

brooklyn college library presents:

**gulag**

an

**ISLAND**

in

**an archipelago**

a view inside a soviet forced labor camp



1986

Russian human rights activist, Ivan Kovalev, was editor of the Underground Human Rights Bulletin V and the Chronicle of Current Events.

The KGB arrested Mr. Kovalev for his "anti-Soviet activities" in 1981. He was sentenced to five years in the Gulag as well as five years of internal exile.

Mr. Kovalev is a Brooklyn College alumnus.



2006

*This exhibit of Ivan Kovalev's photographs, personal letters, and artifacts takes you inside the Soviet network of Labor Camps which imprisoned millions of citizens. Unfortunately, this page of history is not yet closed.*

#### The Gulag (Live Conversations)

The speakers in this series will discuss their personal experience as human rights activists, prisoners of conscience, political refugees. Additional topics include life in the labor camps, internal exile, the activities of the 1960s through the 1980s, and the current situation in Russia. A question and answer period follows each program.

**February 5, 6:00 - 8:00 p.m.**

Brooklyn College Library, Special Collections (1st Floor)

Opening of Exhibit: *Gulag - An Island in an Archipelago*

Speaker: Ivan Kovalev

**February 26, 2:00 - 3:30 p.m.**

Brooklyn College Library, Woody Tanger Auditorium

*I Witness Gulag*

Speakers: Tatiana Kovalev (Osipova), Ivan Kovalev,

and video presentation from Alan Dershowitz

**March 13, 7:00 - 9:00 p.m.**

Brooklyn College Library, Woody Tanger Auditorium

*They Choose Freedom*

Short movie (15 minutes) followed by remarks by

Pavel Litvinov

**March 27, 6:00 p.m.**

Brooklyn College Library, Woody Tanger Auditorium

*Soviet Gulag Prison System and U.S. Foreign Policy*

Short recording (15 minutes) of a panel discussion in

the Carter Center followed by remarks by Ivan Kovalev

# Hall 1.



## CASE A



I was born in 1954, next year after tyrant's death. Government's bulletins about dying Stalin having "Chain-Stocks" breathing gave the hope to my parent's generation that they will breathe more freely. Yet "Archipelago GULAG" did not vanish completely. Three of our family got first hand experience in 70's-80's of what it is to be a prisoner of conscience. First my father, then my wife and I. Then the wall was broken, communist party and Soviet Union ceased to exist, criminal code was changed and article 70 we were charged by removed, special political labor camps were closed and former prisoners rehabilitated. Once again there was a hope that GULAG is dead. Once again this hope has been proven to be wrong.

There are political prisoners in Putin's Russia. These are people imprisoned because of government's political reasons. The country, its rulers and prisoners, the life itself is very different, but prison does not change much.

In 1992 I had a rare opportunity to tour Russian prisons and labor camps - this time as a photographer, not as prisoner. Most of the pictures on this exhibit are from that trip. These pictures and artifacts would allow you to glance at one island of the archipelago so to speak.



Overhung: Door into solitary confinement cell. My wife spent many days behind it.

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Books [\*GULAG HISTORY BY APPLEBAUM\*](#), *MY TESTIMONY* BY A.MARCHENKO  
Books and dissemination of information and opinions in general were by far the most common reasons for political imprisonment during 60's – 80's. If Anne Applebaum had written her book in Russia then, it would be extremely dangerous not

only for the writer, but also for the readers. That was the fate of the books of Anatoly Marchenko with whom I spent part of my term. *My testimony* (1967) was his first book about torturous conditions in criminal labor camps. He was sent back to GULAG for writing the truth. Anatoly spent about 19 years in GULAG and died in prison in December 1986, just a few months before Gorbachev started releasing political prisoners, fulfilling the demand of Anatoly's hunger strike.

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In this photograph from Marchenko's family archive, he is with his wife Larisa Bogoraz [1929- 2004], also veteran of Human Rights movement in USSR. Larisa spent 4 years in Siberian internal exile for organization and participation of the 1968 demonstration in Red Square against Soviet invasion in Czechoslovakia.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anatoly\\_Marchenko](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anatoly_Marchenko)

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Larisa\\_Bogoraz](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Larisa_Bogoraz)

[http://www.yale.edu/annals/sakharov/documents\\_frames/Sakharov\\_008.htm](http://www.yale.edu/annals/sakharov/documents_frames/Sakharov_008.htm)

<http://eng.kavkaz.memo.ru/printperson/engperson/id/656175.html>



In early 80's I was secretly taking photographs of political labor camps. On one occasion it was discovered by the guards. I was detained , searched, my equipment and film confiscated, and they threaten to trial me as a spy (this charge would allow even for death penalty). Now I was taking a picture of dramatic sunset over guard tower, changing lenses and filters, - and

nobody seem to mind.

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Butirskaya interrogative prison in Moscow is the most common starting point of prisoner's long journey. Political prisoners arrested in Moscow were confined either there, along with regular criminals, or in a special KGB pretrial prison called Lefortovo. Interrogation typically lasted a year, and was then followed the trial and prisoner was transported to labor camp.

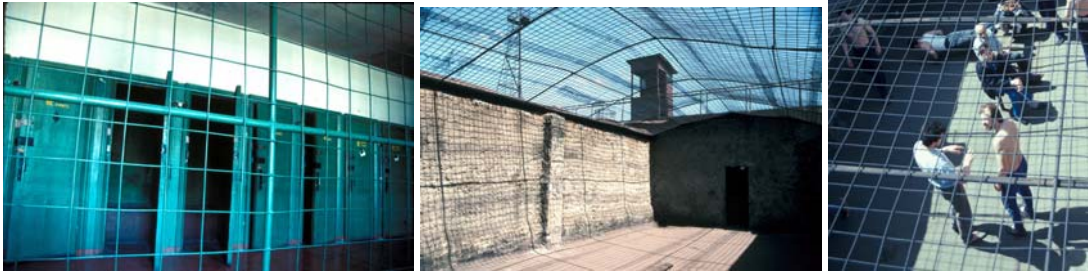


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## CASE B



Overhung. Guard dog. One of the famous "samizdat" books was a story of just such convoy dog.



Interrogation might last over a year. During this year a prisoner is literally caged. It could be a small cell for temporary holds (called “dog-box”), regular cell or a cage in interrogator’s office where especially dangerous criminals might be put. Even the walk courts are covered with checkered mesh.

After interrogation in a special pretrial prison – Lefortovo or Butirki in Moscow, - convicts have to be transported to destination labor camps. This journey itself might be one of the biggest challenges for prisoners. It might last a month or more with the stops in transit prisons.



The special cars used for transport of the prisoners to and from rail road stations have long borne the nickname of “black crows.” Inside, the van is divided in two parts. Up to 40 can be stuffed into the larger compartment, while two separate little boxes are used for especially dangerous criminals. In the past, political prisoners -- those convicted of anti-Soviet propaganda, for instance -- were in that category, so it was a dissidents’ limousine of sorts.

## CASE C



Overhung. Gates to the labor camp.



A convoy of men with machine guns and dogs (neither the men nor the dogs were ever in a jolly mood) always forms a chain around the spot where the prisoners are transferred from the van to the “Stolypin car” (a special boxcar for the transportation of prisoners), or vice versa.



Prisoner unable to walk would be carried over by their comrades. For example, I witnessed a paralyzed prisoner being transferred from the hospital back to

camp. His paralysis was not bad enough yet for him to be released for health reasons. The medical standards are such that a person has to be practically at death’s door to be released.

“Stolypin” is a modified version of the regular sleeping car. Compartments meant for 4 passengers would hold 18-24 prisoners. Convoy suppose to provide water to the prisoners and escort them to the restrooms (2 per car for a hundred or more prisoners) during the trip. In order to minimize the need for water, many prisoners do not touch salted fish given them as ration for the time of the rail road travel (typically 2-3 days one leg) and eat bread alone. It is often the case that prisoners are forced to use group demand for water or the restroom. That demand might take a dare form of attempt to derail a moving car. All prisoners would lean in concert against one wall and then the opposite one trying to shake the car. The humiliating conditions of the trip might even bring normally calm person to suicidal attempt.





The system treats prisoners as if they were animals. They are herded together, transported from place to place, all their life is restricted by the rules for every little detail. Actually, animals often have more degree of freedom.



## CASE D



Overhung. Dark and gloomy corridors, nets between floors to prevent suicidal attempts – typical attributes of the prison. Butirki interrogative prison, Moscow.



Wherever convict is transported, his “case” would follow him.



