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Summary:

Bulletin by the Group for Establishing Trust Between the USSR and the USA, an independent peace organization in the Soviet Union. Three issues were editor Sergei Batovrin and published from New York City. They contain news on the peace movement in the Soviet Union and the harassment and imprisonment of activists by the government.

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RETURN ADDRESS: MOSCOW

INTERNATIONAL NEWS BULLETIN ON INDEPENDENT
PEACE ACTIVITY IN USSR

THE GROUP FOR
ESTABLISHING TRUST

3



A STATEMENT FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE USA

We feel close to young people in America. They are understandable to us, infinitely so. We are united by common hopes and common paths, even though these often take forms that seem absurd to our older generations.

We believe that America's youth, like us, honestly foresees a future free of the organized violence that thrives in an atmosphere of fear and mutual distrust.

We call upon young people in America, whether they are students or workers or unemployed to support non-governmental peace initiatives and to actively help to establish personal contacts between ordinary people in our countries. We see this as the only way to overcome that barrier of stiff formality in our relations which inevitably comes up when we are forced to communicate by means of the middle-man of the mass media.

It is obvious that the only way to make a real friend is by bringing one heart closer to another.

We have much in common—first of all the world pacifist movement which was born and raised on American soil. Today we find it especially easy to understand the meaning of the words of John Lennon, who died so tragically:

"All we need is love." Only love will save us all.

INDEPENDENT INITIATIVE

On February 11, 1985, peace activist Alexander Shatravka, who is serving a three year prison sentence for distributing the trust group's documents, had his term extended another two and a half years. Alexander Shatravka has already served nearly ten years in jails and psychiatric prisons for his pacifist convictions (see issues number one and two for additional information on Shatravka)



In Moscow, on the 12th October, Group for Trust member Dr Mark Reitman opened in his apartment an anti-nuclear exhibit of graphics entitled "Tomorrow Will Be Too late". The graphic works presented at the exhibit were contributed by artists belonging to Independent Initiative peace group, and illustrated the effects of use of nuclear weapons. Music played as visitors walked through the exhibit and several times a day, explanatory lectures organized by the Group for Trust were held for the benefit of the public.

This was the most successful of the exhibits yet to be held by the Group for Trust. There were no arrest nor significant interference.

The exhibit got good reviews from Moscovites and aroused a great deal of interest, particularly among young people. A number of the many visitors to the exhibition came from other cities. The exhibit remained open until the end of October. However, when it turned out that people kept coming even after the exhibit had been closed, the Group decided to re-open it.

UPDATE
UPDATE
UPDATE



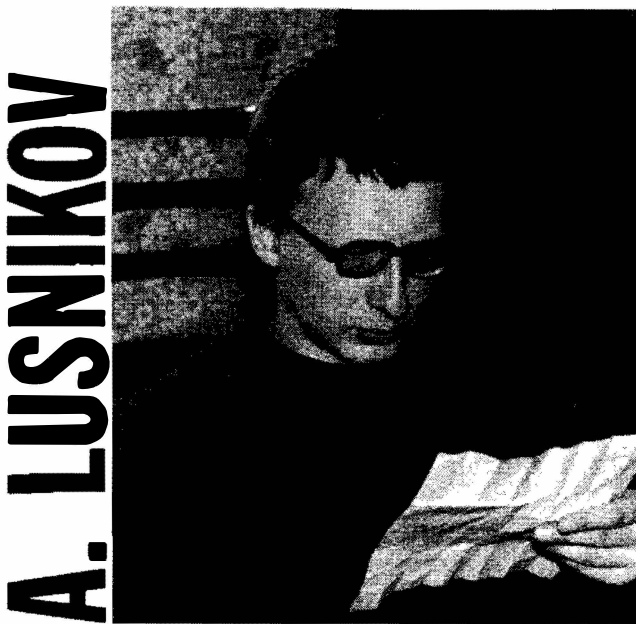
After Maria and Vladimir Fleishgacker left the USSR in November, the co-ordinating committee of the Group for Trust brought in several new members. One of these was the artist Yuri Kiselev, who has long been well-known and respected in the USSR for his services to society. In the 1970's, Mr Kiselev helped organize and then served as president for the Handicapped Persons Defense Group. This is the only organization in the Soviet Union which brings together handicapped people and helps stand up for their rights (only the societies for the deaf and the blind are officially recognised). As a result of his independent activity in defense of rights for the handicapped, Yuri Kiselev has suffered for many years from persecution by State Security, despite his especially severe condition (he has lost both of his legs).

Members of the Handicapped Persons Defense Group were among the first to respond to the initiative of the Group for Trust, having got in touch with the Group only days after its founding. Mr Kiselev considers his participation

in the co-ordinating committee of the Group for Trust and the independent peace movement to be a logical continuation of his other humanitarian activities.

Yuri Kiselev has in the past already contributed a number of valuable initiatives to the work of the Group for Trust: at the present time, the Group is looking forward to developing links with Western organizations for handicapped persons.

Please contact the Group for Trust in Moscow or other members of the Trust Group in the West if you are able to help in this project or if you would like more information on handicapped people in the USSR.



Doctor Yuri Khronopulo, Dr Boris Kalyuzhni and Dr Victor Blok—all of whom withdrew from participation in the Group for Trust a year ago—this January as a result of pressure from the authorities—have once again returned to their work for peace. They have organized and are now carrying out a series of seminars in the city of Dolgoprudny (Long Pond). The scientists are expanding the sphere of their activities despite the disencouragement of the local KGB employees. Their resumption of activities marks the return to the Group for Trust of the only members to have withdrawn from the group.

A peace center has been operating in the apartment of Group for Trust members Olga and Aleksei Lusnikov since the end of November. A new series of seminars has been going on, and included, up to February 1985, the following:

20 November	"Nuclear Winter" Yuri Medvedkov
27 November	"Analysis of Peace Proposals" Mark Reitman
4 December	"The Activities of the UK Trustbuilders" Peter Murphy
11 December	"Peace Activism and the Rights of Man" A Lusnikov
18 December	"Alternative Defense"
25 December	"Gandhi and his Views on Civil Disobedience"
1 January	"The Teachings of Leo Tolstoy"
7 January	"Conversion of Military Industry to Peaceful Uses"
14 January	"Conversion of Military Industry to Peaceful Uses"
21 January	"The Viewpoint of the Greens"
28 January	"Peace in the Work of (the Balladeer) Vladimir Vysotsky"

The seminars continue. Every Tuesday, from 6:30 to 9:30 pm, the Peace Center is also open for the English Club, which offers everyone the opportunity to study English.

