

## EASTERN EUROPE

## Democratic Movement in the Soviet Union

BRUNO KALNINS

In this paper, which was presented to a recent meeting of the East European Study Group of the Socialist International in Paris, the Chairman of the Latvian Social Democratic Party in exile examines the growing effectiveness of the democratic movement inside the Soviet Union. Little though it is known in the West, he writes, it is in this movement that a new Russia is in process of coming into being.

In the last five years a democratic opposition movement has developed in the Soviet Union. Small and illegal political groups have sprung up in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Riga and elsewhere, which are criticising the communist dictatorship and demanding a democratisation of the regime. At the same time they are upholding the national rights of the non-Russian peoples.

A turning point in the development of the democratic opposition came about as a result of the trial of Andrei Sinyavski and Yuri Daniel, which took place in Moscow in 1966. These two were found guilty of publishing their novels abroad and were sentenced to periods of penal servitude in a forced labour camp (7 and 5 years respectively). This sentence soon became known and provoked numerous protests on the part of the intelligentsia and the students. A journalist, Alexander Ginzburg, made reference to the trial in his work *The White Book of the Sinyavski-Daniel Case*, which was first secretly circulated in Russia, and finally found its way abroad to be published in 1967. In 1967 Ginzburg was arrested together with several others. On 22 January 1967 a group of intellectuals assembled on the Pushkin Square in Moscow to protest against his arrest. Several of them were arrested in turn, including the writer Vladimir Bukovski. There ensued two political trials, as a result of which Bukovski and others were sentenced to three years in forced labour camps. In January 1968 Ginzburg himself and some of his colleagues were sentenced, Ginzburg receiving five years in a forced labour camp.

The Ukrainian journalist Vyacheslav Tchornovil then addressed a written memorandum to the authorities,

in which he cited sixteen cases of political trials against members of the Ukrainian opposition. In London the Ukrainian communist, Ivan Daguba, published a book *Internationalism or Russification*, in which he described the process of national oppression and Russification. In March 1968 a large delegation of Crimean Tartars went to Moscow and urged the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to reconstitute the autonomous Crimean Republic.

That year the writings of Academy of Science member Andrei Zakharov, entitled *Thoughts on Progress, Peaceful Co-existence and Intellectual Freedom*, began to circulate in Moscow and the university cities, reaching western countries in June 1968 and being translated into several foreign languages. On 24 April 1968 a mass meeting of Crimean Tartars took place in the town of Tchirichik in Uzbekistan and 300 Tartars were put under arrest. On 25 August a group of intellectuals and students demonstrated on the Red Square in Moscow in protest against the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Most of the demonstrators were arrested, including the physicist Pavel Litvinov, grand-son of the celebrated Soviet diplomatist Maxim Litvinov. They were all sentenced to deportation to Siberia or to forced labour camps. On 5 December 1968 the Ukrainian teacher, Vasili Makucha, set light to himself in Kiev as a protest against the suppression of national freedom in the Ukraine.

On 13 April the Jewish student Ilya Rips attempted to set himself on fire in Riga on the square in front of the Freedom Monument as a protest against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Rips was also locked away in a hospital for the mentally unbalanced. In July 1969, in Tashkent, ten

leaders of the Crimean Tartars were sentenced to hard labour in the camps. The worker Anatoli Martchenko, who had written a book called *My Revelations* on conditions in forced labour camps in the post-Stalin era, received a further sentence of two years in a labour camp. In May 1969 a number of Soviet naval officers belonging to the Baltic fleet were arrested in the port of Paldiski (Esthonia) for setting up a group of democratic activists. On 1 December 1969 Fritz Menders, 85 years old and former Chairman of the Latvian Social Democratic Party, was sentenced to deportation for five years for having maintained connections with people abroad. On 4 November 1969 the celebrated Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn was expelled from the Union of Soviet Writers for his numerous protests against the wave of reprisals.

