputy Procurator of the Yakut ASSR, conducted a search at the home of Alexander Podrabinek, a member of the Working Commission in exile in Ust-Nera (for his trial see *Chronicle* 50). The search was conducted in connection with Case No. 46012/18-76 (*Chronicles* 52-4) by order of Koloskov, a Deputy Procurator of Moscow.

During the search the following were confiscated: a typewriter, 12

issues of the *Information Bulletin* of the Working Commission, a copy of Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*, papers of the Moscow Helsinki Group, excerpts from case materials relating to A. Podrabinek's trial, cuttings from foreign newspapers and items of private correspondence.

No copy of the search record was given to Podrabinek (he was told: 'We don't want it to reach the West'). Some items confiscated were not entered on the record. A search was also conducted at Podrabinek's work-place, but here without a warrant.

After the search Podrabinek was taken to the Procuracy, where Sorokin attempted to question him about the confiscated material. Podrabinek refused to answer his questions and asked for the reasons for refusing to be entered on the record. This was refused.

On 11 February Podrabinek was dismissed from work 'on the expiry of his work agreement': the woman whom he had temporarily replaced came back to work ten months earlier than expected. Two days later she resigned. In those two days the hospital administration managed to dismiss Podrabinek and engage a replacement. On 12 February Podrabinek submitted a statement requesting work. The chief doctor of the hospital attached the instruction 'No Vacancies' to the statement. (In actual fact the hospital staff is not at full strength.) On 6 March Podrabinek began a lawsuit to seek reinstatement.

The Arrest of Bakhmin

On 12 February Vyacheslav Bakhmin, a member of the Working Commission, was arrested at Grivnina's flat in Moscow. It was not until a week later that his wife managed to discover that he was being held in the K G B investigations prison at Lefortovo. G. V. Ponomarëv, investigator for the Moscow City Procuracy, said that Bakhmin 'might' be charged under Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. In fact, although he is held in Lefortovo, he is charged under Article 190-1.

The *Chronicle* is in possession of a statement which Bakhmin asked to be published if he should ever be arrested:

I do not accept that those organs which have repeatedly compromised themselves through lies and falsification should have the right to investigate my activities. I will state here and now that I refuse to take part in such an investigation. It is degrading to try and prove one's innocence in an investigation when the outcome is a foregone conclusion. It is difficult at present to imagine what concrete charges have been prepared for me. It may be that, like Podrabinek, I have invented slanderous information, trying with all my strength to discredit the system which exists here (as if it

had not already discredited itself many times before the whole world). It may be that, like Shcharansky, I worked for Western intelligence and regularly supplied the West with all kinds of secret information (it is not important that I never had any). There will be volumes of case materials, 'witnesses' ready to say anything, a courtroom full of 'the public'. I will explain nothing to them, as they will already be indifferent. Now, however, while I have the chance, I want to say that I have never committed any crime. I could prove this at an open trial, and it is for precisely this reason that there will be no such trial. I will have nothing to say at any other kind of trial.

An open letter (117 signatures), written on the occasion of Bakhmin's arrest, states:

It is quite obvious that not only has an innocent man been arrested, but also a man who loves his country and has done much good for his people. Unfortunately, in our State there are forces which suppress all such activity, which seek to standardize the life of our country at any cost and to eliminate public opinion.

Such actions not only prevent a most honourable man from leading a full life, condemning him to suffering. The arrest of Bakhmin is one more example of actions which worsen the situation of most of our people, an action which paralyzes initiative, an action which complicates the political situation in our country. Finally, our sense of self-preservation tells us that this action increases the chances of reprisals against any one of us; if today an innocent man is arrested, then tomorrow somebody else may be arrested. For while it is possible to talk of greater or lesser degrees of guilt, it is impossible to talk of greater or lesser degrees of innocence...

An appeal by I. Grivnina (21 February) states:

When seen in the context of the stormy recent events both in our country and throughout the world, the arrest of Vyacheslav Bakhmin may seem an insignificant event. But this is not so. This arrest is evidently the beginning of a series of actions which have been planned for a long time by the K G B and are intended to destroy the Working Commission. A way has been found out of the present awkward situation in which the psychiatric suppression of dissenters in our country is becoming the subject of wide discussion in the UN Commission on Human Rights and at international psychiatric congresses: members of the Commission are charged with slander and tried at closed trials, after which the long-awaited silence will ensue...

A. Podrabinek sent letters to the Secretary-General of the American

trade union association AFL-CIO, Kirkland, and to the 'International Committee to Defend the Podrabinek Brothers' (11 March). The second letter states:

Vyacheslav Bakhmin is now in a much more threatened situation than I. I ask you to defend him, just as you have defended me and my brother Kirill. I ask you to treat Bakhmin as you treated my brother. My own defence is much less important to me than the defence of my friend.

Statements and appeals in defence of Vyacheslav Bakhmin also came from his brother Victor, from E. Nikolayev, and from two members of the Working Commission, F. Serebrov and L. Ternovsky.

A. Nastavin, who has turned to the Working Commission for help on a number of occasions and lives in Schaste (Voroshilovgrad Region), and Yu. Yarym-Agayev, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, submitted written evidence on Bakhmin's activities, in which they expressed their high esteem for his activities in defence of the rule of law. Nastavin stated that he was prepared to appear at the trial as a defence witness.

On the day of Bakhmin's arrest searches also took place at the homes of A. Lavut (see 'The Arrest of Lavut'), L. Ternovsky and F. Serebrov. On 15 or 16 February yet another search took place at the home of A. Podrabinek in Ust-Nera.

Several issues of the *Information Bulletin* of the Working Commission were confiscated from Bakhmin, along with several sheets of Working Commission notepaper, a letter to Bakhmin from A. Podrabinek, a book by N. Bukovskaya, *Letters of a Mother*, two copies of the collection *In Defence of Economic Freedoms*, and articles and books in English.

In the other searches, also, materials and files of the Working Commission were confiscated, together with handwritten and typewritten texts, books, and personal correspondence. Some Soviet books on psychiatry were confiscated from F. Serebrov.

On 13 February the Moscow Helsinki Group issued Document No. 123, 'Repression of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes'. The document mentions the arrest of V. Bakhmin and the searches connected with his case. It refers to the history of the founding of the Working Commission and lists the K G B's activities against its members. The document states in part:

Despite the climate of persecution, intimidation and repression which has prevailed throughout the three years of its existence, the Working Commission has done much to investigate and publicize dozens of cases in which dissenters and believers have been placed, without justification, in psychiatric hospitals. It has checked on

the conditions in which prisoners of conscience are detained, and has given help to people in psychiatric hospitals and to their families. Twenty issues of the working Commission's *Information Bulletin* have been published ...

On 18 February the Working Commission published a statement, which reported that:

The work of finding out about and publicizing cases of the abuse of psychiatry will continue. The need to expose the repressive use of psychiatry derives not from someone's arbitrary whim, but from the very fact that such abuse actually occurs. The ending of this shameful use of psychiatry is therefore a necessary precondition for the ending of the Working Commission's activities.

The Administrative Arrest of Serebrov

On the day Bakhmin was arrested F. Serebrov was arrested and taken to a police station (one hour before the search at his flat). He was placed under administrative arrest for 15 days 'for malicious disobedience to the police'. (He had refused to appear for a chat with a local police officer.) On 22 February Serebrov was charged with leaving the work given to '15-day men' without authorization. He sent a statement to the Procuracy, and on 23 February declared a hunger-strike against the authorities' intention of extending his term of arrest. On 27 February Serebrov was released.

The Arrest of Ternovsky

On 10 April, after a search at his home in Moscow in connection with Case No. 49609/14-80, Leonard Ternovsky was arrested and placed in Butyrka Prison. Ternovsky's case is being investigated by the same Ponomarëv.

On 12 April the Moscow Helsinki Group published Document No. 129, on the arrest of Ternovsky:

... We still do not know the precise charges to be made against Ternovsky, but there is reason to believe that he will be charged with the preparation and circulation of deliberately false fabrications defaming the Soviet social and political system (Article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code).

An honest, brave and honourable man, Leonard Ternovsky is incapable of slander or lies. He has committed no crime, and his arrest is yet another attempt to suppress the movement to defend the rule of law, to suppress freedom of thought and speech, to stop the collecting and publicizing of information on cases of the violation of fundamental human rights in our country.

We protest against the arrest of Leonard Ternovsky and call on all fellow-human-rights campaigners to join us in our protest.

A copy is attached to the document of a letter written by Ternovsky's wife Lyudmila, in which she demands the immediate release of her husband and the return of objects and papers which were illegally confiscated. On 14 April F. Serebrov protected against Ternovsky's arrest. He was joined by 25 others.

On the day of Ternovsky's arrest searches also took place at the home of Osipova and I. Kovalëv (see above), and at the homes of I. Grivnina and F. Serebrov (see also 'The Case of Brailovsky'). A store of copies of *Information Bulletin* No. 22 was confiscated from Grivnina. On 15 April I. Grivnina and F. Serebrov issued a statement:

On 12 February Vyacheslav Bakhmin was arrested, followed on 10 April by Leonard Ternovsky. If such actions continue, the Working Commission will temporarily halt the regular publication of the *Information Bulletin* until at least one of its members is released ...

The persecution of members of the Working Commission is irrefutable proof that the Soviet authorities are striving to continue to use psychiatry to suppress dissent.

* * *

Investigation of Bakhmin's case meanwhile continues.

On 14 March Ponomarëv conducted a search at the home in Moscow of former member of the Working Commission Irina Kaplun. He confiscated a number of documents of the Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People, an old notebook belonging to her husband V. Borisov, and samizdat and foreign [tamizdat] publications. During the search a man entered the room carrying some papers from M. Morozov (see 'In Exile'). Morozov had previously telephoned to warn them about the papers.

On 10 April Ponomarëv questioned I. Grivnina (after the search); on 28 April he questioned G. Notkin, and on 29 April F. Serebrov. Notkin was asked if he knew anything about Bakhmin's past or his involvement in the activities of the Working Commission. Serebrov completed the personal details section of the record and then refused to talk to the investigator on the grounds that during the search on 10 April a savings book belonging to his wife, into which her wages were paid, had been confiscated from him. On 28 and 29 April Ponomarëv also summoned T. Osipova, I. Filatova, A. Romanova, M. Petrenko and V. Neplekhovich for questioning. None of them went. M. Petrenko wrote a statement in which she refused to take part in the investigation of Bakhmin's case. Bakhmin's relatives are unable to find a lawyer for his defence, since nobody wants to handle it.

The Case of the Journal Searches (Chronicles 52-55)

On 31 December the editorial board of the journal *Searches* made a statement to its readers (No. 8 opens with the statement):

Twenty months have passed since the first issue of *Searches* came out. We are now offering the reader the last issues — 6, 7 and 8 — and would like somehow to sum up ... Persecution which is systematically intensifying has deprived us of most of the resources needed to continue work. For attempting to break through the blockades against dialogue, for *being open* about our names and actions, we have already paid with the arrest of one of our editors — **Valery Abramkin**. It is grievous to think that a man of exceptional intellectual energy and moral steadfastness is behind the bars of the Butyrka ...

Confronted with an involuntary and corrupting choice — to accept the right of certain people to place limits on intellectual enquiry or to go underground — *we reject both options as equally wrong*.

We retain the basic right to decide for ourselves the form and time schedule for carrying on our cause, a cause which is the same as our purpose in life.

We refuse now and in the future to hide and to argue in whispers.

We were not 'playing at politics' and we do not agree to the conditional draw which they are evidently waiting for us to agree to. We repeat that all of us together with Valery Abramkin are prepared to argue our belief in the legality of *Searches* and the necessity of honest dialogue for our country, citizens and state.

On 3 January **V. Sokirko** was interrogated in the case of the journal *Searches*. He was threatened with arrest. On 8 January Burtsev interrogated **A. Gorgan** (*Chronicle 55*) and her husband **M. Sukhotin**. He asked them about their acquaintance with Abramkin.

The Arrest of Grimm and Sokirko

On 23 January, after searches, Yury Grimm and Victor Sokirko, members of the editorial board of the journal *Searches*, were arrested. They are both in Butyrka Prison; like Valery Abramkin they have been charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

In anticipation of his arrest, Sokirko prepared a letter (the eighth issue of *Searches* closes with this):

Dear friends,

You know well that I do not have the slightest wish to be arrested

and that if I have not managed to avoid it, this is only because I had to take a risk today in order to make my life easier in the future.

You know that as a committed materialist I believe in my immortal soul only as the totality of ideas and impressions which will be communicated to the people of today and tomorrow through my words and actions ...

I ask all who love me to save my soul — its main and most important part. I ask you to read, argue over and circulate my articles. For I did not write them for myself and they are bigger than I am ...

This is my main request. The awareness that you will respond to it will give me strength to serve my sentence, however long it might be, with calmness, and to wait for juster times.

His letters and articles were, for the most part, what was taken from Sokirko (see 'Letters and Statements' and 'Samizdat News').

At a search at Grimm's a typewritten copy of *Faithful Ruslan* by G. Vladimov, letters and statements by E. Nikolayev, V. Kuvakin and M. Zotov, a list of foreign correspondents' telephone numbers, and a typewriter were confiscated.

Before the search a friend of Grimm's, N. Nizovtseva, had called to see him. A packet of carbon paper was taken from her. After the search they were taken to Police Station No. 3. From there Grimm was taken away; N. Nizovtseva was asked what telephone number Grimm had communicated to her in the car. Then the investigator filled out a search warrant for Nizovtseva's flat (the blank form used already had a signature and a stamp). An Old Testament was confiscated from Nizovtseva and she was then interrogated again at home. The questions concerned Grimm. The investigator promised to phone later and invite her for a 'chat'; he asked her not to tell anyone about Grimm's arrest for a few days.

On the same day searches took place in the case of the journal *Searches* at the homes of **T. Samsonova** (Egides), **V. Dzyadko**, **V. Repnikov** (*Chronicle 47*) and **G. Pavlovsky** (*Chronicles 52, 55*).

The search at Dzyadko's was conducted by Knyazev. One volume of the five-volume *Scriptures* (Y M C A Press), certain materials on the trial of Ginzburg, and Solzhenitsyn's interview with the magazine *Der Spiegel* were confiscated. Dzyadko's parents inquired about the reason for the search. Those conducting it referred to the previous day's announcement of Sakharov's exile (see this issue). When the parents objected that their son did not know Sakharov, they were told that he knew Ginzburg. When they said that he did not know Ginzburg either they were told that V. Dzyadko knew I. Zholkovskaya (Ginzburg) and worked for the Political Prisoners' Aid Fund.

At a search at Repnikov's the second volume of *Gulag Archipelago*, letters, and a typewriter with Latin script were confiscated. Investigator Novikov, who conducted the search, interrogated Repnikov at a police station. Repnikov refused to speak about third persons.

Pavlovsky was summoned to the K G B for a conversation. From there he was taken to a search which was conducted by investigator Borovik and a K G B official whom Pavlovsky had seen during the conversation before the search. The collection *Self-Identity*²³ the almanac *Renaissance*, several rough drafts and Pavlovsky's letter in defence of Abramkin were confiscated. During the conversation Pavlovsky composed a statement, under pressure from K G B officials, in which he expressed his desire to leave the U S S R.

* * *

On 7 February Pavlovsky wrote a new statement:

Having now thought over the situation as a whole, I have reached the conclusion that my basic aims are inseparably linked with living in Russia.

To retain this, as a last resort I am willing to agree — of my own free will and with reference to myself alone — to a number of restrictions on my actions. Consequently I intend to refrain from participating in political activity — whether oppositional or official — both as an individual and as a writer, regardless of my moral attitude towards such activity. Specifically, this includes my refusal to participate in any political actions whatsoever: meetings, demonstrations and so forth; my refusal to belong to any organizations which have political goals; and my refusal to make any political statements or to give interviews, as well as to support such statements by personal participation ...

This statement — the fruit of a compromise agreement with K G B officials — was considered sufficient grounds for discontinuing the persecution of Pavlovsky (this, in any case, was what he was told). However, in April Pavlovsky was again summoned to an interrogation (see below).

* * *

On 29 January three of Grimm's colleagues were summoned to the Procuracy. On 29 or 30 January the police chief of Pushkino and a man in civilian clothes visited V. Sorokin at work. They demanded that Sorokin write a statement saying that he would not commit any actions that were harmful to the State (see 'A Week of Preventive Talks in Moscow'). The conversation ended in a compromise: he wrote that his articles in *Searches* did not contain slanderous fabrications, nor did he intend to include any in his articles in the future.

On 6 February the case of Sorokin, who was charged under articles 192 and 192-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code (*Chronicle 55*) was closed 'for lack of proof'.

Between 25 and 29 February investigator Burtsev summoned more than 25 people to interrogations about *Searches*. V. Gershuni, a member of the journal's editorial board, did not go to the interrogation. F. Serebrov was serving 15 days in prison at the time (see 'The Administrative Arrest of Serebrov'). A. Smirnov stated on the telephone that he would not go to the interrogation. M. Petrenko and L. Kopelev conveyed statements to Burtsev in which they refused to take part in the investigation.

On 16 March Burtsev conducted a search at V. Tomachinsky's (see 'Letters and Statements'). His own literary works and statements, the works of Mandelshtam, the collection *Unpublished Works* by G. Pomerants²⁴ and six issues of *Searches* were confiscated. Tomachinsky managed to insist that they did not take his typewriter but only a sample of the script. During the search Vronsky, a friend of Tomachinsky's²⁵ called to see him; his, Vronsky's, works were confiscated from him. Tomachinsky was summoned to an interrogation on 19 March, but he did not go.

On 18 April a search was carried out at A. Romanova's. Investigator Vorobëv led the search. A photocopy of the issue of *The U S S R Supreme Soviet Gazette* containing the U N Covenants on human rights, a list of political prisoners, lists of signatures under appeals in defence of Velikanova and Sakharov, two issues of a bulletin issued by the Tatyana Velikanova Defence Committee, a few samizdat articles, a photocopy of a book of M. Voloshin's poetry, personal notes, blank post-cards, envelopes and a letter in defence of Abramkin were confiscated.

Romanova was told that A. Chekalin (a former political prisoner — see *Chronicles 33, 41*) had been detained and had given evidence saying that he had told her on the telephone about an explosion at a factory, and that she had asked him to provide information of this sort in the future. She was promised a confrontation with Chekalin. (Chekalin really did phone Romanova and tell her that on 11 March an explosion had taken place at a military factory in the town of Rubezhnoye in Voroshilovgrad Region, as a result of which ten people had died; on 15 March the funeral had been attended by a huge gathering of people; and on the day of the funeral the town was inundated with police. A few days later Chekalin phoned Romanova again and asked her why the information he had given her had not yet been broadcast over the radio.)

In April O. Kurgansky was summoned to a 'conversation' at the Procuracy. He was asked about his acquaintance with Grimm, his involvement in *Searches* and in F I A W P [Free Inter-Trade Associa-

tion of Working People]. Kurgansky replied that he had not been involved in *Searches* and had joined the FIAWP Council of Representatives of his own free will; Grimm had not 'enticed' him to join either. He went on to say that he had left FIAWP because he had seen that no real advantage was coming from its activity. To the question whether Grimm had given him any books he replied in the negative.

The investigator put two more questions to him: What did Kurgansky know about the Helsinki Group and what did he think about the democratic movement in the USSR? Kurgansky replied that the Helsinki Group was a 'defence league for Jews', while democracy was historically alien to the Russian people. It had never existed in Russia, and owing to the peculiarities of the Russian character it never would. Kurgansky was asked to 'collaborate', and in exchange for this he was promised help with a flat and with getting back into an institute. He refused.

On 24 April Pavlovsky was again summoned to an interrogation with Burtsev. He was told that a draft of a letter from one of the members of the *Searches* editorial board was at the disposal of the investigation in which the author notified the foreign publishers of *Searches* that the 'two youngest and most impetuous members of the editorial board' had sent the fifth issue of the journal to A. Sinyavsky. Burtsev asked whether Pavlovsky and Abramkin were the youngest members of the editorial board and whether they had sent the fifth issue of *Searches* abroad. Pavlovsky replied that he and Abramkin were indeed the youngest members of the editorial board; however, the full membership of the editorial board has not been published. He also said that neither he nor Abramkin could handle the journal without the consent of the other members of the editorial board, adding that neither of them was mentioned in the letter by name, and that the letter itself could not serve as a legal document.

The Arrest of Lavut

After 10 December, when the KGB organized a 'trip' round Moscow for Alexander Lavut (*Chronicle 55*), he was placed under almost constant surveillance. On 31 January his telephone was cut off. On 6 February two KGB officials appeared at his wife S. Mostinskaya's work-place and tried to persuade her to influence her husband, as he was engaged in 'antisocial activity'.

On 12 February Procuracy investigator S. R. Andreyev carried out a search at Lavut's flat in his absence. Amongst the things confiscated were several copies of *A Chronicle of Current Events* (samiz-

dat and tamizdat), five documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group, various samizdat works and documents (they were confiscated in folders and exact entries were not made in the record), personal correspondence and notebooks.

On 29 April investigator Sazonov carried out a second search at Lavut's flat by resolution of Procuracy senior investigator Yu. G. Zhdanov of the Moskvoretsky district of Moscow. The following items were confiscated: material from Camp 18 (Mordovia), a letter from G. Mikhailov (*Chronicle 54*) to A. D. Sakharov from the Leningrad 'Crosses' Prison, two letters from S. Kovalëv which had been through the camp censorship, notes on the conditions of imprisonment in Butyrka Prison, two bulletins of the T. Velikanova Defence Committee, a collection of documents on Sakharov, letters and statements which had been signed by Lavut and other defenders of human rights, two bulletins of the Council of Relatives of Baptist Prisoners, three bulletins of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, documents of the Moscow, Lithuanian and Ukrainian Helsinki Groups, *A Chronicle of Current Events* Nos. 53, 54, 55 (the latter, according to the record, 'with handwritten editorial notes and insertions'), the texts 'On Psychiatric Hospitals', 'The trial of Reshat Dzhemilev' and other material of an informational nature, notebooks, notepads, used carbon paper and a typewriter. A book by Zinoviev, *The Yawning Heights*, and *A Commentary on the Statute on Pre-trial Custodial Detention* were also confiscated.

During the search V. Tyulkov (*Chronicles 46, 47*) called to see Lavut; *Chronicle 54* and a photocopy of an article by Chalidze, 'Khomeinism or National Communism' from the [New York] newspaper *Novoe russkoe slovo* were confiscated from him.

In his comments appended to the record Lavut wrote:

I declare a protest against the very fact that a search was carried out in Criminal Case No. 46616. Although the investigator did not inform me of the substance of the case, it is evidently aimed against the circulation of information on the violation of human rights in the USSR and against the defence of these rights. The material confiscated from me today, which is a truthful reflection of violations of human rights and does not contain any slander or 'fabrications', is the best confirmation of this.

I also protest against the circumstance, which was concealed from me, that Case No. 46616 is the case of A. Lavut.

After the search Sazonov wrote out a summons and Lavut was taken to an interrogation. At the Procuracy he was shown a warrant for his arrest and transported to Butyrka Prison. Lavut is charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. On the same day in-

investigator Zhdanov, who was conducting Lavut's case, interrogated Tyulkov. The latter said that he had heard about Lavut on the radio. As regards the material confiscated from him he stated that he had prepared it himself for his own use.

At the same time as the search at Lavut's three other searches were carried out in his case. The following items were confiscated from V. Tolts: several books and articles printed in samizdat and tamizdat, several Western newspapers, a large number of tapes with recordings of interviews with various persons, similar typewritten material, two tape-recorders and two typewriters. The search was conducted by investigator Knyazev. Vladimir Tolts is a historian, aged 36. Since a car accident he has been an invalid and receives a pension. The day after the search the tyres of his invalid car were punctured.

Investigator Gnevkovskaya conducted a search at the flat of **Natalya Kravchenko**, a physicist (*Chronicle 53*). At the search, typewritten copies of published works by Tsvetayeva and H. Böll, two volumes of N. Ya. Mandelshtam's memoirs, and *Dr Zhivago* by B. Pasternak (typewritten) were confiscated, as well as a book by A. Tertz published abroad, *In the Shadow of Gogol*. Also taken were three bulletins of the Council of Relatives of Baptist Prisoners, a text typed out from the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, notebooks and notes with addresses of dachas around Moscow. A third search was made at the home of close friends of the Lavut family.

The Case of T. Velikanova (Chronicles 54-5)

Investigator Katalikov informed T. Velikanova's relatives of her request to be given a Bible and photographs of her grandsons. He also agreed to pass on to T. Velikanova short notes on family matters from her relatives. The Bible was delivered in the next parcel.

On 3 January Velikanova's son F. Babitsky brought Katalikov a photograph. The investigator (with Babitsky's consent) conducted an interrogation. He suggested that he give a character description of his mother. Babitsky said that Velikanova had brought her children up to show goodwill, a respectful attitude towards people, love and respect for work. People who knew Velikanova regarded her as constituting an example of the highest morality. No other questions were put to F. Babitsky.

On 14 January Katalikov interrogated T. Velikanova's sister Ksenia. Before even her name had been entered on the record he asked **K. Velikanova** to tell him about her brothers, sisters and parents. K. Velikanova replied that she did not have the sort of relationship with the investigator which would permit her to tell him about her family.



1-2 The exiling of Andrei Sakharov in January 1980 was designed mainly to prevent him giving press-conferences in his small Moscow flat like the one shown here, held on 15 July 1978 to provide information about the just completed trials of Ginzburg, Shcharansky and Petkus (*Chronicle 50*). Top: he reads out a statement (in background: Alexandra Polikanova). Above: he rests, while the press listen to another speaker.



3 A pressman records the same proceedings on film. Next to him stands Sergei Polikanov, member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, an eminent scientist, and husband of Alexandra Polikanova



4 Leonid Shcharansky talks about his brother Anatoly's trial.



5-6 Tatyana Velikanova (top, arrested November 1979) and Irina Zholkovskaya-Ginzburg (emigrated February 1980) speak at the same press conference. Behind Zholkovskaya sits BBC correspondent Kevin Ruane.



7 Evgeny Gabovich, Moscow mathematician and human rights activist who emigrated in January 1980, with Sakharov.



8 Natalya Gesse, Leningrad friend of the Sakharovs who lived with them briefly in their Gorky exile and was then told by officials never to return there.

9 Ivan F. Danilyuk, journalist from Ryazan subjected to a search.



10 Left to right: Petr Egides, Yury, Sofia and (son) Klaid Grimm. Egides, a philosopher forced into emigration in January 1980, and Grimm, arrested the same month, were both editors of the samizdat journal *Searches*.



11 Members of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, photographed in April 1980, just before the arrest of Dr Leonard Ternovsky, right. Irina Grivnina, centre, was arrested in September 1980. Left, Felix Serebrov.



12 Left to right: Alexander Lavut, mathematician, arrested April 1980 for role in the *Chronicle*; wife Serafima; Yury Shikhanovich, mathematician and ex-victim of political psychiatry; Tatyana Osipova (arrested May 1980) and husband Ivan Kovalyov, Helsinki Group members, December 1979.



13 Yury Badze, Ukrainian philosopher given 12 years of imprisonment and exile for writing a book, with wife Svetlana Kirichenko



14-17 Sentenced members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group: top left, language teacher Petr Rozumny (3 years), top right: physical training instructor Yaroslav Lesiv (2 years); above left: language teacher Vasily Streltsov (2 years); above right: Yury Litvin, who has already served three camp terms totalling 15 years (3 years)



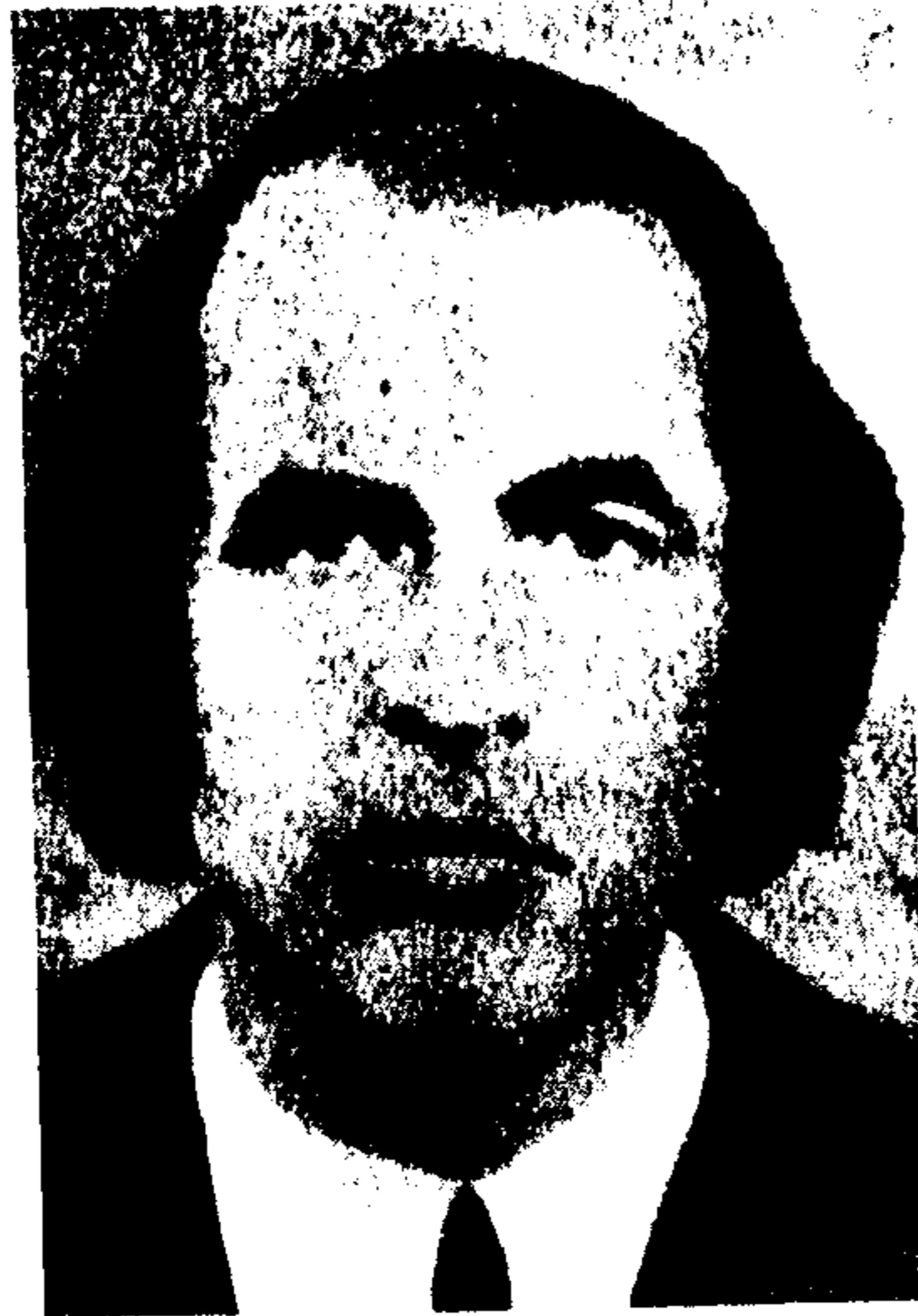
18-19 Two views of the top-security prison at Chistopoi in the Tatar ASSR. The political prisoners held in Vladimir prison were transferred here in 1978, evidently because Vladimir is a tourist centre open to foreigners, whereas Chistopol is not accessible to them.



20 Antonina Agapova, aged 70, is arrested by police after demonstrating in Moscow's Red Square on 9 November 1979, demanding permission to emigrate.



21 Some members of the Moscow 'Right to Emigrate' group. Right to left (sitting) Lyudmila Agapova (daughter-in-law of A. Agapova, above), Rozalia Popova (who was almost psychiatrically interned for criticizing Brezhnev's memoirs), unknown, unknown; behind, Vladimir Shepelev, Evgeny Komarnitsky, Georgy Shepelev.



22 Taras Melnichuk, Ukrainian poet sentenced again for his views, this time for 4 years



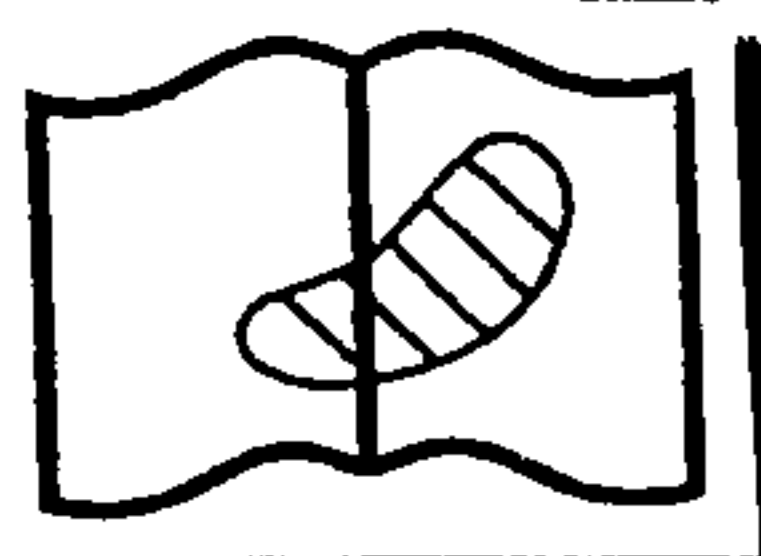
24 Political prisoners from Estonia. Artem Yuskevich (1) and Mati Kirrend, photographed in December 1979, just after their release, with Kirrend's wife Malle.



23 Rollan Kadiyev, Crimean Tatar leader and physicist resented for activism, this time to 3 years, with one of his three children.



25 Baptist pastor Ivan G. Danilyuk of Chernovtsy (W. Ukraine), sentenced to 2½ years.



Стоите в одном ряду, поблизости обреченные на одну казнь... (Фил. 1, 27)

БРАТСКИЙ ЛИСТОК

№ 0 1980 Издаётся с 1965
СОВЕТ ЦЕРКВЕЙ ЕВАНГЕЛЬСКИХ ХРИСТИАН-БАПТИСТОВ

«Не Моя воля, но Твоя да будет» Лук. 22, 42

Вот и пришла Церковь Господа Иисуса Христа! Как близки нам слова победной молитвы Иисуса Христа, произнесенной Им в страданиях: «Не Моя воля, но Твоя да будет». Близки по тому, что став на путь правды Христовой, мы призваны идти по Его стопам, а значит в жизни каждого христианина должно быть слово: «Не Моя воля, но Твоя да будет». А поэтому должно быть и слово: «Исповедание по решительному слову». «Не моя воля, но Твоя да будет» — это не просто слова, это реальность. Не оканчиваясь на словах, а реализуясь в жизни. Обладать этими словами — это значит и обладать жизнью. Не оканчиваясь на словах, а реализуясь в жизни. Обладать этими словами — это значит и обладать жизнью. Не оканчиваясь на словах, а реализуясь в жизни. Обладать этими словами — это значит и обладать жизнью.



26 Facsimile of page 1 of the Baptists' samizdat periodical *Fraternal Leaflet* No 1, 1980. Founded in 1965, this publication has since c 1974 been produced on clandestine printing presses of the publishing house 'The Christian'. This page prints photos of seven imprisoned leaders of the independent 'Council of Baptist Churches' and also of Rev Georgy Vins (no 2, top row), deported abroad in 1979. Others (top, left to right): N. Baturin, I. Antonov, M. Khorev; (below) P. Rytikov, N. Kabysh, Ya. Skornyakov, P. Peters.