One woman in this group was a cook. She was suddenly taken out from the camp on the day I was visiting it. Apparently, it was done to prevent her from complaining to me about quality of products. We met by chance while she was waiting for transport. She told me products were often infested with worms. This did not change much since my time.



Once in labor camp, every prisoner is obligated to work. The work prisoners do is rather monotonous. The men usually do metalwork or make furniture in a small workshop. In some cases they do construction work; thus, in the strict regimen camp, the prisoners were building a prison for themselves.

Women do lighter work, usually dressmaking. However, light work in a camp is a relative concept. Any work can be made very hard if production quotas are set high enough.

Visual propaganda in the camps is hardly new. Even in the German concentration camps, there was the slogan, "Arbeit macht frei." "Want to live better—work better" is the motto of the Russian camps. Think about it, Germans took the concept from the early Lenin-Stalin GULAG.

#### CASE E



Overhung. Sunny day, no jailers nearby. Rare opportunity to relax for a moment.



Regulations dictate that all group movements of prisoners must be conducted in military style, in file formation. They march to work in a file; they march to the mess hall in a file. Numbers posted over the tables in the mess hall correspond to the numbers of the small “platoons” into which prisoners are divided, so that every prisoner knows which table

to hop to. The mess hall is small, so they eat in two shifts, 15 to 20 minutes each.



#### “TREASURE CHEST”

Something I had never seen before was a camp administration auctioning off items manufactured by prisoners, acting as a broker. Of course, I asked what their sales commission was in this case. I was told that such cooperation had only just begun and the commissions hadn't been set yet. Treasure chest made of

scrap materials would be one of the examples of what prisoners could do for such a sale.

## CASE F



Overhung. Strong tea and tobacco. What else one would need to be happy.



Once a month, the prisoner has the right to make a purchase at the camp store. The choice usually consists of two or three kinds of cookies, gingerbread cakes, and candies, some sort of canned meat, and, most importantly, tea and tobacco. Now that the rules have been relaxed, one can buy as much tea as one wants, rather than 50 grams as before. The supervisors' worries that the prisoners would use strong tea as a narcotic and get addicted have not been borne out.

The elderly peasant warming himself in the sun turned out to be a murderer. The old man can only buy 90 rubles' worth of goods at the store (about \$4 per month), so he spends half of it on tobacco. It's hardly surprising that he's still using the flint stone he's had since the war (matches cost 1.20 a box). By the way, the tag visible on the old man's chest is replaced, under the new regulations, with a photograph ID card prisoners have to carry in their pockets. Yet just a few years before, at the dawn of perestroika, my wife was slapped with an additional camp term precisely for refusing to wear this degrading tag.



Inmates are being punished within labor camps for real or imaginary violations of the rules. One of the strongest punishments of this sort is SHIZO (solitary confinement). A term in the punishment cell was no more than 15 days, but one could get one term after another in a stretch.

On the road to SHIZO



In SHIZO cell.

A friend and I were held in SHIZO for a long time without interruption, for trying to stand up for our rights. I spent 13 months there in one stretch (there were other times too, but I'm not counting that). My friend, Valery Senderov, was there for

almost as long. Under the rules then in effect, prisoners in punishment cells were given very meager hot meals once in two days; every other day, all they got was a pound of bread and some water. Valery suffered worse from hunger than I did, and was sometimes too weak to get up. Sometimes, they would strip him during a search and then leave him lying on the floor naked. I would then spend a long time dressing him, taking rest breaks (by then, I wasn't that strong, either). The doctor officially diagnosed him as having dystrophy and prescribed a lot of pills—heart pills, stomach pills, vitamins; there was only one thing the doctor couldn't prescribe, and that was a normal diet.

In addition to this, it used to be that one got no bedding at night and had to sleep on bare boards. One was forbidden to smoke, read, write, listen to the radio (sometimes it is a blessing) or watch TV. Some of these rules were abolished in 90's. Now prisoners at least have regular camp ration and bedding at night.

It is really never hot in SHIZO, not even in the summer, and no matter what the season or the weather, the prisoners in punishment cells try to wrap themselves up in anything they can find. Which is hardly surprising: while the temperature is supposed to be no less than 64F, it can drop as low as 53. My friend Anatoly Marchenko was working in a boiler during the time of my incarceration. Once, during especially cold Siberian winter night, he redirected the main stream of hot water to SHIZO barrack instead of leaving quarters for the guards. Next day he was in SHIZO himself.



“MUG, BREAD”

The food ration in SHIZO was called “9B”. As I mentioned, one day it was just a pound of bread and 3 mugs of hot water. Every second day in addition to this we had hot meal. Valery Senderov was a scientist, so we developed a “scientific” definition of the quantity of that meal. “SHIZO ration is such quantity of non-liquid food that might be easily

transferred from one bowl to the other by 4 spoonful”.

## CASE G



Overhung. Born in prison cannot go outside.



I had heard before about women giving birth in the camps. But this was the first time I saw a camp where children born in captivity are kept in a separate section. Mothers can see their children every day in their off hours. Those who are lucky, work in the children's home and take care of their own children.

A child can be taken from the camp by the mother's relatives (if there are any, and if they agree), or by the mother herself when she has done her time. If there's no one to take the child and the mother's still serving time, a child remain in this camp until he is three and is then sent to an orphanage.

All of the camp "mommies" assert that they love their kids and would never abandon them. But this is not always true. Many children taken from the camp by their mothers upon release are abandoned at the nearest train station. Mothers get a number of privileges at the camps, and some women will try to get pregnant just to have these privileges.

All these camp kids ever see is fences and barbed wire. They are scared of all strangers. It is doubtful that any of them will ever see their fathers. They do see their mothers but even that is complicated.

Under regulations, a nursing mother cannot be put in a punishment cell. But if the doctor states that the mother has little milk and should not breastfeed, then a nursing mother becomes perfectly fit for a punishment cell.

My wife Tanya met just such a nursing violator in the punishment cell in this very camp. (The "politicals" had no punishment cell in their camp and were taken here.) The mother's crime consisted in going to the supervisors to plead for others. And despite the doctor's statement that she had little milk, it flowed from her nipples and she had nothing to dry it with. The nursing mom shivered with cold in the punishment cell while her hungry baby was screaming in his zone.



My wife, like myself, spent many terms in SHIZO. She was held in this very cell. It is only fair to say that this is a very good cell. They could have had a cement floor and a microscopic window with all sorts of blinds and “muzzles.” Instead of a toilet, there could have been a bucket, just as there was a few years ago.



On that day I was here, in a “mommies” camp’s SHIZO, there was even cotton for women’s sanitary napkins. It obviously did not come from a drugstore, through. I don’t know how they produce this

Tampax a la Russe; it’s probably yanked from old padded jackets and mattresses.

Prisoners are allowed to have long visits by relatives or short ones. Long visits are up to 3 days when relatives are taken inside the camp, in the special barrack. Then they can spoil their loved ones by home cooking.



It is food in the bags of those relatives boarding local train. The other kind of visits - - short ones, up to 4 hours -- take place in a room where several families can meet at once, under the watchful eye of a warden. In the past, visitors were separated from the prisoners by glass and conversations were conducted by phone. Moreover, one could only talk in Russian. I remember instances when people who did not know Russian or did not want to speak in a language not their own, simply sat in silence for several hours and went back without having exchanged a single word. Now, it is permitted to speak in any language.

Both kinds of visits are conditional on prisoner’s behavior. Spotless record could grant you one long and 2 short visits per year on the strict regime. I had one visit in 5 years.

## CASE H



Overhung. Prisoner's grave.



The question of paternity for kids born in captivity usually remains open. Their future is as uncertain. They could be abandoned by their mother, be placed in the orphanage, many of them are likely to end up in the camp, like their parents.



Humiliation is yet another act of petty tyranny can be the last drop that makes the cup of prisoner's patience run over. I know a very worthy and self-possessed man who once tried to kill himself during transfer by slashing his wrist with a shard of glass—simply because the guard refused to take him to the toilet.

The tattoo on this girl's hand states: "No more blood"

Suicide attempts are not uncommon among prisoners. They are not always intended to succeed. More often than not, such self-torture is a form of protest. One can't always tell whether the person is really trying to kill himself and fails, or was it fully calculated show to make sure someone appears at the critical moment and saves him. I remember a prisoner who made so many such attempts that no one was really taking them seriously anymore. And he ended up killing himself after all. The last time the rope



on which he hanged himself did not break, and when they got him out of the noose it was too late.