Numerous trials also took place in 1970. The Ukrainian nationalist S. Karavanski received a five-year sentence; the Russian schoolmaster I. Pimenov of Kaluga five years; the historian Andrei Amalrik, author of *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984*, received three years in a forced labour camp; and Major-General P. Grigorenko and the worker V. Gershuni were both committed to a hospital for the mentally deranged for an indeterminate period. In addition, a number of arrests and trials took place in Riga, Tallinn, Kharkhov, Tashkent, Gorky, Sverdlovsk, Saratov, Rostov, Dnepropetrovsk and other cities.

## The Role of Samisdat

Samisdat, the Russian name given to clandestine or underground literature, has a significant part to play in the underground movement. It is produced and distributed in secret. The only duplicating machines available are typewriters. A piece of opposition literature is typed in five or six copies and then distributed to five or six people. These persons in turn have the task of making a further half-dozen copies or so and distributing them in the same way. This is how illegal literature is kept in circulation not only in Moscow and Leningrad, but in many other towns and in the non-Russian republics. By this means not only political literature but forbidden works of literary merit amounting to hundreds of pages are put into circulation. A typescript of Solzhenitsyn's *Cancer Ward* today costs 80 roubles on the Moscow black market, the equivalent of a month's pay for a

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
SOURCE: METHOD 6X EXEMPTION 3828  
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT  
DATE 2007

Pls. send down to RET for  
putting into

workman. Samisdat mean 'self-published'. Political Samisdat is mainly composed of protests against oppression, national discrimination and persecution.

A Samisdat newspaper has also been appearing in Moscow since 30 April 1968 and has become famous. It is called *Chronicle of Present-Day Happenings*. It has achieved a reputation for precision, for its objective and serious tone, and for regularity of appearance. It comes out bi-monthly, always on the last day of the month. The 'present-day happenings' reported in the *Chronicle* are on the one hand arrests, house-searches, interrogations conducted by the KGB, political trials and other forms of reprisals, and on the other short notes on recent Samisdat publications with reviews of their contents. The *Chronicle* also has the sub-title 'Organ of the Movement for the Defence of Human Rights in the Soviet Union'.

The *Chronicle* comes out in an issue of 35 to 40 typewritten pages. The political direction of the paper is democratic and socialist, but it is anxious to receive information about every opposition group in the Soviet Union and its activity. The *Chronicle* exercises considerable political influence on opposition circles and encourages them to step up their activity. In this publication the democratic movement has a common focus. The publishers of the *Chronicle* are anonymous, but they are probably Soviet intellectuals and scientists who have at their disposal reliable and important sources of information. Since 1968 the publication has regularly been reaching people abroad through devious channels, though with some delay. Many contributors to the *Chronicle* and many of its distributors have been arrested and sentenced. But not in sufficient numbers to put an end to the undertaking. A similar periodical in the Ukrainian language has been coming out in Kiev since January 1970, with the name *Vestnik Ukraini* ('Ukrainian Messenger').

**The Democratic Programme**  
Until 1969 the Soviet democratic opposition had no clear and concrete programme. But now such a programme has been worked out and made known. This programme has been mentioned on three occasions in the *Chronicle* as an outstandingly important political document. It bears the title 'Programme of the Democratic Movement of the Soviet Union'

and is signed 'Democrats of Russia, the Ukraine and the Baltic States.' It covers 76 printed pages, and consists of six different parts, each headed by a general analysis and then listing concrete demands.

The most important political demands formulated in the programme are: the transformation of the Soviet Union into a democratic state—a 'Union of Democratic Republics'; a political amnesty and compensation; the introduction of every political freedom; free elections; a multi-party system with guaranteed freedom for opposition parties; the government of the Union and the governments of the various republics to be constituted by those parties who obtain a majority in the elections. In the cultural field the demands include the suspension of the principle of party-interest, non-intervention by the state in cultural life, freedom of research and literature.

Of particular importance are the demands concerning the national question, since the population of the Soviet Union is made up today of non-Russian peoples to the extent of 45 per cent of the total. This section of the programme is devoted to a review of Russian expansion and Russian imperialism over the last 400 years. There then follows a critical analysis of the present-day situation, describing the limitation and restriction of rights in the non-Russian republics, the massive colonisation of these republics by Russians, and the policy pursued by Russian chauvinism.