On the 6th January, the Peace Center opened a joint exhibit with the UK Trustbuilders titled "In Place of Weapons—Trust". Among the materials on display are photographic illustrations of the medical effects of use of nuclear weapons; photos about the activities of peace activists in the West, East Europe and the USSR.

At the same time in the peace center an exhibit has been opened of children's paintings on the theme of peace; there are also materials on display concerning conversion. The center also has a small library of mostly Western publications on questions of peace and disarmament, but there is a real shortage of materials.

The Group for Trust would very much like, in future, to show Western films and slide-shows on appropriate topics. There again the Group has a problem due to the lack of projectors or video equipment. Any benevolent help would really be appreciated on this score as well.

Address of the Peace Center:

Moscow, Varshavskoe Shosse 154, korp 2, kv 202



On December 11th, in Moscow's Lenin Hills Park, an anti-war demonstration took place dedicated to the memory of John Lennon. The demonstration was organized by the young people's anti-war group *Independent Initiative* and several hundred persons participated.

Police sealed off the area and made some 150 arrests (the exact number is not known). Some of those held were beaten by the police, but all those arrested were released by evening of the same day.

Anti-war demonstrations dedicated to the memory of John Lennon have been organized by the *Independent Initiative* group for the past several years. The founder of this group, Yuri Popov has been in a psychiatric hospital since June 1983. During the night of May 31st, 1983, *Independent Initiative* organized a peace demonstration in Moscow's Tsaritsyno Park. During the demonstration, people handed out leaflets calling for nuclear disarmament, for doing away with the death penalty, and an end to the war in Afghanistan. About two hundred people were held and Yuri Popov, to whom the KGB assigned responsibility for writing the leaflet, was arrested and placed in psychiatric hospital no 14 in Moscow. He has been there ever since and is undergoing intense forced "therapy", including sulfazine shocks. His address: USSR, Moscow, Bekhtereva 15, PB no 14.

Oleg Radzinsky, who is still serving his term in exile, in Tomsk Oblast, Siberia, and who was sentenced in October 1983 to a years imprisonment and four years exile for his independent peace activities, has fallen seriously ill with tuberculosis. There is still no news as to the fate of Odessa Trust Group activists, Vladimir Kornev, who was arrested in April 1983.

LENNON
Lenin Memorial Day in Estonia; Young people waiting for the start: Police waiting for orders

YURI POPOV



Members of the Moscow counter-culture: Hundreds of young people are joining peace groups such as *Independent Initiative*.



THE MECHANISM OF A SHOW-TRIAL

On February 11, 1985, Group for Trust activist Alexander Shatravka was re-tried in his prison camp and had his term extended another two and one half years. Also in February 1985, Alexander Rubchenko received an official warning from State Security agents that he will be tried for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" (article 70 of the USSR Criminal Code, which carries a sentence of seven years imprisonment, five years exile) if he doesn't cease his peace-activism. Readers who wish to familiarize themselves with the mechanism of how false charges are fabricated against innocent individuals will find the following transcript of part of the trial against Olga Medvedkova to be of special interest. This trial transcript is unique in its detail and accuracy.

CRIMINAL CASE No. 58362:

DECLARATION OF 25 November 1983

Based on the materials submitted by the 103d police precinct of the Lyubliński R.U.V.D. (Regional Bureau of Internal Affairs) in regard to O.L. Medvedkova, it is evident that on the 13 October 1983, after having been brought to the 103d precinct police station for verification of her identity, O.L. Medvedkova committed petty hooliganism, and afterwards was disobedient to the police personnel, and committed violent acts against the agent of the 103d precinct N.I. Potapov as he was carrying out his duties.

TEXT OF ARTICLE 193, CHAPTER 2(Ya), Criminal Code RSFSR

Causing physical harm to, beating, or otherwise acting violently against official persons or social functionaries in connection with the carrying out of their official or social duties, and also against a citizen in connection with his participation in deterring or halting a criminal or anti-social act. Punishable by deprivation of freedom for a term up to three years, or correctional labour for a term up to two years. (From the edition of the CC RSFSR of 4 August 1966 and 3 December 1982, no. 49, page 1821.)

CONCLUSIONS OF THE PROSECUTION 8 December 1983 Case No. 58362

A.G. Nemkova, Senior Investigator, Lyublinskaya Section of the Moscow Procurator's office, having considered the evidence in criminal case No. 58362 has ESTABLISHED:

MEDVEDKOVA, O.L. is accused of, on the 13 October 1983, beating and otherwise violently assaulting an official who was in the course of carrying out his official duties. Namely, having been brought to the 103d Police Precinct headquarters of the Lyubliński R.U.V.D. at 10:30 A.M. in order to have her identity verified, MEDVEDKOVA acted in an aggressive manner, shouted, interfered with the work of the officer on duty, GROMOV, V.G., did not react to his reproaches, insulted him using uncensored language; as a result of which it was decided to have her held by administrative process for petty hooliganism. While escorting her towards the 3d police precinct station for temporary detainment, MEDVEDKOVA inflicted a beating on and committed other violent acts against Inspector N.I. Potapov of the 103d police precinct who had been entrusted with escorting her to the 3d precinct. Refusing to proceed to the other police precinct, MEDVEDKOVA pushed Potapov away, waved her arms, attempting to beat him, and when she was put into a police car by force, kicked Potapov in the chest. At the 3d precinct building MEDVEDKOVA refused to exit the car, continued to disobey the commands of the police personnel, continued to resist, trying to kick him with her foot in the groin, scratched his face and arms.

RESOLUTION TO INITIATE CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS 8 December 1983 No. 58362

Senior Investigator A.G. Nemkova of the Moscow Lyubliński district procurator's office declares on the basis of information gathered the following:

Namely: When MEDVEDKOVA was brought to the on-duty section of the 103d precinct police station at 10:30 A.M. for the purpose of verifying her identity, she acted in an aggressive manner, shouted, interfered with the work of the on-duty officer GROMOV, V.G., ignored his reproaches, insulted him using foul lan-

guage. As a result of this behaviour, a protocol was drawn up to have her held by administrative order (i.e. without trial—trans.) on the charge of petty hooliganism. Upon directing her for temporary detention toward the 3d precinct police station, MEDVEDKOVA actively resisted the policemen N.I. Potapov who had been given responsibility for accompanying Medvedkova. She tried to break away, waved her arms and kicked her legs, attempted to strike Potapov in the stomach, scratched his face, and expressed herself using uncensored words.

THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE HEARING IN THE CASE ACCUSING OLGA LVOVNA MEDVEDKOVA in accordance with Article 193, Section 2 of the Criminal Codex of the RSFSR THE CITY COURT OF MOSCOW, LYUBLINSKY DISTRICT, MARCH 23, 1984. MEDVEDKOVA'S testimony

JUDGE Yu V GRINYUKOV (presiding): Describe the events of the 13th of October 1983.

MEDVEDKOVA: What happened on the 13th of October of 1983 and how I ended up near the building where your case against Radzinsky was being heard? I had had a chance to meet Radzinsky no more than two or three times. But the workers of the Committee for State Security (KGB) of the USSR had conducted a search in my apartment in conjunction with the case of Radzinsky. The search really had nothing to do with Radzinsky, still that's how it was formulated. I should mention that at the time there was an exhibition in our apartment dedicated to the victims of Hiroshima.

JUDGE (interrupting): Medvedkova, I have to . . .

M: I am explaining what I was doing near the courthouse on October 13th.

JUDGE: Wait a second! When I speak, everyone must stop!

M: Everything I have said is essential to establish the truth. I am only saying things that are directly related to the hearing that took place here on October 13th, 1983. I am not trying to say anything unrelated to the case.

JUDGE: I am not interested in your reasons for appearing near the Lyublinsky court.

M: I came to the courthouse on October 13th in order to find out how Radzinsky's case was related to the search of my apartment. After all, they confiscated 80 paintings that dealt with the tragedy after the atom bomb explosion. How could that have been related to the criminal case against Radzinsky which was heard here on October 13th of last year? The exhibition was put together and organized at my apartment . . .

JUDGE: I am telling you once again that I am not interested about hearing your reasons for coming to the courthouse.

M: It is very difficult for me to speak when I am interrupted in the middle of every sentence.

JUDGE: It is being explained to you that the court is only dealing with the events of October 13th. We are explaining to you what the court is interested in.

M: There is no other way for me to explain the events that took place on October 13th. I have to explain to you why the testimonies of the witnesses for one side and the other are so contradictory. If the court is not interested in establishing the truth, I can keep quiet.

JUDGE: We are interested in the truth, so tell about the events of October 13th. If you do not concentrate on that, I shall be forced to ask questions. You had good reason to come to Radzinsky's hearing, that is clear to us. But now we suggest you tell us the details of October 13th.

M: Oleg Radzinsky is a member of the GROUP FOR ESTABLISHING TRUST BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA. My husband, Dr of Geography Yuri Vladimirovich Medvedkov, who is present here, and I are also members of the group. Since he works with the problems of human ecology and is an internationally known specialist in this area, the anti-nuclear exhibition was held at our apartment, because human ecology is directly related to the problems that occur after nuclear explosions.

JUDGE: Medvedkova! You either don't understand . . .

M: After the search . . .

JUDGE: The court is not concerned with the problems of ecology!

M: I understand. After the search the workers of KGB started following us constantly—this was after we joined the group. They followed us for days; telephones of the members of the group were disconnected. My husband was arrested for 15 days on a charge that was fabricated in the same way as the charge that now threatens me with three years in labor camps. He was arrested at the time of the Scandinavian "Peace March" here, the summer of 1982. The KGB workers were putting enormous pressure on all members of the group, using arguments like: If you don't terminate your activities, we'll put you behind bars anyway. We won't charge you with fighting for peace, that's not illegal. In fact, Article 69 of the Soviet Constitution declares it every citizen's obligation. They said "The Criminal Codex is big . . ."

JUDGE: Medvedkova! You have to stop when I speak. You must not interrupt me! I have already told you that we have heard enough about your reasons for coming to court.

M: "Oh, the Codex is big," they said. "We'll find some criminal article that we can put you behind bars with."



JUDGE: I already told you, do you refuse to tell us about the 13th of October?

M: Oh, no, I'm not refusing! *My appearance in this courtroom, it just so happens, is the result of the efforts by the workers of the KGB to try me in a criminal case.* I got the Article 193, Section 2, and they are getting another one ready for someone else. Moreover, so that everything goes quietly, smoothly and calmly . . . (the JUDGE rises to interrupt) . . . I'm speaking about documents that are among the documents of the case, so you can't tell me it has nothing to do with the case. Don't bother to stop me! The KGB this time has used the hands not only of the police, like they're more accustomed to, but also, unfortunately, the hands of scholars. They tried to send my husband away for a month on a business trip. Inasmuch as he has attained international notoriety he could make a lot of noise if his wife were sent to jail. My husband received two reprimands because he didn't go on that business trip.

The cruelty with which one is prosecuted for fighting for peace, calling for trust between nations, is totally amazing. For some reason, the KGB workers found our group undesirable, even though it has never advocated anti-Sovietism or said a word against the government. Two of the members of the group, Shatravka and Radzinsky, are already behind bars. I am the third.

JUDGE: MEDVEDKOVA:

M: Anyway, approaching the courthouse on October 13th of last year, I saw that access to the building was blocked. Only recently, just a short while ago, did I find out what color your building was. Here everything was cordoned off. There are no contradictions in the witnesses' testimonies concerning the time of the meeting, because everyone came at a different time. I remember that witness BARBASH came with me. We got to the street corner and told the policeman that we wanted to go through to Radzinsky's hearing.

What's so strange about that? I mean, it's an open hearing! Everyone knows that. The policeman told us that unfortunately there were no more seats in the courtroom. But that often happens. There aren't many seats in the courtroom. So we walked off to think about it for a minute, and we were standing about two hundred meters away from the policeman, waiting for our friends, not really knowing what to do. Should we come back later? We decided to wait for our friends. This is when GODYAK and REITMAN arrived; they did not even ask to be let into the courtroom.

JUDGE: Pause for a minute! Don't hurry! You are not giving us enough time to record what you are saying.