Special regime prisoners are kept in dark gloomy cells, they do not see much of the daylight. Cornered, humiliated people, broken lives. But even less strict regiments were meant to be not only the means of isolation, but inhumane, unjust punishment.



Plenty of people die in the camps: these places are no health spas. Prisoners who died are buried in a special cemetery. Few of the graves there are fenced off or topped with a cross. And only in very rare cases is it possible to have a prisoner buried in a general cemetery.

Ordinarily, a cemetery for prisoners has an appearance that makes it difficult to understand at once where one is. The Mordovian cemetery outside the central hospital is located in a low area, right next to the village dump where ordinary garbage lies all mixed up with rolls of barbed wire. It's hard to tell where the dump ends and the cemetery begins.

If the prisoner had no relatives, or if they were unable to come and put a cross on his grave, there won't be anything there but a pathetic piece of wood sticking up from the ground, with the number of the grave crudely painted on it. And in a year or two, even that piece of wood will be gone—washed away by spring waters or by refuse dumped from the work zone of the neighboring camp, which is right by on the hilltop. Trees now grow over many of the graves of this land of camps. Few old timers now remember where these graves used to be. There is nothing left.

## Hall 2.

### Case 2D



Our story, and the story of our family and friends, is in good part about books and true information. Books we read. Many of them were available only in “Samizdat”, as typewritten copies, or in best case, as smuggled from the West published abroad copy. Samizdat (Russian:

самиздат) was the clandestine copying and distribution of government-suppressed literature or other media in Soviet-bloc countries. Quiet often these books were confiscated during KGB searches in our houses. To share this type of book might constitute a “criminal” offence.

Three of Samizdat authors become Nobel Price laureates for literature.

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**Marina Tsvetaeva.** Husband executed by firing squad, daughter imprisoned in 1937. Tsvetaeva hang herself 1941 in the town of Elabuga.

Отказываюсь – быть  
В бедламе нелюдей  
Отказываюсь – жить ...

Refuse – to be  
In the madhouse scary  
Refuse – to live...

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**Anna Akhmatova.** Husband executed by firing squad 1921, son imprisoned in 1938

Муж в могиле,  
Сын в тюрьме.  
Помолитесь обо мне.

Husband - in grave,  
Son – in prison.  
Pray about me.

**Boris Pasternak.** Winner of the [Nobel Prize for Literature](#) in 1958 for his novel *Doctor Zhivago*. This book was available only in Samizdat until 1988 (28 years after author's death).

Если только можно, Авва Отче,  
Чашу эту мимо пронеси...

If you can, Awwa Father,  
This passing dust bowl...



Cartoonist Bill Mauldin, won the Pulitzer Prize for his 1958 cartoon "I Won the Nobel Prize for Literature. What Was Your Crime?"

**Osip Mandelshtam.** Mandelshtam said onse "*Only in Russia is poetry respected – it gets people killed*". He was arrested and sentensed several times, died in 1938 in transit camp "Vtoraya Rechka" near Vladivostok.

Мы живем, под собою не чуя страны,  
Наши речи за десять шагов не слышны...

We live, but we do not feel the land beneath us,  
Ten steps away and our words cannot be heard...

**Joseph Brodsky.** Winner of the [Nobel Prize for Literature](#) in 1987. Brodsky was arrested for "parasitism" in 1963 and sentensed for internal exhile.

*Judge:* And what is your profession, in general?

*Brodsky:* I am a poet and a literary translator.

*Judge:* Who recognizes you as a poet? Who enrolled you in the ranks of poets?

*Brodsky*: No one. Who enrolled me in the ranks of humankind?

...

*Judge*: How to become a poet. You did not even try to finish high school where they prepare, where they teach?

...

*Brodsky*: I think that it ... comes from God.

Brodsky was expelled from USSR in 1972, died at 55 in 1996.

...русский опыт было бы разумно рассматривать как предостережение...

...it would make sense to regard the Russian experience as a warning... == From Nobel lecture

Есть преступления хуже чем жечь книги. Одно из них, это их не читать.

There are worse crimes than burning books. One of them is not reading them.

**Alexandr Solzhenitsyn**. Prisoner in the Stalin's labor camps in 1945 – 1953, in the “permanent” internal exile until 1961. Winner of the [Nobel Prize for Literature](#) in 1970 (“The First Circle”). Expelled from USSR in 1974. Returned to Russia 1994. One could rightfully call his book *The Gulag Archipelago* the most important book of the XX century.

Не верь, не бойся, не проси.

Do not trust, do not fear, do not beg. == from *The Gulag Archipelago*

А едва развеяна будет ложь – отвратительно откроется нагота насилия – и насилие дряхлое падет.

And no sooner will falsehood be dispersed than the nakedness of violence will be revealed in all its ugliness - and violence, decrepit, will fall. == From Nobel lecture

Varlam Shalamov. *Kolima Stories*

Nadezda Mandelstam. *Memoirs*.

G. Orwell. *1984*

UN. International Bill of Human Rights.

*From the Depth*. Proceedings of the Russian revolution

<http://www.vehi.net/deprofundis/index.html>

Criminal Code of the USSR. Article 70, “Anti-soviet agitation and propaganda” was inherited from the Article 58 of older Code of the Stalin era. Any critique of the Soviet government or events in the Soviet Union was easily classified as ASA. Dissemination of

any information which was not officially recognized was classified as "dissemination of falsehood".

1. propaganda or agitation with the purpose of undermining or weakening of the Soviet power or with the purpose of committing or incitement to commit particularly grave crimes against the Soviet state (as defined in the law);
2. the spreading with the same purposes of slanderous fabrications that target the Soviet political and social system;
3. production, dissemination or storage, for the same purposes, of literature with anti-Soviet content

Penalty: up to 7 years of imprisonment with possible subsequent internal exile up to 5 years. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Soviet\\_propaganda](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Soviet_propaganda)

International treaties like the one about prisoners, were hard to impossible to get to know. If you had one, it could be confiscated during KGB search.

#### Case 2E



*GULAG Archipelago* by Solzhenitsyn was one of the most important and influential books of the period. This western edition is in typical format: very thin paper and small book size for easier smuggling. If you share this book, you could be brought up on charges.

A few years before *GULAG* was published in the West, the first break-through work of Solzhenitsyn was published in 1962 in Soviet Magazine *Novii mir* (New World). It was "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich"

<http://www.google.com/books?q=One+Day+in+the+Life+of+Ivan+Denisovich&btnG=Search+Books>, <http://www.davar.net/EXTRACTS/FICTION/ONE-DAY.HTM>

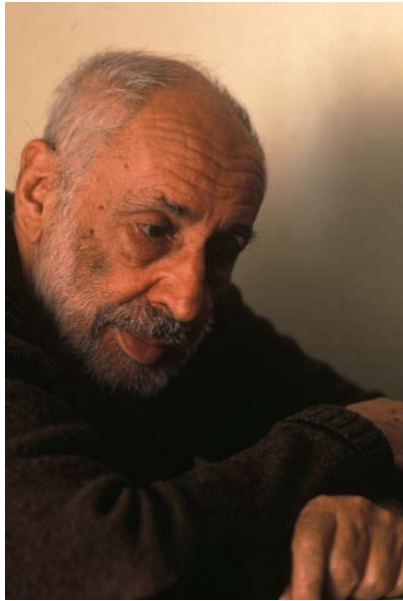


Photo: Boris Zaks. Boris Zaks was one of the editors of *Novii Mir* when “One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich” . Yula Zaks, his stepdaughter, was helping Solzhenitsyn later managing his “Foundation for help political prisoners in USSR”

*Defender* : Memoirs about our best defense attorney S.V.Kallistratova . Kallistratova and Bonner were in the same “Helsinki Group” as me and my wife.

*Free Notes About Sakharov’s Family Tree* by E.Bonner with autograph. Our friends are now giving us their books with autographs for us or our kids.

Photo: E.G.Bonner, S.V.Kallistratova and M.G.Podyapolskaya. 1979

Poetry of Natalya Gorbanevskaya. Gorbanevskaya was first editor of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and a participant in the 1968 Red Square demonstration. She was punished by 3 years in mental institution.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Natalya\\_Gorbanevskaya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Natalya_Gorbanevskaya)

<http://www.amazon.com/Red-Square-noon-Natalia-Gorbanevskaya/dp/0030859905>

Magazine *KAPTA* (“Map”) with memoirs about Russian dissidents in 1960’s –1970’s. Our friends Larisa Bogoraz and Pavel Litvinov (on the left page) were the most respected names in the late 1960’s.