The following demands are formulated: the right to full self-determination for all non-Russian peoples on the basis of a national referendum under the supervision of the United Nations, including the right to separation from Russia; non-intervention in the affairs of nations who chose to secede; real cultural and economic autonomy for those nations which do not wish to leave the Union; the right of every non-Russian nation to limit the number of Russians resident in its territory; compensation for losses incurred by the non-Russian nationalities as a result of the hegemony exercised by the Russians. The chapter ends with the resounding declaration: 'There is no real democracy without freedom for the nations.'

In the field of foreign policy the following demands are made: peace and co-operation with the West, disarmament, evacuation of Russian troops from all East European states, non-intervention in the internal develop-

ment of Eastern states, and the re-unification of Germany into a democratic state.

As regards the economy, the demand is raised for a three-tier system. Heavy and medium industry should remain nationalised, light industry should be placed under the control of freely elected workers councils in each enterprise, and local industry should be made open to private enterprise. A similar distribution is envisaged for agriculture. The sovkhoz farms should remain as state farms, but the kolkhoses should be handed over partly to free agricultural co-operatives and partly to peasants as private peasant farms.

The programme closes with a call to action, the last words of which run as follows: 'Democrats of the Soviet Union! Unite! Fight! Conquer!'

#### Significance of the Movement

This programme has considerable significance. It is the first comprehensive programme to contain concrete demands. The democratic opposition has inaugurated a new phase of activity with this programme: instead of the protests and criticisms made hitherto, the movement has now gone over to a struggle for a clear political, economic and national programme. A democratic ideology of opposition has been formulated which till now was wanting. It is particularly important that a common programme of struggle has been drawn up both for Russians and non-Russians. For the programme rightly declares: 'National freedom can only be achieved in a common struggle for political freedom.'

It must be further emphasised that the programme of the democratic movement is a programme of the *illegal* movement. In a document published in 1970 after the appearance of the programme, dealing with the tactical principles of the movement, the following point is made, amongst others: 'The legal forms of the movement have fulfilled their historic role, and they must be linked in future to illegal methods'. It is apparent from this that illegal methods are now considered the most important. Furthermore, the demands of the programme are directed by their very content against the present-day Soviet dictatorship with the aim of destroying it completely; that is to say, replacing it by complete democracy.

In this respect the democratic movement differentiates itself from the actions of other opposition elements

WASHINGTON POST  
27 APRIL 1971

Joseph Kraft

## Russians in Space



who do not wish to forsake the ground of legality. This is particularly so in the case of the group of outstanding Soviet scientists who have gathered round the atomic scientist Andrei Zakharov. In his letter of March 1970, addressed to Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny, Zakharov attempted to convince the party leaders of the necessity for a general stage-by-stage democratization of the country, which could be carried out with the help of the party leadership. It must be said that he also attempted to set up (together with the physicists Tchaldise and Tverdokhlebov) a legal committee for human rights in Moscow. It is noteworthy that the KGB has only exceptionally engaged in reprisals against the men of this legal opposition, whereas the fighters in the illegal movement have been ceaselessly persecuted and harshly punished.

So we must recognize that there are two different parts of the opposition movement: there is a legal and an illegal movement, and the latter has recently become the stronger. People have evidently been convinced that with legal methods alone no bigger successes can be achieved.

If the question is put as to how strong the democratic movement really is, it must be emphasized that it only embraces as yet a part of the intelligentsia. It is not apparent that the programme represents all groups of the democratic movement, and it is clear that on some questions there are different points of view. But one thing is clear: there is an active group which stands four-square behind the programme and engages in propaganda for its fulfilment. The weakness of Soviet democrats is the passivity of the great mass of intellectuals and the absence of an effective and comprehensive link with the workers. Their strength lies in the links now effected with the non-Russian peoples. It would also seem that the movement has found in Samisdat a highly suitable means of struggle and agitation, bearing in mind Soviet conditions. In spite of innumerable arrests and trials over the last five years, the KGB has succeeded in suppressing neither Samisdat nor the democratic movement.

We are not able to give an exact forecast of the prospects of the democratic movement in the Soviet Union. But we must nevertheless closely watch its development, little known though it is in the West; for it is here that a new Russia is in process of coming into being.