M (after a pause): They realized that there was no way to get into the hearing. We were standing and waiting for our friends to arrive, so that we could show at least some kind of support for Oleg Radzinsky and his mother, whom we could see. About 20 minutes later . . .

JUDGE: Wait a minute!

M (after the secretary has recorded her words, continuing): Suddenly, an automobile stopped next to us and some people in plainclothes pushed us into it and drove off. Everything happened very fast, and we ended up at the 103rd police division, where we were told that we had been detained for identification; they demanded to see our passports. We quietly handed them to them. We were all very familiar with the procedure of being detained at the police station for three hours for identification. At the time of getting the reply from Ms Thatcher concerning the arrests of peace activists in England, we had been repeatedly picked up near the British Embassy and detained for three hours in the same way. We know that the policemen were going to behave properly, as usual. Everybody was sitting quietly on the bench and reading. I remember I was reading a novel by Kurt Vonnegutt. All of us were together, sitting next to each other, for three hours. We all saw everything. Only BARBASH was briefly asked to the second floor to 'talk' with KGB worker Mikheyev, aka Kovalyov, aka Nikolayev. He informed BARBASH that he'd be in trouble if he remained with the Trust Group. BARBASH returned, and all of us continued sitting quietly on the bench in front of the officer on duty awaiting the end of our three-hour detention.

Our friends came by the police station to make sure everything was going smoothly, with no conflicts. Prof Dudkin came by, LUSNIKOVA came by, then later she was brought in—detained for identification. Even some Western reporters came by, for example Mr. Martin Nezirsky. Everybody saw that we were just quietly waiting, that there were no conflicts. Around 1pm, Office GROMOV returned all of our passports, including mine, and said that

we could go, that they had no questions for any of us. When we left the building of the 103rd police division, we saw that there was an automobile blocking the exit—a van with an open door—and there was no way to get around that RAF (Riga Automobile Factory) wagon.

JUDGE: Was it a RAF wagon or an UAZ (Ukrainian Automobile Factory) one?

M: I can't tell the difference, I drive a "Zhiguli". It was some dark green wagon, might have been an UAZ. There were people in plainclothes around the wagon, who, without presenting their ID's or warrants, started dragging us into the van. LUSNIKOVA AND REITMAN were dragged in first. GODYAK lay down on the ground in front of the van—now they are attributing that to me. He resorted to passive resistance, the kind we see, for example, in the practice of British fighters for peace. Why do we have to get into some automobile, which we are forcefully being dragged into, when we have been told by the police that we are free to go! I, and later BARBASH, went back inside the 103rd police division. There I addressed officer GROMOV, for the first time with notes of displeasure in my voice: Why is someone trying to detain us if, according to Gromov, we are free? We are going to sit inside the station until we can leave on our own. He shrugged his shoulders, "What can I do?", he seemed to be saying. Barbash and I sat down on the bench that by now was already familiar to us and sat there for about 15 minutes, not less. People in civilian clothes were nervously running around, smoking, probably calling on the phone, awaiting instructions. Then two people in civilian clothes ran up to me, grabbed my arms and legs, picked me up in the air, and dragged me to the van which already had Lusnikova, Reitman and Godyak in it. Then they forced Barbash in the same fashion. Those two people in civilian clothes got in the van. It was very crowded and there were not enough seats. Potapov showed up last—this was the first time he was up close; he had not participated in our forced boarding of the van. He spent the entire trip scrunched up with back to us—there was no room in the wagon. Off they drove. Where they were taking us they didn't say. We could see that we were on the outskirts of Moscow, on the circular highway. I was worried about Reitman, knowing that because of diabetes he had to observe an eating schedule. I asked him if he had any food on him. He said he did. The plainclothesmen who were escorting us (Potapov was also in plainclothes and did not present his documents) heard my conversation with Reitman. The van stopped, and one of the people in civilian clothes grabbed Reitman rudely by the collar and dragged him out of the van onto the road. They left him on the road and drove on. At first

MEDVEDKOV'S
MEDVEDKOV'S



it seemed they might do that with all of us; drop us off one by one on the highway. But they drove us to some old two-storey building which had no sign on it. We got out of the crunch in the van which was difficult to bear any longer. Two of us tried to go around the building, look around the corner to try to figure out where we were; they were immediately and rudely stopped by the men in plainclothes. They quickly started dragging us up a stairway full of trash to the second floor, then into the second floor corridor. There was trash and signs of ongoing renovations all around us. I was again dragged through the air by two people, in front of the room on the second floor that they were dragging us all into, I was swung and thrown through the door. Luckily, I managed to grab the doorknob and thus ease the fall; otherwise, I would have hurt myself on the floor. All of us, Barbash, Godyak, Lusnikova and myself were dragged through the door and locked in.

A bit later we realized that there were two chairs by the door on the outside of the room—with two policemen sitting in them. That day we were all on a hunger strike protesting the hearing of Radzinsky's case; we were drinking only water. Olga Lusnikova and I asked the policemen for permission to go and get some water. They allowed us that. While we were getting water from the faucet, we got a chance to look around. It seemed the building was a dormitory that was being vacated. There were women with frying pans running up and down the corridor, babies' carriages standing around. We started demanding that the policemen tell us who was in charge, that they take our passports and register them so that we could let our families know where we were. They just kept quiet; could not explain why they were guarding us. They kept us until 6:30 pm, until Radzinsky's case was over. Lusnikova was released a bit earlier; she walked around the building and across the road. On the corner she saw the sign of the 3rd police division. She realised that the building where we were kept

under custody was connected to the 3rd police division. There is another entrance, and a main wall separates one part of the building from the other, and the police were only on the first floor.