Pavel Litvinov. Grand son of Stalin's foreign minister in 1930s, Pavel was one of the organizers and participants (along with Larisa Bogoraz and Natalya Gorbanevskaya) in the 1968 Red Square demonstration against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Pavel was 28 at that time. Here is what Andropov (then KGB chief) was reporting about Pavel to the Central Committee on Sept 20-th 1968:

“They have conducted agitation among many scholars with the objective of inducing them to sign letters, protests, and declarations that have been compiled by the more active participants in this kind of activity— Petr IAKIR and Pavel LITVINOV. These people are the core around which the above group has been formed . . . IAKIR and LITVINOV were the most active agents in the so-called "samizdat."

([http://www.yale.edu/annals/sakharov/documents\\_frames/Sakharov\\_008.htm](http://www.yale.edu/annals/sakharov/documents_frames/Sakharov_008.htm) )

Pavel spent 5 years in internal exile, and emigrated to USA in 1973.

Andrey Amalrik, *Dissident's Notes*. Along with his essay *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, it was classic Samizdat. Amalrik was arrested and imprisoned several times in the 1960s and 1970s. Emigrated in 1976 after KGB's ultimatum to emigrate or face another sentence. Killed in automobile accident in 1980.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andrei\\_Amalrik](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andrei_Amalrik)

*The End of the Tragedy*. Writer and publicist Anatoly Yakobson was member of "Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR" and editor of the *Chronicle of Current Events*.

Poet Victor Nekipelov was member of Moscow "Helsinki Group". Victor was subjected to forced treatment in mental institution in the late 1960s for his protests against Soviet invasion in Czechoslovakia. He was sentenced to 2 years of labor camp in 1973. There was one more arrest in 1979 with sentence of 7 more years in labor camp and 5 years in internal exile. Released in 1987, Victor emigrated and died from cancer in 1989.

Case 2E

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*New York Review of Books*, *Meaning of Life*, 2 books by S.Kovalev.

My father, Sergey Kovalev, was a founding member of the "Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR" in 1969. This was the first organized group that would appeal not only to Soviet authorities, but also to western organizations where USSR was a member (such as the United Nations). The Initiative Group was collecting and disseminating information about human rights violations in USSR. That same year first issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events* was issued. Documents of

Initiative Group as well as information from the *Chronicle* were notable neutral in tonality. Sergey Kovalev was editor in chief of the *Chronicle* for several years before his arrest in December 1974. Kovalev spent 7 years in labor camps (Perm 36 where he was imprisoned, is now a museum) and 3 years of internal exile in Kolima.

After return to Moscow during Perestroika, Kovalev participated in the founding of a number key organizations. Most importantly these included the Memorial Society (<http://www.memo.ru/eng/>), the Andrei Sakharov Foundation (USA: <http://asf.wdn.com/> Russia: <http://www.sakharov-center.ru/>), and the Institute of Human Rights (<http://www.hrights.ru/>). In Post-Soviet Russia S.Kovalev was and a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation. He was also the first Russian human rights Ombudsman and represented Russia in Council of Europe.



Kovalev is a vocal opponent of Russia's military involvement in Chechnya since first Chechen war of 1994. (<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/225> ) He resigned as head of Yeltsin's presidential human rights commission in 1996 because of disagreement with president's policy. ([http://www.nybooks.com/articles/article-preview?article\\_id=1618](http://www.nybooks.com/articles/article-preview?article_id=1618) )

Sergey Kovalev was twice nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, he is the recipient of numerous awards (<http://www.ned.org/events/demaward/demaward1995.html>), including the French Legion of Honor .

S.Kovalev is author of two books and numerous articles and essays. He is a contributor to the *New York Review of Books* and to the *Meaning of Life* by Time. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergei\\_Kovalev](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergei_Kovalev)

Book about S.Kovalev

[http://books.google.com/books?id=QIJNt\\_10xxAC&printsec=frontcover](http://books.google.com/books?id=QIJNt_10xxAC&printsec=frontcover)



*Kovalev's Case* Materials from the trial in Vilus, 1975. As with all dissident's trials, it was held behind closed doors, only relatives were allowed in. Elena Bonner was in Oslo receiving her husband, A.Sakharov's Nobel Peace Prize, while Sakharov himself stood at the door of the court in Vilnus.

S.Kovalev in prison.



He worked for the Initiative Group and *Chronicle*

Sentence: 7 years in labor camp + 5 in internal exile. Punished by multiple terms in solitary confinement and internal prison while in labor camp

Materials of the "Moscow Helsinki Watch Group", second edition for 30-th anniversary. "Moscow Helsinki Group" was a successor of the "Initiative Group". Membership and active participation in the group was the main reason for my wife's Tatiana Kovalev (Osipova) arrest in 1980 and my own arrest in 1981. Each of us took part in the creation of about 100 documents of the group. Altogether, according to the verdicts, made by Soviet courts, MHG members were sentenced to 60 years of GULag and to 40 years of exile. In 1978 the group was nominated for Nobel Peace Prize.

<http://www.mhg.ru/english/18E4796>

Photo: In our apartment. Half of our friends in this photo went through prisons and labor camps, the other half emigrated.



T. Kovalev (Osipova) in prison.

Worked for "Helsinki Group", wrote publicist essays together with V. Nekipelov.

Sentence: 5 years in labor camp + 5 in internal exile. Held a hunger strike for almost 4 months demanding her right for visit with her husband. While imprisoned, Tatiana was active participant and organizer of many actions of protest of the prisoners. She was punished by multiple terms in solitary confinement and internal prison. By the end of her labor camp

term, in 1985, she was not sent to exile, but to criminal labor camp for 2 additional years instead - for "disobedience". Adoption of the new article of Criminal Code allowing such punishment, was one of the first steps of Gorbachev's ruling. And Tatiana was the first show case.

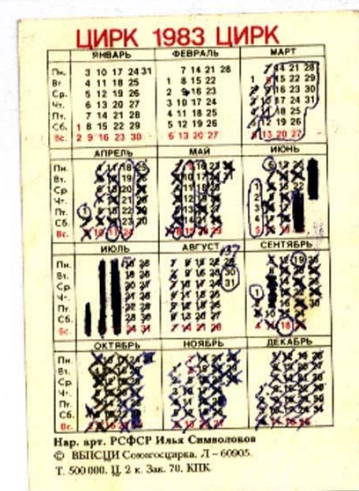


I. Kovalev in prison.

Worked for "Moscow Helsinki Watch Group", *Chronicle*, *Information Bulletin "V"*, wrote publicist essays,

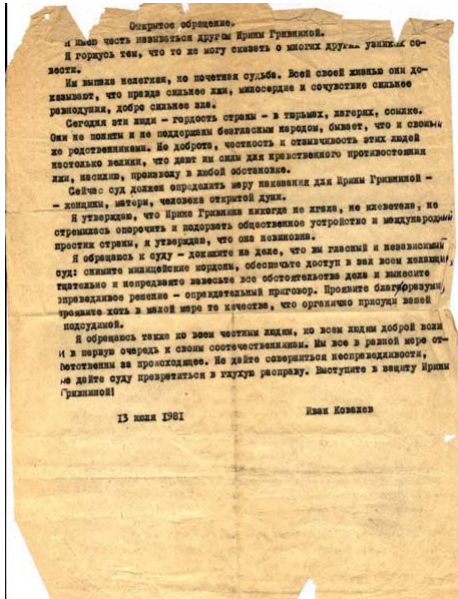
Sentence: 5 years in labor camp + 5 in internal exile. Held and won a strike for his rights as a

worker. Punished by multiple terms in solitary confinement and internal prison while in labor camp.



Calendar "Circus 1983".

I refused to work after several punishments for not fulfilling the quota. It took 393 days in solitary (SHIZO) to set record straight in accordance with the rules then in effect.



Letter in defense of then arrested Irina Grivnina. This is what Samizdat looked like.

List of political prisoners in Perm-35 labor camp. Compiled by I.Kovalev shortly after release from camp to internal exile.

This handwriting looks like a poster compare to letters smuggled from labor camps.