...ВОТ Я ПОШУ МЕНЯ. ИСС

НОВЫЕ УЗНИКИ

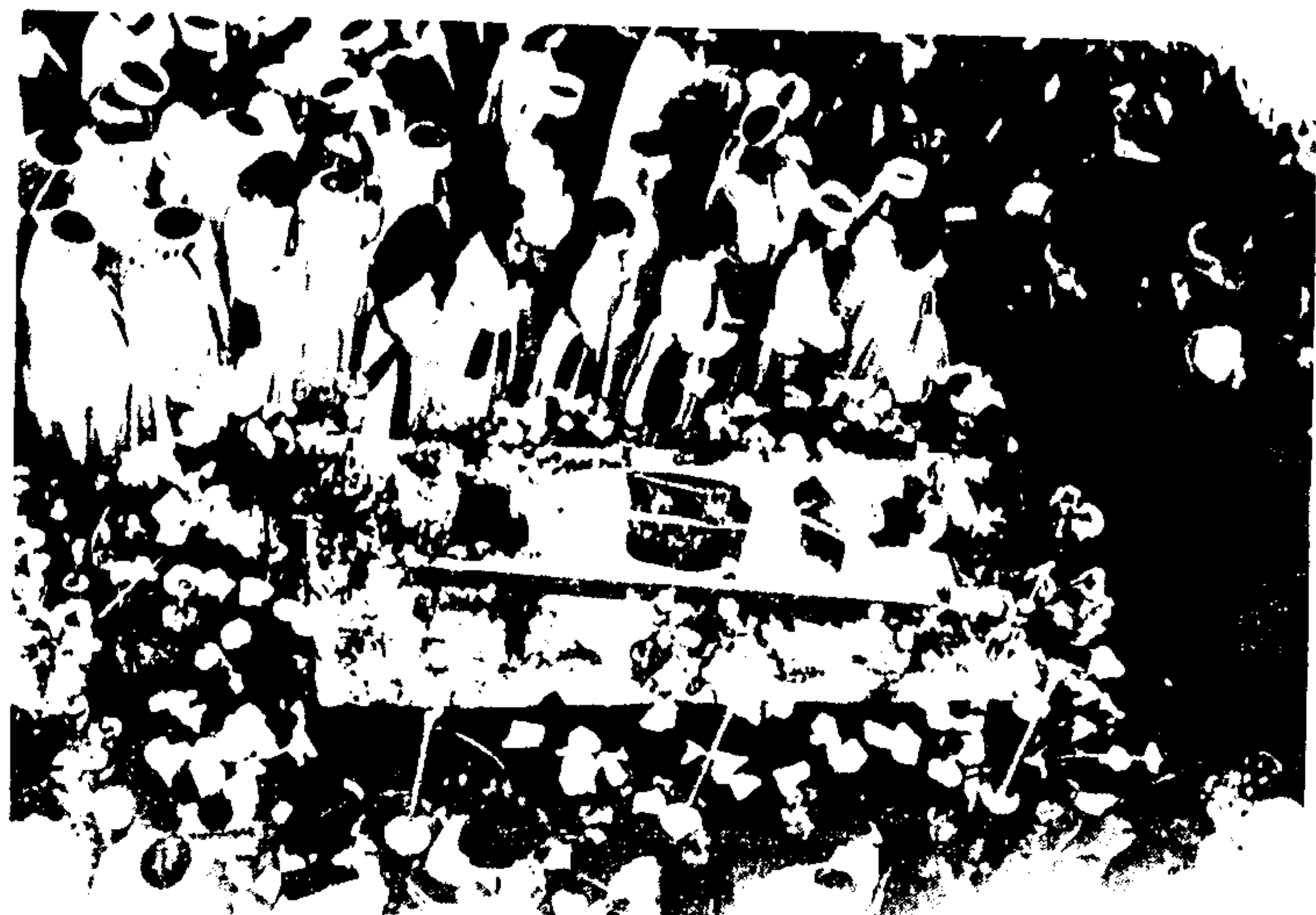
... и иже по ВСЕМУ МИРУ и проповедают Евангелие...

Хорев М. И. член СЦ ЕХБ
Боринский Ф. И. член СЦ ЕХБ
Боринский Ф. И. член СЦ ЕХБ
Боринский Ф. И. член СЦ ЕХБ

СОТРУДНИКИ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВА «ХРИСТИАН»

Бублик Сергей
Юдентсева Галина
Косачевич Любовь
Быстрова Тамара

27 Facsimile of a Baptist flier of c February 1980. Entitled *New Prisoners*, it quotes Mark 16:15 ('Go out into all the world and preach the Gospel') and Isaiah 6:8 ('Here am I, send me'), and prints photos of six Baptists recently arrested. Top, left to right: Mikhail Khorev (later received 5 years) and Filip Borinsky (3 years). Below: four printers of one of 'The Christian's' presses: Sergei Bublik, Galina Yudintseva, Lyubov Kosachevich, Tamara Bystrova



28 Memorial Mass on 21 February 1980 in Kybartai for ex-prisoner of conscience Father Virgilijus Jaugelis, born 1948. Thousands of Catholics and over 100 priests attended from all over Lithuania. Top, the body lies in state in the church. 29 Above, The coffin is carried in procession. Many present wore traditional folk dress.



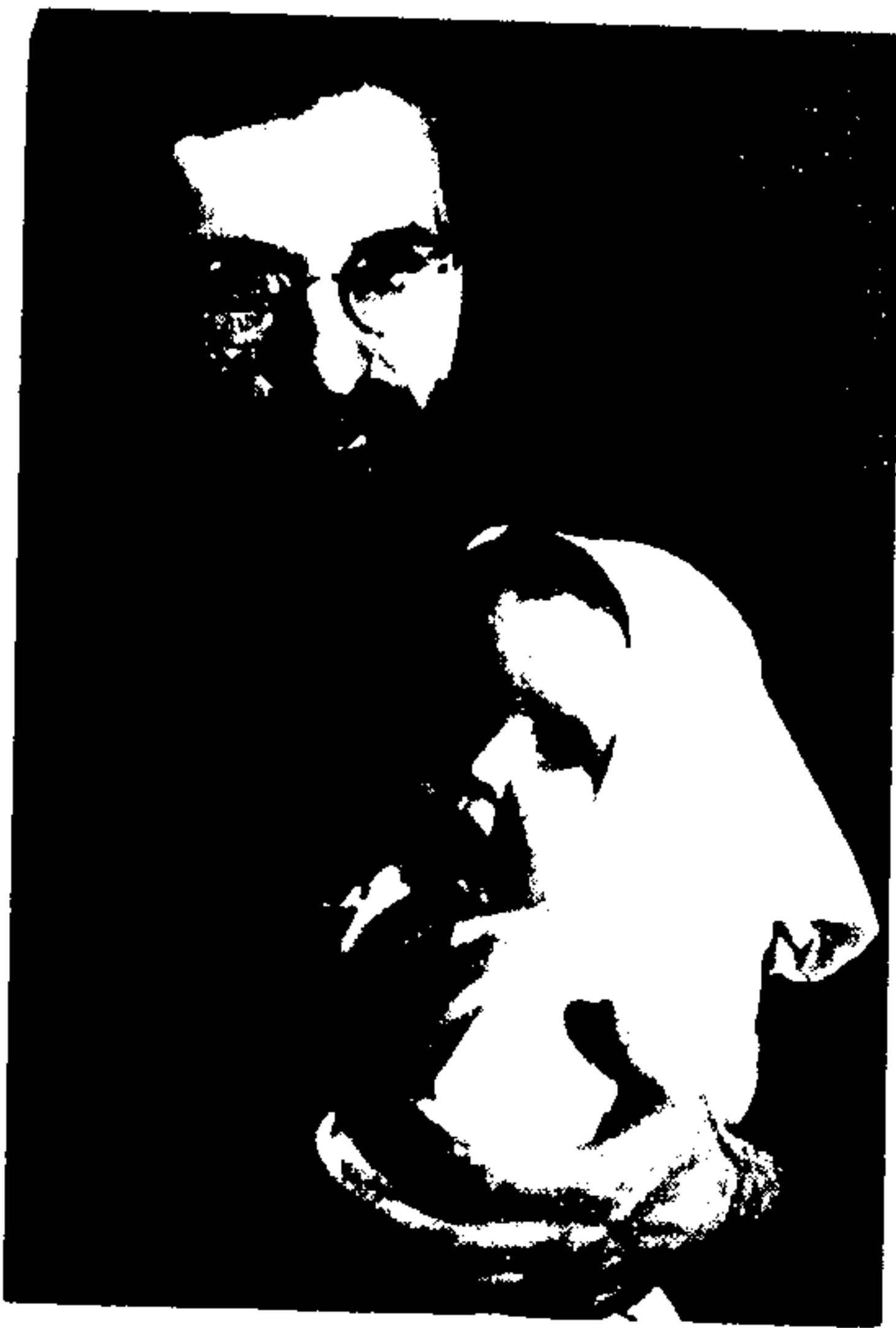
30 Lithuanians come to lay wreaths on the tomb of Jonas Basanavičius (1851-1927), a leader of the Lithuanian national movement against Tsarism, on 16 February 1980 in Rasos cemetery, Vilnius. 16 February is the date both of Basanavičius's death and of Lithuanian Independence Day. See *Chronicles* 52 and 56.



31 At the tomb of Vladas Sakalys, 2nd from right (and leading the procession top), made a speech. In summer 1980 he escaped abroad to avoid arrest.



37 Tatyana Shchipkova, lecturer from Smolensk sentenced to 3 years for her role in the Christian Seminar on Philosophy and Religion.



38 Vladimir Poresh of Leningrad, given 8 years of imprisonment and exile for the same offence, with his child.



39 Yulia Voznesenskaya and Tatyana Goricheva (right). Leningrad feminists forced to emigrate under threat of imprisonment.



40 Sergei Rotshtein, a leading Jewish refusenik in Kiev subject to 15-day jailings.

Then they started the record. The first question: Was K. Velikanova prepared to give evidence? She replied that she refused to give any evidence, as the investigation might use it against her sister.

Nevertheless, Katalikov put the following questions:

How did T. Velikanova send to the West collective letters in defence of alleged violations of human rights?

How did T. Velikanova maintain contact with P. Grigorenko, Z. Grigorenko, P. Litvinov, L. Alekseyeva, Yu. Zaks?

How do you and T. Velikanova maintain contact with your relatives who live abroad?

Who wrote, and to whom, the two letters confiscated at the search at T. Velikanova's signed 'Asya'? (Friends call K. M. Velikanova 'Asya' — *Chronicle*.)

Did T. Velikanova not write them?

K. Velikanova refused to answer these questions but agreed to write in the record a character description of her sister.

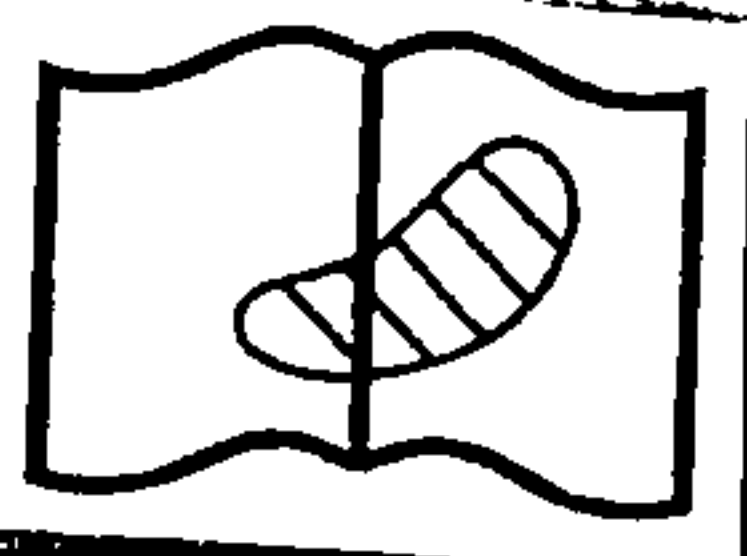
In conclusion Katalikov served K. Velikanova with an order to take a sample of her handwriting. She replied that her handwriting was on the record and added that she refused to undergo an analysis of her handwriting as she did not wish to help the investigation.

Katalikov told K. Velikanova: 'This is not our last meeting'. He also remarked that he had seen a form listing the contents of a food parcel for T. Velikanova which had been written by Yu. Shikhanovich. The investigator said that it was the relatives who were handing over the food parcel who must fill in the form.

On 27 January Katalikov interrogated Lyudmila Alekseyeva's (*Chronicle* 44) son Sergei Alekseyev. Alekseyev stated that he refused to give evidence as the KGB had long been exerting pressure on him: his telephone had been cut off and he had been demoted at work. Besides this, the interrogation summons had been sent to his place of work, which could also have a detrimental effect on his work status. The investigator warned Alekseyev about the consequences of refusing to give evidence. Katalikov inserted the motive for his refusal in the record only at Alekseyev's insistence.

When Alekseyev was leaving the investigation building he 'accidentally' met a KGB official who had previously held a conversation with him about emigration. The latter said that if Alekseyev did not leave the USSR immediately he might not be able to later.

On 15 February another two interrogations were carried out in the case of T. Velikanova: Kapayev interrogated S. Kalistratova, whilst Malyshev conducted an interrogation of T. Osipova. At the beginning of the interrogation Kalistratova read out her statement on the subject of T. Velikanova's arrest (*Chronicle* 54) and refused to give evidence in her case. Nevertheless, a number of questions were put to her concerning the *Chronicle of Current Events*, the



Political Prisoners Aid Fund, the ways in which the Fund received money and how money was received for other needs of the human rights movement. After the interrogation, at which a Procurator was present, the investigator held a lengthy educative 'conversation' with Kalistratova. She was asked to give a written undertaking not to divulge the proceedings. She refused.

The interrogation of Osipova began with investigator Malyshev attempting to prove a link between the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the NTS.²⁰ Then questions followed concerning the involvement of T. Velikanova in the *Chronicle*, in issuing documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group, in the activities of the Aid Fund, as well as Velikanova's foreign contacts and channels of communication. A few questions concerned Osipova herself. She refused to answer the questions and to give a written undertaking not to divulge the proceedings. A Procurator was present at this interrogation too.

After the interrogation Malyshev said that the investigators were aware that T. Velikanova was one of the editors of the *Chronicle of Current Events*. On 20 February K. Velikanova was again interrogated. On 31 March N. Lisovskaya was interrogated. She was asked from whom she had received the *Chronicle of Current Events* confiscated from her at a search (*Chronicle* 54), and whose handwritten corrections were on it. Lisovskaya refused to answer. Katalikov threatened to instigate proceedings against her for refusing to give evidence.

On 2 April Pentecostalist B. Perchatkin was interrogated in Nakhodka in the case of T. Velikanova (see 'The Right to Leave'). He was taken to the local KGB for questioning after he had failed to respond to two summonses. Lt-Colonel Istomin conducted the interrogation (*Chronicles* 18, 28-9, 35, 37, 40-42).

Istomin was interested in how Perchatkin had got to know T. Velikanova and how he had maintained contact with her. He asked whether Perchatkin knew that T. Velikanova was an editor of the *Chronicle of Current Events*. The KGB knew, he said, that the *Chronicle* contained information on the position of Pentecostals, with references to Perchatkin as a source. Perchatkin replied that he did not disown the information contained in the *Chronicle*. Istomin asked whether Perchatkin knew about T. Velikanova's contacts with foreigners and with Yakunin and Kapitanchuk. Perchatkin was also asked whether he knew Yu. Grimm. Perchatkin refused to answer the investigator's questions.

* * *

On 17 February the Tatyana Velikanova Defence Committee issued *Information Bulletin* No. 2. Besides material already summarized (*Chronicle* 55 and this issue), it contains an 'Appeal to International and National Women's Organizations' (21 January, 10 signatures),

statements by G. Vladimov (21 January), his wife N. Kuznetsova (21 January) and V. Voinovich, and also material by T. Velikanova's brother Kirill and N. Gorbanevskaya, who live abroad.

A Week of Preventive Talks in Moscow

At the end of January 'prophylactic' talks were held with a large group of Muscovites (cf *Chronicle* 45). On 28 January F. Serebrov, a member of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, I. Grivnina (in March she also became a member of the Working Commission) and Yu. Shikhanovich were invited to 'their' police stations. Serebrov was working that day and his wife did not accept the summons. He was invited several more times but did not go; for this he 'earned himself' 15 days in prison (see 'The Administrative Arrest of Serebrov').

A senior police lieutenant and 'a person in civilian clothes' conversed with Grivnina. She was told that a complaint had arrived at the Procuracy from her neighbours about the fact that 'she was leading an antisocial way of life, brought people home with her and herself went to various places'; the Procuracy had 'called and asked them to investigate this'. Then 'the person in civilian clothes' added: 'And you keep different kinds of literature at home'. He did not reply to Grivnina's question as to what literature it was not allowed to keep at home. After promising Grivnina that he would summon her again when the complaint had arrived at the police station, he let her go.

The deputy police chief for preventive operations, Major Romanovsky, and two people 'in civilian clothes' conversed with Shikhanovich. 'At the request of the Procuracy' Romanovsky asked Shikhanovich to sign an undertaking 'not to engage in antisocial activity'. To Shikhanovich's question what he had in mind, he said: 'You know better yourself'.

Shikhanovich left the following document at the police station:

Undertaking

I, Yury Aleksandrovich Shikhanovich, hereby undertake that I will try not to inflict any harm on my country and, specifically, not to engage in antisocial activity.

At the request of Major Romanovsky I add that I will not engage in activity which inflicts political damage on my country.

On 29 January L. Ternovsky, a member of the Working Commission, V. Kuvakin (*Chronicles* 48, 51, 54), N. Lisovskaya (*Chronicle* 54) and

I. Korsunskaya were summoned to police stations. The same day A. Naidenovich was summoned to the Procuracy.

Ternovsky was summoned by deputy chief for criminal investigation L. A. Grigorev. Besides him, there was a man in civilian clothes in the office who did not give his name and who was mainly responsible for conducting the conversation. The conversation began with the suggestion that he take part in management work but very quickly moved on to the activities of the Working Commission. Those conducting the conversation were insistent that Ternovsky cease his activity in the Commission; in particular, they cautioned him against passing information abroad and warned him that he could cross the 'boundary of the law'. To the question: What conclusions would he draw from the conversation? Ternovsky replied that he was aware that criminal proceedings might be instigated against him, but, nevertheless, he regarded his activities as legal and did not shrink from taking responsibility (in April Ternovsky was arrested).

The 'standard pair' — a deputy police chief and a 'person in civilian clothes' — conversed with Kuvakin. He was given a 'final warning on ceasing his antisocial activity'. On this occasion, to the question: 'How exactly is my so-called antisocial activity manifested?', he was given a broad answer: 'Compiling slanderous material, passing slanderous information to the West, disinforming public opinion'. It was followed by the traditional: 'But you know better than I do what your activity consists of'. Kuvakin promised to take the warning 'into consideration'. In conclusion 'the man in civilian clothes' said: 'But maybe you just don't like living in our country, don't agree with our system, and Soviet ways aren't to your liking? If that's the case no one will keep you here'.

To Lisovskaya's question: What did her activity consist of? a franker reply was given: 'I don't know. I was asked to have a talk with you and give you a warning'. Korsunskaya was given a straight answer at the police station: 'A KGB official wants to have a talk with you' (for some reason this official showed a UVD identity card). After Korsunskaya refused to give the written undertaking demanded of her, having said that she had never engaged in 'anti-Soviet activity', her interlocutor from the KGB-UVD declared that the next time she would be dealt with according to the full severity of the law and her only way of avoiding criminal prosecution was to leave for the West. Korsunskaya sent a complaint to the Procuracy in Moscow:

... I ask you to establish precisely who summoned me and on what grounds, and why he made threats regarding my person. I request that suitable measures be taken to prevent such illegality in the future.

On 30 January M. Petrenko and V. Gershuni were invited to police

stations. On the same day N. Meiman, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, was invited to the Moscow City Procuracy. The specific reason given to Maria Petrenko was her aid to political prisoners. Hints were also made to her about the desirability of her emigrating. Gershuni did not respond to the summons.

The Arrest of Dudko

On 15 January the priest Dmitry Dudko (*Chronicles* 32, 38-9, 43) was detained in the village of Grebnevo, Moscow Region, immediately after a church service. He was presented with a warrant for his detention signed by KGB Major Sorokin and taken to Moscow. His wife went with him. They were taken not for a search but to the Lubyanka. Only in the evening was Father Dmitry's wife told that he had been arrested and was in Lefortovo.

Meanwhile two searches took place at Father Dmitry's homes in Grebnevo and in Moscow. In Grebnevo books written by Father Dmitry and his notes were taken. A copy of the search record was not left behind. In Moscow issues of the *Herald of the Russian Christian Movement* [*Vestnik RKhD*] and of *Kontinent*, religious-philosophical literature and books by Father Dmitry were confiscated. The Bible and books published by the Moscow Patriarchate were not taken.

On the same day searches took place at the homes of Father Dmitry's parishioners. At the home of A. Semënov, who had been helping Father Dmitry in church services and had been sentenced the previous day to 15 days in prison, there were two searches — at his flat in Fryazino and at his mother's flat in Monino. Only his mother-in-law was present during the search at his flat. 'Gasmen' came to the door and asked her: 'Have you got any anti-Soviet literature?' Pointing to the shelf where a Bible and prayer-book stood, she replied: 'That's all the literature I have'. It was written in the record that she had allegedly confessed that she had anti-Soviet literature in the house. Those carrying out the search threatened her, spat on her icons and removed them from their frames. A tape-recorder, a camera, books by Father Dmitry and other religious literature, Biblical texts copied out by hand, letters and photographs were taken. A. Semënov's mother-in-law was made to sign a written undertaking that she would not divulge the proceedings. At Semënov's mother's flat religious books and photographs of Father Dmitry were confiscated.

At A. Ovchianikova's home her correspondence with her relatives in France, receipts for international telephone calls, pictures by O. Rabin and V. Linitzky (*Chronicle* 48) with dedicatory inscriptions, and several books of art reproductions published abroad were confiscated.

At N. Kuzmina's home *Gulag Archipelago*, religious-philosophical literature, books by Father Dmitry and two Bibles published abroad were confiscated. Then she was taken to an interrogation. Kuzmina refused to answer and was threatened with a case being brought against her under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

At K. Glemyanov's (he is a former teacher of Marxism-Leninism in a teachers' training institute and now works as a church nightwatchman), *Gulag Archipelago*, a few issues of *Vestnik RKhD*, photocopies of religious-philosophical books, his own articles and photographs were confiscated (in the search record 133 items were listed). Before the search started Glemyanov was asked to hand over anti-Soviet literature, foreign currency and ammunition. He handed over two dollars and 20 francs.

A postman arrived at I. Chapkovsky's and asked permission to warm himself; he said that his colleague was about to bring a telegram. A short while later three 'colleagues' arrived who refused to show their documents. The first postman turned out to be KGB Captain I. V. Kandidatov, while the search was led by an official of the Gorky KGB, V. D. Kolpakov, who appeared later. Religious books published abroad, issues of *Vestnik RKhD*, typewritten copies of theological books and two issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events* were confiscated.

On 15 January a search was also carried out at the home of a member of the Christian Committee for the Defence of the Rights of Believers in the USSR, V. Kapitanchuk. It was conducted by Malyshev. After the search Kapitanchuk was interrogated on Case No. 521. Malyshev informed him that the accused in this case was D. Dudko. Kapitanchuk recorded in the record of the interrogation his refusal to give evidence.

During the search, E. Nikolayev (see 'The Right to Leave') called in to see Kapitanchuk. Six copies of Gleb Yakunin's report to the Christian Committee (see 'Samizdat News') and statements signed by Nikolayev were discovered in his briefcase. Nikolayev said that he had found the briefcase on a rubbish dump and was not familiar with the contents of the documents inside it. After the search at Kapitanchuk's Nikolayev was taken for a search at his own home. The search was conducted by KGB First Lieutenant I. Ya. Zotov. Typewritten texts of articles by Nikolayev (mostly in several copies), a letter from Nikolayev to the Russian section of Voice of America, a typewritten copy of A. Amalrik's book *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?*, three brochures in foreign languages, two brochures of the Possev publishing-house, 11 copies of the initial pages of *Chronicle* No. 53, various handwritten and typewritten documents and materials (specifically, 3,149 sheets discovered in 12 folders), 41 exercise books, a photographic enlarger, two typewriters, notebooks and 22 tape-

cassettes were confiscated. Also taken was a photocopy of Nikolayev's book *They Betrayed Hippocrates* (as early as October 1979, when he discovered that the manuscript of this book had been confiscated during a search, Nikolayev requested the USSR Ministry of Health to publish it).

* * *

On 18 January G. Fedotov, who had informed foreign correspondents of Dudko's arrest, was arrested in Moscow (see 'Arrests').

* * *

In connection with the arrest of the priest Dmitry Dudko the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR published an 'Appeal to the Christian Public':

... The pastoral activity of Father Dmitry has become a powerful stimulus in the spiritual renaissance of Russia. Therefore the authorities have decided to put an end to it. His spiritual feat has been crowned with the cross of his faith.

We think that the arrest of Father Dmitry, together with the arrest of Father Gleb Yakunin and Lev Regelson and other activists of the Religious Revival, is the beginning of new, undisguised persecution of Christianity in Russia. There will probably be more and more arrests to follow. But however cruel the authorities might be, they will not succeed in crushing the spiritual revival which has begun, or in killing the living Christian spirit in Russia. All they can achieve is irreparable harm to themselves.

At this hour of ordeals we appeal to our brothers throughout the world to remember the Christians of Russia and to be with the persecuted in their prayers and their deeds.

Document 118 of the Moscow Helsinki Group, released on 10 January, concerns the arrests of Lev Regelson (*Chronicle* 55) and the priest Dmitry Dudko:

The name of Father Dmitry is widely known amongst Orthodox believers both in our country and abroad. He is a passionate adherent of the Christian faith and an ardent religious preacher.

Father Dmitry has done only good for people, and has preached goodness without fear of persecution or victimization on the part of the authorities.

Father Dmitry Dudko is 'guilty' only of preaching God's Word. It is for this that he has been imprisoned. His relatives and friends have not been informed what specific charges have been made against him ...

Persecution of the Christian Committee

The Arrest of Kapitanchuk

On 31 January Victor Kapitanchuk was fetched from work (he is a chemist who works at the I. Grabar Central Restoration Workshops) to an interrogation at the K G B on the case of Yakunin. Kapitanchuk stated that for religious and moral reasons he could not take part in a criminal case aimed at stopping the religious and social activity of the priest Gleb Yakunin; in this connection he refused to testify as a witness. During the conversation Major Yakovlev and Captain Kolpakov let it be understood that if Kapitanchuk did not cease his activities in defence of human rights he would be arrested. They expressed the hope that Kapitanchuk would come to them himself with a confession.

On 17 February a press conference took place at Sakharov's flat at which Kapitanchuk talked about the persecution of Pentecostals in Zhdanov (see 'The Right to Leave') and about the arrest of V. Burtsev (see 'Persecution of the Christian Seminar').

On 12 March Kapitanchuk was summoned to an interrogation. There he was arrested and put in Lefortovo Prison. He was charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. Investigator A. A. Levchenko is conducting Kapitanchuk's case.

An appeal 'In defence of Victor Kapitanchuk' (44 signatures) says:

On 12 March 1980, continuing its attack on believers in the U S S R, organs of the K G B arrested a member of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the U S S R, Victor Kapitanchuk. His arrest has shown with special clarity that the authorities are concerned about the growth of the religious revival in the country. In order to prevent this growth the authorities have resorted to arresting the most active believers, laymen and clergy of various churches.

The entire activity of Victor Kapitanchuk, which is aimed at the defence of the rights of believers in the conditions of an atheistic country, may serve as an example of selfless Christian devotion.

Sacrificing his comforts, his energy and health, Kapitanchuk constantly took part in the work of the Christian Committee from its very first days until his arrest. Hundreds, maybe even thousands of believers in the U S S R received from Kapitanchuk real help, advice and support.

On the day of Kapitanchuk's arrest the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights published the following statement:

As the Christian Committee announced previously, about 250 letters were received from Christians of various denominations offering help and expressing the desire to become members of the Committee; recently the number of such letters has grown considerably.

In the situation which has now arisen of total repression directed both against the Christian Committee in particular as well as against all believers in the U S S R in general, and taking into consideration the increased volume of work in defending human rights, the Christian Committee has considered it necessary to accept 10 (ten) new members, without making their names public.

The activities of the new enlarged committee will be carried out according to the Constituent Declaration adopted in 1976.

On behalf and at the behest of the Christian Committee.

Priest Nikolai Gainov; Vadim Shcheglov

Interrogations of Shcheglov

On 15 April Yakovlev and Kolpakov interrogated Shcheglov on the case of Yakunin. Shcheglov refused to give evidence, but the interrogation lasted four hours. The next day there was a new interrogation. Shcheglov was asked not only about Yakunin but also about other members of the Committee. Many of the questions were about Shcheglov's own activities. At the end of the interrogation he was reminded that Kapitanchuk had 'been warned' but had not ceased his activities and had been arrested. Therefore, said the investigators, despite his refusal to give evidence now, they hoped that Shcheglov would come to them with a full confession in a few days' time.

Persecution of the Christian Seminar²⁷

The Trial of Shchipkova

On 8 January a new (*Chronicle 55*) trial took place of a member of the Christian Seminar, Tatyana Shchipkova (*Chronicles 49, 51*). On 2 March 1979 a criminal case was brought against T. Shchipkova under article 206 part 1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('Hooliganism'). She was accused of hitting a vigilante (*Chronicles 52, 54*). In the autumn some policemen appeared at her home (she lives in Smolensk) and forced her to go to the district police station with them 'to verify her papers'. However, they did not reach the police station. Shchipkova was taken to the railway-station and sent to Moscow with two escorts. Here she was presented with a new charge under article 206 part 2 ('Malicious hooliganism'): the slap across the face she had given the vigilante who twisted her arm had turned into 'a blow with her fist'.

On 8 January Shchipkova and her friends arrived at the People's Court in the Lenin district of Moscow. Before the court started work they were the first to enter the building but the hall was already filled with spectators 'in civilian clothes' and Shchipkova's friends were not allowed in. Shchipkova passed a statement to the Judge that she would not enter the hall without her friends. By order of Judge Dyachkov policemen took her into the hall by force. Her friends in the next room started praying for her. The man in civilian clothes who had not let them into the hall sent in policemen who demanded that they vacate the room.

Three vigilantes and two policemen testified at the trial that Shchipkova had attacked the vigilante with her fists. Two witnesses described the scene of the raid on the Christian Seminar and told how a big strong fellow (the victim) had twisted the arm of 49-year-old Shchipkova while taking away her notepad. They refused to answer questions about the Christian activities of members of the seminar.

In his speech the Procurator said that the actions of the police and vigilantes were part of the system for enforcing the residence regulations. The police had not known that Christians gathered at the flat; they had received information that a band of criminals was there. The police and vigilantes had been civil in their behaviour. Shchipkova, on the other hand, had behaved provocatively towards the vigilantes, had stirred up the people around her and incited them to resist the authorities. She had rushed up to the victim and punched him in the face out of motives of hooliganism. All this took place in a house from which some of the residents had been rehoused in connection with repair work. Consequently this was no longer simply a residential house but a public place, which gave Shchipkova's crime a social character. The building was situated not far from the Kremlin, which is the seat of the Soviet government, and this made the crime considerably more serious. Shchipkova was in the flat not as a private person but as a member of an illegal religious organization, which made the crime particularly harmful to the State. Finally, in the testimonial from her previous place of work, sent at the request of the investigation organs, it said that Shchipkova was inefficient, haughty with her colleagues, chased after cheap popularity amongst students, and fostered in them Christian moral and ethical views and norms which were contrary to our socialist ones. Since her dismissal from the institute she had not been working. The Procurator concluded by demanding that Shchipkova be sentenced to four years in prison.

The defence lawyer presented to the court a testimonial issued to Shchipkova before the K G B became interested in her. This is the testimonial of a highly qualified teacher, respected by students and colleagues, who devotes all her time to teaching. The Procurator

objected to this testimonial being added to the case, as the court already had one which was more objective, issued at the request of the investigation. The barrister also presented a work-book with a large number of entries expressing approval right up to the time of her dismissal, as well as applications notarized by a lawyer to various bodies requesting that she be placed in a job. She had received three negative replies to these, one of which said: 'We do not place specialists such as yourself in jobs'. The barrister proposed the reclassification of the charge under article 193 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('Threat or force in respect of ... a citizen carrying out his social duty').

In her final speech Shchipkova said that she had done wrong by hitting a person and she repented both as a Christian and in a general human sense. The judgment was read out after a half-hour consultation: three years in an ordinary-regime camp. According to the judgment, the evidence of the defence witnesses was not accurate since they, as friends of Shchipkova, were not objective and sought to shield her.

The Trial of Popkov and Burtsev

On 2 January in Smolensk Judge S. I. Torkhov sentenced member of the Christian Seminar Victor Popkov (*Chronicle 55*) to 15 days. On 4 January Popkov's term during which he should have found himself a job expired: the administration of the establishments to which he applied at first agreed to hire him but later refused. Popkov was charged under article 209 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('... leading over a lengthy period of time an alien, parasitical way of life'). On 24 January a search was carried out at his flat. Popkov's mother was told that her son was suspected of selling diamonds, but if this was not proved he would be tried under article 209.

Member of the Christian Seminar Vladimir Burtsev (*Chronicles 54, 55*) was twice summoned from Moscow to interrogations in Smolensk on the case of Popkov. Burtsev did not go. On 8 February senior investigator of the Smolensk U V D A. R. Shunayev interrogated participant of the Christian Seminar T. Lebedeva (*Chronicle 54*) in Moscow. Shunayev presented her with Popkov's evidence that he had been in Moscow from the period 1 August to 10 November 1979. Lebedeva confirmed this evidence. On the same day, at about six in the evening, Burtsev was arrested near his home. A search was carried out at his flat in his absence, from 9 to 11 in the evening. A notebook belonging to Burtsev's wife and the journalist's identity-card of his stepfather were taken. Burtsev was taken to Smolensk and charged under article 196 (part 1) of the

RSFSR Criminal Code. Popkov was also charged under part 1 ('Forging ... a document ...') and part 3 ('Using a document known to be false') of this article.

The charges maintained that when Burtsev had organised a brigade to work in Surgut in August 1979 he had included Popkov in it. The latter had given Burtsev his work-book and written a statement, but at the last moment he had not been able to go. Burtsev had taken in his place another worker who had been paid as if he were Popkov. When the work ended, to get Popkov's work-book back Burtsev had written a letter of resignation in Popkov's name.

On 8 and 9 April the trial of Popkov and Burtsev took place in Smolensk. Popkov was charged under article 196 parts 1 and 2 and article 209 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, Burtsev under article 196 part 1. The same Torkhov presided in court; the Procurator did not take part in the case, Popkov was defended by barrister A. V. Rakhmievich (*Chronicle* 53), Burtsev by barrister L. A. Polyakova (both from Moscow). Entry to the courtroom was unrestricted. A 'special public' was present, as well as a correspondent from a local newspaper.

Rakhmievich said that on all three articles with which her defendant was charged there was no evidence of a crime, and called for his acquittal. He also pointed out the Popkov's detention in January had not been recorded in a legal fashion (there was no record, date, etc), yet this same Judge Torkhov had sentenced him to 15 days. Polyakova demanded the acquittal of Burtsev. Both the accused were found guilty under article 196 part 1 and each was sentenced to one-and-a-half years in ordinary-regime camps.

Pre-trial Investigation

On 30 January a search was carried out in Smolensk at the home of participant of the Seminar **Victor Savik**. On the following two days Savik was interrogated on the case of Poresh.

At the beginning of February **S. Ermolayev**, who is in prison, was interrogated about the Christian Seminar. They tried to persuade him to assume the role of someone who had been deceived into joining an anti-Soviet organization. On the record of the interrogation Ermolayev wrote that his friends O. Ogorodnikov, V. Poresh and T. Shchikova were deeply moral and honest people, devoted to the Church and incapable of crimes. Their arrests and the instigation of criminal cases against them was an attempt to crush the Christian movement. Ermolayev added that they could not expect any other evidence from him.

Ermolayev was interrogated twice more. The last interrogation took place on 6 March. On that day Ermolayev was unexpectedly taken from a long visit to an interrogation. A KGB investigator interro-

gated him for three hours. Only two questions were put to Ermolayev: Who had taken part in compiling the second issue of the journal *Community* and what was Ogorodnikov's role in its publication? Ermolayev refused to answer. The investigator promised that he would be put in the punishment block, transferred to heavy work and deprived of medical care. All these threats were made to Ermolayev in the presence of the prison administration.

On 14 February **T. Lebedeva** was summoned to the Moscow KGB. At first a Leningrad investigator interrogated her on the case of Poresh. He showed her detailed evidence from Poresh about himself. During the interrogation several times investigator Kapayev dropped in and demanded that Lebedeva come to be interrogated by him on the case of member of the Christian Seminar Lev Regelson (*Chronicle* 55 wrongly said that Regelson was a member of the Christian Committee). When the Leningrad investigator released Lebedeva, she refused to take part in a second interrogation.

On 27 March Lebedeva was nevertheless interrogated on the case of Regelson. She refused to answer the questions. Then investigator Kapayev started threatening her with imprisonment and discussing with his colleagues what would happen to Lebedeva's nine-year-old daughter after her arrest. The threats were repeated at following interrogations.

On 31 April, the deputy chief of the local police station summoned Lebedeva for a conversation, which, however, was conducted not by him but by a man in his office who refused to give his name or to show his documents. The 'conversation' was conducted in sharp tones; Lebedeva was shouted at and again threatened with 'consequences'.

A. Ogorodnikov has been transferred from a Leningrad prison (*Chronicle* 55) to a Kalinin one (*Chronicles* 51, 52).

On 25 April the Leningrad City Court sentenced **Vladimir Poresh** under article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code to five years in a strict-regime camp and three years of exile. Poresh was arrested on 1 August 1979 (*Chronicle* 54).