She called my husband, and he immediately called the 3rd police division. The answer was "We have arrested no such persons, do not have anyone under those names in custody and don't know anything." We were released at 6:30 p.m. in a very peculiar fashion. A total stranger in civilian clothes, whom we were seeing for the first time, came into the room and said. "What are you doing here? This is an official institution. You know what the consequences of your coming here can be. Get out of here right away!" We went out of the door; the chairs and the policemen were gone. The corridors were empty. Trash everywhere. All of us were very tired. We, of course, took a walk around the building to see where we were. We also saw that the building was connected to the 3rd police division. The most persistent and meticulous of us was Godyak. It was for these qualities of his that he was expelled from the USRR just before my trial, so that he could not be a witness to everything pertaining to my case. Godyak insisted on writing a letter to the District Attorney about our unlawful kidnapping by persons in civilian clothes. But we were concerned about helping Radzinsky; we had no time for letters of complaint. Besides, we had written numerous letters of complaint concerning the persecution of members of our group by the KGB. We never received any response to our complaints. So why waste our energy on useless writing! However, my husband received his first degree in law. So, he demonstrated the same kind of persistence as Godyak. My husband wrote an indignant letter to the President of the Institute of Geography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Dr. Garasimov, in which he described my kidnapping in front of the 103rd police division and unlawful custody of me and my friends. He described all of this to show; how can we talk about a business trip when this is what happens to my wife, who works at the same institute; she is kidnapped in broad daylight by unidentified persons in civilian clothes—right in front of a police station. A copy of this letter was notarized at the Institute of Geography (the stamp is on the page which de-

scribes the events of October 13th, and this document is included among other documents of my case. Now I would like to ask for a five minute recess to confer with my attorney.

JUDGE: The court declares a five minute recess.

AFTER THE RECESS:

M: For a few months nothing reminded me of the events of October 13th. Then, suddenly, on December 8th of last year, I was taken from work and transported to the office of the DA of Lyublinsky District—supposedly as a witness—yet with a policeman present. I believe now the court understands why I had to present a short preamble. Otherwise, it would not be clear for whose benefit this is all for.

On December 8th, in the course of a 6 hour long interrogation, which was conducted by Senior Investigator NOMKOVA and District Attorney USHKOV, I was presented the charge which you have heard—Article 193, Part 2 of the Criminal Codex of the RSFSR, the meaning of which essentially is that I resisted the police and battered POTAPOV. But never on that day did I resist the authorities or come into contact with POTAPOV. Moreover, interaction with POTAPOV was impossible since he did not participate in the forceful dragging of me into an automobile in front of the 103rd police division. POTAPOV quickly disappeared after his van stopped at the vacant dormitory, where other persons, not POTAPOV, dragged me and three of my friends (this time without Reitman) to the second floor to lock us up until 6:30 pm I did not commit any acts of "hooliganism" at the 103rd police division, were, for the entire 3 hours the police behaved properly and we patiently waited. I, as well as the others, was released at 1.00 pm, when I was given my passport and told, "We do not have any questions for you". No one presented me a citation of petty hooliganism. In the course of the investigation, December 8th, 1983, there was a confrontation at which I saw POTAPOV up close for the first time. I could recall that he was around on October 13th but did not participate in the attack on us. It was at the confrontation that I first heard of the citation for petty hooliganism. I asked GROMOV how come I hadn't seen the statement. He looked me right in the eye and said, "You were shown it but refused to sign". I asked him, "Who showed me the statement?" He said,

"I did". Here I was flabbergasted for the first time. I mean, GROMOV had been behaving properly on October 13th. It even seemed he might have sympathised with us when he saw that we were unable to leave the police station. All the charges are FABRICATED. This is all I have say.

**THE DEFENSE IN THE CASE OF
MEDVEDKOVA, MARCH 23, 1984, City
Court of Moscoew, Lyubinsky District,
Attorney David Markovich Akselbant,
member, Moscow Board of Attorneys.**

"When I saw that the seat across from me was empty (he points to the prosecutor's stand) I became uneasy—there's no prosecutor to prove the charges against the defendant. I am used to reaching the truth by argument. When there's a state Prosecutor, the argument between the prosecution and the defense is more visible. The prosecutor's resolution, which I hold in my hand, accuses MEDVEDKOVA of a serious crime: Article 193, Section 2, Criminal Codes of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, punishable by up to three years imprisonment. The document states that MEDVEDKOVA, on the 13th of October 1983, was guilty of hooliganism, which was basis for writing up a citation with intent to prosecute. When, by the rights of this document, Ms. MEDVEDKOVA was being taken to the 3rd police division from the patrol force of the 103rd police division, the document confirms, she was guilty of resistance and battery of an officer of the law. Now we are able to present the results of the investigation of this case. As we all know, the court must decide on the evidence on the basis of facts presented during the hearing of the case. But what did we hear?

There are two contradictory verisons of the events that took place. During the preliminary investigation and during the main hearing, two versions were presented. The court has to decide whose account is untrue; the eye-witnesses on behalf of MEDVEDKOVA or those speaking on behalf of POTAPOV the plaintiff.

The author of the prosecutor's resolution offers a simple solution. According to him it is the witnesses who are friends and colleagues of MEDVEDKOVA who are lying: they are interested in a propitious outcome for MEDVEDKOVA's case. But if we are to approach this case and act on it in that light then we can't disregard the fact that all the witnesses for the prosecution were workers of the 103rd police division, friends and colleagues of POTAPOV, the plaintiff.

These people, too, are interested in a ruling propitious for POTAPOV. Obviously, to approach this case from that perspective would be incorrect.

There are, however, more meaningful standards by which to judge the case—the documents of the case and character investigation. Let's take a look at these factors, checking them for contradictions.

All the workers of the 103rd police division connected in the accusation of MEDVEDKOVA say that in the 103rd patrol division MEDVEDKOVA used indecent language. But this a stock accusation, which does not fit the personality of MEDVEDKOVA. I am convinced that, referring to MEDVEDKOVA, the charge of indecent language is incorrect. I am convinced that the workers of the 103rd police division were applying their usual accusation, an accusation of an infraction they often observe, without any regard for appropriateness or justification. There is no convincing evidence of indecent language, either in MEDVEDKOVA's profession or in her academic career or in her comportment, which we are able to see at the trial. It doesn't even figure in the derogatory character reference we received from the academician GERASIMOV of the Institute of Geography of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