Case 2F



Memoirs of Leonard Ternovsky, Member of "Moscow Helsinki Watch Group" and group for investigation of punitive uses of psychiatry ("Working Committee on the investigation of execution of psychiatry in political purposes"). Spent 3 years in labor

camps. ( <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/dr-leonard-ternovsky-470648.html> )

*Memoirs* of General P.Grigorenko, and book of Grigorenko's son Andrew about Crimean Tatars. P.Grigorenko was a founding member of Moscow Helsinki Watch Group. My wife joined the group in 1977 on his proposal. One of the main topics of general Grigorenko's concern was the struggle of Crimean Tatars for return to Crimea (Crimean Tatars were deported by Stalin in 1942). P.Grigorenko was imprisoned for about 6 years in mental hospitals. In 1977 he went to USA for medical treatment, and was stripped of his Soviet citizenship while there. P.Grigorenko asked for a psychiatric evaluation in USA. He was found to be exceptionally sane.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pyotr\\_Grigorenko](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pyotr_Grigorenko) ,  
<http://www.iccrimea.org/surgun/grigorenko.html>

*Dangerous Thoughts*: Memoirs of Yuri Orlov, founder of "Moscow Helsinki Watch Group". Yuri is a prominent nuclear physicist, Member of the Armenian Academy of Science and of the American Academy of Science. For his human rights activity, mainly for organizing Helsinki Group, he was arrested in 1977 and sentenced to 7 years in labor camp + 5 in internal exile. Deported to the United States as a part of the exchange for a Soviet spy in 1986. Yuri now works in Cornell University as Senior Scientists (developing CESR and working on the foundations of quantum mechanics), and participates in the Brookhaven G-2 experiment. Since 1987 he has produced 85+ scientific publications and technical reports-from the muon g-2 to foundations of quantum mechanics.

We met with Tanya, my future wife, at the doors of the Yuri Orlov's trial. Yuri is godfather of our daughter Liza who turned 19 Feb 6-th 2008.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuri\\_Feodorovich\\_Orlov](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuri_Feodorovich_Orlov)  
<http://www.aps.org/programs/honors/prizes/prizerecipient.cfm?name=Yuri%20Fyodorovich%20Orlov&year=1995>

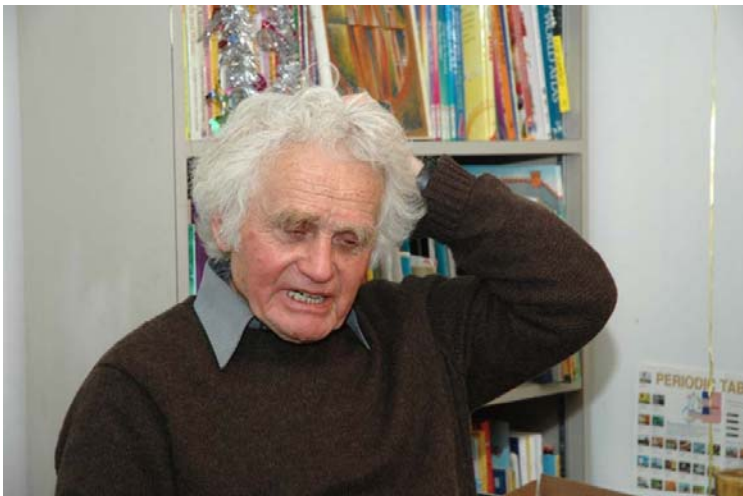


Photo: Yuri Orlov, 2007

*Soviet Dissent*: a history of contemporary human rights movement by L.Alexeeva. One of the main sources

for this book was the *Chronicle of Current Events*. Ludmila Alexeeva was a first typist for the *Chronicle* in 1968-72. She was a founding member of "Moscow Helsinki Watch Group" in 1976.

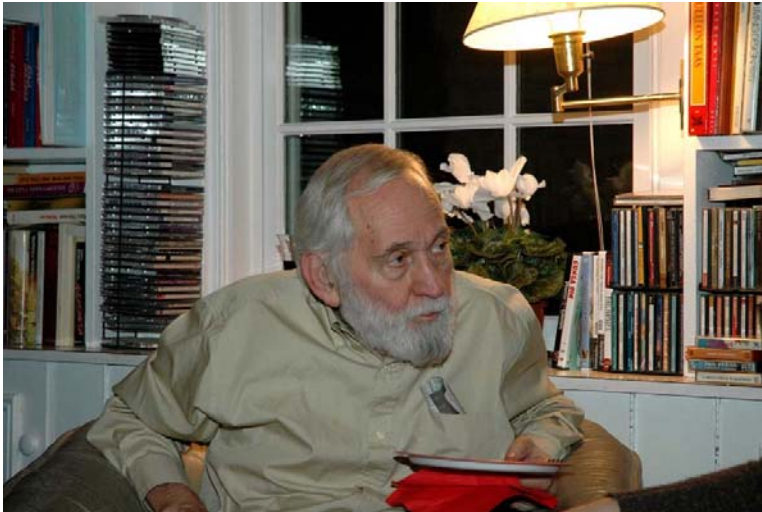
She emigrated to USA in February 1977, returned to Russia in 1993. She is now chairwoman of the new "Helsinki Group" in Moscow.

<http://books.google.com/books?id=ATOTHQAACAAJ&dq=Soviet+Dissent>

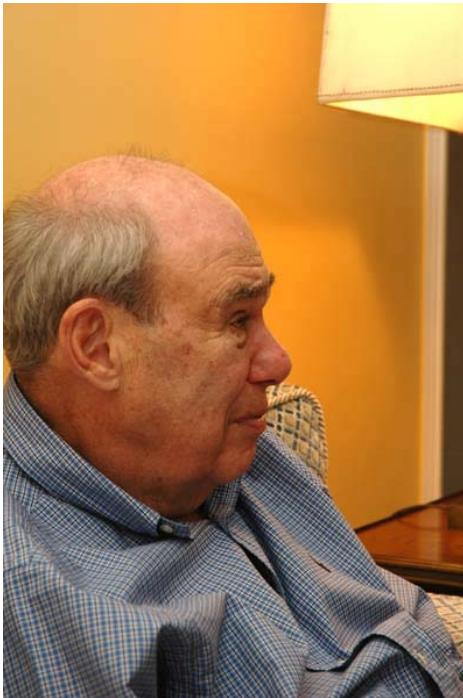
*The Thaw Generation*: Memoirs of L. Alexeeva

[http://www.amazon.com/Thaw-Generation-Post-Stalin-Russian-European/dp/0822959119/ref=sr\\_1\\_1?ie=UTF8&s=books&qid=1202104677&sr=1-1](http://www.amazon.com/Thaw-Generation-Post-Stalin-Russian-European/dp/0822959119/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&s=books&qid=1202104677&sr=1-1)

Photos: Our American friends Ed Kline and Andrew Blane, both are on board of directors of the Andrei Sakharov Foundation (<http://asf.wdn.com>)



Andrew Blane  
Professor Emeritus of  
Russian History, City  
University of New York.  
One of the organizers of  
Amnesty International in  
USA.



Edward Kline  
Publisher and president of Chekhov Publishing  
Corporation. Many "Samizdat" books of 1960s -  
1980s were published by this corporation.

## Case 2A.



Banner:

“Я другой такой страны не знаю где так вольно жил бы человек”

“I know no other land where one would live so freely”

From the popular Soviet song of the “Big Terror” era.

Labor camp jacket and boots donated by Alexey Smirnov.

Photo: Vladimir Toltz and Alexey Smirnov, 1981. Together, the three of us published *Information Bulletin V*. It was the main source of raw information for "Helsinki Group", *Chronicle* and *News Brief* which was published abroad by Kronid Lubarsky. Toltz emigrated, and works for Radio Liberty. Smirnov was arrested and spent 5 years in labor camps.

*Self-consciousness*. Proceedings on human rights issues in late 1960's. One of the authors - Pavel Litvinov.

*The Inertia of Fear* by Valentin Turchin

([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valentin\\_Turchin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valentin_Turchin)). Turchin is one of the leaders in 20<sup>th</sup> century computer science, creator of the language REFAL and the super compilation technique (<http://www.goertzel.org/benzine/turchin.htm>). His book was one of the classic "must read" of the Samizdat. In 1973 Turchin founded the Moscow chapter of Amnesty International. In 1977, threatened with almost certain imprisonment, he emigrated to the USA. For 20 years Turchin worked as Professor of Computer Science at City College, CUNY. He retired in 1999.

*And the Wind Returns* by V. Bukovsky (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bukovsky>).

For his political activities, Bukovsky was imprisoned 4 times, including 3 years in mental institutions in early 1960's and 7 more years in labor camps in the 1970s. He

was one of the organizers of December 1965 demonstration at Pushkin Square in Moscow in defense of the writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel. In 1976, while imprisoned, Bukovsky was exchanged for former Chilean Communist leader Luis Corvalán. Bukovsky is a candidate for Russian Presidential Election, 2008



Photo: Tatiana Kovalev (Osipova). Last photo before her arrest in 1980. I had this photo with me all 5 years of my imprisonment. It was made a plague by my friends in the labor camp. During interrogation in Lefortovo prison, my investigator ordered to remove this portrait from my cell. I threatened that I will never again come to his cabinet for questioning without a fight . Portrait was returned the same day.