Trials

The Trial of Kadiyev

On 4 January the trial took place in Samarkand of **Rollan Kadiyev**, accused of 'malicious hooliganism'. At the trial witnesses testified

that Kadiyev had had an argument with a Party organizer and then hit him. The sentence was three years in a strict-regime camp. Kadiyev was arrested on 28 November 1979 (*Chronicle 55*).

The Trial of Zubakhin

On 4 January the trial took place in Kuibyshev of Boris Zubakhin, arrested on 5 October 1979 (*Chronicle 54*). Zubakhin was charged with living in Kuibyshev without a residence permit (he had not been allowed to register as living with his wife) and with making a forged entry in a work-book (articles 198 and 196 part 1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code). Whilst under investigation Zubakhin testified against Ryzhov-Davydov (*Chronicle 55*). Zubakhin was sentenced to two months' imprisonment and released in the courtroom.

The Trial of Guberman

From 11 to 13 March in Dmitrov City Court a hearing took place of a case in which three people were accused of stealing and reselling icons. The Chairman was N. Leonov, the Prosecutor A. Sugrobov.

In the course of the trial it became clear that N. Gridin and B. Egorov had committed about 25 thefts of icons in the Moscow region. They had sold them to various persons, the names of whom were mentioned at the trial. Only one of the purchasers was brought to trial — Igor Guberman, a writer and active collaborator of the journal *Jews in the U S S R*. Guberman was arrested on 13 August 1979 (*Chronicle 54*).

Before his arrest and all the time the investigation was going on, and even between the Procurator's speech and the verdict being read out, K G B officials tried to persuade Guberman to give evidence against one of the editors of the journal *Jews in the U S S R*, V. Brailovsky (see 'The Case of Brailovsky'). In exchange Guberman was promised that 'everything would be arranged'. He refused.

The charge against Guberman was based on the evidence of N. Gridin, who alleged that he, Gridin, in the presence of witness Drobyshev, had told Guberman that the icons were stolen. Guberman denied this evidence. Drobyshev did not confirm it either. Nevertheless, in his speech for the prosecution the Procurator presented the case as if Guberman had ensnared and enslaved two simple people, who had then been forced to steal icons for him.

On the basis of Gridin's evidence, which was not confirmed by anyone, Igor Guberman was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and the confiscation of his property. Gridin, convicted for the first time in 1974 for assault and battery, and the second time in June 1979 for theft, had his last sentence subsumed in a new one of four years' imprisonment.

The other accused, 50-year-old Lev Izrin, a culture officer, was charged with having attempted in 1977 to burgle the Glebovo church (in Dmitrov District). The charge was again based entirely on the evidence of Gridin. Izrin was sentenced to two years in a camp. Before the trial, pressure was put on him to give evidence against Guberman, and when he refused the charge was fabricated.

The Trial of Solovov

On 1 April the People's Court of the Dzerzhinsky district of Moscow, presided over by A. F. Beloborodov, examined the case of Mikhail Solovov, charged under article 206 part 2 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('Malicious hooliganism').

Solovov was charged with saying, in an overcrowded trolleybus: 'Soviet cattle, as long as you keep licking Brezhnev's arse, this is how you'll travel!' Solovov was arrested in December 1979 (*Chronicle 55*). Two witnesses were present at the trial — the trolleybus passengers who had handed Solovov over to the police.

Solovov's relatives were allowed into the court hall but his friends were not admitted. Solovov's mother said that her son had been promised three years if his friends did not appear near the court, but in the opposite event — five years. The court sentenced Solovov to three years' imprisonment in an ordinary-regime camp.

Arrests

The Arrest of G. Fedotov

After the arrest of D. Dudko, Muscovite Georgy Fedotov telephoned foreign correspondents and informed them of what had happened. On 18 January, when Fedotov and his wife were returning home, policemen swooped on him and without any explanations pushed him into a car. He was conveyed to Police Station 142, where he discovered that there was an authorization from a psychiatric clinic for his hospitalization. In the authorization it said that Fedotov 'in connection with the arrest of his mentor has developed a pattern of intense activity'. They attempted to interrogate Fedotov but he refused to answer questions and demanded that a psychiatrist be called. According to Fedotov the duty psychiatrist did not find grounds for his enforced hospitalization, but changed his opinion after a lengthy conversation with police officials.

Fedotov was conveyed to Psychiatric Hospital No. 14, where he was placed in Section 6 (the section head is V. Ya. Levitsky). He was assigned intensive treatment (haloperidol, triflazin, aminazin), which was withdrawn soon afterwards. When his wife asked about his dis-

charge she was told that without special instructions Fedotov would not be discharged. 'The people who put him in here are also the ones able to discharge him', they stated to her.

Subsequently it became clear that a criminal case had been instituted against Fedotov under article 191-1 part 2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. He is charged with resisting arrest by police-officers on 18 January. The case is being conducted by an investigator from the Procuracy of the Krasnogvardeisky district of Moscow, V. A. Sidorov.²⁸

The Arrest of Meilanov

On 25 January, in Makhachkala, Vazif Meilanov went with a placard to the regional party committee building. Meilanov had embellished a mass-produced printed placard containing a text about the Constitution and human rights with a protest against the exile of Sakharov. A few minutes after the start of the demonstration Meilanov was arrested. After the arrest a search was carried out at his home. Copies of his statements to official bodies in connection with the official attacks on Sakharov in 1973-7, and a letter criticizing the USSR Draft Constitution (1977), were confiscated.

Meilanov's case is being conducted by an investigator from the Procuracy of Dagestan A S S R, Beshirov. Meilanov is charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, but only for his demonstration. As far as is known he is not giving any evidence and not signing records of interrogations. At the end of February or the beginning of March Meilanov was sent for psychiatric diagnosis.

On 3 March searches were carried out at the work-place and home of a Moscow acquaintance of Meilanov's, E. Gorodetsky. 285 roubles wrapped up in paper with the inscription 'alimony for Vazif's wife' (Meilanov's former wife and daughter live in Moscow), an old émigré newspaper and an issue of the *Chronicle* were confiscated from Gorodetsky. (The money was subsequently returned.) Then he was interrogated in the Moscow Procuracy and a summons to Makhachkala was written out. There, beginning on 10 March, he was interrogated for roughly a week both in the Procuracy and in the K G B. Gorodetsky was asked about his relation to T. Osipova, whose phone number had been found in his notebook, and about the book Meilanov wrote in 1975, which had been confiscated on 12 February from A. Lavut (see 'The Arrest of Lavut'). In the book the author presents a critical analysis of the reporting of the Soviet press and of works by Lenin.

Meilanov (b. 1936) is a mathematician who graduated from Moscow University's Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty, completed his doctorate there, and taught at a polytechnic institute in Makhachkala. He had conflicts with the administration for refusing to raise the grades

of children of highly-placed persons. In 1978 he was dismissed for being absent. He was then a concrete worker right up to his arrest. In spring 1979 Meilanov requested permission to emigrate from O V I R on the grounds that he wished to have good work and wages. After a refusal he wrote to *Izvestia* and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Conversations were held with him in Makhachkala in the autumn and he was advised to find work connected with foreign trips.

The Arrest of Kuzkin

On 7 March A. Kuzkin (*Chronicles* 51, 53) was taken from work to Psychiatric Clinic No. 16 in the Babushkino district of Moscow. In the office of head doctor Afanaseva, and with her participation, a conversation was held about the inadmissibility of preaching Christianity. Kuzkin was asked to enter hospital for examination. He stated that he did not need an examination as he had already been examined by a Soviet and a foreign psychiatrist about a year ago.²⁹

On 26 March Kuzkin left home in the evening and did not return. The following day searches were carried out at his wife D. Krutilina's work-place and home, and at his mother's home. At the search at Krutilina's home Pasternak's poems, a typewriter ribbon, a book *Life after Life*, a letter from V. Zaitsev's wife (see 'In the Psychiatric Hospitals') and 27 copies of the prayer 'People, pray for the whole world' were confiscated.

From the day of his arrest Kuzkin was in the investigations prison on Matrosskaya Tishina Street. On 19 April he was transferred to Butyrka Prison. Investigator E. B. Bondarenko is conducting his case.

Krutilina has three times been summoned to interrogations. According to the investigator, Kuzkin has been charged under article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code; he has undergone psychiatric analysis as an out-patient and been ruled not responsible.

The Arrest of Dyadkin

On 15 March in the Crimea Iosif Dyadkin (*Chronicles* 45, 47, 52, 53) was searched on his way back from holiday. The car in which he and a driver were travelling from the rest home to Simferopol Station was stopped at a Traffic Inspection check-point. Dyadkin and the driver were asked to get out so that the car could be inspected. A moment later one of the policemen produced a knife which had been instantly found in the car. Dyadkin and the driver were taken to the local police station in different cars. A body-search was arranged for them after it was stated that the previous night a woman had been robbed, during which she was threatened with a knife similar to the one taken out of the car. On the insistence of the policemen

Dyadkin wrote an explanatory note in which he mentioned where he had been on 13 and 14 March after 18.00 hours. But his and the driver's fingerprints were taken.

During the search a photocopy of an article by Bernshtam published abroad, 'The Sides in the Civil War 1917-1923', notes in connection with this article, notepads with notes on the situation of the Crimean Tatars, letters and postal receipts were confiscated from Dyadkin.

On 25 April Dyadkin was taken from work to a search; after the search he was arrested. He has been charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code. Investigator of the Kalinin Procuracy Myagkov is conducting the case. On the same day Dyadkin's acquaintances L. Lozovsky and S. Gorbachëv were searched.

Searches

A Search of Zotov

On 8 December 1979 M. Zotov (*Chronicle* 51), who was intending to fly to Moscow, was subjected to a search at the airport in Tolyatti. A draft document prepared for [the free trade union] F I A W P and a plan for a 'Memorial to the Victims of Communism' were confiscated from him. Zotov attempted to take the papers back from the people searching him; for this he was punched in the throat. After the search Zotov was released.

Searches in Leningrad

A series of searches was carried out in Leningrad in connection with Case No. 12, which K G B officials call either the case of Poresh, or the case of Poresh-Ogorodnikov, or the case of the journal *Community* (*Chronicles* 54-5). People unconnected with the Christian Seminar were subjected to searches. Many of them are not acquainted with either Poresh or Ogorodnikov.

On 29 February Yu. Voznesenskaya (*Chronicle* 55) and S. Sokolova (*Chronicle* 55) were searched. The search at Voznesenskaya's lasted about 24 hours; 365 separate entries were made in the record. A bunch of documents was confiscated from T. Goricheva (*Chronicle* 55) when she called in to see Voznesenskaya. At the search at Sokolova's a copy of the journal *Summary* No. 1 was confiscated [*Chronicle* 53].

On 10 March S. Dedyulin (*Chronicle* 53) was detained at the exit to his house. He was taken to a vigilante check-point, where the first volume of the collected works of D. Kharms, published in West Ger-

many, was confiscated from him. After this a search was carried out at his flat. The following items were confiscated: letters to French academics in which Dedyulin thanks them for speaking out in his defence regarding an earlier search; several books published abroad; documents on the exile of Sakharov; bibliographic materials; and a card-index of mathematicians and writers who participate in the human rights movement. (Not long before this search, which was sanctioned by the Procuracy, Dedyulin discovered that a secret search had been carried out at his home; that day he had been urgently summoned to a teachers' seminar and even taken there by car.) On 10 March, after the search, Dedyulin was taken to an interrogation. He was interrogated the following day also.

On 11 March the physicist A. Kobak, V. Sazhin (*Chronicle* 53), A. Mets and E. Orlovsky (*Chronicle* 51) were searched. Typewritten copies of works by Akhmatova, Mandelshtam and Nabokov, and several religious-philosophical books were taken from Kobak. Several issues of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and one issue of *Kontinent* were confiscated from Sazhin.

In Gatchina a search was carried out at the home of surgeon A. Mets. Notes on Mandelshtam, whose work he is studying, were confiscated. Mets was not present at the search, as he had gone to Moscow on a business trip. At the Leningrad station in Moscow he was searched and an issue of the *Herald of the Russian Christian Movement* which contained a large section about Mandelshtam was taken.

K G B officials came to see Orlovsky at work and invited him to come for a conversation. Then they said that they had a search warrant and took him to his flat. Senior Investigator Captain V. I. Aksakov led the search. Orlovsky was asked to hand over everything which might be of relevance to 'Case No. 12 against Poresh and Ogorodnikov', and also 'everything he had received from S. V. Dedyulin, except what related to A. Akhmatova'.

Those carrying out the search agreed not to conduct it in different parts of the flat at the same time, so that Orlovsky could observe their actions; they also agreed to leave the room when Orlovsky left it to go to the toilet. The record was detailed (140 headings and many dozen sub-headings); nevertheless the investigators simultaneously made a more detailed inventory and regularly communicated it over the telephone. Materials of [the free trade union] F I A W P, and transcribed passages from *Kontinent*, the journal *Vremya i my*, *A Chronicle of Current Events*, and foreign newspapers were confiscated. Of samizdat and tamizdat, *Gulag Archipelago*, Grossman's *Forever Flowing*, the collection *Samosoznanie*, books by Sakharov, Conquest, Djilas and Moroz, letters and statements in defence of Velikanova, Sakharov and Kopelev, *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the U S S R* (ten issues), *A Chronicle of Current Events* (three issues), the journals

Vestnik RKhD, *Syntaxis* and *Possev*, and articles by Orlovsky himself were taken.

After careful examination Orlovsky was allowed to keep some materials of Amnesty International, Solzhenitsyn's 'Study of a Monarch' and three articles by Orlovsky: 'Some Comments on the [Paris] Newspaper *Russkaya mysl*', 'Comments while Reading Volume 1 of *Gulag Archipelago*', and 'Changes in the Hierarchy of the Soviet leadership from March 1979 to February 1980'. Extracts from *Russkaya mysl* and the *Bulletin* published by C. Lubarsky³⁰ were also not taken. The search at Orlovsky's finished at about half past three in the morning.

The following day Captain Zherlitsyn interrogated Orlovsky. The interrogation took place as follows: Zherlitsyn typed a question, read it out to Orlovsky, the latter wrote down his answer, which Zherlitsyn typed into the record, and so on. Zherlitsyn insisted that Orlovsky hand over his notes on the interrogation. The latter agreed on condition that they be appended to the record. Zherlitsyn did not object. The questions concerned Poresh, the journals *Community* and *Summary*, and Orlovsky's articles and materials confiscated from him at the search. Orlovsky said that he did not know Poresh, had not read the journal *Community*, and rated the journal *Summary* as a very useful, conscientious publication. He also said that he could not remember from whom he had received *Summary*, the record of the search of Dedyulin on 6 March 1979 and other documents. Orlovsky refused to answer questions about whom he had shown the *Chronicle of Human Rights*, the books by Conquest and Djilas, and the journals *Possev* and *Vestnik RKhD*, as he had been summoned to the interrogation not as a defendant but as a witness. At the end of the interrogation Orlovsky had to sign a written undertaking not to divulge the proceedings.

* * *

On 16 April a search was carried out at the home of the Leningrad poet **Lev Druskin**, which was not connected with the case of Poresh. The order said that the search was being carried out with the aim of looking for drugs. Those conducting it made a show of rummaging around in the medicine chest and confiscated a used ampoule of penthapon. Then they went to 'look for prescriptions' — straight to the bookshelf on which there was tamizdat literature. A manuscript by Druskin of diary type was also confiscated. Two days later Druskin was interrogated at his flat (he is an invalid whose legs are paralysed). He was asked how he had obtained the books published abroad, and about the foreigners who came to see him.

A large number of Druskin's acquaintances were interrogated. They were asked about visitors to the house, about foreigners, about

Zhvanetsky and Yursky, about whether Druskin had the *Chronicle of Current Events*. Druskin has sent a telegram to Israel requesting an invitation, and also written to the K G B, asking for their cooperation in his departure.

A Search of Danilyuk

On 16 March I. F. Danilyuk (*Chronicles* 45, 47) was detained in Ryazan. When Danilyuk, who had just returned from Moscow, boarded a trolleybus, a policeman and two men in civilian clothes followed him. A few minutes later one of them declared that Danilyuk had stolen 35 roubles from his pocket. The other turned out to be a police official and together with the policeman in uniform he escorted Danilyuk from the trolleybus. At this point a police car approached and they were all taken off to a police station. There a body-search was carried out on Danilyuk. Four roubles and some kopecks were found on him, an appeal from the organization 'Elections 79' to the electorate, and two notebooks.

On 20 March, in a statement addressed to Rudenko, Danilyuk wrote:

With this letter I am notifying you, citizen Procurator-General, that it is not excluded that next time the K G B will send not just one of their agents but several. And money will not only be stolen from a 'passenger' but also placed in my pocket. There will also be 'witnesses' present ...

A similar thing could happen to other Soviet dissidents too.

On 15 April Danilyuk was summoned to Deputy Regional Procurator Yu. S. Tikhonov, who in the presence of the head of the investigations section of the Regional Procuracy stated that a check of his complaint had been carried out and that the theft had not been confirmed. Tikhonov said that he had talked to the 'victim', who had admitted that it 'had seemed' to him as if someone had stolen his money. Danilyuk demanded that he be given a written answer to his statement and that Zaikin be summoned a second time — together with him. Tikhonov replied that there was no need to summon Zaikin again. He promised to give a written answer.

The Case of Brailovsky

On 10 April, on Case No. 49808/13-80, searches took place at the homes of two editors of the journal *Jews in the USSR* (*Chronicle* 52), Moscow mathematician Victor Brailovsky and physicist **Yury Gofand**. On 13 April they were both intending to take part in an unofficial international symposium of the Moscow scientific seminar

on collective phenomena. (Meetings of the seminar have been held by refusenik scientists every week for a number of years.)

The following items were confiscated from Golfand: his scientific works, a scientific work of Yu. Orlov written by him in camp (*Chronicles* 54, 55), an issue of the journal *Jews in the USSR*, a few books in English (fiction), the journal *Physics Today*, which had arrived through the post, a Hebrew dictionary, several sheets containing Galich's songs, and letters. The search at Golfand's was conducted by Novikov by decree of Ponomarev (see 'The Arrest of Ternovsky').

Mostly his own scientific works were confiscated from Brailovsky. After the search Brailovsky was taken to an interrogation, which was conducted by Deputy Head of the Investigations Section of the Moscow Procuracy Smirnov. The questions concerned the journal *Jews in the USSR* and the material confiscated at the search. After the interrogation Brailovsky was presented with a warrant for his arrest under article 190-1. Then he was transported to the detention cells, his laces and belt were removed, he was photographed and his fingerprints were taken. Five to six hours later he was again summoned to Smirnov. The latter said that the measure of restraint had been changed and that he was now only a suspect. He was made to sign a written undertaking not to leave the city. Then Smirnov again attempted to interrogate Brailovsky, but the latter refused to answer. He was released. On 20 April the term of the undertaking expired without a charge having been brought.

At the same time, on 10 April, V. Knyazev conducted a search at the home of the writer G. Faibusovich. The following items were confiscated: a manuscript of a novel prepared for publication, manuscript notes on the history of science, a draft of an article on Pascal, a few letters, a number of books, including *On Tolerance in the Catholic Church* by the famous theologian K. Rahner, *Good and Evil in the Teaching of Count Tolstoy and Nietzsche* by L. Shestov, the collection *Vekhi* [Landmarks], and a German *Theological Dictionary for the New Testament*. A notebook was torn out of Faibusovich's hands. During the search in the bathroom and toilet they looked intensively for 'some object', but did not find it.

At the same time as the searches in Moscow, searches were carried out in Riga at the homes of A. Maryasin, S. Shvartsbat, Ya. Arev and Sulimov, and in Leningrad at A. Taratuta's. Books published abroad were confiscated from Taratuta, as well as his correspondence, tapes and two typewriters (Russian and Latin script). After the search he was interrogated in the district UVD. A few days later Taratuta's son, who is studying at Leningrad University, was delivered a summons to the military enlistment office.

A Search at the Home of Kormer

On 24 April a search was carried out in Moscow at the home of Vladimir Kormer, author of the book *The Mole of History, or Revolution in the Republic of S=F*, published in *Searches* Nos. 3 and 4 under the pseudonym G. Bezglasny [*Chronicles* 51, 52]. For this book Kormer received the first V. Dal prize (France, 1979). At the search they looked for and confiscated Kormer's manuscripts and Yu. Kublanovsky's verse (see 'Between Emigration and Prison').

Events in the Ukraine

Trials

The Trial of Rozumny

On 21 December the District People's Court examined the case of an inhabitant of the village of Pshenichnoye, Solonyansky District, Dnepropetrovsk Region, Petr Rozumny, charged under article 222 part 3 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('illegally carrying, keeping, acquiring ... a weapon ...').

At a search a home-made pocket knife and a hunter's knife bought in a shop were confiscated from Rozumny. He was on his way back from Bagdarin, where he had been staying with the exiled Evgeny Sverstyuk. The case against Rozumny was not started immediately but after his second visit to Sverstyuk. He was arrested on 8 October 1979 (*Chronicle* 54).

The written evidence of policemen Vasyutinsky and Mazonin, who confiscated the knives, and of the shop assistant where the knife was bought, Nikitina (all three, inhabitants of Buryatia, were not summoned to the trial), figured at the trial as well as the conclusion of forensic experts regarding the stabbing and cutting properties of the knives. For the translating of witnesses' evidence into Ukrainian at the demand of the defendant the court ruled that Rozumny be charged 60 roubles.

Rozumny pleaded not guilty, as for him both knives were not 'cold steel' but everyday objects, like an axe or chopper. He refused a barrister but the court would not accept his refusal and forcibly assigned to him a counsel for the defence. The defendant's rejection of Presiding Judge Danilchenko was accepted; another was appointed. Petr Rozumny was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in an ordinary-regime camp. On 15 February Rozumny was brought to the camp. His address is: 322530, Zhelytye Vody, Dnepropetrovskaya obl., uchr. 308/26.

The Trial of Gorbali

On 18 and 21 January the People's Court of the Oktyabrsky District of Kiev, presided over by Judge Sinyavsky and with Procurator Matveyeva prosecuting, heard the case of Nikolai Gorbali, charged under article 190 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ('Threat or force in regard to an official or citizen carrying out his social duty [=article 193 of the R S F S R Code] and articles 17 and 117 of the Ukrainian Code ('Attempted rape'). No defence counsel took part in the trial — the barrister S. Vasyutinskaya, engaged during the pre-trial investigation, did not visit Gorbali, did not render him necessary legal assistance, and, finally, a few days before the trial, refused to take part in it. Gorbali acted as his own defence counsel.

The 'case' of Gorbali consisted of the following. In October 1979 Gorbali met on the street an acquaintance of his, P. Batura, with whom he had studied foreign languages at evening classes. Batura asked Gorbali to mend the electric wiring in her flat. On 20 October in her flat Gorbali became acquainted with her friend, deputy chief accountant of Construction Administration 47 L. Naimytenko. While Gorbali was mending the wiring, the women laid the table and fetched drinks. Gorbali refused to drink and left. On the evening of 23 October Gorbali went to see some friends. On the way he met Naimytenko. It turned out they were going the same way. When they came out of the Metro Naimytenko asked him to accompany her. They had not even gone 20 yards when two men appeared from somewhere (*Chronicle 54* contained an inaccuracy) and set about beating Gorbali up. These two, workers Letavsky and Ivanov, together with Batura and Naimytenko, testified against Gorbali at the trial.

Gorbali, who during the investigation refused to answer the questions of investigator Lyashenko, declared at the trial that the case of rape had been fabricated — given the constant surveillance of him by the K G B, it was not difficult to arrange his meeting with Naimytenko and the appearance of 'witnesses'. The case file contained a document from Perm Camp 35 which said that Gorbali, who had been imprisoned there [*Chronicle 33*] had 'not embarked on the path of correction'. Gorbali was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in a strict-regime camp.

The trial was closed. Approaches to the hall where the proceedings were taking place were guarded by vigilantes. Gorbali's sister managed to enter the hall at the end of the first day of the trial — on 18 January. She was told that if she had said straight away that she had come from the country she would have been let in earlier. The other relatives and friends of Gorbali were admitted to the hall only when the judgment was read out.

* * *

Before the trial Gorbali had been kept in the Lukyanov Prison. The

cells there are filled to overflowing; the prison administration calls the prisoners 'Olympians'. On 15 April, after a three-week journey, Nikolai Gorbali was delivered to a camp. His address is: Nikolaevskaya obl., pos. Olshanskoe, uchr. IN-36/53. On 17 April two K G B officials came up to Gorbali's wife, A. Marchenko, on the street (one of them was Yu. P. Leshchenko). They tried to blacken Gorbali, demanded that Marchenko 'face up to public opinion', and promised to visit her regularly.

The Trial of Goncharov

On 1 February the trial took place in Kirovograd of Victor Goncharov (*Chronicle 54*), charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (=article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code).

In November-December 1979 Goncharov was undergoing psychiatric examination in the hospital or Smela, Cherkassy Region. He was diagnosed as a 'schizophrenic' and recommended for treatment in an ordinary psychiatric hospital. The Procurator disputed the decision of the diagnostic team, as he considered Goncharov fit to plead. The court sent Goncharov to the Serbsky Institute for a repeat psychiatric examination.

The Trial of Lesiv

On 6 February Yaroslav Lesiv, arrested on 15 November 1979 (*Chronicle 55*), was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for 'drugs'. Yaroslav's father was present at the trial. After the trial he said that no one had testified against his son. Ya. Lesiv is in a camp at the address: 265452, Rovenskaya obl., g. Sarny, uchr. OR-318/46-15.

Arrests**The Arrest of Krainik**

On 29 September 1979 Nikolai Krainik, an inhabitant of the village of Soloukhov, Dolina District, Ivano-Frankovskaya Region, was arrested. On 9 October at a search at his house books and journals published from 1921-25 and manuscripts were confiscated. In November-December searches were carried out at the homes of Krainik's relatives who live in the same village. About 200 people have already been interrogated on the case of Krainik. They are asked what books Krainik gave them to read, whether he expressed any opinions against the Soviet authorities, whether he collected money donations.

Nikolai Mikhailovich Krainik is 45 years old and a teacher of History by training. In 1971, on a denunciation by a student at Chernovtsy University, M. Vintoniv, he was expelled from the Communist Party and deprived of his teaching work (the denunciation reported that Krainik had given Vintoniv anti-Soviet literature). Recently Krainik has been working as an assistant to a master craftsman in boring.

The Arrest of Mikhailenko

On 20 February three searches were carried out in Odessa — at the homes of **A. Golumbievskaya** (*Chronicle 54*), **E. Danielyan** (*Chronicles 44, 45, 47*) and **A. Mikhailenko** (*Chronicle 54*), at the end of which Anna Mikhailenko was arrested. Investigators of the Odessa KGB Grazhdan (*Chronicle 55*) and Ryabenko are conducting her case. They say that Mikhailenko has been arrested 'for slander'. Mikhailenko is 46 years old; she has cancer of the lactic gland which has been operated on but not localized; before her arrest she had a certificate for hospitalization in a cancer clinic.

On the same day, in connection with the case of Mikhailenko **O. Meshko** was searched in Kiev. The order had been written by Procurator of Odessa Region Minsky, the search was conducted by republican KGB official Pluzhnik and Ryabenko; at the search, statements by Meshko to official bodies, personal notes, correspondence and notebooks were confiscated. During the search Ryabenko conducted himself with deliberate rudeness and banged on the table with his fist. Grabbing O. Meshko by the arm, he squeezed her hand so hard that it immediately began to swell up. The investigators called an official doctor, who certified it as a serious bruise.

The Arrest of O. Matusevich

On 7 January Olga Matusevich (*Chronicle 55*) was summoned to Kiev O V I R and advised to take back the documents she had sent to the Supreme Soviet in October 1979 (*Chronicle 54*), including her graduation diploma and military card. She refused. On 31 January the Military Enlistment Office fined her 10 roubles for not having a military card, besides which they told her they would keep on fining her until she produced her card. On 12 February she was again summoned to O V I R and advised to take her documents. Matusevich said that she did not want to live in a country where the KGB used Gestapo methods, and she did not intend to defend such a country. The KGB official who talked with her stated that Matusevich was making wild anti-Soviet statements, about which she would inform the head of the section.

On 12 March, after a search of her flat, O. Matusevich was arrested. She was charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (=article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code). UVD investigator Tkachenko is conducting the case.

The Arrest of Sokulsky

On 11 April former political prisoner Ivan Sokulsky (*Chronicles 12, 17, 27*), who was freed at the beginning of the 1970s after serving a sentence under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (=article 70 of the RSFSR Code), was arrested in Dnepropetrovsk. He has been charged under the same article.

The Arrest of V. Shevchenko

On 14 April in Kiev Vitaly Nikolayevich Shevchenko (b. 1932) was summoned to an interrogation at KGB headquarters and arrested there. V. Shevchenko graduated from the Faculty of Journalism at Kiev University, worked on Sakhalin for eight years, then in the telegraphic agency RATAU in Kiev. He was forced to leave as he was accused of nationalism. After this he worked in the technical information section at a factory. At the end of March a search was carried out at the home of V. Shevchenko. Newspapers with notes were confiscated; they looked for his diary but could not find it.

V. Shevchenko has probably been charged under article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (=article 70 of the RSFSR Code) for taking part in the publication of the *Ukrainian Herald* (*Chronicle 29*) — a journal which had been coming out about once a year for several years. On the case of V. Shevchenko several searches were carried out. His relatives and acquaintances were interrogated about their knowledge of his family and about their conversations with him.

The Arrest of A. Shevchenko

In the middle of April an acquaintance of Vitaly Shevchenko, who has the same surname, Alexander Evgenevich Shevchenko, was arrested. He too is a graduate of the Faculty of Journalism of Kiev University.

In March A. Shevchenko was searched. On his case searches took place at the home of relatives and acquaintances, in particular at V. Mogila's. A. Shevchenko has been charged under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (=article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code).

The Case of Kalinichenko

On 13 January relatives and friends gathered to say goodbye to **P. Stokotelny**, who was leaving to go abroad (see 'The Right to Leave'). That day, on the case of V. Kalinichenko (*Chronicle 55*), KGB officials Banev, Gonchar and Fomin came to his home to search it. All the guests (about 20 people) were forced to turn out their pockets. Stokotelny and his sisters were made to undress for a body-search. Two notebooks and several sheets of an exercise book with notes were confiscated.

On 11 February, in Kharkov, investigator Garus interrogated **Yu. Dzyuba** (*Chronicle 51*). The questions concerned two letters addressed to Kalinichenko from Dzyuba which had been confiscated in the post. On 13 February in Chernovtsy, a search was carried out at the home of **Vernik** [*Chronicle 37*]. After the search he was interrogated about letters of Kalinichenko which had been confiscated. On 14 February **A. Zinchenko** (*Chronicles 34, 39*), who was mentioned in the letters from Dzyuba to Kalinichenko, was interrogated in Kharkov.

After Release

Kiev. At the end of December Stus asked the head of his workshop to transfer him to lighter work. The head promised to make him a time-keeper, but the personnel section prohibited the transfer. In the middle of January Stus was dismissed.

Kharkov. In the autumn, for not being at home during the hours laid down by the surveillance regulations, A. Zdorovy (*Chronicle 54*) was fined 20 roubles. On 15 February investigator Garus interrogated him regarding his letters to Yu. Shukhevich (Chistopol Prison) and L. Lukyanenko (Perm Camp 36).

Lvov. When S. Shabatura was released from exile she was instructed to go to Lvov and be placed under surveillance (*Chronicle 55*). However, the police refuse to register her in Lvov, even though she has her own private flat there in which her old mother is living. On 10 January the police made a record that she was living there without a residence permit and gave Shabatura a 'first warning'; the police claim that Lvov is now a high-security town in which people with jail records cannot register. In February Shabatura was asked to register in the village of Sokilniki. She has already been given a 'second warning'.

Lvov Region. Zinovy Krasivsky (*Chronicles 39, 41, 42, 51*) handed in his documents to leave for Israel to join his son. On 12 March he was arrested, as the Vladimir Regional Court had revoked its decision to release him before the end of his sentence (*Chronicle 51*). Krasivsky has been sent to serve his 'unserved time' — eight months' imprisonment and five years of exile (see 'In the Prisons and Camps').

On the same day searches were carried out at the homes of Krasivsky's wife E. Antoniv and former political prisoner M. Goryn [Horyn]. Several manuscripts, photographs and correspondence were confiscated. Krasivsky's flat in Morshin, occupied by his son, a school-boy in the ninth class, was sealed up.

Miscellaneous

Tokayuk is Beaten up

At the end of January G. Tokayuk (*Chronicles 51, 53*) and O. Matusevich sent A. Sakharov a telegram of sympathy in connection with his exile. On 11 February Tokayuk was seized near his house by strangers who pushed him into a car, drove him off to a wood and beat him up, saying as they did it: 'Don't hang around with nationalists!' The next day Tokayuk was hospitalized with concussion.

Persecution of the Sichko Family

On 2 February Stefania Petrash, the wife of Pëtr and mother of Vasily Sichko (*Chronicles 54, 55*), was given a warning 'according to the Decree'.³¹ The authorities demand that she break off her contacts with members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, in particular with O. Meshko. Petrash refused to sign the record of the warning.

Stefania's younger son has been expelled from his third year in the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty of Kiev University; investigator Medvedev said to her: 'Your son won't study at the university. It is of no advantage to the State to educate an enemy'. Petrash appealed to the UN Human Rights Commission, to progressive public opinion, and to women who are mothers to intervene on behalf of her family.

Events in Armenia

Trials

The Trial of Eduard Arutyunyan

From 4 to 10 March the Armenian Supreme Court, under the chairmanship of Egiazaryan, heard the case of Armenian Helsinki Group member Eduard Arutyunyan, who was arrested on 13 July 1979 (*Chronicle 53*). Arutyunyan was charged under article 206-1 of the Armenian Criminal Code (=article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code). The Prosecutor was Procurator Khontkaryan and the defence lawyer was Yu. D. Mkrtychyan (he also defended R. Nazaryan — *Chronicle 51*). Mkrtychyan had taken the brief only a few days before the trial began and studied the case materials only on his arrival in court.

At the beginning of the trial Arutyunyan stated that a number of articles of the Code of Criminal Procedure had been violated during the investigation. For example, he had not once been questioned (*Chronicle 54*) — the investigator had simply come to inform him that he had been appointed to conduct the investigation; thus Arutyunyan did not know the basis of the indictment.

When the Judge asked him whether he had read the indictment and whether he admitted having written the documents to which it referred, Arutyunyan replied that he had read the indictment and did not deny authorship of the letters written in his own hand.

In answer to another question, Arutyunyan stated that he had organized the Armenian Helsinki Group and that he had done this on the basis of the Helsinki Agreement; he had also written the Group's programme (in the indictment in the case of R. Nazaryan it was stated that the programme was 'produced' by Nazaryan — *Chronicle 51*); he, Arutyunyan, had been elected Chairman of the Group (*Chronicle 46*).

Arutyunyan refused to reply to a question concerning his 'links with Sakharov'; he said that Sakharov was a well-known scientist and campaigner for human rights and the court was not worthy to pronounce his name.

When asked how he had sent letters abroad, Arutyunyan replied that he had sent them through foreign journalists; on one occasion, however, he had got into the British Embassy, since at that time he did not know any foreign journalists.

When asked what he meant by the defence of human rights, Arutyunyan replied that in the Soviet Union it was impossible to obtain justice: complaints were forwarded to those who were being complained about. He used to help people to make complaints — first by writing to various official bodies, and then, when he became convinced that this did not help, by trying to publicize the facts. For example, in his absence he had been declared mentally ill and an invalid, and as a result he was unable to find a job for nine years, despite the fact that the Procuracy supported his efforts. He wrote a complaint about the Gevorkyan family, who were evicted from their flat by the director of the local State farm and lived out in the open for six weeks (see Moscow Helsinki Group Document No. 103 — *Chronicle 54*).

While Arutyunyan was quoting these examples, **Sirvard Avakyan** (see 'The Trial of Avakyan'), who was present in court, shouted: 'Edik, quote us as an example!' (for the past two years she has been unable to get her job back).

Arutyunyan went on to talk about bribery, food shortages, aid to underdeveloped countries, the sending of Soviet troops to Afghanistan, and elections. He said that it was pointless keeping the borders closed: 'No one will come here, there is nothing to be afraid of on that score. And if our people do not want to live here in semi-starvation, let them go wherever they want!'

Eduard Arutyunyan asked that Armenian Helsinki Group members **Robert Nazaryan** and **Shagen Arutyunyan** (for his trial see *Chronicle 48*) be summoned as witnesses; the request was refused. He also asked for permission to read out in court the letters and complaints referred to in the charges against him. The Judge replied that both the court and Arutyunyan himself were familiar with them already.

Samvel Osyan, a former member of the Armenian Helsinki Group, appeared in court as a witness. He stated that he knew Arutyunyan to be a good, cultured man who strove for justice; Osyan himself had left the Group because he realized that its activities were futile.