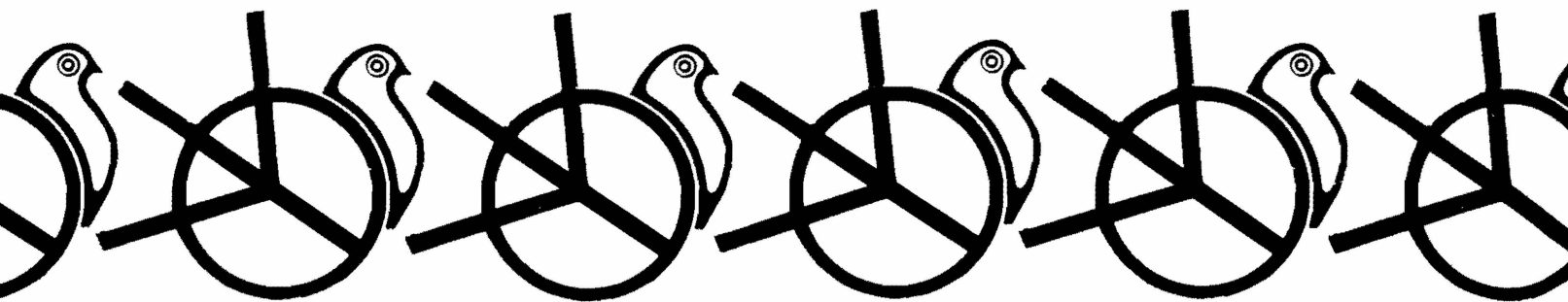
Let's try to recreate the events of the case and let's begin with that small succession of events which is presented in the prosecution's version. MEDVEDKOVA allegedly participated in hooliganism: the citation has been drawn on this; she is detained, but all her colleagues are released, then she commits another, more serious, infraction. POTAPOV and GROMOV both support this verison. One made up the report, the other the citation. But did they carry out their duties properly, these two workers, POTAPOV and GROMOV?

The citation was written by GROMOV, as he asserts, before 1:00 P.M. October 13th, 1983. GROMOV asserts in this citation that MEDVEDKOVA committed an infraction of the law and refused to sign the citation. If there arose a conflict between a person suspected of committing a crime and the police, then the corresponding document, such as this citation, should have been drawn up impeccably. But this was not the case. Acting as witnesses to MEDVEDKOVA's refusal to sign the citation we have POTAPOV and BORISHEV. It was the same POTAPOV who submitted the report of MEDVEDKOVA's infraction of the law and the same BORISHEV who prepared the report. I regret that the court was occupied at 1:00 P.M. October 13th, 1983, so that Judge ROGOZIN, who was mentioned in the case, made no decision regarding the citation, which was drawn up entirely improperly and later served as the basis upon which, as the author of the charge maintains, MEDVEDKOVA was transferred from the 103rd to the 3rd police division. Thus, the citation itself was totally improper. Now, as to the

reports by POTAPOV—there are two of them—one on her conduct at the 103rd police division, and the other on her conduct at the time she was being transported to the 3rd police division

The instructions on the second report say: "please have registered and reported to the Prosecutor. Pivnitsky. October 13, 1983." The date is October 13, 1983, and GROMOV's testimony, according to which Senior Assistant Chief of Police, 103rd division, PIVNITSKY was ill and absent from work on that day, is a glaring contradiction. *The document is obviously backdated.* This give me reason to claim that everything pertaining to GROMOV's report, which accuses MEDVEDKOVA of resisting the police, as well as everything pertaining to POTAPOV's report, including the claims of battery, is untrue. The contradiction is in the instructions, written by an absent person, and this fact has been established in a court of law. It is clear that the date of these instructions could not have been October 13, 1983. But this means that MEDVEDKOVA and the witnesses for the defense are telling

Let us now take a look at the *Register of Arrested Persons* of the 103rd police division. There we have a contradiction: it indicates that MEDVEDKOVA was released at 1:00 P.M., and what follows is an obvious later addition: "a case for administrative penalty has been initiated." But if a case concerning administrative responsibility is initiated, and the passport of the suspect is in possession of the police, then it is not returned to the owner, but becomes one of the documents in the case. POTAPOV confirmed this at the court hearing, whereas GROMOV maintained that the passport may be withheld within 24 hours. That is true for cases when the passport was not withheld in advance, but MEDVEDKOVA's was, and GROMOV retained it to confirm MEDVEDKOVA's identity until 1:00 P.M., at which time he returned the passport to MEDVEDKOVA. It is recorded that MEDVEDKOVA was "released" at 1:00 P.M. Her arrest was entered on a different line and clearly later. Here we have another, documented, piece of proof that no accusation of petty hooliganism was brought against MEDVEDKOVA;



the truth! There are still more facts to support this.

The documents of the case show that the 103rd police division mailed the documents accusing MEDVEDKOVA in accordance with article 193, Section 2, of the Criminal Codex of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic to the office of the Public Prosecutor of the Lyublinsky District of the City of Moscow on the 22nd of October 1983, but the Public Prosecutor, whose office is located right in the neighborhood, practically across the street from the police headquarters, claims that the documents arrived *a month later*—on November 23rd, 1983. That the papers spent a month in the mail is impossible. I think that the office of the Public Prosecutor really did not receive the papers until November 23, 1983, and the police sent them not earlier than two or three days beforehand. This way everything is clear. PIVNITSKY's instructions become clear, too: they came long after October 13, 1983, when he had forgotten that on October 13, 1983, he was ill and could not work. Thus, MEDVEDKOVA is telling the truth.

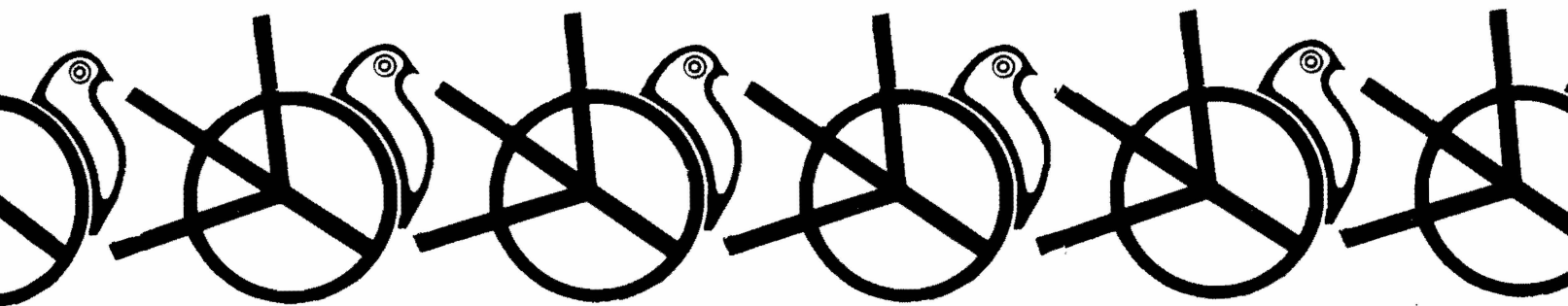
therefore, there was no reason for transporting MEDVEDKOVA from the 103rd to the 3rd police division after her identity had been confirmed. MEDVEDKOVA says she and her colleagues behaved calmly in the 103rd police division: they sat, read, and quietly waited. This in agreement with the entry in the *Register of Arrested Persons* which indicates that MEDVEDKOVA was released at 1:00 P.M., and her colleagues were released at the same time or slightly earlier. As to the version offered by the prosecution, it is documented by an improperly drawn-up statement, as we have just seen. There is a note in that statement made by a person named S. Gromov (no relation to police officer Gromov). Unfortunately, he was not called in as a witness. His testimony recorded in the statement of October 13, 1983, and his testimony given during the preliminary investigation are very different. It would be easy to show his contradictions in court. Was he an eye-witness?