*Journey into the Whirlwind* (крутой маршрут) by Evgenija Ginzburg,

(<http://www.google.com/books?id=1IQzeczGQX0C&pg=PA161&dq=Evgenija+Ginzburg&lr=&sig=njaTSdhE1-KRHMCBKRIKQPODVlc> )

This memoir is on par with Solzhenitsyn's books.

*Christianity and Atheism* by Zeludkov and Lubarsky. This whole book is compiled from the letters between Russian priest S.Zeludkov and imprisoned scientist Kronid Lubarsky.

*December 5 1965* Book about December 1965 demonstration at Pushkin Square in Moscow in defense of the writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel. Published by Memorial society.

*127 letters about love*: Letters of A.Sinyavsky to his wife from the labor camp.

*Taking a Walk with Pushkin* by A. Sinyavsky (pen name Abraham Tertz). One of the literary books "smuggled" from the labor camp in the letters to his wife.

*Punished Nations* by Nekritch. This is about deported nations during Stalin rule. Crimean Tatars was one such nation.

*Crime and Punishment of Sinyavsky and Daniel*. The works of these two writers published in post-Soviet Russia. This copy has a joking autograph to us from Larisa Bogoraz, Daniel's wife at the time of his arrest. It says "Don't you go, kids, to Africa for a walk". This is a warning from popular children story.



Photo: Poster from Perm-36 museum's traveling exhibit. Father and son Kovalev and Tatiana Kovalev (Osipova)

Photo : Toothbrushes.

I did not expect that our family's story would be "museumified" unless I saw it in the exhibit plans of the Perm-36 museum. Then I thought that this part of our lives might be a good illustration of what we were doing and how it was punishable at that time. Simply put, we were trying to keep our human dignity, reading the books we like, writing the truth, keeping the friends we love. That was a "crime". Our jailers were trying to put us down, humiliate, break us. One of the methods for this was isolation. Letters would not pass the censor, or they would get lost in the mail, or

we had regime restrictions forbidding to write. There was a sentence in Stalin time "10 years without the right to write". We had a right to send out 2 letters per month. Yet in 5 years my wife received just 2 letters from me.



The most difficult time is interrogation that typically lasts a year. Mail is banned for this period completely. So we tried alternative means. When my wife Tanya was arrested in 1980, and I sent her a package to the Lefortovo KGB pretrial prison, I enclosed in it a toothbrush on which a brief note was scratched -- just a few words of support which could not have been conveyed in any other way. The note could be read only by catching a reflected light on the toothbrush, so that the letter made it through all the searches and was read by the addressee, who was by then a sophisticated convict. Little over a year later,

when I was put in Lefortovo myself and Tanya was already in a camp in Mordovia, she sent me a reply -- also on a toothbrush, which, after many adventures, finally got to my cell.

This story has a silly happy ending. I was getting parcels from my mom, and naturally did not expect any love notes from her on toothbrushes. I did not realize that I might get something from Tanya this way. I never checked this toothbrush for next 5 years unless we finally met with Tanya in internal exile, and she asked me if I read the note.

## Case 2B



Background: Photo of Perm-36 political labor camp circa 1979. Taken secretly by I.Kovalev while visiting imprisoned S.Kovalev. Published in English edition of "Chronicle #53"

*Walks Around the Barracks* by I.Guberman. Writer, poet, satiric. 5 years of labor camps.

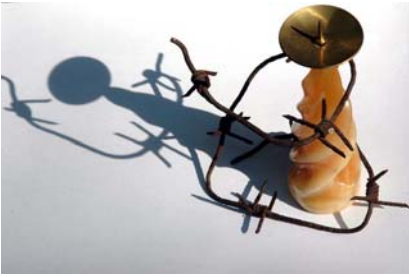
*USSR - Germany 1939*. Documents of the period. Most important one was a secret protocol to the "Molotov-Ribbentrop" treaty of 1939 which divided Poland between Germany and USSR. Public demands to publish those documents were one of the most serious charges in our cases. Protests of the "Helsinki Group" against occupation of Afghanistan in 1979 were also declared a crime by authorities.

*Diagnosis : Political Dissent* by Sidney Bloch; Peter Reddaway

<http://worldcat.org/wcpa/ow/19fd8d05b72396fa.html> == Russia's political hospitals : the abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union

Peter Reddaway was probably the most active and helpful on the West in exposing punitive use of psychiatry in Soviet Union.





Barbed wire around the candle. Barbed wire around the candle is an emblem of Amnesty International. It is impossible to overestimate the role of AI in defense of political prisoners.

Memorial medal from Sakharov Congress of 1991 in Moscow.  
(<http://www.sakharov-center.ru/museum/expositions/english/resistance-unfreedom-ussr/>)



A.D.Sakharov (on the back cover of his memoir)  
(*The KGB File of Andrei Sakharov* By Joshua Rubenstein, Alexander Gribov ==  
<http://books.google.com/books?id=ycymsEa4chIC> )



Photo: E.G.Bonner, Boston, 2005  
Formally, only E.Bonner was a member of "Helsinki Group", her husband A.D.Sakharov was not. But he was extremely influential, and Group members often thought of him as non-formal leader.

Books. These books illustrate different topics covered in Samizdat in 1970's. It could be literature ( *Faithful Ruslan. History of the guard dog* by G.Vladimov), proceedings ( *Executed by Insanity*, about punitive psychiatry ), publicist ( *Three attitude to the motherland*, V.Osipov, 15 years of labor camps), ( *Internationalism or Rusification?* by Ivan Dzyuba , 2 years in prison. Confessed, asked for pardon, released), religion ( *Light Shines in the Darkness* by father Aleksandr Men, murdered 1990 by an ax-wielding assailant just outside his home; the murder remains unsolved.  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexandr\\_Men](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexandr_Men) ).

Authors might be forced to emigration, imprisoned, killed. Readers daring to share books were also taking the chances to be prosecuted.

*Punitive medicine*. A Podrabinek ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexandr\\_Podrabinek](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexandr_Podrabinek)) was 24 when he wrote this book. 2 years in exile and 3.5 years in labor camp was the punishment. This book, no doubt, was one of the major factors forcing USSR out of World Psychiatric Association in 1982 (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Psikhushka>). His recent publications describe revival of the use of psychiatry for political repressions in Russia, including the non-voluntary hospitalization of Larisa Arap.

*Gray is the Color of Hope* by Irina Ratushinskaya.

([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irina\\_Ratushinskaya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irina_Ratushinskaya)). Irina was charged for "the dissemination of slanderous documentation in poetic form", released in 1986 during perestroika after spending 4 years in the labor camp out of seven she was sentenced for. Her memoir chronicles the life in the political labor camp for women. Irina emigrated in 1987, returned to Russia in 1998.



Photo: "Chroniclers" Boris Smushkevitch and Leonid Vul . Moscow, 2005

*U.S.S.R. News Briefs* and *List of Political Prisoners in the USSR* by Kronid Lubarsky. Astrophysicist Kronid Lubarsky spent 5 years in labor camps and prisons for his human rights work, in particular for collaboration with *Chronicle*. One of the most notable actions he took while imprisoned, was the designation of October 30-th as a Day of Political Prisoner in USSR

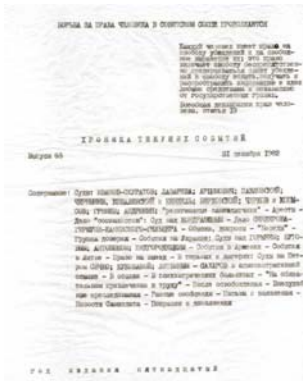
(<http://khp.org/archive/en/index.php?id=1163340509>, <http://www.sakharov-center.ru/museum/expositions/english/resistance-unfreedom-ussr/>). After release in 1976, Lubarsky emigrated to Germany. For 13 years he was producing by-weekly *News Brief*, a yearbook of political prisoners complete with case details and family contacts; and a monthly journal called *My Country and the World* with analytical pieces from international contributors. For about 3 years *Bulletin V* was main contributor for Lubarsky *News Brief*.

After collapse of the USSR, Lubarsky returned to Russia and become Deputy Editor of the *New Times*. Died 1996.