Karine Mkrtychyan (*Chronicle 51*) told the court that when she was taking documents from E. Arutyunyan to Nazaryan, she was stopped on the way and the documents were taken from her (she had told Nazaryan's parents that Nazaryan had promised to marry her, but

he had not kept his promise, so she had taken the documents to the KGB; this action of hers is mentioned in the indictment in Nazaryan's case — *Chronicle 51*).

The defence lawyer demanded the acquittal of the accused. Strange as it may seem, E. Arutyunyan's father spoke in court as a public witness. In his final speech Arutyunyan said that he refused to ask the court for anything, since he considered it beneath his dignity. He cursed Brezhnev and the government, demanded the release of all prisoners of conscience, and said that he was happy to be on the side of human rights and that he had been imprisoned only because he had campaigned against the dirty practices of the Soviet authorities. He was sentenced to two-and-a-half years in ordinary-regime camps.

Arutyunyan was kept in the courtroom throughout the trial; even when the judges retired for a recess he was not given a meal and his family were not permitted to give him anything to eat. Arutyunyan tried to refuse to participate in the trial until he was given something to eat, but each time he protested, the Judge said that not much remained 'for today' and the trial continued.

* * *

When his family visited him after the trial, Arutyunyan asked them not to lower themselves by writing complaints on his behalf. His parents, in their turn, asked their son not to write anything, at least while he was in prison. He asked rhetorically: What did he have to write about here? About the fact that visits and parcels had to be bought by bribery? About the fact that people here were deprived of meals and slept on dirty mattresses left over virtually from tsarist times? The visit was then terminated.

The head of the Armenian Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions [ACLI] told Arutyunyan's family that he had received an order from Moscow to send Arutyunyan to Krasnoyarsk Territory — he himself was not authorized to deal with 'politicals'. On 2 April Arutyunyan was sent off to camp. On 4 April his father was informed by an official at the ACLI that Arutyunyan was in Erevan — awaiting admission to hospital.

The Trial of Avakyan

On 20 March the Spandaryan District People's Court in Erevan, under the chairmanship of Judge Goginyan, sentenced Sirvard Avakyan to one year in ordinary-regime camps under article 222 of the Armenian Criminal Code ('Hooliganism'). The Prosecutor at the trial was Procurator Kamalyan.

According to the judgment (the official Russian translation is quoted here — *Chronicle*):

On 10 March 1980 at 10 am the accused Avakyan was in a courtroom on the third floor of the Supreme Court building. Since she did not conduct herself properly during the trial, she was evicted from the courtroom. Police officer Danielyan cautioned her for talking loudly in the corridor and asked her to leave the building.

On the ground floor, that is at the entrance to the Supreme Court, and also outside the building, Avakyan caused a disturbance and attracted the attention of a passing citizen, at which police officials also tried to bring her to order, telling her to stop making remarks and gathering people round her.

In spite of the legally justified demands of the police officials, she called them 'dogs' and sheepdogs and then shouted abuse directed at the representatives of authority and also at State leaders. This went on for about half an hour and a large crowd gathered. Avakyan, taking advantage of the presence of the crowd and encouraged by some responses, began to shout and curse even louder. Those present reproached the police officials for not bringing the abusive woman to order.

Police officials then took Avakyan by force to the Spandaryan OVD.

* * *

On 10 March Avakyan and Arutyunyan's mother were removed from the courtroom, where they had been talking. After the recess Arutyunyan's mother returned to the courtroom for the reading of the judgment and Avakyan was taken away to a police station.

Avakyan's friends immediately followed her. The officer in charge of the police station assured them that no fictitious charges would be brought against Avakyan and promised to inform them that evening of the reason for her detention; in the evening, however, he told **Rafael Oganyan** (see 'Biographies') that Avakyan was 'connected with patriots and democrats' and that the matter therefore needed careful examination.

The following day seven people handed their written testimony to Procurator Markaryan and asked him to give it to the court. On 17 March they wrote to City Procurator Vasilyan. In their testimony the witnesses stated that on the morning of 10 March, OVD official Major Asryan had insulted Avakyan in unprintable language in the courtroom. When they arrived at the police station on 11 March, Asryan was once again shouting vile abuse at Avakyan; they tried to make him feel ashamed, but he said that he was an 'official' and had the right to act in this way.

Oganyan went to the police station several times, trying to obtain Avakyan's release. Major Asryan and Khachatryan, Head of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Spandaryan OVD, threat-

ened to arrest Oganyan unless he stopped his interventions. They informed him that they knew he was a democrat and connected with Arutyunyan.

In contravention of the Code of Criminal Procedure, Avakyan was not given a copy of the indictment in her case until the evening of 19 March. On 20 March Avakyan's friends heard only by chance about her trial. They went to the courtroom, but were not admitted to the trial, at which only a few policemen were present. Three policemen, including Asryan, and two vigilantes appeared as witnesses. The written testimony of Avakyan's friends did not figure in the trial.

On 10 March, the day of her arrest, Avakyan had declared a hunger-strike. As she was being led out after the trial, her friends noticed there was blood on her clothes. It later came to light that she had been beaten up by Vachikh Sarkisyan, an official at the Ordzhonikidze District Detention Centre [in Erevan].

After the trial Avakyan was transferred from the detention centre to the city prison. In April a letter said to be from Arutyunyan was thrown into her cell. Since she knew that Arutyunyan had been taken away from the prison on 2 April, Avakyan did not pick up the letter. A little later the duty warder came into the cell; he said that he knew about the letter for Avakyan and ordered her to give it back. Avakyan replied that 'tomorrow' she would give the letter to the Prison Head. Then Ararat Aivazyan, an official from the Operations Department, entered the cell. Avakyan told him to remove his provocational letter. In answer, Aivazyan beat her up. After this Avakyan was put into solitary confinement. Avakyan's parents did not find out what had happened to their daughter until 27 March.

On 4 April the Armenian Supreme Court heard the appeal in Avakyan's case. The following is taken from lawyer Vilen Manasaryan's appeal:

The court's findings, as described in the verdict, are based on the tendentious and contradictory evidence of witnesses who are police officials ... and of two people's vigilantes ... besides the aforementioned witnesses, not one ordinary citizen was questioned.

As regards the evidence of those who were questioned, this ... was clearly dictated by the ambition and the power over the other witnesses of witness Asryan, who ... wanted to punish Avakyan because she had dared to start an argument with him ...

Witness Asryan's ambition can be seen in the fact that he regarded Avakyan's words, which were addressed to him and clearly provoked by his own crudeness, as insults to the Soviet State and its leaders.

It follows from what has been said above that this is not a case of hooliganism ... but of insulting remarks addressed to individual police officials.

The Supreme Court upheld the verdict.

On 15 April Oganyan wrote to B. Sarkisov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, describing in detail all the circumstances of Avakyan's 'case'.

... the gross violation of citizen Avakyan's rights, her illegal one-year prison sentence, the barbaric beatings and lawlessness are indicative of total arbitrariness and anarchy among the administrative, investigative and judicial organs in the Republic ...

Komsomol member Sirvard Avakyan has defended the interests of the Soviet state by speaking out against plunderers of socialist property, and this is why she is persecuted by enemies of the Soviet people and State ...

On 24 April Avakyan's parents had an interview with Sarkisov. He told them that he had already learned of their daughter's case from Oganyan's letter and that it was clear to him that the case had been deliberately organized. The matter would be discussed in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and she would probably be released.

On the same day, at the prison, Avakyan's parents were refused permission to visit her, although legally entitled to do so. Avakyan, who is continuing the hunger-strike she began on the day of her arrest, is refusing to accept parcels.

* * *

During seven years Sirvard Avakyan (b. 1952) has been dismissed from her job on four occasions; on each occasion she was reinstated by a court. For about two years before her arrest she had been unable to return to her job. At the beginning of 1980 she was offered a job as a department head in the district committee of the Komsomol. She refused, saying that she wanted to return to her former job. She had been dismissed because she had criticized the way the factory was run (illegal lowering of wages, thieving, deception of the workers).

On two occasions she was forcibly interned in a psychiatric hospital — for six weeks in Erevan and for three months in Moscow (she was detained near the American Embassy).

In October 1979 Oganyan and Avakyan were in Moscow as guests of T. Osipova and I. Kovalëv and they had some photographs taken together. Some time later the mutual friend who had taken the photographs sent them a few copies by post. In January Avakyan was summoned by the K G B and shown the photographs.

Biographies

Rafael Oganyan was born in 1925 in Kirovakan. In 1942 he went to the Front as a volunteer. He was wounded several times. He has several State decorations (two orders and some medals) and is a

Group 3 invalid of the Patriotic War. After the war Oganyan was unable to find work because of his invalid status and he lived on his pension (150 roubles [per month] in 'old' money [ie 15 in post-1961 money]).

In 1950 Oganyan intervened on behalf of a woman who was being insulted by police-officers. One of the policemen struck him, and Oganyan hit back. He was arrested and sentenced to six years in camps. After two-and-a-half years he was released for good behaviour and his sentence was annulled under an amnesty. After his release Oganyan tried to bring a case against the court which had sentenced him, but he did not have a copy of the judgment and the court replied that it had not tried the case.

In 1954 Oganyan went to the virgin lands, where he graduated from an agricultural college. In 1955 he joined the Party. In 1959 he returned to Kirovakan.

From 1962 he worked as a foreman in a Kirovakan Electric Heating Station. Because he exposed the crimes and intrigues of the bosses, they began to harass him. In 1971 he was dismissed from his job because of staff cuts but was reinstated by a court. In 1974 he was again dismissed and was again reinstated by a court. After this he was issued several reprimands, which were contested by the Procuracy. In 1976 he was issued 14 reprimands in the course of one month and dismissed. On 3 June 1976 the Armenian Supreme Court reinstated Oganyan in his job; the court chairman, Sarkisyan, told Oganyan to return in two hours to receive the court's decision in writing. Two hours later he told him that his case would be re-examined on 9 July. On 9 July different members of the Supreme Court assembled for the hearing and Oganyan's claim was rejected. All his petitions: to the Armenian Republican Procuracy, to the U S S R Procuracy, to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, to the Central Committee of the C P S U, to Brezhnev, to the K G B (to whom he wrote that he had written several times to Brezhnev but received no reply; if his letter did not reach Brezhnev this time he would be forced to try and send it through a foreign ambassador, which would necessitate his gaining entry to an embassy), had no effect.

In 1969 Oganyan graduated by correspondence from the Mechanics Faculty of Erevan Polytechnic Institute. In 1970 he started a correspondence course at the Law Faculty of Erevan University. In 1975 he was expelled in his fifth year for 'falsifying the marks in his school record'; the real reason was that he was writing numerous letters to various official bodies about bribery in the University (for example, on how marks were being awarded to students who had not taken examinations).

The University party organization expelled Oganyan from the Party 'for making unacceptable complaints'; at a second hearing the decision

was changed from expulsion to a reprimand. In 1975 he was expelled from the Party for 'concealing a conviction'.

In December 1978 Oganyan gained entry to the French Embassy. He gave the consul his letter to Brezhnev (see below) and Avakyan's statement concerning her reinstatement at work (see 'The Trial of Avakyan') and refused to leave until the consul delivered them to their destination. After 12 hours of talks with Embassy officials, Oganyan was taken away by K G B officials who had been summoned by the Embassy. He was interned in a psychiatric hospital. A psychiatric commission pronounced him healthy and he was released 15 days later and put in the care of his family.

On their return to Armenia Oganyan and Avakyan were summoned for an interview by Yuzbashyan, Chairman of the Armenian K G B. Yuzbashyan said that he had been appointed to deal with their case, in connection with which he had been given documentation concerning their conflicts at work and also extensive documentation concerning embezzlement, bribery and corruption among the top officials in the Republic, which had been covered up by the all-union leadership [in Moscow].

After leaving the K G B headquarters, Oganyan and Avakyan went to visit the Old Bolshevik A. G. Atanesyan. They were closely followed there by K G B officials. On a warrant from the U S S R Procuracy they carried out a search and confiscated 12 letters and statements addressed to Soviet official bodies. Several months later Atanesyan was asked to come and retrieve the confiscated documents, but he replied that the questions raised in these documents should be dealt with by the 'organs' and that the documents should be left with them.

Some time later Yuzbashyan summoned Oganyan and Avakyan for another interview. This time he said that he could not help them in any way — it was foolish of Oganyan to have forced his way into the Embassy; the only way out for them lay in emigration — they should obtain invitations and depart. He returned the confiscated documents to Oganyan.

* * *

From Oganyan's statement to Brezhnev, dated 15 July 1978:

All my life I have been unable to come to terms with antisocial activities which undermine the authority of our Party and our State.

As a result of the constant struggle I have waged, particularly against embezzlement, bribery and red tape, I have become a thorn in the flesh of the authorities in our town and our Republic. Mutual back-scratching and strong protectionism have led to my being unjustly harassed and persecuted by the city and republican authorities. And finally, instead of giving me thanks, false, provocative reports were made against me and on 12 February 1976 I was

dismissed for the third time from my job (at the organization where I had worked since 1962); since then I have been without work.

For two years and five months my family has gone hungry. I am left without means of subsistence and I have three children of school age.

The great leader V. I. Lenin fought against the Tsar and he was not thrown out of work, while I am fighting on behalf of Soviet power in the Soviet Union and my family and I are allowed to go hungry.

I am being persecuted *for criticism*. Why?

This is a gross violation of the Basic Law (the Constitution) of Soviet power.

It is a gross violation of the Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It is a gross violation of the rights of a Soviet citizen ...

Dear Comrade Brezhnev, you often mention the name of the great leader V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, and of this I am very glad. Vladimir Ilich Lenin considered bureaucracy a political crime, yet we are not combating bureaucracy and red tape.

It pains me that some of your trusted officials consider this question a mere formality ...

This is leading towards the crumbling of all the political achievements of Soviet power.

It is leading towards the crumbling of the achievements of the world's first socialist state.

It is leading towards the crumbling of Lenin's Party, for which several tens of millions of people honourably laid down their lives.

It is obvious that my letters and telegrams do not reach you.

I ask you to see me, to hear me out, and to take concrete steps against crimes ...

Events in Estonia

Arrests

The Arrest of Kuk

At the end of the 1950s Juri Kuk graduated from the Faculty of Chemistry at Tartu University and then went on to post-graduate studies. Kuk is a Doctor of Chemistry and an assistant professor; he used to work as a lecturer in the Chemistry Faculty of Tartu University. In 1966 he joined the CPSU and was a member of the Party bureau. In 1975-76 he was in Paris on a working visit. After

he returned from abroad, Kukku announced [in 1978] his resignation from the Party. After many threats and a forcible examination by a psychiatrist, he was dismissed from his job as 'unsuitable for the post he occupies'. Kukku demanded that the authorities should either recognize him as being unemployed or give him and his family the opportunity to emigrate from the U S S R.

In January 1980 Kukku signed a protest by a group of Baltic human rights activists against the invasion of Afghanistan. At the end of January Kukku handed his protest to foreign journalists in Moscow. On 30 January he was detained and expelled from the capital. On 13 March Kukku was arrested. He has been charged according to article 194-1 of the Estonian Criminal Code (=article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code).

The Arrest of Niklus

On 13 November 1979 a resident of Tartu, the former political prisoner Mart Niklus, was dismissed from his job (*Chronicles* 54, 55). On 21 December his home was searched in connection with 'Lithuanian' Case No. 58 (*Chronicles* 54, 55).

On 2 January the ornithologist **Genrikh Veroman** was summoned to K G B headquarters for 'a talk'. K G B Captain Ervin Nilender was interested in Niklus's part in compiling the collective letter on the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet-German Pact (*Chronicle* 54). Nilender promised to 'hide Niklus away in a safe place'.

On 11 March Niklus was 'taken off' a train bound for Moscow: a K G B official from Tartu, Anti Talur, entered his compartment, grabbed Niklus's bag, jumped out on to the platform and started to run away. Niklus chased after him; at this point the train began to move, taking the rest of his belongings with it. Niklus was then detained and shown a search warrant signed by K G B Captain Katalikov, who was in charge of T. Velikanova's case. Niklus refused to let the K G B men into his house and they contented themselves with searching him personally and not trying to break into the house by force. They did not confiscate anything.

On 19 March Niklus was put under administrative arrest for 13 days, for 'resisting the authorities'. After his release from the Preliminary Detention Cells, he was taken to hospital: his stay in the cell had brought on a severe attack of sciatica. On 27 April Niklus was discharged from the hospital. The next day, 28 April, he was arrested. According to early information he has been charged under article 194-1 of the Estonian Criminal Code (=article 190-1 of the R S F S R Code).

* * *

On 27 March a group of Estonians and Russians living in the Estonian

S S R sent a letter to the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, protesting at the arrest of Juri Kukku and Mart Niklus. The letter was signed by 21 people.

Estonian Samizdat

The publication **Additional Material on the Free Circulation of Ideas and Information in Estonia** (*Chronicles* 53, 54) is continuing to appear.

Issue No. 4 (1979) includes information on the K G B campaign against the [fortnightly] samizdat *Saturday Newspaper* [*Poolpevaleht*] (*Chronicle* 52), particularly the official warnings issued to **Jaan Isotami**, **Viktor Niitsoo** (*Chronicle* 53), **Hubert Jakobs** (*Chronicle* 53) and **Matti Milius**. It also reports the case of **Teet Papsion** (*Chronicle* 54) and the dismissal of secondary school-teacher **Helga Riviis** because her pupils had compiled a literary almanac of their own.

Issue No. 6 (1980) reports on a public meeting at the Tartu cemetery (*Chronicle* 55), an open letter from Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians concerning the Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan, a protest against the exile of A. Sakharov, declarations by **M. Niklus** and **Ju. Kukku**, information on the expulsion from Tartu University of the religious student **Illar Halliste** (in his third year in the Faculty of Law), and details of the trial of **T. Papsion** and **A. Enehieln** (*Chronicle* 54).

Events in Lithuania

This section is largely based on material from *Aušra* No. 20 (January 1980) and *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* No. 42 (March 1980).

Persecution of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group

The Arrest of Skuodis

Vytautas Skuodis, a geologist, a Doctor of Science, assistant professor and lecturer in the Faculty of Hydrogeology and Geological Engineering at Vilnius University, known for his research on the geology of Lithuania, Latvia and Siberia, has been arrested in Vilnius. Skuodis has also studied philosophy and Lithuanian history extensively.

During a search on 24 November 1979 (*Chronicle* 55), an unfinished book — *Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania* — dedicated to the defence of the ethical, religious and cultural traditions of the Lithuanian people was confiscated from Skuodis.

Two statements issued by Skuodis after 24 November are available. On 28 November he sent a letter to President Carter, in which he declared that he considered himself a citizen of the U S A, as he was

born in Chicago in 1929 and was registered in the relevant documents as Benedict Scott. Later his family had returned to Lithuania, where he began to be called Vytautas Skuodžis, and then Vytautas Skuodis. 'In this letter', writes Skuodis, 'I assure you, Mr President, that whatever tribulations I may have to face in the future, I shall always remain true to the principles of defending human rights, thus also defending the honour of my land of birth — the USA — and my Fatherland, Lithuania'. In the same letter he dates the beginning of his participation in 'the movement of the Lithuanian people for democratic freedoms and human rights' from 18 June 1940.

In an appeal addressed to all signatories of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, and also to all his fellow-countrymen, Skuodis writes that since 20 November 1979 he has been a member of 'the Lithuanian Helsinki Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights' and promises to publicize all violations of rights and freedoms in Lithuania. The first such information Skuodis made public was the seizure of his 240-page work *Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania*.

On 4 January, when Skuodis came to the University to give a scheduled lecture, Dean of the Geology Faculty Tarvydas told him that he had been sacked on 29 December under article 287 of the Lithuanian Code of Labour Laws ('for immoral actions'). Skuodis asked for an explanation from the Minister of Higher and Special Secondary Education in Lithuania, Zabulys. The latter explained that Skuodis's immorality consisted of teaching young people while at the same time engaging in anti-Soviet activities. Skuodis was arrested on 9 January. The search which accompanied the arrest was carried out in connection with Case No. 58 (*Chronicles* 54, 55).

The Case of Jurevičius

On 17 January the worker Mečislovas Jurevičius, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group (*Chronicles* 36, 40, 44) was summoned to the Procuracy in the town of Šiauliai. He was received by A. Jucys, an investigator of the Vilnius Procuracy, who told Jurevičius that a criminal case had been made out against him under article 199-3 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code (=article 190-3 of the RSFSR Code) for organizing a religious procession to the Hill of Crosses on 22 July 1979. Three witnesses were summoned and an 'identification' was made. Jurevičius was told not to leave town. He refused to answer many of the investigator's questions and would not sign the record.

On 6 February Jurevičius was taken off a bus bound for Riga via Minsk at the Šiauliai Bus Station. KGB men searched him and confiscated a number of Helsinki Group documents: about arrests in Lithuania, Lithuanian residents of German nationality who are not being allowed to emigrate to West Germany, and about the invasion of Afghanistan, and a declaration by B. Pašiliene (*Chronicles* 34-38,

39, 45) about the fate of political prisoner P. Paulaitis (*Chronicle* 46). Jurevičius was interrogated. The questions concerned documents found during the search and the organization of religious processions. Jurevičius refused to answer any questions.

Towards the end of the interrogation, investigator Jucys and KGB Major Markevičius (*Chronicle* 54) arrived from Vilnius, after which a search was carried out at the home of Jurevičius in connection with Case No. 58. The following were confiscated: photographs of religious processions, religious literature, the texts of prayers 'for the freedom of the Motherland and freedom of religion' and cassettes with tape-recordings. The search was led by Markevičius, who was 'working in consultation with' Jucys.

A Search at the Home of Laurinavičius

On 6 February seven KGB officials, led by Major Sventauskas, carried out a search in connection with Case No. 58 in the village of Adutiškis, Švenčionys District, at the home of the Rector Fr Bronius Laurinavičius, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group. His two typewriters (with Russian and Latin type) were confiscated, together with one issue of *Tiesos Kelias* and religious documents and letters.

The Arrest of Statkevičius

On 9 January a fresh search in connection with Case No. 58 was carried out at the home of Lithuanian Helsinki Group member Algirdas Statkevičius (*Chronicle* 54). The search was again led by KGB Lieutenant-Colonel Kalakauskas and Major Pilelis. They confiscated some Lithuanian Helsinki Group documents, *Labour Camp Tales* by O. Lukauskaite-Poškiene, addresses and telephone numbers. On the night of 14/15 February Statkevičius was arrested.

Algirdas Statkevičius, by profession a psychiatrist, was born in 1923. During the war he cooperated with the Germans; in 1944 he graduated from an intelligence school in Germany and was sent to Lithuania. Statkevičius himself says that he took no part in spying activity. In 1951 he was arrested and condemned to 25 years' imprisonment. He was released in 1957. In 1970 he was again arrested and spent about a year in a psychiatric hospital. He was released after signing a plea for mercy. He joined the Lithuanian Helsinki Group in the autumn of 1979.

Arrests

The Arrest of Pečeliūnas

On 9 January, in Vilnius, a search was again carried out in connection with Case No. 58 (*Chronicle* 55) at the flat of Povilas Pečeliūnas (in *Chronicle* 55 his name was misspelt). The search was conducted by KGB Major Markevičius. Twenty covers for the journal *Alma*

Mater, two issues of *Aušra* and a book by A. Maceina, *The Origin and Meaning of Philosophy*, were confiscated from Pečeliūnas. He was then arrested.

P. Pečeliūnas was born in 1928. After graduating from the Faculty of Lithuanian Language at Vilnius University, he taught Lithuanian in schools for many years. He owns a unique library on Lithuanian language studies. During the interrogation he was asked why he was fighting against the Soviet system, as he came from a family of poor peasants. Pečeliūnas replied that he was fighting not the system, but injustice.

The Arrest of Janulis

On 29 January the organist Anastazis Janulis, a resident of the town of Kaišiadorys, was arrested in Kaunas. Algina Suslavičiute, also a resident of Kaišiadorys, was detained with him. The next day K G B officials searched Janulis's flat; after the search the flat was sealed. On the same day a search was also carried out at the home of Suslavičiute. For the next three days she was subjected to interrogations. According to *Aušra* No. 20, Janulis was arrested 'for disseminating subversive pamphlets'.

The Arrest of Buzas

On 30 January in the town of Birštonas, K G B Major Markevičius carried out a search at the house of Povilas Buzas. Buzas was found to have about 100 photocopies of *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* No. 41, about 50 photocopies of *Rupintojėlis* No. 11 and typed copies of the *Chronicle of the LCC* No. 41, *Rupintojėlis* No. 11 and *Aušra* No. 19. Buzas himself was discovered in the cellar of the house, working on a home-made electric photocopier. After the search Buzas was arrested and taken to Vilnius.

According to *Aušra* No. 20, Buzas is accused of 'duplicating underground publications'.

Searches

A Search at the Home of Žarskus

On 24 November 1979, at the same time as the searches in Vilnius (*Chronicle* 55), a search was carried out in Kaunas at the home of Alexander Žarskus, a lecturer at the Agricultural Academy. The search was led by Major Markevičius. Two colleagues of Žarskus, Academy lecturers Vytas Danilevičius and Algirdas Railas, were asked to be witnesses: they not only helped in the search, but watched to make sure that the Žarskuses did not talk to each other. A packing case was discovered, which was measured, weighed and taken away without being opened. After the search the K G B officials persistently demanded that the owners should hand over some hidden papers they had been looking for.

A Search at the Home of N. Mandrit

On 7 February a search was carried out in connection with Case No. 58 in Vilnius at the home of Natalya Mandrit, a third year student of the Faculty of Physics at Vilnius University. A Geiger counter was used during the search. A Statkevičius's book *Sophiocracy or Geomortality* turned out to be 'radioactive'.

A Search at the Home of Sereikaite

On 12 February, in Kaunas, the police carried out a search at the home of Ona Sereikaite, an ophthalmologist at the Kaunas Republican Clinic. Religious books, photographs and notebooks were discovered and confiscated. The search was conducted without a search warrant being shown. The police broke down the door of the larder and even searched a neighbour's room, where they carefully looked through her scientific works. The search was led by Investigator Jucys. Sereikaite was brought back to view the search from Jurbarkas, where she had been on a work assignment.

A Search at the Home of Sabaliauskas

On 8 April police Captain Slibinskas carried out a search at the home of Kazimieras Sabaliauskas. Two religious pamphlets and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were confiscated.

Interrogations and Chats

A Chat with Patackas

On 24 December 1979 Investigators Pilelis and Rukšenas summoned Algis Patackas for a 'chat' at K G B headquarters in Vilnius. Patackas was asked to write a renunciation of his participation in underground publishing and to state in writing his loyalty to the authorities. He refused.

An Interrogation of Žvikaite

On 4 January the same K G B officials interrogated Vitalija Žvikaite. They asked her about her acquaintances in Vilnius and Kaunas (particularly about Patackas). They were interested in how an article which had been confiscated from her in manuscript form during a search (*Chronicle* 54) had managed to appear in *Aušra*. Rukšenas expressed regret that the interrogation was not taking place 30 years ago, as then no one would have 'played around' with her and no proof would have been necessary. They promised to summon her again.

The Case of Terleckas

In February scores of people were summoned for interrogation in connection with the case of Terleckas (on his arrest see *Chronicle* 54). In most cases those summoned refused to come.

The Death of V. Jaugelis

On 17 February 1980 Father Virgilijus Jaugelis, assistant priest of Kybartai parish, died after a long and agonizing illness.

V. Jaugelis was born on 9 September 1948 (his father was in prison at the time). Virgilijus was brought up as a Catholic; after leaving school he applied every year from 1968 to 1973 to enter the Theological Seminary, but none of his applications was accepted. Jaugelis became one of the most active fighters for religious freedom. He was first detained during the trial of Fr Zdebskis (*Chronicle* 22); he was then 'let off' with a beating and 10 days under arrest. It was at this time that he began to study philosophy at an underground Theological Seminary.

In 1972 Virgilijus collected signatures for the Memorandum of 17,000 Lithuanian Catholics (*Chronicle* 24). In 1973, while trying to set up a secret printing-press on which to produce the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, Jaugelis was arrested. In December 1974 a court condemned him to two years in camps (*Chronicle* 34). In 1975 Jaugelis was released early as being incurably ill (*Chronicle* 35). He none the less managed to gain entrance to the Seminary. After graduating, he was ordained a priest and appointed as assistant priest to Kybartai parish.

The *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* No. 42 reports that the funeral of Jaugelis was attended by thousands of believers from all over Lithuania, including over 100 priests [see the illustrations]. The next day, before a great crowd of people in Kybartai church, the priests Tamkevičius, Kauneckas, Svarinskas and Jelinskas made speeches praising the religious and political activity of Virgilijus Jaugelis.

Miscellaneous

The Dismissal of Keršiute

On 29 December, five weeks after a search (*Chronicle* 55), Danute Keršiute was sacked from her job in the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture for 'unsuitable behaviour'.

Wreaths are Laid

On 16 February, Lithuanian Independence Day, wreaths were again laid (*Chronicle* 52) on the grave of Basanavičius in Vilnius. The next day Algis Baltrušas was summoned by the K G B in this connection. Colonel Stašaitis tried to question him as to who organized the wreath-laying. Baltrušas refused to answer.

Persecution of Believers

Catholics in Lithuania

A Search at the Home of Gražulis

In October 1979 and January 1980 the Prienai District Soviet E.C. twice wrote to Fr Antanas Gražulis, assistant priest of Prienai parish, warning him against allowing schoolchildren to act as altar-boys during the liturgy. 1,026 believers signed a protest against the harassing of Gražulis. On 18 February Captain Slibinskas carried out a search at the home of Gražulis. The search took place in the absence of the owner, who had been summoned to the police station at the same time. Twelve copies of *Tiesos Kelias* and some religious pamphlets were found in Gražulis's house. His typewriter was also taken away. A simultaneous search was going on in the garage used by Gražulis (which he did not own); as stated in the search record, 'six sheets of white metal measuring 460 x 20 x 2 millimetres' were confiscated from the garage.

On the same day Gražulis's parents, who live in the village of Mankunai, had their home searched. Two religious pamphlets (one in English, published in 1914) and 380 kilograms of unused paper were confiscated.

Arrests and Searches on 17-18 April

Kybartai. On 17 April Genovaitė Navickaitė was arrested in Mrs Petrikiene's home. During the search, a *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* was discovered in the process of being reproduced. Navickaitė was taken to Vilnius and imprisoned in the Lukiškis prison. On 23 April her flat in Kaunas was searched.

On 17 April the Rector of Kybartai parish, Fr Sigitas Tamkevičius, a member of the Catholic Committee, had his home searched. The following were confiscated: 10 issues of *Tiesos Kelias*, *Rupintojėlis* No. 12, *A Chronicle of Current Events* Nos. 47 and 54, *Kontinent* Nos. 4-8, documents of the Catholic Committee, *The Yawning Heights* by Zinoviev, and the texts of the International Covenants and agreements. On the same day the same investigator carried out searches at the home of Ana Draiginaite, Fr Tamkevičius's housekeeper, where copies of *Perspectives* 12 and 16 were confiscated; at the flat of the late V. Jaugelis, where the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* Nos. 40 and 41, the *Chronicle of Current Events*, the *Messenger of the Russian Christian Movement* [*Vestnik RKhD*] Nos. 121, 122 and 124, and documents of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the USSR were confiscated; also at the home of Ona Kavaliauskaite, where *Aušra* No. 19 and vol. VI of the *Lithuanian Archive* were discovered. Everything confiscated

in these searches was put down on the search record of Fr Tamkevičius.

On that same day Veronika Šapčiuvienė and Genovaitė Mačenskaitė, who lives with her, were subjected to a search. *Aušra* No. 17, the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* No. 42 and *Tiesos Kelias* Nos. 10 and 11 were confiscated from Mačenskaitė.

* * *

Vidukle. On 17 April a search was carried out at the home of the local rector, Fr Alfonsas Svarinskas, a member of the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights. Documents by the Committee and issues of *Tiesos Kelias* and *Kontinent* were confiscated.

* * *

Kapsukas District. On 18 April Ona Vitkauskaitė was arrested in the home of the Rector of Bagotoji parish. During a search copies of *Aušra* No. 18 and *Chronicles of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* Nos. 38 and 42 were found, the latter in the process of being retyped.

Vitkauskaitė, like Navickaitė, is being held in Vilnius, in Lukiškis. On 28 April Vitkauskaitė's flat in Kaunas was searched.

* * *

Kapsukas. On 18 April a group of K G B officials searched a house belonging to G. Mačenskaitė and P. Tuomiene. A typewriter and some typewritten religious pamphlets were confiscated from their tenant Elena Babinskaya. Birute Briliute, a teacher who was visiting her at home, was also searched. A typewriter, *The Adventures of Private Chonkin* (in Lithuanian) and the book *A Question of Madness* by the Medvedev brothers were confiscated from her. Briliute herself was twice subjected to a body-search.

Documents of the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights

No. 27 (13 January 1980): A protest against the arrest of J. Sasnauskas (*Chronicle* 55).

No. 28 (13 January 1980): Concerns the ban on school-children attending funerals which include religious rites (many teachers forbid this).

No. 29 (13 January 1980): On the difficulties placed in the way of clergymen visiting hospitals when invited to do so by patients or their relatives, in order to carry out religious rites.

No. 30 (7 February 1980): An appeal to the Pope to extend 'moral support to one who for many years generously helped others' — A. D. Sakharov — and to give his support to the arrested Orthodox priests Gleb Yakunin (*Chronicle* 54) and Dmitry Dudko (see 'The Arrest of Dudko').

Miscellaneous

According to the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* No. 42, on 28 January the Commissioner for the Lithuanian SSR of the Council for Religious Affairs under the U S S R Council of Ministers, P. Anilionis, and the Deputy-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, A. Česnavičius, had a meeting with the Catholic bishops and administrators of dioceses.

Anilionis expressed disquiet concerning the situation which had arisen within the Catholic Church in Lithuania. He said that he was particularly worried about the following problems:

— The existence of 'secret' priests (ie ordained without the permission of the authorities), greedy and ignorant, with criminal records. The question was — who ordained them?

— Extremist attitudes among the clergy. This was proved by the erecting of crosses on the Hill of Crosses, the pilgrimage to Šiluva and prayer-meetings in the open air. Česnavičius threatened that Frs Mocius and Krikščiukaitis, who had participated in these and other activities, would be made to answer by the Procuracy.

— The activities of the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights, which gathered signatures by terrorizing priests. Particular dissatisfaction was expressed concerning the Committee's Document No. 5, which was also signed by 552 priests and two bishops (*Chronicles* 53, 54).

Česnavičius stated that this situation would no longer be tolerated. The Church must condemn the extremist priests. Česnavičius then withdrew and the bishops began to discuss what had been said. Bishop R. Krikščiūnas, in particular, said: 'We are called "reds" and subjected to blackmail... It would be interesting to know who finances them. Colour photographs of the Catholic Committee worth two roubles each are being distributed without charge.'

At the end Anilionis spoke:

Priests don't give information about baptisms, weddings, and so on. The parishes will be made to answer for this disgraceful lack of order ...

We must fight against drunkenness. However, the letter about this from Catholic priests in Vilnius speaks about 'Hastening to take part in the movement for the spiritual rebirth of the nation, the first aim of which is temperance'. And what will be the second step, and the third? That is what worries us ...

In conclusion Anilionis called on those present to trust the Soviet authorities more.

* * *

The same issue of the *Chronicle of Lithuanian Catholic Church*

publishes 'a plan for an intensified struggle against religious extremists and for checking on the correct fulfilment of the laws on religious cults', drawn up by the Central Committee of the Lithuanian CP.

The plan mentions the following aims:

— Control is to be established over priests and other representatives of religion, so that they cannot participate in religious education of children (particularly in teaching the catechism or preparation for confirmation).

— Persons who have been noticed violating the laws on religion are to be warned in writing or orally.

— Anti-religious propaganda is to be increased and 'extremists' are to be exposed.

— Children from 'extremist' families are to be registered.

On 9 March Anilionis and Jonas Aničas, Rector of Vilnius Teachers' Training Institute, appeared on Vilnius television. They attacked 'extremist priests'. The names of Catholic Committee members Svarinskas, Tamkevičius and Kauneckas were mentioned. According to the speakers, they were slandering Soviet reality, sending libellous information abroad and in general being used as weapons of world imperialism, which in this case was acting through the Vatican.

A petition from the believers of Ignalina parish, asking for permission to rebuild fundamentally the present tiny church, has been sent to the government authorities of the Lithuanian SSR and the USSR. The declaration is dated 10 November 1979 and 10,933 signatures were collected under it. A copy of the petition was sent to the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights.

Baptists

The Trial of Valentin Naprienko

On 6 September 1979 the Ukrainian Supreme Court quashed the verdict in the case of Valentin Naprienko, who had been sentenced to three years' imprisonment in Donetsk on 27 June (*Chronicle 53*).