Finally, the transportation of MEDVEDKOVA to the 3rd police division. If she was lawfully transported

to the 3rd police division, then she committed an infraction of the law by offering resistance while boarding the van, exiting the van, and being escorted upstairs to the second floor. However, other colleagues of MEDVEDKOVA were also transported from the 103rd police division to the 3rd police division. And this is clearly unlawful: there were no grounds for their arrest. The author of the statement of the prosecution maintains that the other colleagues of MEDVEDKOVA were not arrested, but expressed the desire to go voluntarily. But we know very well that the police never take friends of the arrested person with them, and certainly can never place them in custody "on their own volition" at the same time as their arrested friend. Yet, the documents of the case clearly show that for many hours MEDVEDKOVA was kept in custody together with LUSNIKOVA, BARBASH, and GODYAK on the second floor of the 3rd police division. Now, to the persons in plainclothes, whom MEDVEDKOVA and her colleagues mention.

In the patrol section of the 103rd police division

them all, not just MEDVEDKOVA. Let's assume that POTAPOV was telling the truth. He transported documents to the 3rd division for the holding of MEDVEDKOVA there, dispatched both the documents and MEDVEDKOVA and left. However, the arrival of neither the documents nor of MEDVEDKOVA was entered into the records of the 3rd police division. At first POTAPOV didn't even admit that he was carrying any documents concerning MEDVEDKOVA when he went to the 3rd division. Later, during the interrogation at the trial, he "remembered". Where, then, after all, were MEDVEDKOVA and the three witnesses, BARBASH, GODYAK, and LUSNIKOVA, sent? On the building where they were taken, there must have been signs indicating that it was the police station. The officer on duty at the 3rd division had the responsibility of receiving and guarding them. But all of them were not taken to the entrance of the 3rd division, but to a dormitory. This fact has been established incontrovertibly. Even the witnesses for the prosecution don't deny it. Consequently, the rules for detaining



there are police officers in uniform: GROMOV and BORISHEV. Why, then, when leaving the 103rd division did the detainment have to be carried out by plainclothesmen? Lawful demands can only be made, when possible, by officers of the law in uniform, leaving no doubt to the people concerned of their identity. GROMOV, officer on duty in uniform, released the witnesses GODYAK, BARBAH, LUSNIKOVA, and REITMAN. That no one denies. Three of these persons are in the automobile enroute to the 3rd police division earlier than MEDVEDKOVA and BARBASH, so they could not have asked to accompany MEDVEDKOVA. Here again we have facts, giving us cause to see that the witnesses testifying for the innocence of MEDVEDKOVA are telling the truth. During the trial I asked permission to interrogate the witnesses POROZHNIK and ZEMTSOV, policemen from the 3rd division. Their testimony was significant in that it established whether MEDVEDKOVA was detained alone or whether her colleagues were detained with her. In their testimony in the preliminary investigation, both these policemen declared that they had to hold

citizens were grossly violated. It is not clear whether these acts were lawful or who perpetrated them.

During the trial we heard the testimony of two witnesses who were personally near the 3rd police division. In addition, two testimonies of similar persons were read aloud by the court. Today the defense has, on the basis of gross violations of the procedures for recognizing persons, reasons to declare that these testimonies were *not trustworthy*. These witnesses should have been made, during the preliminary investigation, to establish the identity of the woman against whom they were testifying without help from outside sources.

Nothing of the kind was in fact done. Today it would be easy for a witness from the ranks of "innocent bystanders" to point out MEDVEDKOVA—she sits alone in the defendant's area. With regard to these witnesses the demands of the law were not carried out. There were no lineups. There is no basis on which to consider that the witnesses, who allegedly saw MEDVEDKOVA near the 3rd division were telling the truth. They describe her clothing in different ways.

One of the witnesses is not sure that MEDVEDKOVA is the same face that he saw. MEDVEDKOVA says that from the window of the room where they were all kept under guard she saw these persons who are now "eye-witnesses" arrived later. From this it is easy to understand why the "eye-witnesses" did not see any van near the dormitory transporting MEDVEDKOVA and her colleagues BARBASH, GODYAK, and LUSNIKOVA. Furthermore, there are some other flaws in the version of the prosecution. The author of the prosecution's statement qualifies MEDVEDKOVA's alleged infraction of the law as Article 193, Section 2, Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. But who seconds the assigning of the crimes corresponding to this article? Who other than POTAPOV, the plaintiff? The officer on duty at the 103rd police division GROMOV did not see this. The students of the Poly-Technical Institute who happened to be near the 3rd division do not confirm this. There are rules of legal-medical expertise regarding what to consider battery, what to consider a blow, and what to consider a scratch. Article 79, Point 1, Criminal-Procedural Codex of the RSFSR declares that an expert legal-medical examination must be conducted when one is making claims of the kind POTAPOV has made of MEDVEDKOVA, that she be accused according to Article 193, Section 2. POTAPOV, however, did not consult any doctors, although, as a worker on the police force, as a criminal investigator, he knows very well about his obligation to undergo an examination by experts. Thus the investigator chose Article 193 of the Criminal Codex of the RSFSR without fulfilling the exigencies of the law and without presenting documents of legal-medical examination.