MOSCOW—The latest set of Soviet space shots may be mysterious in themselves. But they provide a good guide to the crazy mixed-up relations that prevail between the leadership of this country and the underlying population.

To the leadership, the space operations have been of vast importance. Large amounts of money and talent were invested in both the stationary platform of Salyut and the manned shot of Soyuz 10. The efforts seemed to be timed to coincide with the big Communist fête on May Day.

Intense publicity, recalling past triumphs in space, was given the recent operations on television and in the papers. The news was managed, and the nomenclature so arranged that failure, if it occurred as seems likely, could never be proved. Each stage in the operation could be hailed as yet another success.

National prestige is almost certainly a main motive for the continuing interest of the Soviet leadership in the space effort. Party Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and company apparently feel obliged to take the sting out of the American victory in the race to the moon.

ADDITIONALLY, there may be some more serious,

not to say sinister, motives. Soviet scientists have pointed out that from a space platform it would be possible to make transcontinental missiles accurate to within tens of centimeters. Such accuracy would make the huge SS-9 missiles which the Soviets are now deploying a truly serious threat to the land based missile force the United States.

Soviet military men have also pointed out the advantages of launching a missile from space. Such weapons would be almost impossible to take out, to defend against or even to monitor.

But all of this is lost on the Soviet population. Public interest in the space shots here has been remarkably slight. Many educated Russians seemed not even to know that a new effort was under way even after the news had spread all around town, ordinary Russians were not moved to turn on the television sets in the hotel lobbies for late reports.

One foreign diplomat here tells of meeting a peasant in the Ukraine who complained that he was only making sixty rubles, which is about \$60 at official exchange rates, per month, while millions were being wasted in the sky. Another diplomat reports that he asked a Soviet journalist why so much attention was being paid to space when there was so little public interest. The journalist allowed that the space coverage came on orders

from the top, not on the motion of the editors.

A Soviet economist whom I talked to about space also acknowledged that public interest had waned. "People are used to space now," he said. "It is considered ordinary and everyday. Nobody gets very enthusiastic about what happens up there."

THE REASON for the public boredom with space is not much in doubt. After years of denial and sacrifice, Soviet citizens are now gorging themselves on consumer goods that are becoming steadily more available in this country. Rarely in history have so many people been so intent on getting and spending as is the case now in Russia. And with emphasis on private accumulation, the last thing the Soviet public wants to bother its head about is politics—the more so since in the past anyhow political involvement has tended to have all kinds of unpleasant consequences.

In these conditions, it is idle to talk about reaching Soviet public opinion through trade and exchange programs and cultural activities. It is not productive even to think about the convergence of Soviet and American interests and outlook.

The basic conditions of political life in the two countries are totally different. They will be different until the divorce that now separates the Soviet leadership from Russian opinion is somehow bridged—that is for years to come. And while that difference persists, probably the best that can be worked out between Moscow and Washington are limited, tactical accords designed to avoid the worst.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
27 APRIL 1971

### Two-party tryout in Hungary

Budapest

Hungary staged its one-party general elections Sunday for members of Parliament and local councils.

Communist Party leader Janos Kadar and all other leaders were unopposed in contests for the national Parliament. In a break with the traditional Communist pattern, however, there were genuine contests, with two or more candidates running for 49 of the 352 parliamentary seats, and 3,016 of 70,000 local council places.

# Western Europe

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1971

## Pro-China Reds in Italy Start Newspaper, Plan New Movement

By PAUL HOFMANN

Special to The New York Times

ROME, April 28—A pro-Peking group that split from the Italian Communist party more than a year ago started publishing a daily newspaper today and announced plans for organizing a new political movement.

In effect, Italy now has two Communist parties, the 50-year-old Italian Communist party—the country's second political force next to the dominant Christian Democratic party and the strongest Communist machine in the West—and the young dissident movement, of unknown strength.

The official Communist party kept silent today on the birth of the newspaper, but it is known to be deeply worried that pro-Chinese ideology may make further inroads on its rank and file, particularly its intellectuals.

For lack of a better label, the dissident group is known by the name of its daily, *Il Manifesto*, until now a monthly that has appeared irregularly since the summer of 1969.