A new trial took place in the Donetsk Regional Court building on 25-29 October. Only Naprienko's family were allowed into the courtroom. At the request of the accused, G. F. Dzhurik, who was Naprienko's co-defendant (he was sentenced to two years of 'chemistry' [a suspended sentence with 'compulsory labour'] — *Chronicle 53*) was summoned as a witness. However, on the third day of the trial the Chairman of the Court read out a telegram: Dzhurik was ill and could not attend the trial. Dzhurik's worried wife immediately went to the place where her husband was serving his sentence and learned

that he was quite well and had been working on a building site on the day the telegram was sent.

The trial was conducted on the basis of practically the same evidence as the previous one. The prosecution again demanded conviction, and Naprienko was again sentenced to three years. On appeal, Naprienko's sentence was reduced to one year.

The Trial of Runov

On 5 December the trial of A. F. Runov (*Chronicle 53*) took place in the town of Balakhna, Gorky Region. The Court Chairman was Blinov.

The text of the leaflets which Runov had distributed was read out in court:

Against the evil in which the whole world lies stands the Word of God, broadcast by radio on 31 or 25 metres, short wave, every morning from 5.30 and in the evenings at 18.20, 20.30 and 21.30. 'For God so loved the world that he gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not die but have everlasting life' (from the Gospels).

The court accepted the recommendation of a psychiatric commission, pronounced Runov not responsible and sent him for treatment in a special psychiatric hospital [S P H].

Friends of Runov, who had come from Gorky for the trial, were taken from the courtroom during the recess and searched. A cassette tape was confiscated from them and then they were released.

After the trial Runov was detained in Gorky Prison. His wife was not permitted to visit him and prison officials refused to hand her the court's decision. On 27 March he was dispatched under guard to the Leningrad S P H.

The Trial of Kinash

On 3 January, in the town of Gorlovka, Donetsk Region, Nikolai Kinash, who was arrested on 13 November 1979 (*Chronicle 55*) was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for 'parasitism'.

Until his trial he was held in a prison in Artemovsk, where he was beaten up by M V D officials. The following was noted in his medical file: 'Injury in the region of the left ear ...'

In his final speech at the trial, Kinash said that on four occasions during his imprisonment he had declared a hunger-strike in protest against inhuman treatment of him.

Arrests in Elektrostal

On 7 October 1979 a religious service was broken up in Elektrostal, Moscow Region, and P. Sautov, A. Pozdnyakov and N. Afonina were arrested.

Arrests in Krasnodar

On 21 October 1979 a prayer-meeting of believers from the Pashkov church in Krasnodar was broken up. A number of searches were carried out at the same time and Presbyter V. P. Tsarenko, M. E. Yurasov, N. Ya. Kalinovskiy and L. A. Kalinovskiy were arrested.

The previous evening there had been a 'public' meeting, at which the Baptists were 'discussed'. Believers were taken to this meeting by force, with the aid of police cars.

Arrests in Chernovtsy Region

On 5 January six searches were carried out in Chernovtsy. On the same day Mikhail Kushnir (b. 1938, father of seven) and the brothers Vladimir (b. 1929) and Viktor (b. 1935) Kostenyuk were arrested. All Viktor Kostenyuk's (*Chronicle* 54) money was confiscated during the search. On 24 January investigator Rud made a list of the contents of his flat.

On 8 January another seven searches took place in Chernovtsy, several of them at the homes of relatives of those who had been arrested (see also 'Miscellaneous' below).

On 7 January a Christmas service was dispersed in the settlement of Veliky Kucherov and Viktor Burdeiny was arrested and taken to K G B headquarters.

Arrest of Printers of 'The Christian' Publishing-house

On 13 January, printers of the publishing-house 'The Christian' were arrested in Starye Kodaki settlement, Dnepropetrovsk Region: G. I. Yuditseva (b. 1938, from Gorky), T. V. Bystrova (b. 1949, from Narva), L. M. Kosachevich (b. 1952, from Ivangorod) and S. I. Bublik (b. 1957, from Rostov-on-Don). A printing-press, an unfinished edition of the *Herald of Truth* [*Vestnik Istiny*] and about a ton of paper were seized. The printing shop was at the home of A. L. Zaplava; a search of her house was carried out without a warrant from the Procurator. On the same day searches were carried out in the settlement at the homes of Ya. A. Zaplava (A. L. Zaplava's son) and P. G. Belokon.

Religious literature, photographs, photographic paper, a paper-trimming knife, glycerine and prepared photographic plates were confiscated from Belokon; religious literature and printer's ink were confiscated from Ya. Zaplava. Criminal charges were brought against Belokon and Ya. Zaplava.

The Arrest of Khorev

On 28 January Mikhail Ivanovich Khorev, a member of the Baptist Council of Churches who lives in Kishinëv, was arrested in Leningrad. Khorev has been sentenced on two previous occasions for his reli-

gious activities and has served a total of six years' imprisonment.

At present Khorev is in custody in Kishinëv. Investigator Tsurkan carried out a search of Khorev's flat on the day of his arrest. Only three of Khorev's children, all of school age, were at home during the search. Religious literature, a tape-recorder, records and Khorev's work-book (he is an invalid and receives a pension) were confiscated; 355 roubles, all the money in the house, were also taken, as well as money found in one of the children's pockets, which he had been given for his lunch at school.

Searches

On 11 January searches were carried out in Novosibirsk at the flats of Ya. K. Kreker, K. K. Kreker, V. S. Kravets, N. G. Shkoldin, P. T. Khandeshin, V. A. Kotlyarov and V. E. Zherebnenko (*Chronicles* 48, 49). The searches were sanctioned by the Procurator of Moscow's Volgograd District in connection with the detention of Yu. N. Khandeshin in Moscow (*Chronicle* 55). The object of the searches was the confiscation of religious literature. Vigilantes served as witnesses and took an active part in conducting the searches.

* * *

On 19 January a search was carried out at I. Ya. Petrenko's flat in Dnepropetrovsk. Religious literature, a film projector, a tape-recorder and records were confiscated. Petrenko's guests: N. I. Kabysh, a pastor at the church in Zhéltye Vody, Dnepropetrovsk Region, K. Ya. Smirnsky, a pastor of the church in Dnepropetrovsk, P. I. Antonov from Kirovograd and K. Sysayev from Kremenchug, were detained by K G B officials and taken to the police station. Sysayev and Antonov were released after a few days, but Kabysh and Smirnsky remained in detention.

Miscellaneous

On 10 December 1979, in accordance with a decision by the Central District Court in Dzhambul, E. V. Dirks's house, in which Baptist religious services were held, was confiscated. On 13 January a judicial board of the Regional Court upheld the decision.

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On 6 January Pentelyuk, Secretary of the Lenin District Soviet E C in Chernovtsy, led the break-up of a Sunday service. On 8 January Pentelyuk broke up a religious service at the home of I. M. Kostenyuk.

* * *

On 6 January a search was carried out at the home of V. U. Rymar (Khotin, Chernovtsy Region); religious literature was confiscated. Rymar (b. 1936) is a Group 2 invalid.

On 15 January police Captain Slugin drove Rymar to a health centre, where he was immediately made to give samples for analysis. Then Slugin took him to the consulting rooms of several doctors. Slugin entered each consulting room alone and then brought Rymar in. Each doctor wrote that Rymar was 'well'. His old out-patient's medical card had mysteriously disappeared. Rymar was deprived of his invalid status and told to find a job within a month. Rymar and his wife sent a statement to Brezhnev renouncing their Soviet citizenship.

* * *

On 15 January Baptist M. S. Vladimirova was buried in Bryansk. When the coffin was carried out, police, vigilantes and K G B officials tried to seize the church ministers. P. Senyushchenko, who was photographing the procession, was taken away to the police station. The procession was escorted to the cemetery by several cars. After the burial I. Mitin, N. Golyan and A. Budayev were sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment each.

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L. G. Oleinik was expelled from her third year at the medical college in Shakhty, Rostov Region, because she had revealed her religious beliefs in an essay on atheism.

* * *

A. N. Gordei, who was doing his military service in Gorodnitskiy District, Volgograd Region, refused to take the oath on account of his religious beliefs. He is being threatened with a military tribunal. Gordei was beaten up by Ensign Sadykov and two soldiers.

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Anatoly Domnitsa from the Moldavian village of Volontirovka, who is doing his military service in Moscow, has, for his religious beliefs, been interned in the Yakovenko Psychiatric Hospital in Moscow Region [Meshcherskoe Village].

* * *

In a telegram addressed to Brezhnev and Rudenko the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives demands an end to the interrogation of children who attended Baptist summer camps (*Chronicle 54*), which have been taking place in many cities. Parents of the children are also interrogated. The Council also demands the release of those arrested in this connection: P. T. Rytikov, V. P. Rytikov and G. V. Vilchinskaya.

According to information from the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives, 49 Baptists (see also *Chronicle 54*) were in prison (either convicted or under investigation) in January 1980.

Pentecostallists

Trials

On 4 January Vladimir Shabura was sentenced in the settlement of Taromskoe, Dnepropetrovsk Region, to three years' imprisonment for 'refusing the regular call-up for military service'. In 1977 he and his parents had requested permission to emigrate and in August 1978 he had renounced his Soviet citizenship.

* * *

On 18 January the trial of Fëdor Sidenko (*Chronicle 54*), charged under article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code, took place in Novorossiisk. Sidenko was not present at the trial — a psychiatric commission had diagnosed him as suffering from a 'paranoid form of schizophrenia' and declared him not responsible. The court sent him for compulsory treatment to a psychiatric hospital of ordinary type.

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On 4 February the Temryuk People's Court sentenced Pavel Matyash from Starotitarovskaya Station to two years' ordinary-regime camps under article 80 of the R S F S R Criminal Code ('Refusing the Regular Call-Up ...'). He had been arrested on 11 December (*Chronicle 55*).

Breaking-up of Prayer-meetings

On 16 March a service (attended by about 50 people) at the home of V. A. Razumovsky in Evseyevo village, Pavlo-Posad District, Moscow Region, was broken up. Razumovsky was fined 50 roubles.

* * *

On 23 April a meeting of a Pentecostalist community (Presbyter Stepan Kostyuk) was broken up in Moscow. About 50 believers were present. A police-officer and three vigilantes tried to stop the service, and when this did not work they summoned a car full of police. Ten of those taking part in the service, two of whom had exit visas for West Germany, were taken to Police Station 140, where they spent about 24 hours. They were questioned about registration of their community.

On 24 April the unregistered community's prayer-meeting was broken up by police and vigilantes. About 200 people were present at the meeting. The women were released at once but about 30 men were detained.

* * *

On 24 April, in the town of Maloyaroslavets, Kaluga Region, a prayer-meeting held by an unregistered community in the home of

the Barkhatov family was broken up. About 60 people were present at the meeting.

At the beginning of the meeting Zarapin, Deputy Chairman of the District Soviet EC, two police lieutenants, some vigilantes and members of the public appeared in the doorway. Zarapin ordered the meeting to stop and everyone present to disperse immediately. Presbyter V. G. Murashkin called everyone to prayer. The faithful started to pray and Zarapin ordered the police and vigilantes to approach the table and take away the leaders of the meeting. The believers joined hands, forming a chain and not allowing the attackers through. The latter began to seize the people at the edge and to drag them out of the room one by one. In this way the majority of the believers were removed. However, 15 people managed to remain; they stood there, praying, for two hours — by which time the attackers had lifted their siege and driven away, taking three people to the police station. Those detained were released 20 minutes later.

Miscellaneous

The leader of the Pentecostalist community in Maloyaroslavets, Bishop Ivan Petrovich Fedotov (*Chronicles* 34, 36) has been summoned on several occasions by the local authorities regarding the registration of the community. Fedotov refuses to register, pointing out the discrepancy between the USSR Constitution, which grants everyone the right to profess any faith, and the 'Statutes on Religious Cults', which enables this rights to be limited. On 21 March 1980 the Kaluga regional newspaper *Banner [Znamya]* published an article about Fedotov, entitled 'Under a Mask of Piety'.

On 6 March several Pentecostalists were summoned to the Starotitarovskaya Station Soviet, where officials Kirichenko, Kulish and Stepanov told them that it was absolutely forbidden for believers to gather together for worship until they had registered their community. Otherwise they would be fined.

On 21 April an administrative commission from the Maloyaroslavets Town Soviet EC fined U. T. Evtyukhina 50 roubles for 'gathering together a group of believers for prayers without having registered with the Soviet authorities'. Evtyukhina is a cleaner, with a monthly salary of 70 roubles.

The Right to Leave

Moscow. On 9 November 1979, at 1 pm, 70-year-old A. R. Agapova walked into Red Square carrying a banner with the words: 'Brezhnev, Let the Agapov Family Leave!' written on it. Agapova, whose son went abroad and did not return, and her daughter-in-law have been trying for many years to leave the USSR (*Chronicles* 51, 53, 54). A police-officer and two men in plain clothes took Agapova to a police station and from there she was taken to Psychiatric Hospital No. 1. No treatment was prescribed. On 19 November she was released with a sick-leave certificate filled in with the diagnosis: 'heart attack'.

Moscow. On 21 December 1979 Evgeny Nikolayev was refused permission to go as a visitor to West Germany (*Chronicle* 55). On 28 January he was summoned to the UVD of Moscow's Soviet District, where O V I R Inspector Askov asked him to hurry up and collect the documents necessary for arranging his departure to take up permanent residence in Israel. On 4 February Nikolayev was again summoned to the Soviet District UVD. Senior Inspector Shatayev told him: 'We are being told to hurry up. The sooner you get your documents together, the sooner you will leave'.

However the authorities in Ust-Kut, Irkutsk Region, where E. Nikolayev's father B. A. Nikolayev lives, refused to witness the latter's signature on a document giving his consent for his son's departure to Israel. Initially the reason given was that E. Nikolayev was not entered in his father's passport. When B. A. Nikolayev produced copies of his son's birth certificate and of his own certificate of divorce from Evgeny's mother, he was told that the house management committee 'is not empowered to stamp certificates for people who are emigrating, or for anyone who is trying to help them, even if they are closely related'.

In a statement dated 22 February and addressed to the Chairman of the Ust-Kut Town Soviet EC and to the Irkutsk Regional Soviet EC, E. Nikolayev wrote:

... if the house management committee ... is really not empowered to witness my father's signature, please send me an official answer stating which legal statute and which paragraph refers to this, so that I can send this official reply to O V I R in Moscow.

E. Nikolayev's wife Tyan Zaochnaya is in a similar position. A. K. Leonova, Secretary of the Sharomy Village Soviet, Milkovo District, Kamchatka Region, told Zaochnaya's mother N. Abakumova that 'officially, we are not permitted to witness any documents unless requested to do so by O V I R'.

At an interview on 21 February, Senior Inspector Shatayev told E. Nikolayev: 'Your case will not be settled within a few days, but it won't go on for several months. So hurry up about obtaining your parents' certified consent'. In March a commission from Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky came to Sharomy village and verified E. Nikolayev's statement, after receiving a statement from A. K. Leonova.

On 3 April, about three months after N. Abakumova had first approached A. Leonova, the latter witnessed her signature on the statement of consent. However, availing herself of Abakumova's lack of education, Leonova wrote her [Abakumova's] patronymic incorrectly: 'Alekseyevna' instead of 'Aleksandrovna'.

In mid-April E. Nikolayev submitted to O V I R the documents necessary for emigration. He was told that he would receive a reply in about two months' time. Meanwhile, on 20 April, his passport expired. Nikolayev refuses to exchange his old passport for one of the new type, in protest against the repressions to which the authorities have subjected him and also because he renounced his Soviet citizenship on 25 November 1977. He agrees to give up his passport only in exchange for an exit visa.

* * *

Moscow. On 13 April the writer and translator L. Z. Kopelev, winner of this year's literary prize from the German Academy of Language and Literature, sent a request to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet for permission to go to West Germany for two or three years. He and his wife had often been invited by their friends Heinrich Böll and Marion Dönhoff, and also by the German Academy of Language and Literature. The invitations have the support of German Social Democratic Party leaders Willy Brandt and Egon Bahr, who have written and talked about the matter to German and Soviet officials. Kopelev writes that the visit is necessary to enable him to continue work on three books which he began some time ago. In order to complete them he needs to consult West German archives and libraries.

L. Kopelev says in his statement that he was forced to appeal directly to the 'highest State leaders' since he could not obtain a satisfactory response from other official bodies.

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Moscow Region. In December 1979 mathematician Vadim Yankov, who lives in Dolgoprudnoye, near Moscow, was refused permission to emigrate (he submitted his application in September 1978). The explanation given was: 'You live in a closed town'.

On 5 February, during an interview at the All-Union O V I R office, Yankov pointed out that A. Voloshanovich, who lived in Dolgoprudnoye, was leaving the U S S R at this time (see 'Have Left'). He was

told: 'Our business is to inform you of the reason for refusal and of the time when you may submit your next application'.

* * *

Leningrad. On 28 December 1979 G. M. Shikarev sent a statement to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet requesting permission for himself and his family to emigrate to any West European country or to the U S A. He mentioned in the statement that he and his wife T. Mamonova (*Chronicle 55*) are interested in avant-garde art and would like to devote themselves to it. Furthermore, Mamonova is an ardent feminist; she helped to produce one issue of a feminist literary miscellany and on account of this has recently been harassed by the K G B.

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Lvov Region. On 3 February Ivan Kandyba (*Chronicle 53*) submitted another application for permission to emigrate. On 14 February he sent a letter to Brezhnev in which he explained his decision to emigrate.

At the beginning of April surveillance of Kandyba was extended for another six months, because on 20 March he had not slept at home (he was on duty at the boiler-house); for this breach of surveillance regulations a court fined him 20 roubles on 25 March. On 18 April Kandyba received a refusal from O V I R, dated 14 March.

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Uzghorod. On 17 February Alexander Maksimov sent an appeal to the U S Congress describing his situation and asking Congressmen to help him emigrate from the U S S R and avert the arrest with which he is being threatened. On 25 February he and his mother were summoned to the police station in connection with the fact that he had no job. Here again the conversation centred on violation of residence regulations and parasitism; they were then taken to see the City Procurator, in whose office the conversation continued. Towards evening Investigator Major Senko accompanied them home, where a search was carried out. After the search A. Maksimov was driven away.

On 10 April his mother, Galina Maksimova, was informed that Alexander had been transferred, without trial, to 'chemistry' [forced labour without imprisonment]. The following day she received an anonymous post-card to the effect that on 7 April her son had 'gone away' to a psychiatric hospital in Lvov. On 15 April, however, Senko told her that her son was still in an investigations prison.

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Ivano-Frankovsk Region. Ivan Sivak, his wife and three children, who live in Dubrovo Village have been trying for about ten years to

obtain permission to emigrate to Canada, where Ivan's father lived and died. In August 1979 Sivak renounced his Soviet citizenship and returned his passport. On 19 February 1980 he was arrested for 'violation of the residence regulations'.

On 27 February the Orthodox priest **Miron Sas-Zhurakovsky**, who refused a passport of the new type, was arrested in Kolomiya for 'violation of the residence regulations'. While still a child, Father Miron and his mother were forcibly deported from Germany, where his parents, former Polish citizens, had German passports. His father served in the German Army.

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Klaipeda. In November **Ju. Gimbutas** (*Chronicle 55*) was warned three times by the K G B that unless he took a passport, criminal charges would be brought against him; he was given a deadline of two months to obtain a passport and find a job. On 25 November he was fined 10 roubles by the Town Soviet E.C. On 22 January criminal charges were brought against him. On 12 February his case was heard in court, with E. Parochka as Chairman. Gimbutas refused the services of a lawyer and stated that he did not recognize the court in its present composition, as the court had considered him guilty from the start: conviction by [Stalin-period] three-man Special Boards was not considered legal even by Soviet judicial organs. When the court retired to consider its verdict, Gimbutas left the courtroom. The continuation of the trial was delayed. It resumed on 23 April. Gimbutas was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for 'violation of the residence regulations'. He is now in a camp in Kapsukas.

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Marija Jurgutiene has been trying for six years to obtain permission to emigrate to the U S A to join her husband **A. Jurgutis** (*Chronicles 36, 44, 45, 47, 49*), who did not return to the U S S R from a trip abroad.

The usual reply from the Lithuanian O V I R informs Jurgutiene that her husband has permission to join her in Lithuania. Jurgutiene considers this reply a mockery, since Jurgutis's return to Lithuania would inevitably lead to his arrest for 'treason'. In a letter dated 29 January addressed to Griškevičius, First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Jurgutiene writes:

My daughter and I feel like hostages, although my husband was not and has not become a political activist. He stayed away abroad only because he wanted to devote himself exclusively to art.

* * *

Riga. On 16 February **Yury Maksimov** (*Chronicle 53*) sent a letter

addressed 'To the U S Congress. To the Commission Monitoring the Observance of the Provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe'. Maksimov describes how he decided, while still a young man, that he wanted to emigrate from the U S S R, how he tried to achieve his wish and what persecution he has suffered at the hands of the authorities.

Copies of Maksimov's 1975, 1978 and 1979 statements to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet (*Chronicle 53*) were attached to the letter.

Jews

On 1 December 1979 officials at the Leningrad District U V D in Kiev refused to give **L. K. Kozelskaya** an application form for emigration. An O V I R inspector added: 'In our opinion there is no reason for you to go there!' Kiev and Ukrainian Republic O V I R officials confirmed that the inspector had acted correctly.

On 29 February Kozelskaya sent a statement to Brezhnev describing the reasons behind her decision to emigrate. She concluded:

I ask you to take action over my request to leave the U S S R, since the actions of the people concerned with the emigration of Soviet citizens should be in accordance with the international agreements and Covenants and above all the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which have been signed by Soviet leaders.

* * *

On 4 January Moscow refusenik **Viktor Elistratov** (*Chronicles 53-55*) came to Kiev to visit **Sergei Rotshtein**, who (together with **Yosif Bussel**) was due for release after a routine 15 days' imprisonment (*Chronicle 55*).

At 11 am Elistratov and Rotshtein's family met Rotshtein and Bussel outside the gates of the Kiev City Special Detention Centre and they all went to Rotshtein's home together. When Rotshtein and Elistratov left the house on the morning of 5 January a GAZ-89 car drove up to them and three men in plain clothes jumped out (Rotshtein knew one of them by sight as Odintsov, an official of the Kiev K G B). The men forced Elistratov into the car, but left Rotshtein behind, saying: 'You are free for the time being'. The car headed towards the station. On the way Odintsov said to Elistratov: 'Turn out your pockets!' Elistratov answered: 'That's none of your business!', whereupon he was searched forcibly. Only his passport and 25 roubles were taken. At the station he was handed over to the police and spent about five hours in a detention cell. He was then put on a train bound for Moscow. Odintsov said in parting: 'Citizen Elistratov, if you visit Kiev again, we won't be able to guarantee your safety, won't be able to restrain the anger of the public'. Ten minutes before the train arrived

in Moscow, the carriage conductor to whom Elistratov had spoken in Kiev approached him and gave him his passport, saying: 'I was told to give you this'. Instead of 25 roubles the passport contained only ten (the ticket from Kiev to Moscow costs 15 roubles).

* * *

On 1 February Leonid Varvak's (*Chronicle* 53) wife Lilianna was summoned to the Kiev OVIR office, where she was told that she had been refused permission to emigrate and that 'OVIR has not yet decided the reason. However, that's only a matter of time'.

The Varvak family has been trying to obtain permission to emigrate for about two years. There are three children (aged from two-and-a-half to five years) and they live on Leonid's pension (he is a Group 2 invalid). Once it became known that Lilianna was trying to emigrate to Israel, she was refused work wherever she applied; she cannot even get a job as a cleaner.

* * *

On 19 March representatives of the Kiev refuseniks had an interview in Moscow with K. I. Zotov, Head of USSR OVIR. They informed him that over the past six months Kiev OVIR had issued about 70 permissions to emigrate and had refused about 3,000 families. Only people who had invitations from parents or children in Israel were being granted permission. V. N. Siforov, Head of Kiev OVIR, and Yu. L. Titarenko, Head of Kiev UVD, had both said that this policy towards Jewish emigration had now been adopted throughout the USSR.

On 20 April the weekly *Moscow News* published some information provided by Zotov. The article was entitled: 'An Exit Visa? — In a Couple of Days!'. Zotov maintained that refusals to grant exit visas to 'people of Jewish nationality' were of a temporary nature and that the relative number of such people was minimal.

On 23 April a large group of refuseniks from Kiev intended to make another journey to Moscow, this time to the Central Committee of the CPSU. But on 21 and 22 April many refuseniks were summoned for questioning and 'chats' at which they were threatened with reprisals for their visits to Moscow and ordered to stop signing collective letters of protest.

On the same day raids were organized — near trains due to leave for Moscow and in Kiev's airports — on people of Jewish appearance. If someone was suspected of belonging to a group representing Kiev refuseniks, he was detained. All documents, letters, statements, notepads and notebooks were confiscated. Nevertheless, at 11 am on 23 April, about 40 Kiev refuseniks gathered at the Central Committee of the CPSU [in Moscow]. At 3 pm a few of them were received by Central Committee official A. A. Glukhovtsev.

On 26 April Kiev refuseniks wrote an appeal to the Jewish people in which they describe their situation and their visit to the Central Committee:

... When the group left the reception room after the interview, the narrow street outside the Central Committee building was surrounded by police; there were about ten cars, a lorry packed with armed policemen and hung with some sort of balloons, and numerous people in plain clothes, walking up and down the street, keeping their eyes fixed on the group of representatives.

These were terrible moments — 40 unarmed people and a punitive battalion ready to pounce on them. These moments were as frightening as everyday life: there are 2,000 refusenik Jewish families here and everywhere the machine of repression is ready to pulverize them ...

Germans

On 15 February the Moscow Helsinki Group published its Document No. 122, 'On the Obstacles to Family Unity Facing German Citizens of the USSR':

The Moscow Helsinki Group has received a letter signed by 98 German citizens of the USSR whose families have for many years been trying unsuccessfully to join their close relatives in West Germany.

Helsinki Group member E. Bonner has given copies of this letter to the press.

The Moscow Helsinki Group believes that the rights of these families have been grossly violated. The denial of their right to emigrate to West Germany clearly contravenes Basket 3 of the Final Act of the European Conference in Helsinki.

The Group asks the UN Commission on Human Rights, the US Congressional Committee on Human Rights, all governments who signed the Helsinki Final Act, and, in particular, the West German government, to study this letter from 98 German families and to help them emigrate to West Germany.

* * *

At 4.10 pm on 31 March a demonstration by Germans wanting to emigrate to West Germany took place in Moscow's Red Square. About 30 people had intended to take part in the demonstration, but just before it began Germans who had arrived from Nartkala in the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR were detained by police. Only five people, from Kotovo in Volgograd Region, managed to get to Red Square. They carried banners saying: 'We Want to Live in our Motherland, the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany]'. All five were immediately seized by police and taken to a public order point beside Red

Square. Their names were: **Viktor** (b. 1952) and **Lydia** (b. 1957) **Ebel**, **Viktor** (b. 1953) and **Alvina** (b. 1955) **Fritsler** and **Gotfrid Oblinder** (b. 1953).* The Ebel and Fritsler families have been refused permission to emigrate by O V I R on five occasions.

Baptists

Vladimir and **Marla Khallo** from the town of **Krasny Luch** in **Voroshilovgrad Region** (*Chronicle* 48) have been trying to obtain permission to emigrate since 1974. On 2 February they sent a statement to the USSR Procuracy complaining about the actions of Voroshilovgrad O V I R officials, who had groundlessly refused them an exit visa. When they had complained about this to higher authorities, their complaints had been referred to the O V I R office in question to be dealt with. Their statement also describes the persecution of their family by the authorities.

* * *

At the end of February or the beginning of March **Moscow Helsinki Group** member **T. Osipova** was informed by telephone that the **Lebedev family** from **Kiev** intended to come and see her to tell her about the harassment to which they were being subjected. A few days after this telephone call K G B officials informed the **Lebedevs** that there was no need for them to go to **Moscow**; they would receive an answer to their application to emigrate within a month.

Pentecostals

Pentecostals who had submitted applications to emigrate for religious reasons and had renounced their Soviet citizenship in 1977 sent a statement to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 11 February. In this statement, the reprisals against **Fedor Sidenko**, **Ilya Goretoi**, **Nikolai Goretoi**, **Pavel Matyash** and **Pavel Lupanov** (*Chronicles* 54, 55 and this issue) are described at the authorities' answer to their decision to emigrate. In this connection the authors state that no official repression will force them to change their decision to leave a country whose leader has said that communism and religion are incompatible.

* * *

On 10 January Pentecostals who had applied for permission to leave the USSR appealed to the UN Human Rights Commission, to Amnesty International, to the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent, to the World Council of Churches and to

*German spellings: Alwina, Fritsler, Gottfried.

Christian organizations throughout the world, to the World Tribunal and to the World Federation of Women to come to the defence of preacher **Nikolai Petrovich Goretoi**, who was under investigation in a prison in **Krasnodar** (*Chronicle* 55). The appeal was signed by 667 people.

* * *

In February a number of Estonian Pentecostals were summoned for 'talks'. The subjects of these 'talks' were **Bishop N. P. Goretoi** and **V. Elistratov**. The Pentecostals were told that **Elistratov** had been arrested.

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The following were summoned to **Krasnodar K G B** headquarters for questioning in connection with the case of **N. P. Goretoi**: **N. Bobarykin** and **V. Bibikov** on 3 March; **E. Goretoi** on 11 March; **V. Galushkin** on 12 March; **A. Pishchenko** on 17 March; **V. Denchik** on 24 March; **A. Kovalenko** and **V. Arbuzov** on 31 March; and **V. Taranenko** on 29 February, 1 and 28 March.

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At the end of January 17 people were questioned by the K G B in **Nakhodka**: **V. Poleshchuk**, **B. Perchatkin**, **Z. Perchatkina**, **Yu. Zherebilov**, **V. Patrushev**, **V. Istomin**, **S. Onishchenko**, **T. Prokopchuk**, **V. Stepanov**, **S. Oshlaban**, **A. Yurovskikh** and **I. Patrushev** (the names of the others are not known to the *Chronicle*). They were all brought in by force — some from work, others from home. Not a single record was made.

The Pentecostals were questioned about **N. P. Goretoi** and **V. Elistratov** (they were told that both had been arrested). **Istomin** was told that any future contact with **Elistratov** would be regarded as a crime. Questions were also asked about believers' attitudes to events in **Afghanistan**, and attempts were made to persuade them to give up the idea of emigration.

In mid-March **Sokolov**, Deputy Procurator of **Nakhodka**, questioned **V. Stepanov** and **A. Ralyan**. The questions concerned **N. P. Goretoi**. **Ralyan** was also asked about his views on the emigration of Pentecostals (**Ralyan** is opposed to emigration).

At the same time **B. Perchatkin** was questioned by **Romashkin**, Procurator of **Nakhodka**. The interrogation lasted about six hours: two hours were taken up with questions about **N. P. Goretoi** and the remaining four with questions about **Perchatkin** himself. He was asked about his acquaintance with **T. Osipova**, **T. Velikanova**, **Z. Shcheglova**, **Yu. Orlov**, **A. Ginzburg**, **A. Shcharansky**, **A. Polishchuk**, **V. Elistratov**, **A. Sakharov**, **E. Bonner**, **Yu. Yarym-Agayev**, **G. Yaku-**

nin, V. Kapitanchuk, L. Alekseyeva, T. Khodorovich and S. Khodorovich. Solokov joined in part of the interrogation. He shouted at Perchatkin and tried to make him sign a warning about giving false evidence and a record of the interrogation.

At the end of March searches were carried out at the homes of B. Perchatkin, his mother L. Perchatkina, V. Patrushev, Yu. Zherbilov and V. Stepanov. Letters from abroad, addresses and magnetic tapes were confiscated. A statement addressed to the UN Human Rights Commission, journalists' and Congressmen's visiting cards, religious samizdat and tamizdat [samizdat literature published abroad] were also confiscated from Perchatkina. They took Perchatkin's notebook (no one else's notebook was confiscated) and damaged his stove looking for a hiding-place; the cushions were ripped open and boards were torn down from the verandah roof; everything was tapped (the other searches did not include this). Religious poetry was torn out of the hands of Stepanov's wife (in her fifth month of pregnancy) when she did not want to hand it over, and her hand later swelled up. During the search at Patrushev's home his wife began to feel ill — twice an ambulance was called. The children (he has ten) returned from school and spent four hours outside in the frost before they were allowed into the house; meanwhile, the people inside were not allowed to go out to the toilet.

Two days later all five who had been searched were summoned by the KGB for questioning about the confiscated items. They were also asked about Goretoi. No one gave evidence or signed the record.

On 2 April B. Perchatkin was brought in by force for questioning (he had not gone in response to a summons) in connection with the case of T. Velikanova (see 'The Case of Velikanova'). On 8 April he was again brought in for questioning by the KGB in connection with Goretoi's case. Lieutenant-Colonel Kuzmin, a Senior Investigator for especially important cases, conducted the interrogation. Perchatkin asked for some paper, so that he could state in writing that he refused to give evidence, since his oral statements were ignored. In answer, Kuzmin began the 'interview' and then the interrogation. He wrote down the questions and some sort of answers for Perchatkin and then tried to read him the record, but Perchatkin refused to listen.

* * *

Vladimir and Anna Konopatsky, from Chernilevka village, Ternopol Region, are trying to obtain permission to emigrate to the USA. The local authorities, demanding that they give up the idea of emigration, have been threatening to fine them and putting pressure on Anna's parents (she is 22 and a Group 1 invalid), who have also been trying to prevent her leaving the country. The Konopatskys were condemned and insulted at a village meeting and in the local press.

They have appealed to K. Waldheim to intervene with the Soviet authorities on their behalf and to help them go to the USA.

* * *

Alexander Balak and his family (his wife Raisa, four children and their son-in-law), who live in Zhdanov, have been trying since January 1978 to obtain permission to leave the USSR. They have still not received a reply to their application.

Soon after the Balaks had applied to emigrate and renounced their Soviet citizenship, they began to receive summonses to the District Soviet E.C. In 1979 they had an interview there with some man who told them that if they persisted in their attempt to emigrate they might get beaten up by citizens of the town and that the authorities would not protect them. These threats were made in the presence of P. M. Kiselev, the Regional Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs. On 30 November 1979 this same man, in the presence of the chairman and secretary of the City Soviet E.C. made similar threats against the Balaks and other believers who had applied for permission to emigrate.

On 26 January a certain Agayev beat up Balak's sons Igor and Vitaly. Their mother phoned the police three times, but no one came. The same day the whole family went to Police Support Point No. 23, in an attempt to obtain protection. A police captain who refused to give his name told them the police would not protect them because they had renounced their citizenship. For a week the Balaks did not let their children go to school, to prevent them from being attacked. The police then forced the children to go to school, but Agayev was made to sign a statement that he would not beat the children again.

On 13 February Igor was beaten up at school and in the evening four hooligans beat up Igor and his parents. The police did not come this time either. The next morning the family abandoned their home and left the town; now they have nowhere to live. On 18 February Alexander and Raisa Balak and their elder daughter Lyudmila Tarasenko sent a statement to the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs and the USSR Procurator-General, asking them to take steps to restrain the criminals, and to punish the police officials who let them get away with it, and also to take action against the official who had threatened them with violence in the District and City Soviet E.Cs.

Have Left

On 17 January P. M. Egides (*Chronicle 55*), a member of the editorial board of the journal *Searches*, left the USSR.

On 22 January Andrei Tverdokhlebov (*Chronicles 36, 40*), a founder-

member of the Human Rights Committee (*Chronicle 17*), left the country from Moscow.

On 30 January **E. Gabovich** (*Chronicles 53-55*) and refusenik **E. Tsirlin** (see 'The Exile of Sakharov'), both from Moscow, emigrated.

On 1 February **I. Zholkovskaya**, wife of **A. Ginzburg** (*Chronicle 53*), and his mother **L. I. Ginzburg** left for the U.S.A. I. Zholkovskaya's efforts to obtain permission for her 22-year-old adopted son **Sergei Shibayev** (*Chronicles 53, 54*) to emigrate, were unsuccessful. Following the departure of I. Zholkovskaya and the arrest of **M. Landa** (see 'The Trial of Landa') only **S. Khodorovich** remains at liberty in the USSR as an administrator of the Aid Fund for Political Prisoners.

On 5 February **A. Voloshanovich** (*Chronicles 50-52, 54*), psychiatric consultant to the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, left the USSR.

In March, immediately after his release from exile, **M. Kheifets** left the USSR.

On 14 April **Igor Zhiv** (*Chronicles 51, 52, 54*) of Moscow left the country.