[http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_qn4158/is\\_19960618/ai\\_n14043056](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4158/is_19960618/ai_n14043056) ;  
[http://www.freemedia.at/Heroes\\_IPIReport2.00/29Lyubarsky.htm](http://www.freemedia.at/Heroes_IPIReport2.00/29Lyubarsky.htm)

Documents of "Moscow Helsinki Group" ("Public Group to Promote Fulfillment of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR"). Our group existed from 1976 to 1982. Almost 200 documents were published. Summary sentence to Group members from Soviet courts was about 60 years of labor camps and 40 years of exile.

<http://www.mhg.ru/english/18E49C2>



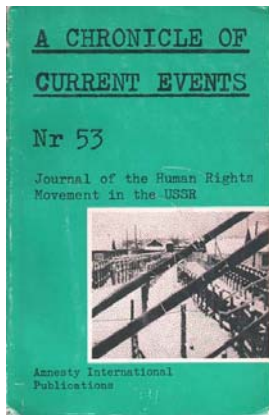
### *Chronicle of Current Events.*

[http://shii.org/knows/Chronicle\\_of\\_Current\\_Events](http://shii.org/knows/Chronicle_of_Current_Events)

Longest-running and best-known samizdat periodicals in the USSR dedicated to the defense of human rights. For fifteen years from 1968 to 1983, a total of 63 issues of the *Chronicle* were published.

<http://www.memo.ru/history/diss/chr/index.htm> . About 70 people were immediately involved in editing *Chronicle*.

Perhaps the best known and most respected were Natalya Gorbanevskaya, Anatoly Yakobson, Sergey Kovalev, Tatiana Velikanova and Alexandr Lavut.



*Chronicle* had sister publication in Lithuania and USA. It was also translated and published by Amnesty International. Pavel Litvinov represented *Chronicle* abroad. In 1990 *Chronicle* was awarded The Missouri Honor Medal (<http://journalism.missouri.edu/honor-medal/winners-organizations.html>)

Perhaps here is the focal point of last two decades of confrontation between society and authorities. Dissemination of true information was the government's biggest worry, because informational editions were that unifying force, consolidating different branches of the

Human Rights movement, multiplying its power.



The Missouri Honor Medal for *Chronicle*.

Case 2C



Background: Photo “Dreamscape”. Ray of light on the prisoner’s cemetery in Mordovia. I.Kovalev, 1992



Photos from our family album: Members of "Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR", 1974. S.Kovalev, T.Velikanova, T.Khodorovich, G.Podyapolsky, A.Krasnov-Levitin. This photo is part of traveling exhibit Perm-36.

Photo: By the trial of Alexandr Ginzburg, 1979. T.Kovalev (Osipova) is second from the left. This photo is now part of permanent exhibit in Sakharov's Archive in Moscow.



*Russia, XX Century* . Proceedings from the competition of the school students to write historical essays. Organized by Memorial Society.

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*XX Congress* . Multi media informational educational project of Radio Liberty (Vladimir Toltz) and Memorial .

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*Golden Age Will be Not*. Poetry and essays of Grigory Podyapolsky. He was not prosecuted for his work in “Initiative Group” . He died.



Photo. Red Square.

Informational booklets from permanent exposition of the Perm-36 museum and from its traveling exhibit, hosted in Atlanta, GA until March 2008. In March-April it will be hosted at Marist College and Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site in Poughkeepsie , NY. <http://gulaghhistory.org/nps/travelingexhibit/>



Director Liz Sevchenko (on the right).

Photo: With President Carter in Atlanta, December 2007  
([http://www.cartercenter.org/news/pr/conversations\\_121207.html](http://www.cartercenter.org/news/pr/conversations_121207.html) ,  
[http://www.cartercenter.org/involved/conversations/archived\\_webcast.html](http://www.cartercenter.org/involved/conversations/archived_webcast.html) ) . Perm-36 is part of the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience (<http://www.sitesofconscience.org/>). Coalition was one of the organizers of event and it was represented by its

President Carter was extremely popular among dissidents because he was first head of State who declared Human Rights as priority in his foreign policy.

This was a tremendous support for the movement.

Here is *Time's* definition of the Person of the Year and explanations for some choices.

The classic definition of *TIME's* Person of the Year is the person who most affected the events of the year, for better or for worse.

*TIME's* Person of the Year is not and never has been an honor. It is not an endorsement. It is not a popularity contest. At its best, it is a clear-eyed recognition of the world as it is and of the most powerful individuals and forces shaping that world—for better or for worse. It is ultimately about leadership—bold, earth-changing leadership. Putin is not a boy scout. He is not a democrat in any way that the West would define it. He is not a paragon of free speech. He stands, above all, for stability—stability before freedom, stability before choice, stability in a country that has hardly seen it for a hundred years.

===== *TIME's* reasons for person of the year selection in different years =====



ADOLF HITLER 1938 Drawing his shadowy curtain across Europe  
JOSEPH STALIN 1939 Dealing with the Nazis for the lion's share of Poland  
JOSEPH STALIN 1942 Beginning the end of Hitler's imperial overreach  
VLADIMIR PUTIN 2007 Imposing stability in Russia and bringing it back to the table of world power

“Fascism,” *TIME* wrote then [in 1938, when Hitler was *TIME's* Man of the Year], “has discovered that freedom - of press, speech, assembly - is a potential danger to its own security.” Again these words apply equally well to this year's winner. - Kasparov, December 19th, 2007

*NY Review of Books*. “Why Putin Wins”. (<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/20836>)  
Why Putin Wins in *The New York Review of Books* by Sergei Kovalev, 22 November 2007. Vladimir Putin may be one of the most sinister figures in contemporary Russian history. Why, then, does he keep winning elections? Kovalev, a former political prisoner, offers three possibilities. First, after the chaotic 1990s, Putin provided stability. Second, people didn't support Putin so much as they opposed Yeltsin's corrupt policies. Finally, it could be that Russians are simply nostalgic for the decisive power wielded by leaders of

old. Kovalev doesn't throw his weight firmly behind any single explanation, wisely letting the possibilities speak for themselves. Posted 11:10, 15 November 2007  
This abstract was written by Christopher Metcalfe and edited by Brijit.

<http://www.brijit.com/abstract/6527/Why-Putin-Wins>

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#### Additional readings

Political prisoners today.

<http://eng.trepashkin.ru/> == Trepashkin Case

[http://www.robertamsterdam.com/2006/12/grigory\\_pasko\\_list\\_of\\_politica.htm](http://www.robertamsterdam.com/2006/12/grigory_pasko_list_of_politica.htm) == listing some PZK (Eng)

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Russian\\_political\\_prisoners](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Russian_political_prisoners) == Valentin Danilov, Boris Stomakhin, Igor Sutyagin, Mikhail Trepashkin

[http://prisonersoverseas.com/?page\\_id=75](http://prisonersoverseas.com/?page_id=75) == Khodorkovsky Sutyagin Trepashkin

<http://www.khodorkovsky.info/society/actions/134982> == Khodorkovsky ==

<http://www.khodorkovsky.info/docs/multimedia/slideshow/slide01/01.jpg>

<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9E05E6DD1239F93BA35752C1A9659C8B63> == *The Greater Threat To Russia's Future* November 8, 2003, PAVEL

LITVINOV ( about Khodorkovsky)

[http://politzeki.mypeople.ru/users/politzeki/wiki/obrashchieniie\\_k\\_ghlavam\\_ghosudarstv/](http://politzeki.mypeople.ru/users/politzeki/wiki/obrashchieniie_k_ghlavam_ghosudarstv/)

== In defence of political prisoners

#### Other links

<http://www.prison.org/english/index.htm>

<http://politzeki.mypeople.ru/> -- see Marchenko bio etc

<http://www.rferl.org/featuresarchive/country/Russia.html>

*The New York Times* : Last Political Prisoners Freed, Russia Says == February 9, 1992

<http://www.russiaprofile.org/page.php?pageid=CDI+Russia+Profile+List&articleid=a1195229844> == as of 1 May 2007, 888,100 people are incarcerated in penal facilities, giving Russia the second largest prison population in the world;

[http://worldcat.org/search?q=su%3APolitical+prisoners+Soviet+Union.&qt=hot\\_subject](http://worldcat.org/search?q=su%3APolitical+prisoners+Soviet+Union.&qt=hot_subject)

== over 2000 links for books

[http://worldcat.org/search?q=su%3ADissenters+Soviet+Union.&qt=hot\\_subject](http://worldcat.org/search?q=su%3ADissenters+Soviet+Union.&qt=hot_subject)

<http://files.osa.ceu.hu/holdings/300/8/3/text/66-1-414.shtml> == *Intensified Repression of the Intellectuals, 1970*

<http://thereport.amnesty.org/eng/Regions/Europe-and-Central-Asia/Russian-Federation>

== AI report.