### 'Grassroots Organization'

The group proclaims Communist China as its "point of reference," but is not regarded as outright Maoist. The first issue of its daily reported alleged police repression of Maoist and other far-left fringe groups in Italian cities, in an apparent effort to win the support of left-wing extremists.

Luigi Pinto, a member of the Chamber of Deputies and editor of *Il Manifesto*, pledged in a frontpage article that his group would build a grassroots organization. The editorial praised the Chinese revolution and charged the power structures in the Communist states of Eastern Europe with "counter-revolutionary action."

In an unsigned report on "United States and China," printed under a New York dateline, *Il Manifesto* said that the Chinese Ping-Pong initiative seems increasingly clearly defined as an offensive aimed at the American people and its protesting masses with the purpose of isolating the Nixon Administration.

*Il Manifesto* also published a frontpage dispatch from Shanghai by "Our envoy in China," K. S. Karol, stating that it shared the copyright to the article with *Le Nouvel Observateur* of Paris. Mr. Karol is a

writer on Communist affairs who is based in Paris and sympathetic to Peking. The article reported on conversations with Chinese peasants.

### Libel Action Started

*Il Manifesto* said that 100,000 copies of its first issue had been printed and that it was expecting to break even at an average daily circulation of 35,000 copies.

The new daily has four pages, lacking pictures, and carries news on local and sports events and features. An austere political bulletin, as far as can be judged by its first issue, *Il Manifesto* sells at 8 cents a copy. All other Italian newspapers, which have eight to 32 pages, sell for 13 cents.

*Il Manifesto* announced that it had brought libel actions against those who had alleged that it was being financed with secret funds. Such charges were published recently by *L'Unita*, the principal Communist party organ.

In today's issue, *Il Manifesto* published a breakdown of its budget and a list of contributors in a fund drive that has been going on since last fall.

Of more than \$60,000 raised in the drive, according to the list, \$6,400 came from "comrades and friends abroad." The five members of the Chamber of Deputies who joined the *Manifesto* group were said to have contributed nearly \$5,000.

All five deputies were elected in 1968 on the Communist party ticket. Their defection toward the end of 1969 reduced the number of Communist party deputies in the 630-seat Chamber to 166.

Local leaders and rank-and-file members of the Communist party in Rome, Naples, Bergamo and other places have joined the *Manifesto* group in recent months. The numerical strength of the movement is uncertain, however, because it has not yet participated in an election.

The Daily Telegraph  
22 April 1971

## Bonn angered by East German leaflet rockets

By DAVID SHEARS in Bonn

WEST GERMANY is expected to protest to East Germany against fire damage caused by East German rockets in the propaganda war between the two countries.

The subject will be raised by Herr Bahr, State Secretary in the Bonn federal chancellery, when he meets his East German opposite number in Bonn tomorrow week.

Both countries have been engaged for many years in a curious propaganda leaflet exchange involving balloons, rockets, projectiles and floating canisters.

Last year East Germany shot 650,000 propaganda leaflets westward across the border, carried in 2,700 rockets not much larger than fireworks. It also uses papiermâché "cannonballs" fired from primitive mortars.

How many leaflets the West Germans beat eastward, contained in drawstring bags hung from weather balloons, is not

known. The Bonn Defence Ministry says that the number has been heavily reduced since Herr Brandt's Social Democrats came to office.

What has brought the subject to the fore is last week's outbreak of a forest fire in Bavaria, which destroyed 18 acres of woodland. This was blamed on an East German propaganda rocket.

### Dozen fires

The previous month no fewer than a dozen other local fires were started by rockets, West German guards said.

Unconfirmed reports say that the matter may be raised at today's Bonn Cabinet meeting, although it is not formally on the agenda.

WASHINGTON POST  
28 APRIL 1971

## Nordic States Eye North Sea Pollution

Reuter

STOCKHOLM, April 27—

The foreign ministers of the Nordic countries said today they would call on the other 10 nations in the Northeast Atlantic Fisheries Convention to take measures to end pollution of the North Sea.

The ministers said in a communique issued here after their annual meeting to discuss world affairs that joint government notes would be sent to the countries in the convention urging them to ban the dumping of industrial and chemical waste in international waters.