* * *

On 13 April former political prisoner **G. Davydov** (*Chronicles 29, 36, 46, 47*) left the country from Leningrad. Davydov returned to Leningrad from exile in the summer of 1979. On 27 February 1980 he and his wife **V. Isakova** were asked to go to the Leningrad OVIR office; a letter from Israel, asking OVIR to let the Davydov family leave the USSR because Isakova's cousin in Israel was seriously ill, was read out to them (a similar fabrication was shown to **N. Lesnichenko** by Leningrad OVIR — see below; until then Davydov had not applied to OVIR, although in letters and telephone calls to his friends he had asked them to send him and his family an invitation). The OVIR inspector told the Davydovs that they could take emigration forms with them if they wished; their documents must be submitted within a month. By March Davydov had already received permission.

* * *

R. Popova (b. 1939) of Moscow, who worked as a senior inspector of the Editorial-Publishing Council at the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, applied for permission to emigrate in May 1979.

On 18 July she sent a letter to the Council of Ministers, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and to the editorial boards of *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, in which she gave an unflattering review to Brezhnev's books *Small Land* and *Rebirth*. On 25 August **G. V. Loshilov**, a psychiatrist from the District Psychiatric Clinic, arrived at Popova's home for a 'talk'. Popova decided not to talk to him.

She was forced to live with friends to avoid forcible internment in hospital. Nevertheless, on 6 November, when she was recovering in hospital from an ear operation, two orderlies arrived in the ward to take her to a psychiatric hospital. Doctors intervened and prevented her forcible hospitalization. On 30 November, having received permission to emigrate, **R. Popova** left the USSR.

Between Emigration and Prison

With increasing frequency the authorities are saying to undesirable people: 'leave the country, or we'll lock you up'. **Irina Korsunskaya**, for example, was placed in this dilemma during the 'week of preventive talks' in Moscow (see above).

At the beginning of April **Anatoly Marchenko** (*Chronicles 35, 36, 51*) was asked to come to Aleksandrov (he lives just outside). There he was told by KGB official to leave the country, as he would not survive a new sentence under article 70.

* * *

At the beginning of April **Natalya Lesnichenko** (*Chronicles 42, 43, 45*) was summoned to the OVIR office in Leningrad, where she was shown a letter 'from friends of her grandmother in Israel'. It was stated in the letter that 'granny' had sent her 'granddaughter' several invitations and her friends were asking OVIR to arrange for Lesnichenko's departure.

A week later Lesnichenko told OVIR Inspector Pilina that she would decide whether to emigrate after she had visited her husband **L. Volokhonsky** (*Chronicles 53, 55*). The next visit was scheduled to take place on 10 May. Pilina told Lesnichenko that she had to give her answer earlier than that, otherwise she would not be allowed to leave (Lesnichenko had previously been threatened, via a third party, with charges of 'treason'). After her conversation at OVIR Lesnichenko asked permission from the camp administration for an unscheduled visit. Permission was granted.

A few days before the visit two KGB officials came to see Volokhonsky to find out whether he was planning to emigrate. Volokhonsky replied that at present he had no such intention and that after his release he wanted to study philosophy 'somewhere quiet'. Then they asked him whether he knew that his wife was planning to emigrate and that if she did not do so, she would be faced with a long 'term'. Volokhonsky said that he did not know his wife's intentions, but he would not stand in the way of her departure.

On 22 April Volokhonsky had a short visit from his wife, who

stated afterwards that she had been unable to come to a decision about emigration due to the presence of a camp official. She was then granted a long visit of 24 hours.

* * *

On 24 February, election day, two 'plainclothes men' came to see Vladimir Voinovich. One of them, who introduced himself as an official from the District Party Committee, told him that his life would become intolerable unless he emigrated.

In April a writer of Voinovich's acquaintance told him about a conversation between two high-ranking officials of the State Publishing Committee, at which the writer had been present. These 'high-ranking officials' said that Voinovich ought to emigrate, but that they valued his contribution to Soviet literature highly and would not wish him to be lost to it forever; Voinovich could leave with a Soviet passport (as a rule those leaving the USSR are deprived of their Soviet citizenship), and everything would then depend upon his behaviour. Voinovich asked his acquaintance to pass on the message that he agreed, as long as he had no trouble obtaining permission to emigrate and provided his wife's parents were allowed to live in his flat, and could have a telephone installed in it (*Chronicle* 43). A few days later he received a reply through the same source that his terms had been accepted, but that he had to leave by 15 July; if he was in Moscow during the Olympic Games, he would be placed under house-arrest. Voinovich said that he would leave in September, but that he would not be in Moscow during the Olympics. 'From above' came agreement and instructions that Voinovich should now apply to OVIR.

Voinovich went to the city OVIR office ('rank and file' would-be emigrants in Moscow have to go to the OVIR inspectors at their district UVD) and showed the inspector a telegram of invitation from the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts, of which he is a member (*Chronicle* 43). In answer to the objection that such a telegram could not be regarded as an invitation, Voinovich asked him to go down 'to the second floor' — to his boss's office. On his return it turned out that everything was in order, and he was given emigration application forms.

* * *

On 8 April the poet Yury Kublanovsky, a contributor to *Metropol*, was asked to come to the KGB. On the table in front of S. V. Bulavin, who had summoned him, lay a copy of the journal *Kontinent*, in which Kublanovsky's poems had been published, and the Criminal Code. Bulavin told Kublanovsky that if the doctors pronounced him well (at one time Kublanovsky had been on the out-patient list at a

psychiatric clinic, but the clinic had left him alone for several years) he would be charged under article 70. He then read out the text of the article. In conclusion he said: 'Don't think we'll let you rest on your laurels. I advise you to find another base'.

In the Prisons and Camps

Chistopol Prison

A. Shcharansky's (trial — see *Chronicle* 50) three-year prison term ended in March and he was sent to a camp (see 'The Perm Camps').

* * *

Yu. Shukhevich is having trouble with his eyes and gums.

The Mordovian Camps

Camp 1 (special regime)

On 25 December 1979 A. Tikh'y's wife sent a telegram addressed to Brezhnev and Shchëlokov:

My husband ... is enduring inhuman suffering and humiliation. As a result he resorted to setting fire to himself. I ask for permission to visit him or permission to attend his funeral.

On 27 December O. A. Tikhaya went to the Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions. She was received by Kazantsev. Tikhaya said that unless she was allowed to see her husband she too would set fire to herself — in Red Square. Kazantsev asked her to leave the room for a while. When she returned, he told her that Tikh'y had not set fire to himself (according to some reports, Fedorenko had set fire to himself as a protest against the humiliation of Tikh'y). Kazantsev told Tikhaya that she could visit her husband as long as she did not talk about his health and confirmed afterwards that he had not set fire to himself. Tikhaya replied that after the visit she would say whatever her husband told her to say. It was suggested that she think it over.

In January-February Tikh'y spent a total of about 40 days, with small breaks in between, in the cooler. For 'unbecoming conduct' he was deprived of a long visit (due in January); for 'contravening prison regulations' he was deprived of a short visit (scheduled for July).

RSFSR Procuracy official Odintsov told Tikh'y's wife that her husband was being punished for tearing off his number tag, not standing up for officers, demonstratively refusing to work, and being a bad influence on his fellow-prisoners.

At this time, according to a reply from Z. V. Kalenchits, Deputy Head of the MVD Medical Administration, Tikh'y 'was receiving

prophylactic treatment'. Kalenchits also wrote that at the moment there was no evidence that Tikhy needed hospital treatment. Tikhy is not permitted to write about his health, but it is known that in the winter his tubercular scars reopened.

On 30 January Tikhy's mother appealed to the U N Human Rights Commission:

... At the moment he is unable to work because he is seriously ill, yet he is severely punished for not working.

My son is in mortal danger. As a mother, I beg you to help.

M. K. Tikhaya sent a similar appeal to the Red Cross.

* * *

A. Murzhenko and G. Yaškunas have refused to work and to wear their number tags.

* * *

Ivan Gel weighs 42 kilograms (see also *Chronicle 54*).

* * *

In the space of five months (August 1979 to January 1980) Rebrik received three letters from his daughter; it is known that she writes every week. Other prisoners are also finding that letters are not reaching them.

* * *

On 26 February the prisoners were informed that the 'special zone' was being transferred to the Perm camps (see 'The Perm Camps').

Camp 3

Osipov and Soldatov sent the following telegram to Carter:

We sympathize with the plight of the American hostages. We are disturbed by the Tehran bandits' mockery of American honour.

You have our advance support for all your actions.

On 20 January Osipov was taken away somewhere — according to some reports, to Vladimir.

On 23 January a letter from Soldatov to D. Leontev (*Chronicle 50*) on philosophical subjects was confiscated.

In March Soldatov's wife came to visit him, but the visit did not take place because Soldatov was in Saransk for a 'prophylactic session'. Before her departure she had written to the administration to ask about the date of the visit, but had received no reply.

During the winter a notebook containing scientific notes was confiscated from R. Nazaryan (he is a physicist). He is trying to have it returned to him.

On 21 March Yu. Badzë (for his trial see *Chronicle 55*; his name was spelt wrongly in previous issues) arrived here.

The Perm Camps

Camp 35

For striking on 10 December, Human Rights Day, P. Airikyan, Yu. Butchenko, P. Plumpa and M. Karpenok were punished with eight, seven, six and five days in the cooler respectively (it was stated in *Chronicle 54* that Karpenok had been transferred to Mordovian Camp 3; this was evidently a mistake).

D. Verkholyak was put in the cooler for five days for renouncing his citizenship for the second time.

On 21 January P. Airikyan was sentenced to five days in the cooler.

On 31 January he was sentenced to six months in the punishment block, for 'blackmailing the doctor'. The real reasons were probably Airikyan's protests against the exiling of Sakharov and his participation in memorial ceremonies for Zatikyan, Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan (*Chronicle 52*).

Butchenko was sentenced to six months in the punishment block for receiving a parcel through unofficial channels.

On 9 February Airapetov arrived back from the psychiatric barrack, to which he had been transferred after taking part in a strike; he spent three months there.

In December M. Slobodyan was told that he would be given medical treatment 'if he behaved well' (see *Chronicle 51*).

* * *

On 7 January camp Head Osin informed N. Matusevich's sister that the date of his next long visit would be 13 December 1980 and of his short visit — 18 April. In a statement dated 9 January, addressed to the Head of the Main Administration for Corrective Labour Institutions, Tamila Matusevich asks to be informed (for the beginning of the exchanges over visits see *Chronicle 54*) of the following:

— which particular visit Matusevich was deprived of by the resolution of 14 August, the reasons for this punishment and the legal basis on which Osin informed me about this punishment even *before* the resolution was promulgated;

— if there is a resolution depriving Matusevich of his long visit and what it is based on (and if he was deprived of his long visit on 14 August, then where is the resolution depriving him of his short visit?);

— the way in which the dates of the visits as quoted by Osin were decided upon.

In February N. Matusevich was sentenced to six months in the punishment block (the April visit was therefore postponed until October). On 5 February his mother was summoned to the District Soviet, where a K G B official from Kiev told her that she would be able to visit her son if she agreed to 'influence' him.

* * *

A. Shcharansky arrived here from Chistopol Prison. He now has to serve a ten-year camp sentence.

Camp 36 (strict regime)

For the second year running M. Marinovich has been deprived of his long visit (*Chronicle 51*).

* * *

S. Kovalëv was put in the punishment block for six months. As before, there are no letters from him (*Chronicle 54*). In December L. Boitsova wrote to the camp enquiring about her husband's letters. In January camp Head Zhuravkov sent the following reply:

During the period August to December, registered letter No. 952 and a chapter of Marcinkevicius's narrative poem 'The Cathedral' were confiscated.

At the end of March I. Kovalëv wrote to the camp Head enquiring about: the reasons for the confiscation of his last letter to his father; whether he had been given two greetings telegrams and a regular letter; and also about the reasons for, and the length of his sentence in the punishment block. In April he received a reply from Zhuravkov: ... the reasons for the confiscation of letters to prisoner S. A. Kovalëv have been told him; the administration is not obliged to inform relatives about confiscations.

You may find out from S. A. Kovalëv himself whether he received the greetings telegrams and registered letters.

Prisoner S. A. Kovalëv has been placed in the punishment block for contravening the regulations on imprisonment.

In future, address such questions to S. A. Kovalëv.

Zhuravkov did not reply to Kovalëv's wife's earlier enquiry about her husband's confinement in the punishment block.

N. Evgrafov has been transferred here from Mordovian Camp 1 (special regime).

Z. Krasivsky has arrived here to 'serve out' eight months (see 'Events in the Ukraine'); he then has to serve five years in exile.

Camp 36 (special regime)

A special-regime camp has been built on the territory of Camp 36 (*Chronicle 54*). Political prisoners from Mordovian Camp 1 arrived here at the beginning of March.

Prisoners in this camp are not permitted to address two people in a single letter. However, here Tikhy is not prohibited from writing about his health.

In Other Prisons and Camps

On 2 April V. Streltsov (for his trial see *Chronicle 55*) was transferred to a camp. His brother was not permitted to visit him after the trial, although he was legally entitled to do so. V. Streltsov is serving his sentence at a camp in Poltava Region with the address: 315040, p/o Bozhkovo, uchr. OP-317/16. His letters do not reach the addressees.

Pëtr Sichko (for his trial see *Chronicle 55*) works in a pipe-cutting workshop in camp. The camp bosses are displeased because he demanded that the safety regulations be observed. On 6 March he was beaten up by criminal prisoners.

Vasily Sichko (for his trial see *Chronicle 55*) is in a camp with the address: 257000, Cherkassy, uchr. ECh-325/62. He works as a labourer, digging trenches, and is unable to fulfil the norm.

Yu. Litvin (for his trial see *Chronicle 55*) was initially sent to serve his sentence in Belaya Tserkov. In February he was transferred to another camp, with the address: Kievskaya oblast, g. Bucha, uchr. YuL-45/85 (the journey across Kiev Region took a week). Litvin suffers from a stomach ulcer and an intestinal complaint (*Chronicle 39*). He has been given a special diet in camp.

S. Ermolayev (for his trial see *Chronicle 54*) is serving his sentence in Ulan-Ude — uchr. OV-94.

In mid-January A. Gotovtsev (trial — *Chronicle 54*) arrived in a camp. The camp is in Vladimir.

In late January N. Nikitin (for his trial see *Chronicle 54*; see also *Chronicle 55*) was sent from Leningrad's Kresty ['Crosses'] prison to a camp in Kemerovo Region.

In April G. Mikhailov (for his trial see *Chronicle 54*) arrived in a camp with the address: 686310, Magadanskaya oblast, g. Susuman, uchr. AV-261/5. The head of this 'institution' is N. M. Lomakin. Mikhailov has been put in the sewing shop as an apprentice.

I. Korchnoi (for his trial see *Chronicle 55*) is in a camp with the address: 641970, Kurganskaya oblast, Ketovsky raion, st. Prosvet, uchr. OF-73/2. He works in an agricultural unit. A. A. Spalin (*Chronicle 55*) is serving his sentence in the same camp.

A. Stasevich (for his trial see *Chronicle 55*) is serving his sentence in Kirov Region. His camp address is: 612270, Verkhnekamskii raion, pos. Lesnoi, uchr. K-231/25. On 12 March he was sentenced to 15 days in the cooler for refusing to work on tree-felling. After his release from the cooler he was transferred to construction work. The camp administration confiscated two of Stasevich's letters because they were considered to be 'heading towards' article 190-1 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

V. Mikhailov (for his trial see *Chronicle 55*) has arrived in a camp

with the address: 164006, Arkhangelskaya oblast, Konoshsky raion, p/o Sovza, uchr. 233/23.

M. Simchich (*Chronicle 54*) was granted his request for a transfer; in February he was sent to a camp in Zaporozhskaya Region (Orekhovskiy raion, s. Malaya Tokmachka, uchr. YaYa-310/88).

In March **R. Dzhemilev** (for his trial see *Chronicle 55*) arrived in a camp with the address: Krasnoyarsky Krai, Norilsk, uchr. 288/15. He works as an assistant in a warehouse. At the end of April he informed his wife that he was being sent to hospital because of liver failure.

At the beginning of January **E. Buzinnikov** was again (*Chronicle 54*) transferred to another camp. The address: 169200, Komi ASSR, st. Knyazh-Pogost, uchr. AN-243/8-1.

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Vasily Barladyanu's three-year camp term (for his trial see *Chronicle 46*) ended on 2 March. He was not released from camp. On 29 February he was transferred to an investigations prison in Rovno. He is accused of writing 'a lampoon on Soviet reality' and transmitting it outside the camp. Outlines of a cultural seminar led by Barladyanu were confiscated from fellow-prisoners.

After a search in September 1979 (*Chronicle 54*) **Valentina Barladyanu** was summoned for questioning by the KGB on several occasions. In connection with Vasily Barladyanu's case searches were carried out at the homes of Tatyana Rybnikova and two other people in Odessa. Evidently Barladyanu is being charged again under article 187-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (= article 190-1 of the RSFSR Code).

* * *

M. Kukobaka (*Chronicle 54*) has not been allowed to attend a lathe operator's course, to borrow a German-Russian dictionary from a school library, or to buy books at a bookstall. Operations Section officials have confiscated all his addresses (including the addresses of Procuracy officials), copies of complaints, statements and letters, notes on the receipt and sending of letters, a list of his personal belongings and some books in English.

Kukobaka was transferred to a new job — making nets. He is punished with the cooler for failing to fulfil the norm. In November or December he was sentenced to six months in the punishment block for turning away from the screen and blocking his ears with cotton wool in the cinema (going to the cinema is compulsory).

Kukobaka is trying to obtain a transfer to another camp. On 23 April he was taken to hospital in Minsk with an oedema in his leg and pains in the Antrum of Highmore.

* * *

In March **Kirill Podrabinek** (for this trial see *Chronicle 46*) was put in the prison hospital, suffering from open tuberculosis. His doctor O. V. Khadayeva stated that he had already had tuberculosis for about a year. His sentence is due to end on 29 June.

* * *

A copy of the verdict and the appeal in his case have been confiscated from **A. Bolonkin** (for his trial see *Chronicle 51*). On 22 December he was taken to the town hospital with a severe attack of appendicitis; but he was not operated on, and a few hours later was brought back to the camp hospital (*Chronicle 55*). 15 days later, while he still had a temperature, he was taken to the cooler straight from the hospital cell.

From a letter by Bolonkin:

The charge is a standard one: I supposedly wanted to send out illegally a letter of mine to the censors, which I actually handed over to the administration before I was taken to hospital (it was a registered letter with a card for notification of receipt and with my address on it).

As far as I am concerned, banishment to the cold cells of the cooler after a stay in hospital has become a normal occurrence. In May I was in hospital with pneumonia and high blood pressure, and immediately afterwards I was sentenced to a month in the cooler: 15 days for illegal correspondence and 15 days because during a conversation with the camp Head I said to him: 'Fascist!'

As a result, I now suffer from chronic bronchitis, cystitis of the colon, constant stomach pains and blood in the stools. In 1979 I had five X-rays.

In accordance with the new regulations (*Chronicle 48*) Bolonkin's next visit has been postponed for eight months (he has spent six months in the punishment block and 68 days in the cooler). It will take place in October or November. On 5 February Bolonkin was released from the punishment block.

* * *

In December KGB officials asked several prisoners to testify that **I. Zisels** (*Chronicles 54, 55*) was conducting anti-Soviet propaganda in the camp — they were promised privileges in exchange. In answer to Zisels's wife's statement on this subject, N. S. Shcherbina, Senior Assistant to the Chernovtsy Regional Procurator, wrote that her statement:

will not be verified or answered, since you refuse to give the name of the person who informed you about this.

In response to a similar statement, V. P. Grinchuk, head of the department for supervising places of imprisonment of the Chernovtsy Regional Soviet E.C., replied that Mrs Zisels's information 'has not been confirmed'.

In February I. Zisels was sentenced to five days in the cooler. In March he was deprived of his scheduled short visit (it was due to take place in May) because he had visited a prisoner from another section. He was also deprived of access to the camp shop, because he possessed a clean change of underclothes.

Zisels does not receive the medical treatment he needs for his stomach ulcer. The camp medical section often has no amalgam; in these circumstances Zisels is given besalol.

* * *

On 26 February V. Bebko (*Chronicle* 54) was beaten up by other prisoners so badly that he was taken to hospital with concussion and cracked ribs. At first he was put in the hospital in his own camp, but later he was transferred to the psychiatric section of the central camp hospital (445015 Kuibyshevskaya oblast, g. Tolyatti, uchr. UR-65/16).

In March, Bebko's wife Marina Ryabova (*Chronicle* 51; they registered their marriage on 17 December 1979) was granted, as an exception, a short visit to her husband. In a telegram to the Procuracy she stated that she had been shaken by his appearance:

His mental and physical health are in a critical state. I do not have hope that my husband will survive until the end of his camp sentence. I beg you to help him.

Ryabova also appealed for help to Amnesty International.

In Defence of Political Prisoners

I. Kovalëv: 'To the International Court in Strasbourg' (27 December 1979)

Five years ago my father Sergei Adamovich Kovalëv ... was arrested on a charge of 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. In December 1975 the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR sentenced him to seven years' imprisonment in a strict-regime camp and three years' exile.

My father was charged with participating in the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights, collecting information, and producing, editing and sending abroad issues 28-34 of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, with using in it the contents of three issues of the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, with passing information about the camps to foreign correspondents, and with circulating *The Gulag Archipelago*.

The seven issues of the *Chronicle of Current Events* with which he was charged contain 694 episodes. The prosecution investigated 172 of them. My father admitted the possibility of mistakes in 11 episodes (however, he intended to prove that none of them was of a deliberate, slanderous nature). Eighty-nine episodes were pronounced accurate even by the prosecution; in 72 cases my father intended to prove that the *Chronicle* report contained no mistakes.

After explaining that 'all possibilities of defence through official channels have been exhausted', I. Kovalëv requests that his father's case be examined by the International Court.

I. Kovalëv: 'History of a Hunger-Strike. Sergei Kovalëv' (December 1979, 25pp, see *Chronicles* 53 and 54).

Releases

In December the Baptist Ya. Ya. Fot from Dzhambul (*Chronicle* 52) was released from camp after serving a two-year term.

In January the Baptist V. V. Peredereyev from Shakhty in Rostov Region (*Chronicle* 46) was released from camp after serving a three-year term.

On 4 March German Ushakov, a native of Leningrad, was released after serving a five-year term. Some days before his release, he was dispatched from Mordovian Camp 3 to the Leningrad KGB Investigations Prison. His certificate of release gave his destination as Novgorod.

At the beginning of March Teodor Reinkhold (*Chronicle* 46) was released from Mordovian Camp 3 on completion of his 25-year sentence. He has a serious kidney disease.

On 4 March Sergei Grigoryants (*Chronicle* 48) was released from Verkhn-Uralsk Prison after serving a five-year sentence.

On 28 April A. Ivanov (*Chronicles* 48 and 52) was released from the 'Kresty' ['Crosses'] Prison in Leningrad after serving a three-year sentence. He spent the whole of his sentence working in the prison.

In Exile

V. Skvirsky (on his trial see *Chronicle* 53) was first exiled to Ust-Nera. After he had been there about a month he was transferred to the

Kazakh SSR (posëlok Baikadam, Sarysusky raion, Dzhambul'skaya oblast).

* * *

Ust-Nera (Yakut ASSR). Lately A. Podrabinek has been refused telephone communication with Moscow. Deputy Head of Telephone Communications Levchenko informed Podrabinek that this had been done on his instructions, as Podrabinek was using his telephone calls to Moscow 'for anti-State purposes'.

* * *

Zyryanka (Yakut ASSR). From a letter of Mustafa Dzhemilev dated 30 January:

Since the end of December I have been virtually deprived of the opportunity to telephone my friends and relations in other towns, and if there is a word they don't understand in my telegrams, they order me to 'decode' it or replace it with a word they can understand. I tried to quote the relevant article of the Constitution guaranteeing privacy of telephone conversations, but the people in the Telegraph Office just shrugged and said these were their 'superiors' orders' regarding me. Another one said 'You'd better shut up and just be thankful you're allowed to send telegrams at all. After all, you know what sort you are...'

My trunk calls have often been interrupted by operator's exclamations such as: 'I'm warning you, if you say anything else about trials and arrests, I'll break your connection ...', 'Stop talking about self-immolations ...' (we were talking about the erection of a monument on the grave of Musa Mamut, who set fire to himself on 23 June 1978).

Well, now it looks as if there are to be no more conversations at all. Not only do the KGB make no attempt to hide the fact that trunk calls are tape-recorded, they even boast it, either to discourage me in advance from expressing myself freely, or to show that they're busy and not earning a salary for nothing. I shall speak to the Procurator on this subject.

On 5 November T. I. Timchenko, who lives in the same hostel as M. Dzhemilev, sent a 'report' to the commander of the Zyryanka River Port, V. Ya. Ivanov (the hostel belongs to the Port). In it she accuses Dzhemilev of breaking the regulations for use of the communal telephone (when he was going to call New York, Dzhemilev attached a tape-recorder to the telephone in order to record his conversation); Timchenko requests that measures be taken against Dzhemilev.

On 20 [?] December the superintendent of the hostel, R. Kozy, sent Ivanov a 'report' about a conversation of Dzhemilev's which she had overheard:

This is what I understood from the conversation: they were talking about some trial which apparently didn't finish the way they would have liked it to ...

At the end of the conversation Mustafa asked him to write down the address of someone called Davydov. The latter was supposed to pass all this on to political exiles and political prisoners in the camps.

I consider that such conversations should not be held over the telephone and request that measures be taken.

On 29 December Ivanov sent a 'report' to the Head of the Verknekolym'sky District OVD, Major V. S. Shirobokov. Ivanov writes that M. Dzhemilev breaks the regulations for use of the telephone and in his trunk calls utters 'statements which are politically harmful to the Soviet State'. Ivanov also requests that measures be taken against Dzhemilev.

On 28 December a post-office employee informed Dzhemilev that on the orders of the Zhryanka Head of Communications, M. A. Lyapunov, he would no longer be sold coupons for making trunk calls (ie Dzhemilev could now make calls only from the post-office).

Lyapunov also complained to the police that Dzhemilev was breaking trunk call regulations. Lyapunov writes that M. Dzhemilev 'accuses us, ie the communications office, of eavesdropping on his conversations ... I request that it be made clear to Dzhemilev that his actions are of an offensive nature, and that such allegations are slanderous'. As the basis for his complaint Lyapunov encloses a 'report' by telephone operator N. V. Penyagina, which includes summaries of Dzhemilev's conversations.

On 7 February, at the Zyryanka post-office, Dzhemilev was told that on the instructions of the postmaster no insured letters would be accepted from him. Dzhemilev attempted to find out from Lyapunov the reasons and legal grounds for these orders. Lyapunov said that the reasons for the ban on selling coupons to Dzhemilev were the 'reports' by Timchenko, Kozy and Ivanov, of which he had copies. (The ban was made on 28 December; Ivanov's report was dated 28 December.) As grounds for the ban on insured letters he cited the Post Office Regulations:

You want to send photographs, and the regulations say 'snapshots'. It's not the same thing. Snapshots are, for instance, various tastefully photographed landscapes ...

And what if your letter should get wet somewhere, or get lost — you'd hold us responsible, wouldn't you?

On 29 February Dzhemilev sent Shirobokov a statement requesting him thoroughly to inform the 'District Procurator, so that active measures may be taken to put a stop to the illegal restrictions of my

rights'. Literature which Dzhemilev had ordered by the inter-library loan system has stopped reaching Zyryanka. Anyone who has anything to do with Dzhemilev is summoned to a 'talk' by the local K G B official. From Dzhemilev's letter of 22 March:

After several persistent requests for permission I somehow managed to go to his birthday party. A couple of days later they started pestering the poor fellow and trying to make him do what they required — if he was 'really a Soviet citizen'.

* * *

Students of the Crimean Language and Literature Faculty of Tashkent Teacher Training Institute, who had signed a letter demanding M. Dzhemilev's release, were summoned to a 'talk' in October. They were urged to renounce their letter, to agree with Kruzhiin's article on Dzhemilev entitled 'Profession: Parasite' (*Chronicles* 53, 54), and to condemn Dzhemilev. Those who refused were threatened with expulsion from the institute.

* * *

Nyurba (Yakut A S S R). In the middle of January **V. Chornovil** was no longer allowed to make trunk calls, and his mail, which until then had been profuse, dwindled almost to nothing.

On 17 January Chornovil's wife **Atena Pashko** came to see him. From Chornovil's letter of 19 February:

... On 19 January K G B agents sneaked into our locked flat to install or remove something or other. My wife and I had gone to spend a long time with a geologist friend of ours, and had talked about our intention before going out; but we had forgotten something and returned home a few minutes later, by a different street. The 'covering' car (which for some reason was bright orange, the only one of its kind) noticed us too late, sped past us and warned the intruders right under our noses; we spotted one agent leaping over the fence into the neighbouring yard, and another on the porch, locking my door with his key. He too tore past us, muttering something under his breath. Of course we reported the break-in to the police, but the burglars (who took nothing, put possibly left something behind) still haven't been caught.

On 7 April Chornovil went with his employer to **Mirny** on a business trip. That evening he rang Moscow from **Mirny**. On 8 April Chornovil was arrested in **Mirny** and charged with attempted rape. On 16 April **A. Pashko** received a telegram from **Nyurba**, signed with her husband's name, saying that everything was fine. The next day Chornovil's employer said on the telephone that Chornovil was not in **Nyurba**:

'Well, he was drinking and got a bit rowdy, nothing serious.' **Chornovil** is being held in **Markha** settlement (near **Yakutsk**).

* * *

R. Kosterin was sentenced to four years' exile (*Chronicle* 52). In his letters from his place of exile he wrote that his fellow-workers' belongings were beginning to disappear. In March his wife received an official notice:

Your husband **R. F. Kosterin** arrived on 3 March to serve his sentence in Institution UP-288/28 at the following address: 663850, **Krasnoyarsky krai, Ilansky raion, p/o Khairyuzovka, posëlok V. Tugusha ...**

This 'institution' is an ordinary-regime camp.

* * *

Bagdarin (Buryat A S S R). At the end of the winter **E. Sverstyuk** was not permitted to travel to see his dying mother (*Chronicle* 55), although he was already entitled to a leave.

* * *

Mikun (Komi A S S R). On 7 January **V. Konovalikhin** (*Chronicle* 54) again requested permission from the Head of the **Ust-Vym District OVD**, **Captain Chegleyev**, for early leave to visit his parents, who are seriously ill.

I am unable to show you a medical certificate to prove my parents' serious condition, as the medical officials of **Sovetsk, Kaliningrad Region** (where my parents live), refuse to testify to the serious condition of my parents' health *because of my present situation*.

On 22 January **Chegleyev** refused his request.

On 20 February **Konovalikhin** requested permission from the local police for a quick visit to **Syktyvkar**, on the advice of a doctor, to have his heart trouble diagnosed. At police headquarters he was first questioned: 'How many radio receivers have you got at home? What do you think of **Academician Sakharov's** exile? (To which he replied: "That's my personal opinion!") Do you listen to Western radio broadcasts? Are you going to vote in the elections? (He replied: "I'm not!"). His request was then turned down.

* * *

In March the wife of **Mark Morozov** (on his trial see *Chronicle* 53), who is in exile in **Vorkuta**, received a telephone call from an unknown woman, who told her that her husband had been arrested under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code.

Releases

Valentina Pallozde (on her trial see *Chronicle* 51) has completed her term of exile. She has returned to Tbilisi.

In January **M. Kheifets** (*Chronicle* 51) completed his two-year term of exile (see 'The Right to Leave').

On 24 April **G. Superfin** completed his two years in exile (*Chronicle* 51). Just before his release he was summoned to the District Soviet E C, where an order was read out to him, stating that he was to be placed under administrative surveillance for one year in his place of permanent residence (Superfin had chosen Tartu as his place of residence, since he was not allowed to live in Moscow after being sentenced under article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code). The following reasons were given: he had not taken the path of reform; he possessed slanderous literature (by this they meant the literature confiscated from him on 30 January during a search in connection with Case No. 46012/18-76; the order for the search had been issued by Investigator Yu. Burtsev of the Moscow Procuracy; on the day of his release almost all the confiscated books were returned to Superfin, for instance the Bible and Mandelshtam's 'Egyptian Stamp', both published abroad); he had not voted in the elections; he had infringed the regulations governing exiles (when he was granted leave to seek medical treatment in the regional capital, Arkalyk, Superfin had gone to Tselinograd for his own purposes). In addition, Superfin was given a warning 'according to the Decree';³² one of the 'sins' mentioned was that he had collected information about exiles.

In the Psychiatric Hospitals

This section has been compiled largely from four issues of the *Information Bulletin* of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes: No. 20 (8 December 1979), No. 21 (18 February 1980), No. 22 (5 April 1980) and No. 23 (21 May 1980).

On 12 February and 10 April Working Commission members **V. Bakhmin** and **L. Ternovsky** were arrested (see 'Persecution of the Working Commission'). In March **Irina Grivnina** of Moscow joined the Working Commission (her name appeared for the first time on the title page of *Information Bulletin* No. 22). Apart from her, there is one other member of the Working Commission still free: **F. Serebrov**.

On 5 February a consultant psychiatrist of the Working Commission, **A. Voloshanovich**, emigrated from the USSR (see 'The Right to Leave'). *Information Bulletin* No. 22 reports that 'a highly quali-

fied psychiatrist continues to assist' the Working Commission [later announced as Dr Anatoly Koryagin].

In the Special Psychiatric Hospitals [S P Hs]

In November 1979 exiled member of the Working Commission **A. Podrabinek** sent a statement to N. Shchëlov, the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, concerning the pay received by prisoners in S P Hs for their work. Podrabinek points out that the pay does not correspond to the work they do. He asks the Minister to reply, stating whether the Ministry of Internal Affairs intends to

take the necessary steps to organize a system of payment for work done by prisoners in the S P H and to make it correspond to the relevant State laws and the Soviet Constitution.

* * *

In Volgograd Region, on the site where there was previously a camp, a new S P H has been opened: 403850, Kamyshinsky raion, selo Dvoryanskoye, uchrezhdenie YaR-154/SPB.

The Head of the S P H is Major Davydov; the head doctor is Captain **V. Reznik** (formerly a therapist in the camp which occupied the S P H site); the head of the 3rd Section is **P. A. Maryzhev. A. P. Totenko**, who spent half a year working as head of the 3rd Section, resigned because she did not agree with the harsh conditions under which prisoners are held in the S P H.

Section 1 contains solitary cells. Section 5 is under construction; this will consist mostly of solitary cells. The prisoners are forced to work without pay in the sewing workshop, under threat of neuroleptic drug treatment. Criminal prisoners from an ordinary-regime camp are used as orderlies; they beat up the inmates.

Dnepropetrovsk S P H

In autumn 1979 **Iosif Terelya** (*Chronicle* 54) was taken off drugs. In March 1980 a medical commission considered Terelya's discharge, but did not discharge him. Head of Department **N. M. Budkevich** promised Terelya's wife that he would be discharged in the autumn. She warned: 'The slightest deviation from the norm, you can understand, and we start treatment. He must be protected from unnecessary contacts'.

Chernyakhovsk S P H

According to his wife, **Mikhail Zhikharev** (*Chronicle* 51) has lost all his molars. After he was dispatched from Sochi to Chernyakhovsk Zhikharev contracted a lung disease.

In December 1979 **A. Podrabinek** requested the Krasnodar Territory Procurator to use his supervisory powers to appeal against the

decision of 30 May 1978 of the Central District People's Court in Sochi, ruling that Zhikharev should be transferred to an S P H, as it was 'without legal grounds'. He received a refusal from the Procuracy.

Tashkent S P H

Head doctor R. M. Babayev tried persistently to find out from Vladimir Rozhdestvov how he had received a letter through unofficial channels. When Rozhdestvov refused to answer, Babayev told him that he would be given the prescribed drugs (*Chronicle 53*) until he answered (these drugs make Rozhdestvov bend double and writhe with pain), and told him not to count on a favourable decision by the next medical commission (due in May).

* * *

In April some friends of Lev Ubozhko (*Chronicle 54*) were returned a food parcel they had sent to him. Senior Inspector of the S P H Special Department A. I. Khegai gave the following reason for the return of the parcel: 'We do not know the sender'.

Alma-Ata S P H (in Talgar)

At the end of 1979 Nikolai Baranov (*Chronicle 52*) was transferred here from Orël S P H. He is being held in Section 9.

Sychëvka S P H

Over the last year and a half conditions have improved here: the wards are not locked and the orderlies' tyrannical behaviour has ceased.