<http://www.memo.ru/links/links31.htm> == bibliography

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human\\_rights\\_in\\_Russia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_rights_in_Russia) == Report style page for current Russian situation, many links.

<http://www.geocities.com/harriss75007/ussr.htm> == Joseph A. Harriss talks about forced work in Soviet labor camps.

[http://www.jamestown.org/publications\\_details.php?volume\\_id=20&issue\\_id=999&article\\_id=8819](http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volume_id=20&issue_id=999&article_id=8819) == about S. Kovalev resignation

## Speakers

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### Pavel Litvinov

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Pavel Litvinov was one of the most prominent figures of Soviet dissent in 1960s - early 1970s. Grand son of Stalin's foreign minister in 1930s, Pavel was one of the organizers and participants of the 1968 Red Square demonstration against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Pavel was 28 at that time.

Here is what Andropov (then KGB chief) was reporting about Pavel to the Central Committee on Sept 20-th 1968:

They have conducted agitation among many scholars with the objective of inducing them to sign letters, protests, and declarations that have been compiled by the more active participants in this kind of activity—Petr IAKIR and Pavel LITVINOV. These people are the core around which the above group has been formed . . . IAKIR and LITVINOV were the most active agents in the so-called "samizdat."  
( [http://www.yale.edu/annals/sakharov/documents\\_frames/Sakharov\\_008.htm](http://www.yale.edu/annals/sakharov/documents_frames/Sakharov_008.htm) )

Pavel spent 5 years in internal exile, and emigrated to USA in 1973.

### Tatiana Kovalev (Osipova).

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Tatiana Osipova was a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group since 1977 ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Helsinki\\_Group](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Helsinki_Group)). The Group was nominated for Nobel Peace Prize in 1978. Tatiana was arrested in 1980, sentenced to 5 years in forced labor camps and 5 years of internal exile. While imprisoned, Tatiana was active participant and organizer of many actions of protest of the prisoners. By the end of her labor camp term, in 1985, she was not sent to exile, but to criminal labor camp for 2 additional years instead for "disobedience". Adoption of the new article of Criminal Code allowing such punishment, was one of the first steps of Gorbachev's ruling. And Tatiana was the first show case. Emigrated to USA with her husband Ivan Kovalev in 1987, before their exile term finished, during Gorbachev's Perestroika .

### Ivan Kovalev

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*Chronicle of Current Events, Bulletin V*, member of the Helsinki Group since 1979. Ivan become active defender of human rights after his father's arrest in 1974, and was arrested himself in 1981, one year after his wife. Sentenced to 5 years in forced labor



camps and 5 years of internal exile. While in labor camp, held a strike demanding that administration follows its own rules. Won this strike after 393 days in solitary confinement in one stretch. Ivan and Tatiana emigrated from exile in 1987 during Gorbachev's Perestroika.

List of political prisoners maintained by Sakharov's Center, Moscow.

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**Список политзаключенных, для представления на выставке  
«Политическое правосудие и политические заключенные  
современной России» (2005)**

<b>1.</b>	<b>Ходорковский Михаил Борисович</b>
<b>2.</b>	<b>Лебедев Платон Леонидович</b>
<b>3.</b>	<b>Пичугин Алексей Владимирович</b>
<b>4.</b>	<b>Бахмина Светлана Петровна</b>
<b>5.</b>	<b>Трепашкин Михаил Иванович</b>
<b>6.</b>	<b>Хамроев Бахром Мардонович</b>
<b>7.</b>	<b>Муртазалиева Зара Хасановна</b>
<b>8.</b>	<b>Талхигов Заурбек Юнусович</b>
<b>9.</b>	<b>Никитин Александр Константинович</b>
<b>10.</b>	<b>Пасько Григорий Михайлович</b>
<b>11.</b>	<b>Сутягин Игорь Вячеславович</b>
<b>12.</b>	<b>Данилов Валентин Владимирович</b>
<b>13.</b>	<b>Бабкин Анатолий Иванович</b>
<b>14.</b>	<b>Моисеев Валентин Иванович</b>
<b>15.</b>	<b>Мирзаянов Вил Султанович</b>
<b>16.</b>	<b>Бровченко Сергей Васильевич</b>
<b>17.</b>	<b>Неверовский Дмитрий Антонович</b>

<b>18.</b>	<b>7 членов Национал - большевистской партии, осужденных за захват Минздрава РФ</b>
	1. Беспалов Олег
	2. Глоба-Михайленко Анатолий
	3. Громов Максим
	4. Ежов Сергей
	5. Кленов Кирилл
	6. Коршунский Анатолий
	7. Тишин Григорий
<b>19.</b>	<b>39 членов Национал - большевистской партии, проходящих по делу о захвате Приемной Президента</b>
	1. Ангиров Владимир
	2. Баганов Максим
	3. Беднов Юрий
	4. Валеев Дамир
	5. Вяткин Семен
	6. Ганган Михаил
	7. Горин Андрей
	8. Гурьев Илья
	9. Гуськова Лира
	10. Девяткин Алексей
	11. Долгова Валентина
	12. Дроздов Иван
	13. Зенцов Алексей
	14. Колунов Алексей
	15. Королев Евгений
	16. Королев Иван
	17. Кумиров Денис
	18. Курасова Марина
	19. Курносова Екатерина
	20. Лебедева Алина
	21. Линд Владимир
	22. Манулин Кирилл
	23. Меркушев Егор
	24. Миронычева Елена
	25. Назарова Анна
	26. Оснач Денис
	27. Перепелкин Артем
	28. Рожин Алексей
	29. Рыжиков Сергей
	30. Рябцев Юлиан
	31. Резниченко Сергей
	32. Севостьянов Дмитрий
	33. Соловьев Алексей
	34. Староверов Юрий
	35. Тараненко Евгения
	36. Тонких Алексей
	37. Тюрин Владимир
	38. Федоровых Максим
39. Чернова Наталья	

<b>20.</b>	<p><b>Члены организации Хизб-ут-Тахрир – 4 человека</b> (наиболее яркие, показательные дела о «мусульманском экстремизме»)          NB: Против увеличения указанного количества представляемых дел возражают руководители Фонда Сахарова - Сергей Адамович Ковалев, Анатолий Ефимович Шабад, Леонид Борисович Литинский.</p>
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**ИТОГО: 67 человек**

Short Citations.

Lt. Gen. Ion Mihai Pacepa, the former acting chief of Communist Romania's espionage service. He is the highest ranking official ever to have defected from the Soviet bloc. He is author of Red Horizons, republished in 27 countries. In 1989, Ceausescu and his wife were executed at the end of a trial where most of the accusations had come word-for-word out of Pacepa's book.

Communism is history; but the gosbezopasnost has taken over the Kremlin itself, and a gang of over 6,000 former KGB officers are now running the country. It is as though today's Germany were being run by Gestapo officers.

Yarim-Agaev, member of Moscow Helsinki group:

Communism is dead, but many of its structures remain. The most dangerous of them - the KGB - is currently in power. Without communism, however, this power is limited. They cannot so easily imprison their critics or stop them from leaving the country. Therefore, they revert more to secret murders. And they will continue to do so until they are stopped.

.....  
 For almost a century, they [Russian people] were actively taught not to have opinions; they were in fact punished for having them. They remember this part of their education, and they still do not see much use in having their own opinions.

Vladimir Bukovsly:

True, in 2000 Putin came to power by winning an election, but so did Hitler in 1932. And, pretty much like Hitler, he immediately proceeded to dismantle all democratic checks and balances.

Richard Pipes:

This is the problem: the Russian people with a sizable majority approve of the authoritarian policies of the Putin regime because they respect "grozny" (severe) rulers who (in their eyes) offer them protection from foreign and domestic enemies lurking around every corner. They are prepared to regard the Politkovskayas and Litvinenkos as traitors and the Putins as true patriots. This is the real tragedy of Russia.

David Satter:

ideological vacuum was created. Of course, it was a good thing that communist ideology was discredited but no new system of values took its place. The "reformers" spoke a great

deal about establishing the authority of "universal values" but universal values are reflected in the rule of law. What was introduced instead was unrestrained criminality.

.....  
When the Soviet Union fell, it was suggested that Russia would become an authoritarian state on the Latin American model, corrupt but not totalitarian. Russia is certainly corrupt and authoritarian.

.....  
Russian regime refuses to be bound by higher moral values. Acts like the murder of Litvinenko, which it conceives as being in its interest, are treated as wholly legitimate.