In the Ordinary Hospitals

On 2 November 1979 Gavriil Yankov was forcibly hospitalized (*Chronicle 54*). On 20 December Yankov had a talk with a psychiatric commission, on 24 December with a psychologist. On 11 January a lawyer was sent to the hospital by Moscow Chief Psychiatrist V. P. Kotov; he told Yankov that his case would soon be heard in court and that psychiatrists would appeal on his behalf for him to be issued a temporary Moscow residence permit and given back his job. On 21 January Yankov was discharged from the hospital; the day before, he had been told that he was being discharged on Kotov's orders, so that he could attend the hearing of his case.

On 2 April Yankov was again forcibly hospitalized: he was invited to a session of the Trade Union Committee for an examination of his complaint that he had been illegally dismissed from work; on arriving he was arrested on the spot by policemen, and taken to a police station; from there he was taken to a psychiatric hospital.

Yankov is being held in Section 8 of Psychiatric Hospital No. 14 (the Section Head is V. Ya. Levitsky).

* * *

Sergei Purtov (*Chronicle 53*) was transferred to another Section (No. 4). On 15 November a friend tried to visit him. However, the doctor in charge of Purtov, Alexander Yakovlevich, told him that Purtov was being held in solitary, and that only his relatives could visit him; he also said that he was required to give information on everybody who visited Purtov, and he asked the visitor to give his name (the latter refused to give his surname). According to the doctor, Purtov's health is the same as before and his discharge is at present out of the question.

* * *

The conditions in which N. Plakhotnyuk (*Chronicles 53, 54*) is being held have worsened: he is being forced, under threat of 'treatment', to refuse the postal orders and parcels which are sent to him. According to his sister, materials recommending his discharge have again been sent to the court.

* * *

At the end of March Vladimir Borisov (*Chronicles 51, 54*) was forcibly hospitalized again in Leningrad (*Chronicles 43, 44*). He was again put in Section 8 of the Skvortsov-Stepanov Psychiatric Hospital No. 3, under A. I. Tobak (*Chronicles 38, 43, 44, 52, 54*). In the middle of April Borisov was sent for in-patient psychiatric diagnosis.

Releases

Numerous admirers of Vyacheslav Zaitsev (*Chronicle 54*) came to his defence: people who had heard his lectures and read his works (here are the titles of some of them: 'Is God's Providence Cruel?', 'Stumbling Stones and Temptations on the Path to Faith', 'The Jews, Judaism and Christianity', 'The Evolution of the Universe and Reason', 'Why Do UFOs Fly Over the Earth?'). A collection of statements in his defence (24 pp) came out in samizdat; in the middle of the title page is written: 'Special Supplement to the Almanac *From the Russian Golgotha*'; at the top: 'Those we Defend (the Case of V. K. Zaitsev)'; at the bottom: 'Samizdat, August 1979, Moscow'; the collection is signed at the end: 'Editor of the Almanac *From the Russian Golgotha* Andrei Severtsev'.

In March 1980 Zaitsev's wife I. Konopatskaya registered herself as his guardian. Then he was discharged from Kazan S P H and handed over to her care.

* * *

The head doctor of Vitebsk Regional Psychiatric Hospital, Zorka, on several occasions summoned **I. Kareisha** (*Chronicle 54*) and questioned him: to whom had he complained, and when? How had he sent a letter out of the hospital? Why had he written about injections?

On 7 December Kareisha was discharged from the hospital with the diagnosis 'complaining mania'. On 8 December he was visited at home by a K G B official and a local policeman; they gave Kareisha an official warning that criminal proceedings would be instigated against him under article 204 of the Belorussian Criminal Code ('systematic vagrancy or begging, and also leading a parasitical way of life over a prolonged period ...').

In January Kareisha sent the following statement to the Central Committee of the CPSU and to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

Again and again I earnestly request that my case be heard and the appropriate decision be taken: to give me back my job on the collective farm where I worked until August 1974, and to give me work that is not beyond my strength.

I also earnestly request that I be spared further persecutions, which are illegal and tyrannical, and to which I am subjected only because I appeal to you and other Soviet organs for justice ...

In February a K G B official and a policeman again visited Kareisha, but he was not at home.

* * *

At the end of December and in January the following notices were put up at the Medical Institute and the University in Saratov: 'Persons who are persecuted for reasons of nationality, religion or politics may apply to this address: ...' (there followed the address of **Alexander Komarov** — *Chronicles 51, 53*).

On 20 January Komarov was taken to the police station, where he was interrogated as to who had written the notices and put them up; Komarov refused to give any explanation; then he was taken straight from the police station to Section 11 of the Saratov Psychiatric Hospital. Komarov was told that he had infringed the regulations on putting up notices; Section Head Ya. S. Parfenova warned him that if he continued to circulate notices of this kind he would end up in an SPH. Komarov was given five injections of moditen-depo. On 26 February he was discharged.

* * *

On 7 December **P. M. Sebelev** (*Chronicle 48*) was invited to Police Station 88 in Moscow for a 'talk'. Instead of a 'talk' Sebelev was taken from the police station to Psychiatric Hospital No. 3. The

order for his hospitalization was written by Dr L. P. Koltsova of Psychiatric Clinic No. 3, who had not seen Sebelev for several years. Sebelev was given no reason for his hospitalization, but the doctors several times expressed an interest in his acquaintance with Sakharov. In the hospital Sebelev was given Diazepam [ie Valium] and vitamin B6. On 3 January he was discharged.

After Release

Michurinsk. On 24 March Group 2 invalid **Bogdan Chuiko** (*Chronicles 46, 48*) was arrested by the Procuracy. His wife was told that he was charged with 'attempted ... theft of State property, committed by means of fraud' (articles 15 and 93 of the Russian Criminal Code); while applying for a pension, he allegedly included in his length of service five years of a 15-year camp sentence (these five years were recorded in his work-book by the Personnel Department in approximately 1952; during these five years he was working outside the camp and receiving a salary). In addition, the Procuracy 'does not believe' a medical commission's certificate of Chuiko's invalid status, which he received in Moscow.

Tarusa. At the beginning of March **Yu. Khramtsov** (*Chronicle 51*) was told that the administrative surveillance over him was to be extended for another six months. Khramtsov stated that he did not recognize the surveillance. He did not allow the policeman who came to check up on him into his house; on 15 March a court fined him 30 roubles. Khramtsov stopped going to report at the police station. In April he was arrested after four infringements of surveillance regulations. A week before his arrest Khramtsov applied to emigrate, for the second time.

Miscellaneous Reports

The new investigation of **E. Kuleshov's** case (*Chronicle 55*) has been completed; he is studying the 'case file'. He has no lawyer: in spite of his severe stammer, he is going to speak in his own defence. Investigator Yu. A. Patoloka told Kuleshov's brother A. K. Udodov that Kuleshov would be released after the trial.

* * *

On 14 February the appeal hearing in the case of **A. Stasevich, V. Mikhailov** and **A. Kochneva** (*Chronicle 55*) was held in Leningrad. The sentence remained in force. It was mentioned in court that a

separate case would be started under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code against **Yu. Zaidenshnir** (*Chronicle 55*), his wife **R. Imenitova** and **A. Osipov** (*Chronicle 55*).

* * *

On 28 February the Ukrainian Supreme Court heard an appeal in **Badzë's** case (on his trial see *Chronicle 55*) and left his sentence unchanged.

* * *

Viktor Ryzhov-Davydov (on his arrest see *Chronicle 55*) has been sent to the Serbsky Institute for psychiatric examination.

* * *

On 30 April three policemen from the 68th Police Station in Moscow took **Valery Senderov** from his home (*Chronicles 45, 47, 51, 55*; see also 'Addenda and Corrigenda' in this issue); they said they had orders to take him to Psychiatric Clinic No 15. Senderov's mother telephoned the clinic and was told that he orders had been given 'by other organs'. As he was leaving the house, Senderov declared an unlimited dry hunger-strike. In the clinic he refused to speak to the commission which examined him (however, he did explain the reasons for the 'orders' to a member of the commission in a private conversation). He was quickly released.

* * *

The Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes stated (in *Information Bulletin* No. 20):

From time to time the Soviet press publishes reports about psychiatric repression abroad ... The Working Commission will, as far as possible, investigate reports in the Soviet press about the abuse of psychiatry in other countries.

On 15 September **A. Podrabinek** sent inquiries to the ambassadors of the U S A and the People's Republic of China, to the editorial offices of *Izvestia* and the *Literary Gazette*, as well as the author of the article which appeared in an abridged translation in the *Literary Gazette*, Roland Jacquard.

From his letter to the U S ambassador:

The newspaper *Izvestia* published on 11 August 1979 a report from Washington by a T A S S correspondent, entitled 'Criminal Experiments' ...

Being unable to conduct an independent investigation, the Working Commission requests you, Mr Ambassador, or another com-

petent person, to confirm or refute the report in the newspaper *Izvestia*.

Bearing in mind the possibility that my correspondence may be intercepted or confiscated, I request you to hand a copy of your reply to Vyacheslav Bakhmin, a member of the Working Commission ...

From the letter to the Editor-in-Chief of *Izvestia*:

In the 11 August issue of your newspaper a comment by a T A S S correspondent in Washington, whose name was not given, was published under the heading 'Criminal Experiments'.

Could you provide us with the following additional information:

- Which sources in particular is the T A S S correspondent referring to;
- The names and, if possible, addresses of the Americans whose testimony is quoted in the article;
- The name of the author of the article.

* * *

Late at night on 3 January **Igor Khokhlushkin** (*Chronicle 45*) was beaten up on Kutuzov Prospekt, as he was leaving a building where foreign correspondents live.

* * *

At the end of January, in Moscow, the following members of the Moscow Helsinki Group had their telephones disconnected: **N. Meiman**, **A. Lavut** (arrested in April), **M. Petrenko** and **E. Gabovich** (he emigrated on 30 January — see 'The Right to Leave'). (Gabovich's telephone was disconnected apparently because members of A. D. Sakharov's family often used Gabovich's phone after Sakharov had been exiled and their telephone disconnected.)

* * *

On 20 October 1979 **Valery Fefëlov**, a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the U S S R (*Chronicles 51-3*) wrote to the Regional Procuracy asking why three issues of the Initiative Group's *Bulletin* had been confiscated during a search of **V. Nekipelov's** flat (on 26 August — *Chronicle 54*). On 30 November Fefëlov was visited by Deputy Procurator of Yurev-Polsky District **Abramov**, who stated in the name of the Regional Procuracy that 'the journals in question will not be returned, as they slander the political and social system'.

On 26 December V. Fefëlov received an anonymous letter in the post:

Greetings on the Happy Holiday of Stalin's 100th Anniversary. You will all celebrate his 101st anniversary behind bars.

On 13 January local policeman Captain Karaulov tried to incite Valery Fefëlov's brother Vladimir to beat up Valery; he told Vladimir that he would not have to suffer any consequences, as Karaulov would be in charge of investigating the matter.

On 28 January Valery Fefëlov was again (*Chronicles* 52-4) visited by a 'delegation': Vladimir K G B officers Colonel Shibayev (*Chronicle* 52) and Investigator Zotov, the new Head of the Kolchugino District Department of the Vladimir K G B, Malikov, and the Chairman of the Yurev-Polsky Town Soviet E C, Romanov. An official warning was read out to Fefëlov, saying that if he should continue his activity in the Initiative Group a criminal case would be started against him. Then Shibayev, Malikov and Romanov left, but Zotov asked Fefëlov several questions about Nekipelov: when had they become acquainted? How often did they meet? What did they talk about? What did they give each other? 'No way can we carry off the Olympic Games', said Zotov at the end of the conversation; it was not clear to whom he was complaining.

That same day the 'delegation' visited the play-school where Fefëlov's wife Olga Zaitseva works as a nurse. Shibayev told Zaitseva that they had received two statements saying that she was involved in anti-Soviet propaganda, encouraging people not to vote in the elections and asking questions anonymously at political lectures. Zaitseva replied that she was not involved in anti-Soviet propaganada, and only gave her personal opinions in private conversations. 'May I have my personal opinion?' she asked 'Your personal opinion must conform to that of society', replied Shibayev. The K G B officers told Zaitseva that if she persisted in working with the Initiative Group she would be deprived of her parental rights (she has two children, four and six years old) and criminal proceedings would be instigated against her under article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code. 'Even Sakharov was exiled from Moscow, and if he continues his antisocial activities, we'll lock him up; as for you, we'll deal with you even more severely', she was told.

* * *

The students of Tashkent Teacher Training Institute were informed that by decision of the Central Committee of the Uzbekistan Communist Party, grape-producing State farms would be set up in the Mubarek district of Kashkadarinskaya Region, and Crimean Tatars would be sent there; a newspaper in the Crimean Tatar language would be published; and the next batch of new graduates would be sent to work in Mubarek.

* * *

On 23 February, the day before the elections, 43 people (including Moscow Helsinki Group members T. Osipova and I. Kovalëv, also V. Kuvakin, V. Shilyuk, I. Patrushev, B. Perchatkin, Ya. Shmayevich, B. Elistratova and M. Kremen) sent a joint statement to the Presidium of the U S S R Supreme Soviet, refusing to vote in the elections:

Our experience of life in the U S S R has convinced us of the absurdity of the election procedure, which is intended to lend the appearance of democracy to the appointment of people the government finds convenient.

Today, when violations of human rights are particularly widespread in the U S S R, ... not one deputy has spoken up in defence of violated rights.

There is no doubt that the behaviour of the newly-appointed deputies will be exactly the same as that of the previous ones. ...

Moscow refusenik Mark Novikov (*Chronicles* 51, 52) sent a similar statement to his local election commission. He writes that the military intervention in Afghanistan and increased repression of campaigners for civil rights inside the country are characteristic of the policies of the Soviet leadership.

For this reason I felt especially strongly today that I cannot take responsibility for supporting the policies of the country's leadership.

* * *

Since January 1978 Valentina Timonina has lived with Vladimir Skvirsky (on his trial see *Chronicle* 53). They did not have time to register their marriage before he was arrested (*Chronicles* 51, 52). They were not able to do so until February 1980, in the place where Skvirsky is exiled (see 'In Exile').

When she returned to Moscow, Valentina Skvirskaya, having obtained oral permission from Investigator Yu. G. Zhdanov of the Moskvoretsky District Procuracy, who had sealed Skvirsky's room, removed the seal and moved into the room. On 21 February Skvirskaya was detained in the room by Captain Tarasov and escorted to the 85th Police Station. The next day she was taken to the Moskvoretsky District People's Court, where Judge Komyagin examined the materials on Skvirskaya's 'insubordination' presented by Tarasov (she had refused to leave the room). Judge Komyagin (the same Judge who had tried Skvirsky) found no corpus delicti in Skvirskaya's actions and she was released.

That same day she sent a statement of claim to the Moskvoretsky District People's Court, requesting that her right to her husband's room be recognized, and sent a statement to the Moskvoretsky District Procurator asking protection from any attempts to evict her a second time without the Procurator's sanction. In spite of this on

27 February Tarasov, accompanied by K G B officers, entered Skvirskaya's room while she was out, removed her belongings and sealed the room.

On 29 February Skvirskaya's friends and acquaintances sent a statement to the U S S R Procurator-General and the U S S R Minister of Internal Affairs. They request that 'Skvirskaya not be prevented from living in the room until a final decision is made regarding her right to the dwelling-space in question'.

At the same time, we consider that the strictest measures of criminal or disciplinary punishment should be taken against the persons who have behaved tyrannically and exceeded their authority (police Captain Tarasov in particular).

From the Writers' Union

In protest against the expulsion from the Soviet Writers' Union of V. Erofeyev and E. Popov, Semyon Lipkin and Inna Lisnyanskaya, two more authors of *Metropol* (*Chronicles* 52, 54) have announced their resignation from the Writers' Union (*Chronicle* 55).

The poet and translator Lipkin signed his statement as follows:

Semyon Lipkin,
Member of the Writers' Union since 1934,
Veteran of the Great Patriotic War,
Bearer of orders and medals,
People's Poet of Kalpakia,
Laureate of the Rudaka State Prize,
Honoured Cultural Worker of Uzbekistan,
Honoured Cultural Worker of Tadzhikistan,
Honoured Cultural Worker of Kirgizia,
Honoured Arts Worker of the Buryat A S S R,
Honoured Arts Worker of the Kabardino-Balkar A S S R.

From Lisnyanskaya's letter:

For my modest contribution to the almanac you have deprived me of the right to my profession. My poems, which for the last 12 years have been published with difficulty, now do not appear at all. Furthermore, my translations, previously approved and partly set up in type, the fruit of five years of hard work, have been thrown into the rubbish bins of five of the capital's publishing-houses ...

I am one of those who sent you a letter last summer saying: 'No one must doubt that if there is no reaction to this letter, we will be placed in the same position as our colleagues Popov and Erofeyev, since differentiated treatment of the contributors of the almanac

would conflict with our sense of dignity and honour. We will be forced to leave the Writers' Union.'

And now I, who have no desire to fight literary or any other kind of battles, am faced with a dilemma: whether to remain a member of the Writers' Union or a human being. And I choose the latter, for if one ceases to be a human being, one can no longer be a writer. I am leaving the Writers' Union, of which I have been a member for 23 years.

* * *

Three of the four members of the Writers' Union who signed the 'Writers' Letter' in defence of Sakharov (see 'The Exile of Sakharov') have been expelled from the Union.

Prior to this, Raisa Orlova, L. Kopelev's wife, was expelled from the Party. In her letter of 5 February to the Party Committee of the Moscow Writers' Organization, she reminds them that she had applied to join the Party on 22 June 1941 [day of the German invasion]:

... Nowadays I try to base my attitude to people and events on the principles of goodness and justice. For this reason the suppression of dissenters is so unbearable. The persecution of Sakharov is unbearable; he is the best human being I have ever met in my life. Even if I silently turned my back on this persecution, I would feel my share of the responsibility. I have always felt that the writer's duty in Russia is not to attack, but to defend ...

I request that my case, the outcome of which has been decided in advance (I was once again convinced of this on reading the libellous article on my husband in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*), be heard in my absence.

I am returning my Party Card, No. 06100731.

R. Orlova also did not attend the meeting of the Secretariat of the Moscow Section of the R S F S R Writers' Union. From her letter of 14 February to the Secretariat:

... My expulsion from the Writers' Union is the culmination of a period of surreptitious exclusion: five years have already passed since my books and articles ceased to appear in print and I was forbidden to speak in public ...

I have been involved in the Writers' Union for over twenty years. I shall never forget how, in 1962, the President of the Moscow organization, S. P. Shchipachëv, announced in front of a large assembly that over 600 writers had been rehabilitated, 150 of them posthumously. We were horrified, but hopeful too: the crimes had been talked about openly, for all to hear.

In those years we often heard appeals, demands and promises: 'Such a thing will never happen again. Never again will the Writers'

Union take part in the repression of writers.' Everyone still remembered the shameful 'case' of Pasternak. In 1966 the prosecution section unanimously decided to request publication of Solzhenitsyn's novel *Cancer Ward*. At that time the Writers' Union spent more time discussing novels, poems and plays than 'personal cases'.

... In our country the bravest appeals for humaneness and compassion come from **Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov**. Whatever the order for my expulsion says, I am being expelled for speaking out in his defence. And also for supporting my husband, **L. Kopelev**, and his truthful books about our past.

I do not have much to be proud of in my life, which has been full of mistakes, but of these things I am proud.

From **Felix Svetov's** letter of 20 March to the Secretariat of the Moscow Organization of the R S F S R Writers' Union:

In the course of my almost 20-year-long membership in the Writers' Union, the Secretariat has remembered me twice: the first time was in 1968, when I was formally reprimanded for signing a letter in defence of the imprisoned Ginzburg and Galanskov; the second was one-and-a-half years ago, when the members of the Secretariat read my article on Solzhenitsyn.

What will it be this time? It would be wise not to guess. Yes, I signed letters in defence of **Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov**. I signed letters in defence of **Tatyana Velikanova**, **Father Dmitry Dudko** and **Father Gleb Yakunin**, who have all been arrested. Or perhaps it is the fact that I confess the Orthodox faith, to which I have dedicated my novel, recently published in the West? ...

It is shocking to see a professional association running in front of the repressive organs, giving them tips about their next victim — or didn't you know that expulsion is the same as sanctioning repression? ...

If you expel me, you will relieve me of the heavy burden of responsibility for your crimes against literature and against Russia. I shall feel relieved, but how will you feel? Each of us has children and a conscience; even when we forget about it, our conscience exists all the same, lives, and will make itself heard sooner or later. May God allow this to happen before your deaths.

From **Sarra Babënysheva's** letter of 27 March to the First Secretary of the Board of the Moscow Organization of the R S F S R Writers' Union, **F. Kuznetsov**:

Literature has known worse and more terrifying circumstances than these, but none more petty. The most revolting thing about the present situation is its pettiness. Well, for instance, all four of the writers who have left the Union (**G. Vladimov**, **V. Aksënov**, **S.**

Lipkin and **I. Lisnyanskaya** — *Chronicle*) have been expelled from the Literary Fund. The Writers' Union is an ideological organization, while the Literary Fund is, as you know, a long-standing organization (I shall not remind you who founded it or for what purpose), but it has always been non-ideological or, as they say nowadays, humanitarian. The two organizations function separately. In the sad times of the persecution of **B. Pasternak**, he was fortunately not expelled from the Literary Fund. Even now there are many people in the Literary Fund who are not members of the Writers' Union.

But 68-year-old war veteran **Semyon Izrailevich Lipkin** is banned not only from the House of Literature, but is also denied access to the polyclinic.

Pettiness distorts vision. And memory is a tenacious thing. To forget that would not be a good idea.

Letters and Statements

V. Sokirko: 'To **F. A. Abramov**' (20 November 1979)

Having read **F. Abramov's** article in *Pravda* of 17 November entitled 'What We Eat and Live On', the author writes:

Our only salvation from advancing economic bankruptcy and future Stalinism would be a radical reconstruction of economic relations ... A radical re-evaluation of the leadership's relation to people is essential ... To provide the means to industrious and resourceful people and not to prevent them from achieving full success ... without interference or unnecessary restrictions from above ... by forbidding such interference even by party bodies, on pain of criminal prosecution ...

To the USSR Supreme Soviet (28 November 1979)

A letter concerning the seizure of the American hostages in Iran states:

We, the undersigned, propose the following measures to the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium:

- 1) To demand that the Iranian government and the Revolutionary Council immediately release the American citizens;
- 2) If they refuse, to recall all or a substantial number of Soviet diplomatic personnel from Iran, for as long as the hostages remain in custody and until the Iranian authorities ensure normal working conditions for the diplomats of all states;
- 3) To call upon the states which participated in the Helsinki Con-

ference to take similar steps in their relations with Iran ...
Under the document is written:

Signed by:

For the Free Inter-Trade Association of Working People: *V. Kuvakin, N. Lesnichenko, V. Novodvorskaya;*

For the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR: *V. Kapitanchuk, V. Shcheglov;*

For the Editorial Board of the free Moscow journal *Searches*:
V. Abramkin, V. Gershuni;

For the independent group 'The Right to Emigrate': *M. Novikov, V. Shepelëv.*

Thirty-four other people signed the document, including: T. Osipova, V. Bakhmin, F. Serebrov, G. Vladimov, Yu. Grimm, V. Sorokin, S. Sorokina, V. Kormer, M. Zotov, P. Podrabinek, N. Galaibo, A. Smirnov, M. Solovov, N. Shatalov, T. Shatalova, A. Shatalova, M. Antonyuk, B. Perchatkin, V. Shilyuk, A. Agapova, L. Agapova, A. Naidenovich.

V. Tomachinsky: 'To the United Nations Organization' (7 January 1980)

At a time when the defence of peace is essential, when Soviet troops are carrying out military operations against a poorly-armed small nation, I appeal to you to act: to unite; to cut off (across the board) all supplies to the Soviet Union of strategic raw materials, foodstuffs, industrial equipment, credits, licences, etc; to introduce UN troops into Afghanistan to confront the Soviet Army for the purpose of maintaining peace in that area of the world, so that the Soviet Union will be faced with the choice of either withdrawing its troops or fighting the UN; to help the Afghan people by providing weapons, medicines and military experts; on the international level, to regard the Soviet-Afghan friendship treaty as void, since it was signed by a government which no longer exists, the existing self-proclaimed government being no legitimate successor, but a terrorist usurper; and to work for a national referendum in Afghanistan, to be held under UN supervision to determine the country's political system.

V. Sokirko: 'To the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, L. I. Brezhnev' (10 January 1980)

Request

Having become aware of my personal share of responsibility for the future of my country and to my children, I consider it my duty as a citizen to appeal to you to order the immediate withdrawal of

all Soviet troops from Afghanistan ...

The policy of non-intervention and refusal to export revolution to other countries must be reintroduced in full. You have the duty to save the country from ruin and our young people from senseless deaths!

L. Ternovsky: 'Open Statement' (17 January 1980)

I welcome the decision of the UN General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. In my opinion, the invasion by Soviet troops is a dangerous and irresponsible step, and constitutes intervention of the crudest kind in Afghan internal affairs.

Those who sent them there have no pity either for our boys or for the Afghans.

* * *

On 20 January the Moscow Helsinki Group adopted Document No. 119:

We appeal to all people of good will ... to strive for implementation of the resolution (of the UN General Assembly — *Chronicle*) on the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, and to strive for the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in all countries.

The document is signed by Group members **E. Bonner, S. Kalistratova, I. Kovalëv** and **M. Landa**. On 29 January the document was signed by Group member **T. Osipova**, who had just been released from custody. The following declared their support of the document: **G. Vladimov, L. Ternovsky, A. Sakharov, A. Lavut, A. Romanova** and **M. Dzhemilev**.

The Moscow Helsinki Group received a letter from three Muscovites: the teacher **T. Trusova**, the artist **V. Grinev** and the journalist **F. Kizilov**, expressing their wish to add their signatures to document No. 119. On 13 February the Group adopted 'Supplement to Document No. 119', which states that the Group 'considers the people listed here as having joined our protest ...'

* * *

T. Samsonova: 'Statement to the Party Bureau of the SIMO Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences' (March 1979)

T. V. Samsonova (born 1927) is an assistant professor, a Doctor of Philosophy [*Chronicles* 14, 15] and the wife of P. Egides, a member of the editorial board of the journal 'Searches', who has emigrated (see 'The Right to Leave').

What has always attracted me to Marxism is its deeply humanitarian

foundation; this also led me to the Communist Party, of which I have now been a member for over twenty years (since 1956 — *Chronicle*) ...

Judging by the literature I have managed to read, the basic principles of Eurocommunism are as follows:

- Socialism cannot be attained by establishing any kind of dictatorship, including the dictatorship of the proletariat;
- Socialism is not possible without democracy for all;
- Socialism presupposes pluralism, which at a minimum means the right to opposition. ...

The practices which have become established in our Party and our society do not correspond to the principles of democratic communism. This is clear from the following:

- Persecution for unofficial views, including socialist and communist opinions ...
- The absence of the right to opposition;
- The impossibility of criticizing the higher leadership of the country;
- The absence of open debates on questions of domestic and foreign policy;
- 'Elections' without choice.

T. Samsonova-Egides: 'Defend Our Ideals!' (February 1980)

The author was dismissed from her job and expelled from the Party 'for views and actions incompatible with the high calling of a member of the CPSU'.

...The present situation in the CPSU — the suppression of democracy, the epidemic of coercion and the tyranny — can become the future of any Eurocommunist movement unless it speaks out at once, today, against every manifestation of party intolerance ...

I consider it my duty as a human being and a citizen to appeal to all Communists: defend our ideals, demand that the CPSU must genuinely — not just in words — re-establish democratic institutions, and demand the annulment of the administrative exile ... imposed on A. D. Sakharov ... and the immediate release of the editors of the journal *Searches* who have been arrested.'

I do not intend to request readmission to the ranks of the CPSU. Until the shameful persecution of free thinking ceases in my Motherland, I do not wish to remain in a party which sanctions this persecution.

L. Sadygi: 'To O. V. Ivinskaya' (January 1980)

Having read O. V. Ivinskaya's memoirs *A Captive of Time*, the author writes concerning the chapter 'In the Bedlam of the Un-People' (about the camps):

... with the dirt you have poured over Anna Barkova and other political prisoners who offended you in some way, you have spoiled your book beyond redemption.

E. Bonner: 'Statement' (22 April 1980)

In a conversation with an Agence France Presse correspondent, E. Bonner said that 'leading Soviet scientists are extremely interested in contact with Western scientists; for this reason, intensifying the defence of *suppressed* Soviet scientists at this particular time can significantly change their fate.' In this connection E. Bonner mentioned the following names: S. Kovalëv, Yu. Orlov, A. Bolonkin, A. Shcharansky and A. Sakharov. The 'Voice of America' broadcasting station quoted these words as follows: 'Elena Bonner urged Western scientists to support their Soviet colleagues.'

E. Bonner asks 'Voice of America' to broadcast a correction without delay. Otherwise 'I shall be forced to regard this event not as an annoying misunderstanding, but as a deliberate distortion.'

Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group

No. 117 (6-11 January 1980): 'New Persecution of Moscow Helsinki Group Members' (On M. Landa and T. Osipova — see this issue).

No. 118 (19 January 1980): 'The Persecution of Believers Continues' (On the arrest of L. Regelson and the priest D. Dudko — *Chronicle 55* and this issue).

No. 119 (21 January 1980): On Afghanistan. [No. 120 is omitted.]

No. 121 (29 January 1980): 'In Defence of Academician Sakharov' (see 'The Exile of Sakharov').

No. 122 (15 February 1980): 'On obstacles preventing families of German citizens of the USSR from being reunited' (this document is reproduced in the section 'The Right to Leave').

No. 123 (18 February 1980): 'Oppression of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes' (see 'Persecution of the Working Commission'). On 15 February A. D. Sakharov wrote from Gorky:

I ask to add my signature to the Moscow Helsinki Group's document in defence of Slava Bakhmin, and protest against the threats of psychiatric internment made to Malva Landa.

No. 124 (19 March 1980): 'On the Arrest of Malva Landa, Helsinki Group Member'.

No. 125 (26 March 1980): Reports that Working Commission members L. Ternovsky and F. Serebrov have joined the Moscow Helsinki Group. [No. 126 is omitted.]

No. 127 (26 March 1980): 'The Trial of Malva Landa'.

No. 129 (12 April 1980): 'The Arrest of Leonard Ternovsky'.

Samizdat News

G. Pomerants: 'My Interlocutor Viktor Sokirko' (March 1980, 9 pages)

... Obviously, any alarming idea is tendentious: it suggests something, calls something into question. Sokirko was never an extremist. He even wrote a letter defending conformism, opposing escape into an inner exile and favouring dialogue with the government that exists... People who hold far more extreme views (but whose conditioned reflex system has been cultivated by society) live and die in their beds without any interference from the security organs. But Sokirko has always brought misfortune on himself. Not so much for his ideas as the directness and fervour with which he expounds them. The only motives behind Sokirko's activities and the passionate sharpness of his prognostications were a sense of responsibility and civic duty. If I don't do it, who will?

I am not an economist and am not qualified to evaluate Sokirko's chief works: *Essays on an Advancing Ideology* and the collections *In Defence of Economic Freedoms* (both written under the pseudonym K. Burzhuademov).

Elsewhere in his essay Pomerants recounts Sokirko's explanation of his pseudonym: 'K is for communist and the surname derives from bourgeois democrat' [when Russian forms are used]. The essay ends with an extract from a conversation between Sokirko and the investigator in charge of the case against the journal *Searches*:

I explained that of course I was afraid of prison and of course I would like to avoid prosecution, but not by refraining from expressing my convictions, which would be tantamount to spiritual suicide. Moreover, I joined the *Searches* editorial board of my own free will, fully aware of what I was doing and acting out of a sense of duty. Someone has to begin a debate about the country's future development, start the search for alternatives and mutual understanding; otherwise our country will come to an impasse and catastrophe.

V. Sokirko: 'The Economics of 1990: What Awaits Us and Can It Be Avoided?' (November 1979, 22 pages)

After analysing the state of our economy, the author reaches the following conclusion:

By simple extrapolation one can place the crisis point somewhere around 1990, but if one takes the unacknowledged inflation into account, then it will come sometime around 1984; by this I mean the beginning of a decrease in national income *per capita*, or, in Marxist terms, the beginning of the overall impoverishment of the Soviet population.

However, an analysis of the basic factors — ie sources of growth

of national income — shows that even now they are nearly depleted, and in the near future this will not only cause a gradual decrease in our real income, but may also result in a sharp decline in this income, leading to revolts and social and economic disaster.

The author predicts that 'the leaders of the country' will continue their present opportunistic policy of maintaining the superficial image that society is prosperous, without a radical change of policy until an obvious crisis arrives, ie they will neglect the socio-economic disease of our society until it has become incurable... Evidently — as a last means of trying to strengthen discipline, the incentive system and labour efficiency — the leaders will resort to foreign adventures of a 'defensive' character.

Nevertheless the author 'is convinced that chances of salvation do exist, even though they are not great'. He considers that 'the only real alternative facing the country and its leadership' is:

an honest and fearless re-evaluation of values and, in the first place, the abolition as soon as possible of the disastrous system of comprehensive planning and the immediate legalization of economic regulation through the market.

The author sent this article to *Pravda*, along with the following request:

I ask only one thing: that you discuss it, criticize it thoroughly, and convince me of the groundlessness and misguidedness of the fears expressed in it... My attempts to question experts about the impending crisis horrified them because of the taboo nature of the subject itself. I am writing to you even though, to tell the truth, I too am frightened to do so.

V. Sokirko: 'On the Possibility and Vital Necessity of a Union between Stalinists and Dissidents' (November 1979, 7 pages)

Popular Stalinism today appears to be a completely natural, traditional and healthy reaction by people to the sick state of our society. And it is for this reason that a dialogue with the Stalinists must be undertaken by the dissidents, who also wish their country to recover, though, it is true, along very different lines.

The fact is that both Stalinists and liberals need one another. If the former attain power without liberal reforms, they will not be able to rebuild the country, but will only bring it to an even worse crisis. The liberals, on the other hand, will never be able to introduce their reforms without a strong government.

Therefore, the Stalinist slogan 'For a strong boss!' and that of liberal dissidents 'For freedom and human rights!' must be combined to form the basis for a union: 'For a genuine, firmly based, developing Soviet system!'

K. Burzhuademov: 'On the Question of Dissident Ethics' (November 1979, 9 pages)

The author considers that by arresting T. Velikanova and G. Yakunin the authorities hope to inaugurate the final phase of 'curing society of the plague of dissidents'.

He discerns some recent 'alarming tendencies' in the human rights movement:

1. In recent years the ties between dissidents and the West have grown immeasurably. The more heavily the dissidents rely on help from like-minded people abroad, the less significant and therefore weaker is the support they receive in their own country, and the greater the isolation and inner weakness of the human rights movement.

2. The movement's actual membership has changed. A large proportion now consists of people who have decided to emigrate.

3. The development of their ideas by different dissident groups has slowed down. Samizdat rarely contains works about real-life problems and ways of solving them.

4. ... the dissidents' indifference towards the defence of human rights in their full complexity: not only the right to freedom of emigration, of speech, of creation, of communicating information, etc, but also the right to free disposal of one's labour, to free economic activity, the rights of working collectives and their leaders. The author discusses 'three ethical imperatives which are required if the dissident movement is to grow stronger and overcome its present weaknesses':

(a) recognition of its duty and responsibility (before the Nation or God) for the work of developing self-awareness, for the emergence of forums for debate on social topics, for the existence and effectiveness of samizdat;

(b) *Diligence* ... in creating, circulating and preserving samizdat ... A genuine intellectual should dedicate one tenth of his time to the printing of samizdat; only the intelligentsia's diligence in producing samizdat can make the development of national self-awareness a widespread, invulnerable and irreversible process;

(c) *Boldness* of both authors and readers of samizdat, who fearlessly keep samizdat, reproduce and exchange it. Samizdat must be openly displayed on bookshelves. I do not see anything terribly wrong even in noting down the name of someone to whom you have given a book to read ...

V. Sokirko: 'Letters' (November 1979 — January 1980)

This collection contains the articles 'The Economics of 1990: What Awaits Us and Can It Be Avoided?' and 'On the Possibility and Vital Necessity of a Union between Stalinists and Dissidents' (see above),

'Letter to F. A. Abramov' and 'Request to L. I. Brezhnev to withdraw troops from Afghanistan' (see 'Letters and Statements'), and is supplemented with the article of K. Burzhuademov 'On the Question of Dissident Ethics' (see above).

G. Yakunin: 'On the Present Situation of the Russian Orthodox Church and on Prospects for the Religious Renaissance in Russia' (15 August 1979, 47 pages)

A report to the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights in the USSR, with these headings: The Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia; The Episcopate; The Priesthood; The Elders; the Executive Organ of the Church, the 'Council of Twenty'; The Parishes, Lay Orthodox Believers; Monasteries; Religious Schools: Seminaries and Academies; The Administration of Church Affairs; Economic Administration and Financial and Economic Activities of the Patriarchate; The Publishing Department and the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*; The Department of External Relations of the Church; The Moscow Patriarchate and Prospects for the Renaissance of Orthodoxy in Russia.

'Document No. 18, or a Chronicle of Legal Complaints' (February 1980, 20 pages)

A collection of complaints sent by Yury Velichkin about a search of his home on 11 February 1979 (*Chronicle* 52), and official replies.

E. Orlovsky: 'A Few Comments on the Newspaper *Russkaya Mysl*' (September 1979, 7 pages)

I read several articles with great interest, while others seemed to me incompetently or even carelessly written.

E. Orlovsky: 'Changes in the Hierarchy of the Soviet Leadership from March 1979 to February 1980' (4 pages)

The publication of pre-election speeches is a good guide to the position of a Soviet leader in the official hierarchy ...

The author compares the 'ranks' of leaders, calculated according to this guide, from March 1979 to February 1980.

E. Orlovsky: 'Comments on the 1980 Election Campaign' (8 pages)

V. Tomachinsky: 'Concerning the Soviet Blitzkrieg in Moscow and Afghanistan' (24 January 1980, 7 pages)

1. ... The 'unexpectedness' of Afghanistan embarrassed and shocked the whole world only because no one in the world had noticed the tendencies of recent years.

2. ... Sakharov was seized for the same reason that Kabul was:

because the time had come for decisive action.

3... It all started, in fact, with the American hostages. The inefficiency of democratic institutions was evident throughout the crisis. Thank God Carter had the courage to admit his mistakes and bring himself to use force.

4. Moscow is a different subject altogether. A different pain... Moscow is much more straightforward than civilized old men think. Moscow should be shown force more often — then ... it will be possible to begin genuine dialogue. But until then it will be war.

Bulletin No. 8 of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR (20 February 1980, 30 pages)

The title page bears two names: Yu. Kiselev and V. Fefëlov.

The *Bulletin* contains a survey: 'Disabled Political Prisoners in the USSR' (Document No. 14 of the Initiative Group; see also Document No. 4 — *Chronicle* 52); it is supplemented with a list of eight political prisoners who are in the most urgent need of immediate release: in the camps — O. Popovich, K. Skripchuk (*Chronicle* 52), T. Reinkhold (see 'Releases' in the section 'In the Prisons and Camps'), N. Rudenko and V. Osipov; in exile — I. Senik, P. Sartakov and R. Markosyan; the document is signed, as are most of the other letters and statements published in the *Bulletin*, by Yu. Kiselev, V. Fefëlov and O. Zaitseva.

It contains a report that the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of the Disabled in the USSR has been accepted into the Free Invalids' Association in the Area of Rehabilitation (President: Lady Masham).

There is an account of the persecutions (*Chronicles* 51-53) of V. Fefëlov and O. Zaitseva (see 'Miscellaneous Reports').

Searches No. 6

The name G. Pavlovsky appears on the list of editors instead of P. Pryzhov ('P. Pryzhov' is his pseudonym).

This issue contains the beginning of G. Pomerant's book *Dreams of the Earth* (parts 1-3). The following take part in a discussion about the Native Soil movement [of the 19th century]: I. Ponyrev, P. Pryzhov, P. Abovin-Egides and N. Rerikh. There follows an article by K. Burzhuademov: 'The Style in which the Country is Run' (about Brezhnev's book *Virgin Soil*).

The section entitled 'Crossroads' contains the following articles: 'The Yugoslav Phenomenon' by N. Kirillov; 'What is Worth Fighting For' by Mihajlo Mihajlov; and 'Djilas — Marx — Mihajlov' by G. Pavlovsky.

Prose and poems by M. Krymov, V. Voinovich and G. Snegirëv are also published. This issue contains the first part of A. de Saint-Exupéry's *Notebooks*.

The section 'Events and Fortunes' contains an interview with V. Abramkin and P. Abovin-Egides, notes by Yu. Velichkin and P. Rastin, a review by N. James of books by V. Bukovsky and A. Sakharov, and extracts from K. Lyubarsky's and M. Popovsky's letters from abroad.

Searches No. 7 (about 500 pages)

This issue contains articles by V. Sokirko and P. Abovin-Egides (responses to I. Shafarevich's article 'Socialism' — see *Chronicle* 34 — published in the collection *From Under the Rubble*); another article by P. Abovin-Egides, written in collaboration with P. Podrabinek, and a work by V. Grin are concerned with the socio-political structure of society. The following section contains G. Pomerant's article 'The Bronze Horseman' (part 4 of his book *Dreams of the Earth*) and R. Pimelov's article 'On Glazunov, Life and Something Else', as well as R. Lert's reply to Pimenov, entitled 'Crossing Oneself with Two Fingers or Double-Crossing'. The priest S. Zheludkov's work 'Reflections on a Church of All Mankind' states that there exists not only 'Christianity of faith' but also 'Christianity of conscience and will', which is confessed by 'anonymous Christians' — people who do not believe in Christ but live according to His precepts. On the subject of 'the defence of man', Father Sergii writes:

In my country, it is not the priests of the Church who show compassion for convicts, but people like Andrei Sakharov and his wife, almost all of them people without a religion. There is one comforting thought: that the churches of our faith do not represent the whole church of Christ.

The literary section contains poems by A. Velichansky, prose by N. Tolmachev and A. Zaitsev, an article on B. L. Pasternak by G. Pomerant, and the second part of A. de Saint-Exupéry's *Notebooks*.

The section 'Events and Fortunes' contains articles by Yu. Grimm (about his imprisonment in a special detention centre), V. Repnikov, R. Popova (on the elections) and R. O'Connor. It also contains an 'Open Letter' to the editors of the Chinese journal *Searches* (*Chronicle* 54) and reviews by S. Shagin and P. Pryzhov on the 'Appeal of the Russian Liberation Movement (R L M) to the Russian and Ukrainian Peoples' (*Chronicle* 53).

Searches No. 8 (547 pages)

This issue opens with a 'Message to Our Readers' (see 'The Case of the Journal *Searches*' in the present issue), in which the editors of the journal announce that publication is to be suspended.

In an essay E. Gaidamachuk recounts the circumstances in which her husband V. Abramkin (*Chronicle* 55) was arrested.

This issue also contains articles by V. Smirnov (about his refusal

to vote in the elections), M. Zotov (on the 1970 uprising in the Tolyatti camps), and P. Pryzhov (on liberalism in contemporary Russia).

The section 'Crossroads' contains a discussion of the idea of dialogue between dissidents, society and the governments of East European countries. It also contains an interview with J. Kuron of Poland and R. Slansky of Czechoslovakia, taken from the journal *Alternative*, published in France; comments by V. Sokirko and an article by M. Gefter.

The following section of *Searches* contains an introduction to the journal *Community* No. 2 (*Chronicle* 51). There is an article by A. Ogorodnikov; an account by V. Poresh of how he was followed by K G B officers on one of his visits to Moscow; and a narrative poem by D. Andreyev entitled 'Leningrad Apocalypse', written in Vladimir Prison between 1949 and 1953.

M. Gefter's article 'Russia and Marx', published in this issue, is the subject of comments by V. Sokirko and P. Yulin.

The literary section contains works by L. Kopelev, V. Gusarov, G. Pomerants, D. Sokolov, L. Apraksin, M. Sukhotin and P. Rastin.

The section 'Events and Fortunes' contains Documents 102 and 111 of the Moscow Helsinki Group (*Chronicle* 54), a letter to the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning events in Iran (see 'Letters and Statements'), a joint letter in defence of T. Velikanova (*Chronicle* 54) and a statement by the editors of *Searches* on the searches of V. Abramkin's home on 4 December and his arrest (*Chronicle* 55). It also contains the Founding Declaration of the Democratic International, founded in New York in March 1979, and an interview with A. Sakharov for the newspaper *Le Monde*, which he gave in connection with the 10th anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Prague.

Emigration to Israel: Legal Theory and Practice, Nos. 6 (January 1980, 48 pages) and 7 (February 1980, 48 pages)

Summary No. 3, 1979 (78 pages)

For a general description of the synoptic journal *Summary* see *Chronicle* 52.

Section A ('Synopses and Extracts') of this issue contains 36 articles: 22 of them are based on the samizdat publications *Jews in the USSR* No. 19, *The Watch* No. 19, and *Information Bulletins* Nos. 14-16 of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes; and on the following foreign journals: *Herald of the Russian Christian Movement* No. 127, *Kontinent* No. 17, *The Ark* Nos. 1 and 3, *Time and Us* Nos. 37 and 38, *Third Wave* No. 6, *Sintaksis* No. 3 and K. Lyubarsky's information bulletin *News Brief*; and on the 19 August 1979 issue of the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*.

This section also contains summaries of Maksudov's book *The Dynamics of Population Loss in the USSR in the First Half of the Twentieth Century* (samizdat, 1979), V. Bukovsky's book *To Build a Castle* (Khronika, 1978), A. Avtorkhanov's *The Riddle of Stalin's Death (The Beria Plot)* (1976), M. Begin's *White Nights* (Tel-Aviv, 1972), S. Dovlatov's *Invisible Book* (Ardis, 1978), the samizdat almanac *The Call* (Moscow, 1971), the samizdat *Memoirs* of E. Gertsyk, and the following articles: A. Sakharov's 'The Human Rights Movement in the USSR and Eastern Europe: Aims, Significance and Difficulties' (*Chronicle* 51), E. Sverstyuk's 'The Cathedral in Scaffolding' (in Ukrainian), and 'The Christian Plague' (anonymous); the work 'Masonry in the Twentieth Century' by Zh. L. Nagy (in Hungarian); an interview of I. Shafarevich with a correspondent of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (*Chronicle* 51); and E. Orlovsky's letters on the draft constitutions of the USSR and the RSFSR (*Chronicles* 47, 49). A review of *The Jewish Datsybuo* by I. Garik [pen-name of I. Guberman] is taken from the [Israeli] journal 22.

Section B ('Points of View Reviews') contains 11 articles: a survey of the samizdat collection *In Defence of Economic Freedoms* No. 7; a summary of V. Ozolis's article 'Individual, State and Revolution'; a selection of reviews of V. Turchin's book *The Inertia of Fear*; a review of R. Redlikh's book *Stalinism as a Spiritual Phenomenon (Essays in Bolshevismology)*; extracts from the Open Letter of one of the *Metropol* authors (*Chronicles* 52, 54), S. Lipkin (see 'Miscellaneous Reports' in the present issue); poems by E. Rein and Vsevolod Nekrasov (the latter with a review); extracts from V. Lakshin's 'The Golden Autumn of Fauvism', a parody on V. Katayev's *My Crown of Diamonds*, from L. Kopelev's review 'A Soviet Litterateur in the Wild West' on V. Maksimov's 'Saga about Rhinoceroses' and from a review of an article by M. Skuratov, 'Russian Nationalism and Zionism', and also an essay by P. Rastin called 'I am an Anti-Fascist'.

Section C ('Contents of Recent Publications') contains the tables of contents of the following samizdat publications: *Searches* No. 5, *The Watch* No. 10, *Jews in the USSR* No. 20, No. 18 of the journal 37, and *A Chronicle of Current Events* No. 51.

Section D ('Supplements') contains the tables of contents of issues 1-7 of the collection *In Defence of Economic Freedoms*. The compiler of these collections, K. Burzhuademov, concludes his message to the reader in No. 7 as follows:

The time is drawing near when, if only for considerations of our common security (not State security, of course), K. Burzhuademov will have to yield his right to compile the collection to someone else: 'Continue the work that I have begun!' This is not yet a final decision; much depends on the authorities, but it is a possibility. However, in any case, it would be a good thing if the cause of

defending economic freedoms lived on and developed in our country without K. Burzhuademov. Good luck!
(Issue No. 8 of the collection was compiled by V. Grin — *Chronicle* 54.)

Summary No. 4, 1979 (36 pages)

Section A of this issue contains a selection of poems by A. Galich on the second anniversary of his death; section B a selection of responses to the arrest of T. Velikanova (*Chronicle* 54); section C the tables of contents of the following samizdat publications: *A Chronicle of Current Events* Nos. 52, 53; *Searches* Nos. 6, 7; *The Watch* Nos. 20, 21; the journals *37* No. 19 and *Northern Post* No. 1/2 (a new 'journal of poetry and criticism', Editor-in-Chief: Viktor Krivulin) and the almanac *Women and Russia* No. 1 (*Chronicle* 55); section D the contents of the collection *Tarbut* (*Culture*) over the past three years.

The issue also contains an index of authors (including those covered in section C) whose work has been summarized.

Official Documents

Extract from the judgment of the Judicial Board of the USSR Supreme Court for Criminal Cases of 24 January 1979 (see *Chronicle* 52 — *Chronicle*).

The Court, presided over by Vice-Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court E. A. Smolentsev, comprising People's Assessors of the USSR Supreme Court V. V. Fanardzhyan and K. A. Amosov, in the presence of secretaries Yu. V. Vinogradov, T. I. Poshurenko and Yu. V. Ilin, with the participation of: a Procurator from a department of the USSR Procuracy, Senior Councillor of Justice S. A. Zakharov; the defence lawyers G. A. Matevosyan, I. A. Isagulov and A. L. Melkonyan, members of the Armenian Republican Bar; and interpreters R. Kh. Avetinyan and G. V. Vardanyan and G. T. Tumanyan; having examined in open court the criminal case against

Stepan Segobovich Zatikyan, born 20 June 1946 ...

Akop Vazgenovich Stepanyan, born 1 January 1947 ... prior to his arrest employed as an electric welder in mobile mechanical unit No. 14 of 'Glavarmvodstroï' ... , and

Zaven Melkonovich Bagdasaryan, born 12 November 1954 ... secondary education, did not work prior to his arrest; all charged with committing a crime falling under articles 68 and 72 of the R S F S R Criminal Code.

Has Established that

Zatikyan, after his release in 1972 from his term of imprisonment for his part in setting up the anti-Soviet nationalist organization 'The National United Party' (NUP), continued his struggle against the Soviet State by committing acts of diversion. He carried out his criminal intention in 1972, when he secretly renewed contact with his former NUP accomplices, whom he incited to struggle against Soviet power and induced to turn to activities of a more hostile nature.

In the summer of 1976 Zatikyan involved Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan in this anti-Soviet group, set up especially to perpetrate diversionary actions with the aim of weakening the Soviet State, and instructed them to obtain explosives, detonators and other objects required for producing explosive devices (bombs) ...

At the end of December 1976 Zatikyan and Stepanyan produced three working explosive devices which Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan took to Moscow on 4 January 1977, to set off in public places for the purpose of wounding people and creating the impression that there exist in the USSR organized forces fighting against Soviet power. Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan caused three explosions in Moscow on 8 January 1977.

As a result of the explosions seven persons were killed and 37 wounded with varying degrees of severity.

Zatikyan and Stepanyan continued their subversive activities; in August and September 1977 they produced and tested two experimental explosive devices. Later they produced three working explosive devices, using gunpowder. On 26 October Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan took these three bombs to Moscow with instructions from Zatikyan to explode them in public places. However, they did not succeed ...

The accused Zatikyan pleaded not guilty and during his trial refused to testify on the substance of the charges brought against him, declaring his hatred for the Soviet State and the existing system.

The accused Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan confirmed the evidence they had given during the investigation and gave in court a detailed account of the diversionary actions in Moscow they had prepared and committed ...

Having investigated the materials of the case, the Judicial Board of the USSR Supreme Court for Criminal Cases pronounces the accused Zatikyan, Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan guilty of the above-mentioned crimes, on the strength of the whole range of evidence in the case files.

The witnesses V. P. Saratikyan, S. L. Manukyan and R. M. Oganesyanyan, former members of the NUP youth organization, testified in court that after Zatikyan returned from prison in 1972 he tried to persuade them to renew their hostile activity. At the same time he stressed that the previous methods of anti-Soviet activity

— circulating nationalist leaflets — were inadequate, and that to fight the Soviet State it was essential to use diversionary-terroristic means. He suggested making bombs and obtaining guns.

In this connection witness R. M. Oganessian in particular testified that after Zatikyan returned from prison, he had definite extremist intentions: at one of their meetings in 1972 he suggested that someone in the group begin to specialize in producing explosive devices.

The evidence given by Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan and an analysis of the other evidence show that the accused began preparing for their subversive activities by acquiring the necessary materials, assembling test models and setting off experimental explosions.

Zatikyan worked out the construction of an explosive device. In a search of his home a sheet of paper containing diagrams, figures and notes in Armenian was confiscated. The report of a technical forensic team concluded that on one sheet of paper was drawn a diagram of the electric circuit of a home-made explosive device, and that it was in accordance with this diagram that the explosive devices were assembled which were detonated on 8 January 1977 and discovered on 29 October of the same year. The results of a forensic graphological examination show that the figures and notes on the sheet in question were made by Zatikyan.

The accused Zatikyan, after admitting during the pre-trial investigation to his part in producing the bombs, testified under interrogation on 12 January 1978:

I wish to state truthfully what I am guilty of, and to request the investigating organs to release from custody all those who have been arrested in connection with the case except myself, Akop Stepanyan and Zaven Bagdasaryan, since only the three of us are guilty of preparing the explosions in Moscow, which were to have been set off in October 1977.

As for the explosive devices which were found, it was I who produced them. Stepanyan's part in producing them was insignificant.

I myself was a radio buff, and I have some knowledge of other fields of technology as I studied at a polytechnic institute for four years and read literature on explosives. It was this knowledge which enabled me to produce explosive devices.

In an interrogation on 18 January 1978 Zatikyan confirmed this statement:

No, I did not make a mistake: I was telling the truth when I said that I produced explosive devices with the help of Akop Stepanyan ...

If you like, I am proud that I helped to produce explosive devices and intended to explode them in Moscow.

In an interrogation on 31 January 1978 Zatikyan said, regarding his motives for producing explosive devices for the purpose of diversionary actions:

I will not hide the fact that I do not recognize the Soviet Union as a state, or the existing system ... My actions in connection with producing explosive devices with the intention of exploding them in Moscow are one of the ways of fighting the system which exists in the Soviet Union.

Stepanyan admitted that, under Zatikyan's instructions, in July 1976 he obtained, from a person whose identity has not been ascertained by the investigation, over 20 electric detonators, capsule detonators and several kilograms of explosives (ammonites 6 ZhV) and made four cases for explosive devices from sections of metal pipe.

The explosives left over from production in 1976, and some of the electric detonators, were passed on by Stepanyan to his cousin A. A. Muradyan for safe-keeping.

The witness A. A. Muradyan, when questioned on this subject, confirmed the above and testified that he did in fact conceal the explosives and electronic detonators in his home.

In a search of Stepanyan's flat two electric detonators, a capsule detonator and four unused cases for explosive devices, which he had made, were found.

Stepanyan recounted in detail how he had acquired metal containers, batteries, watches, insulation tape and other items necessary for the production of explosive devices.

Bagdasaryan admitted that in the summer of 1976 he took three to five kilograms of ammoniac saltpetre from his parents and gave it to Stepanyan to be used as explosive. In the autumn of the same year he attempted to obtain electric detonators through K. V. Adamyan, and at the Yerevan machine-tool factory he drilled holes in eight metal disc-shaped objects according to a pattern given to him by Zatikyan, produced nine more components called detonators by Zatikyan, and obtained a certain number of screws. He gave all the items listed above to Zatikyan and Stepanyan.

The witness Adamyan confirmed that Bagdasaryan did in fact ask him to obtain electric detonators and gave him 7 or 8 roubles for this purpose.

The witness O. S. Termendzhyan, a worker, ... helped drill the holes ...

The accused Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan admitted to taking part in test explosions and recounted in detail how Zatikyan and Stepanyan, as they obtained the explosives, assembled, then tested three experimental home-made bombs in September and October 1976.

The witness A. A. Muradyan, who was present when the first and second explosive devices were tested, testified that the above-mentioned experiments did in fact take place. One of the experiments ended with an explosion being set off by Zatikyan, Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan.

After experimentally exploding bombs, Zatikyan and Stepanyan

produced three working explosive devices in December 1976. Stepanyan admitted to helping to produce them, while Bagdasaryan testified that he had been told by Zatikyan and Stepanyan that these devices were being made, which he, Bagdasaryan, and Stepanyan subsequently exploded in Moscow on 8 January 1977.

There is other evidence to corroborate the fact that Zatikyan and Stepanyan produced working explosive devices.

Investigations by the relevant experts show that:

Deformed watch parts found on the site of the explosion belong to 'Pobeda' men's wrist-watches and a 'Slava' alarm clock, ie the same types that Stepanyan testified to having obtained.

A brass plate welded to the hand of a 'Slava' alarm clock — found in the underground railway carriage where the bomb exploded — is identical in chemical composition and thickness to a metal plate found in a search of Stepanyan's flat.

The tumblers and electric batteries used in the exploded bombs are identical to the tumblers confiscated in a search of Zatikyan's home, and to two tumblers and the electric batteries confiscated from Stepanyan.

Fragments of cambrics, pipe and lilac-grey insulation tape, metal studs and other items found on the site of the explosion were ascertained on examination to be of identical characteristics and description to corresponding objects and components confiscated during searches of the homes of Zatikyan and Stepanyan.

Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan pleaded guilty and described their trip to Moscow at the beginning of January 1977 on Zatikyan's instructions, and their exploding of the bombs. There is other proof of their trip to Moscow at this time.

The witness A. A. Muradyan testified on this subject that from 2 to 4 January 1977, at Stepanyan's request, he concealed in his home a bag containing an explosive device, which, according to Stepanyan, was to be used to set off explosions in Moscow. On 4 January 1977 he gave the bag to Stepanyan before he left for Moscow.

The witnesses V. T. and L. I. Efremov confirmed the fact that Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan travelled in the same railway carriage as they from Moscow to Erevan on 9 January 1977.

The accused do not deny the fact that Zatikyan and Stepanyan assembled explosive devices for the purpose of organizing subversive acts in Moscow in October 1977.

In their account of their trip to Moscow for this purpose, Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan testified that they were unable to carry out their criminal intentions because they suspected they were being watched by officials of the security organs. After leaving the bag of explosive devices... they hid, then took a train to Erevan, and were arrested on the journey.

There is other evidence to corroborate the fact that the accused were involved in assembling explosive devices. Examination by a commission of experts of the explosive devices found on 30 October 1977 and material evidence confiscated during searches of Zatikyan's and Bagdasaryan's homes shows that:

The electric circuits of the explosive devices were assembled according to the diagram on the sheet of paper confiscated during the search of Zatikyan's flat [illegible] on the cardboard bottoms of the explosive devices [illegible] the electric light bulbs correspond to the assembly design drawn by Zatikyan on the same sheet of paper.

On the inner surface of a 'Zima' watch used in one of the explosive devices, a print of Zatikyan's left middle finger was found. On one of the sheets of paper and on a plastic bag found in the travelling-bag containing the explosive devices, prints of Zatikyan's left palm, little finger and ring finger were found.

Various objects and components used in assembling the explosive devices, such as cambrics, tumblers, metal discs, bronze and brass plates, were found on examination to be of identical chemical properties, external description and other characteristics, to the objects and components confiscated in searches of Zatikyan's and Stepanyan's flats.

In particular, the cambrics from the explosive devices have identical properties, superficial microstructure and diameter to four cambrics confiscated from Zatikyan. In addition, a fragment of cambric 2.8mm by 13mm from the explosive device, and a fragment of cambric of the same diameter 160mm long confiscated from Zatikyan, once formed a single piece.

A many-sided criminological ... examination of the material evidence found on the sites of the explosions set off on 8 January 1977 in Moscow, and of the explosive devices found on 30 October of the same year, shows that all the explosive devices, both those set off on 8 January 1977 and those found on 30 October of the same year, were produced either by the same group of people, or by the same person.

It has thus been ascertained that, on the strength of all the evidence verified in court, Zatikyan, as the leader, and Stepanyan and Bagdasaryan as members of an anti-Soviet organization whose purpose was to commit especially dangerous crimes against the State, committed diversionary acts in Moscow... the damages... to the Moscow Metropolitan Railway Administration being 23,649 roubles 13 kopecks, and to the Bauman District Food Centre of Moscow 2,940 roubles 41 kopecks; thus the acts committed by the accused come under articles 68 and 72 of the Russian Criminal Code.

... In addition, regarding Zatikyan, taking into consideration his

earlier conviction for committing an especially dangerous crime against the state ...

Court costs to the amount of 3,900 roubles ...

The material evidence — explosives, detonators and fragments of an urn from the site of the explosion on 25th October Street — is to be destroyed; the remaining material evidence is to be kept with the case file ...

*Supplement to the Bill of Indictment in Criminal Case No. 197:
Information*

1. Criminal proceedings were instigated on 8 January 1977 by the USSR KGB Administration for the City of Moscow and Moscow Region. Proceedings were begun by the Investigation Department of the USSR KGB on 14 November 1977.

2. The pre-trial investigation was concluded on 16 October 1978.

3. The accused were held in custody as follows

Zatikyan: from 4 November 1977;

Stepanyan: from 1 November 1977;

Bagdasaryan: from 1 November 1977.

All three were held in the Investigations Prison of the USSR KGB.

4. Charges were brought against

Zatikyan: on 14 November 1977 and 18 August 1978;

Stepanyan: on 10 November 1977 and 24 August 1978;

Bagdasaryan: on 10 November 1977 and 21 August 1978.

5. Material evidence in the case: A. Filed as evidence with the case:

— Objects found in the home of the accused Zatikyan: a sheet of paper bearing a diagram of an electric explosive circuit for a home-made explosive device and an assembly design for the positioning of the circuit's components on the shell of the explosive devices; three related sheets of paper; a diagram of the Moscow Metropolitan and three maps showing the routes of the Moscow passenger transport system;

— Objects found in the home of the accused Stepanyan: a diagram of the Moscow Metropolitan lines;

B. Kept in connection with the case:

— Objects found on the site of the explosion of 8 January 1977 in the Metropolitan railway carriage: fragments of an electric light bulb, fragments of an electric battery, part of a tumbler lever, sections of wire, part of an electric detonator, pieces of cambric and electric insulation tape, parts of a 'Slava' alarm clock, metal pins, a screw, fragments of cast iron pipe, and pieces of an imitation leather bag;

— Objects found on the site of the explosion of 8 January 1977 in Shop No. 15 on 25th October Street in Moscow: fragments of cast iron pipe, pieces of an electric detonator, tumbler components, metal

pins, screws, parts of a 'Pobeda' wrist-watch and pieces of a cloth bag;

— Objects found on the site of the explosion of 8 January 1977 outside Shop No. 5 on 25th October Street, Moscow: parts of an electric detonator, a metal mantle from an electric battery, a piece of electric insulation tape, a metal pin, fragments of cast iron pipe and parts of a 'Pobeda' wrist-watch ...

— Objects found on 30 October 1977 at Kursk Station, Moscow: three home-made explosive devices, three plastic bags, a mesh bag and a sheet of paper;

— Objects found at the home of the accused Zatikyan: 54 metal pins, three screws, 12 metal discs, six tumblers, four fragments of cambric, four pieces of wire and a hank of wire, 11 electric light bulbs, solder, pieces of vulcanized rubber, two brass plates, sheets and pieces of cardboard, electric insulation tape, two candles and pieces of paraffin wax, three electric soldering irons, a small plastic bag;

— Objects found in the home of the accused Stepanyan: a metal disc, four screws, two hanks of wire, solder, tumblers, electric insulation tape, a piece of wire, two bronze plates and a plate of a brass-like alloy, 11 electric light bulbs, two electric batteries, gunpowder, candles, four metal welded cases for explosive devices, an electric soldering iron;

— Objects found in the home of the witness A. A. Muradyan: three electric batteries;

— Objects found on the sites of the experimental explosion: nine steel fragments, a fragment of cast iron, remains of an electric detonator, two fragments of newspaper.

C. The following are being kept in the material evidence room of the Investigations Department of the USSR KGB:

... — Electric detonators and explosives from an explosive device found on 30 October at the Kursk Station, Moscow, a travel-bag, a sweater (or shirt), a cap with ear-flaps and gloves belonging to the accused Stepanyan;

— Objects found in the home of the accused Stepanyan: two electric detonators, a capsule detonator, the trousers of a track suit, an electric motor, and also an abrasive stone handed in by the witness R. M. Muradyan.

6. Other subjects filed with the case:

— A sample of shopping bag ...

— A sample of steel pipe ...

— models of explosive devices ...

— A camping rucksack and a folding shovel, confiscated from the accused Stepanyan and used by the accused when they were setting off experimental explosions; a travel-bag ...

7. Six hunting knives confiscated from witness G. Kh. Ambart-

sumyan, and a hunting knife confiscated from the accused Stepanyan, as having been obtained without the required permission.

8. The property of the accused is not subject to confiscation.

9. In connection with the case the following civil claims are recognised:

T. K. Gainutdinov	456 roubles
L. P. Erokhina	309 roubles
R. I. Slepchenkova (Lyakhova)	158 roubles
N. V. Tishchenkova (Karachevtseva)	1,098 roubles
N. M. Tukhvatulina	373 roubles
R. D. Shapiro	[?] roubles

10. The following were acknowledged as victims: ...

D. V. Tyuzhin

V. P. Tyuzhina

L. D. Tyuzhina ...

12. The following criminal cases have been separated from the present case: the case of V. P. and M. P. Saratikyan (Vol. 61, pp. 10-16) and A. A. Muradyan (Vol. 61, pp. 17-21), as well as the materials on V. N. Vvedensky, A. Yu. Sluchevsky, M. N. Khomutetsky and A. V. Galayev.

Addenda and Corrigenda

Document No. 112 of the Moscow Helsinki Group (*Chronicle 55*) reports that the authors of the anonymous samizdat document entitled 'Results of the Enrolment in the Mechanics and Mathematics Faculty of Moscow State University of School Leavers from Six Moscow Schools' (*Chronicle 53* [p. 184]) are mathematicians Boris Kanevsky and Valery Senderov.

Corrections to the English edition

Chronicle 46

P. 47: Gilbert should read Hilbert

P. 130: Širvinski should read Širvinskis

Chronicle 51

P. 178: 'The Little Land' is probably in fact a reference to a volume of President Brezhnev's memoirs, which has this title.

Chronicle 54

The captions to illustrations 17 and 18 are inadvertently given in reverse order.

P. 96: Vosilaite and Vosilulis should read Vosiliute and Vosilius. Illustration No. 2 is not in fact V. Sokirko, but Valery Abramkin.

Endnotes (Chronicles 55-6)

- 1 As witnesses cannot attend trials until after they have given evidence, this meant that Badzė's relatives were barred from most of the trial.
- 2 In clear violation of Soviet law.
- 3 In August 1980 Velikanova was sentenced to four years in strict-regime camps plus five years of exile.
- 4 In August 1980 Yakunin was sentenced to five years in strict-regime camps, plus five years of exile.
- 5 For the trials of Burtsev, Popkov and Poresh see *Chronicle 56*. Ogorodnikov received in September 1980 six years in strict-regime camps plus five of exile.
- 6 Lesiv was sentenced to two years in camps in February 1980. See *Chronicle 56*.
- 7 In September 1980 Davydov was interned by a court in a special psychiatric hospital, despite the fact that the independent psychiatrist A. Voloshanovich had examined him and found him fully responsible for his actions.
- 8 See also *Chronicle 56*. In June 1980 Nekipelov was sentenced to seven years in strict-regime camps, plus five of exile.
- 9 See *Chronicle 32*, pp 64-7.
- 10 Humorous writers of the early Soviet period.
- 11 An official mass organization for young children.
- 12 A similar organization for older children.
- 13 He served less than five years, because if a defendant sentenced to exile has been held in prison before his trial, the period of detention is automatically multiplied by three and the resulting period is deducted from the exile term.
- 14 See note 9 above.
- 15 See note 9.
- 16 See 'Addenda and Corrigenda' in *Chronicle 56*.
- 17 Published in full in *Khronika zashchity prav cheloveka v SSSR*, 1979, No. 36.
- 18 Vosiliute's name was misspelt Vosilaite in *Chronicle 54*, where Vosilulis is a misspelling for Vosilius.
- 19 The same considerations apply in relation to corrective labour as to exile. See note 13.
- 20 For more details and extracts from documents than appear here see *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the U S S R*, Nos 36 (1979), 37 and 38 (1980).
- 21 For an analysis of the official distortions of this episode see P. Dornan's chapter in R. Tökes, ed, *Dissent in the U S S R*, p 406.
- 22 D. N. Pryanishnikov (1865-1948) was an eminent agrobiologist.
- 23 P. Litvinov *et al*, eds, *Samosoznanie*, Khronika Press, New York, 1976.
- 24 *Neopublikovannoye*, Possev Verlag, Frankfurt, 1972.
- 25 Probably Yulian Vronsky. See *Chronicle 11*.
- 26 The Popular Labour Alliance, a Russian anti-Soviet organization based in Paris and Frankfurt.
- 27 See Jane Ellis's article 'The Christian Seminar' in *Religion in Communist Lands*, 1980, No 2, pp 92-112.
- 28 Fedotov was not in fact tried but kept in hospital until his discharge in August 1980. Previously he had been forcibly hospitalized in 1976.

See the revealing transcript of a conversation about him in 1976 with the same Dr Levitsky in *ibid*, pp 109-112.

- 29 Ic, Drs A. Voloshanovich (Moscow) and Harald Blomberg (Sweden), who both found that he was not mentally ill.
 30 See the Bibliographical Note below.
 31 See note 9.
 32 See note 9.

Bibliographical Note

The original Russian texts of *Chronicles* 55 and 56, of which this book is a translation, appeared as booklets without annotations, *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*, Khronika Press, New York, 1980.

Earlier issues of the *Chronicle* are available in English from two main sources. Numbers 16-54 have been published by Amnesty International Publications with annotations and indexes of names, all issues except number 16 being still in print (see inside back cover). Numbers 1-11 appeared in full, with annotations and 76 photographs, in Peter Reddaway's *Uncensored Russia: the Human Rights Movement in the Soviet Union*, London and New York, 1972.

Future issues of *A Chronicle of Current Events* will be published in English by Amnesty International Publications as they become available.

The most comprehensive source of current, up-to-date information on the sort of events reported with some delay by the *Chronicle* is the fortnightly *USSR News Brief: Human Rights* edited by Dr Cronid Lubarsky and available from *Cahiers du Samizdat*, 48 rue du Lac, 1050 Brussels, Belgium. This address provides the English and Russian editions. In addition, a Japanese edition is available from the Soviet Coordination Group of Amnesty International, 2-3-22 Nishi-Waseda, Shinjuku-ju, Tokyo 160, Japan; a Dutch edition from Stichting Comité V. Boekovski, Postbus 51049, 1007 EA Amsterdam, Netherlands; and a German edition from GFM, Kaiserstr. 40, 6000 Frankfurt/Main 1, Germany. A French edition is planned. (Dr Lubarsky has featured in many issues of the *Chronicle* since 1972, where his name is spelled Kronid Lyubarsky. He emigrated in 1977.)

Many texts referred to briefly in the *Chronicle* have appeared in full in *A Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR*, Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10018, quarterly (separate Russian and English editions), and (documents of Helsinki groups) in the volumes listed in endnote 2 of *Chronicles* 43-5. *The Samizdat Bulletin*, P.O. Box 6128, San Mateo, California 94403, USA, monthly, is also a useful source, as are, for Ukrainian Helsinki Group documents, several booklets published in English by Smoloskyp Publishers, P.O. Box 561, Ellicott City, Maryland 21043, USA. In French the best source of samizdat texts is *Cahiers du Samizdat*, 48 rue du Lac, 1050 Brussels, Belgium, monthly; in German: *Samizdat: Stimmen aus dem 'anderen Russland'*, Kuratorium Geistige Freiheit, Postfach 277, 3601 Thun,

Switzerland (12 occasional vols to date), and *Menschenrechte-Schicksale-Dokumente*, Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte, Kaiserstr. 40, 6000 Frankfurt/M, Germany, bimonthly; in Italian: *Russia Cristiana*, via Matinengo 16, 20139 Milan, Italy, bimonthly; and in Dutch: *Rusland Bulletin*, Fijnje van Salverdastraat 4, Amsterdam-W, Netherlands, bimonthly, and the series *Rusland Cahiers*, Stichting Comité V. Boekovski, Postbus 51049, 1007 EA Amsterdam, Netherlands.

For many religious texts, see *Religion in Communist Lands*, Keston College, Heathfield Road, Keston, Kent BR2 6BA, England, quarterly. For Jewish texts see *Jews in the USSR*, 31 Percy Street, London W1P 9FG, England, weekly.

For Lithuanian texts see translated issues of *The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* (published as booklets), 351 Highland Boulevard, Brooklyn, New York 11207, USA; also translations of this and other Lithuanian samizdat in *ELTA*, 1611 Connecticut Avenue NW, suite 2, Washington D.C. 20009, USA.

Other books and periodicals in which readers can find more details about many of the people mentioned in the *Chronicle* are listed in the annotated bibliographies in the Amnesty International editions of numbers 22-23 and 27, and also appear in the endnotes in each volume.

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