IT IS MY OPINION THAT THE DOCUMENTS OF THE CASE REVIEWED IN COURT DO NOT PROVIDE SUFFICIENT GROUNDS FOR THE CONVICTION OF MS. MEDVEDKOVA UNDER ANY ARTICLE OF THE CRIMINAL CODE. I CONSIDER THAT THE ACCUSATION IS NOT PROVEN, AND FOR THAT REASON IT IS MY OPINION THAT THE COURT WILL ACT FAIRLY IN ACQUITTING MEDVEDKOVA.

*Member of the Moscow Board of Defenders,
attorney D.M. Akselbant, Kandidat of Law*

After some brief last words by the defendant (She spoke about her innocence, about the fabrication of the whole case in revenge for her participation in the group "For the establishment of trust between the USSR and the USA") there followed the conference of the court which lasted 2 hours. The sentence: conviction of MEDVEDKOVA to 2½ years imprisonment. Sentence, considering her pregnancy and her 8-year-old son, commuted to three years probation.



"The Trial" Ball-point pen on paper. One of 88 works by Sergei Batovrin confiscated by the KGB in August 1982 during the break-up of the exhibit in memory of victims of Hiroshima held at the apartment of Olga and Yurii Medvedkov.

APPEAL TO THE JUDGES

Citizen judges! In the history of Soviet jurisprudence one can count millions and even tens of millions of cases in which perfectly innocent people have been condemned to longterm imprisonment or death. Subsequently many of them have been rehabilitated. The crime of many of these people was merely that their way of thinking differed in some way from the party line, which, we are supposed to believe, is infallible and always faithfully follows the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In retrospect we can say that things have not been exactly as they were put in the governments special address to the twentieth convention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As judges, you must be wellacquainted with the trials preceding World War II, when your very colleagues were sentencing people to various terms of imprisonment on the charge of so called "anti-German sentiment", a charge which seems particularly absurd today. The crime of these people was that they had their own opinion, which contradicted that of the Party and the "Soviet people", who enthusiastically approved the Nazi-Soviet pact and condemned those governments (the "Franco-English imperialists" which dared to declare war on the Fascists in 1939.

Today we can declare with total certainty that the prosecution of those people in those years (whose "guilt" was "proven", though the facts spoke differently,) was absurd. By participating in the trials, the judges themselves obediently became the instruments of arbitrariness, and we can now unreservedly identify them as abettors of criminals and of crime itself--of that tragic crime which began on Poland in 1939 and which reached the Soviet Union and many other countries of the world in 1941.

History indeed repeats itself, and today in front of you on the defendants' bench instead of anti-Fascists are people whose opinion on such a complex question as peace and disarmament differs from fundamental party principles. I am profoundly certain that any position of a person or group, their political views or sense of the world notwithstanding, which is directed toward the elimination of a thermonuclear conflict cannot be considered a crime. Today you, the judges, must prove the opposite, and, as in past years, I m sure, you will rly only on the opinion of the Soviet government on this question. For that reason I suggest to you now that you either approach this case objectively or refuse to hear the case, which, like all past cases, will itself be of a criminal character and where you, the judges, will become the instrument and abettors of a crime.

ALEKSANDR SHATRAVKA

EURIPIDES ON WAR AND PEACE

BY MARK REITMAN

Mark Reitman, one of the key activists in the Soviet independent peace movement, mathematician, philosopher, writer, was forced out of the Soviet Union in February 1985. He is the author of numerous articles on war and peace which were widely distributed by peace activists in the Soviet Union. We present here an article on Euripides in which Mark Reitman, much in the same tradition as Euripides—and similarly motivated—makes abundant use of Aesopian language. (Aesopian language is the name of a literary device whereby an author says allegorically what he otherwise could not say at all, for fear of the consequences).

We don't look for wisdom in the old people still living among us. Still less do we expect to find great wisdom in the 'wise men' who have reached such great antiquity that by comparison even Shakespeare feels like someone of our own generation. This is time chauvinism. At bottom, just about everyone is vain about his own day and thinks poorly of times previous.

About ten years ago, in a fit of popularizer's mischievousness, I wrote a little article about 'dynamic programming' (a fashionable mathematic technique) in which I related this invention to the times of the ancient Egyptians. More cautious authorities had been making references to workd 'circa 1950'. I argued, however, that there was nothing in this super-modern idea that would be inaccessible to an educated Egyptian. Some chided me for having set up my hypothesis too lightheartedly; others for committing errors of historical fact (the Pharaoh and Ethiopia did not exist contemporaneously—all I can do now is confess my guilt).

As it turned out, though, in subsequent years math historians discovered that credit for the idea of dynamic programming should be granted to the Scotsman McLoren (1698–1746). And when I acquainted myself with the works of Archimedes (287–212 BC) I became convinced that he had as good a command of the method under discussion as did McLoren. What is more, Archimedes had a clearer and better understanding of the technique than do many modern

mathematicians. His mind was less layered with the clutter of centuries that often leads one astray. What it comes down to is that even modern mathematics has roots going back into the ancient world; what, then, should one expect when discussing the humanities!

Nonetheless, time chauvinism keeps cropping up. You find it lurking even in the sort of people who like to bemoan the decline in moral standards, people you wouldn't have expected would fall prey to a blind devotion to their own thing, or of national chauvinism, or pride of profession. In the privacy of our thoughts, we are patriots of our own time; envious sorts even get irritated about the successes of other times. It might then seem especially peculiar to consult the ancients on questions of war and peace. What did Euripides know about nuclear missiles? Or his fellow compatriots about neutron weapons? But that incident with dynamic programming somewhat dimmed my pride of time. It may well be that we, proud inhabitants of the 20th century, have lost some primal quality and for that very reason are sliding towards the nuclear abyss, although no one of us would want our self-forgetful century to acquire the unglorious title "and also the last." At some point it became the accepted thing to consider the current world situation as being unique. To some extent, this is true; every historical moment is unique and always avenges itself when attempts are made to try it on the Procrustean bed of historical formulae. Add to this the unheard of power of modern weapons. But the totality of destruction for the ancient Greek meant no less psychologically than it does in our own day. Until the campaigns of Alexander, his world extended no further than a thousand kilometers from the Peloponessian peninsula. Try to fit yourself into the tunic of an ancient Greek, one familiar with the new and the old books, who saw the danger of Greece being conquered by aliens (for example the Persians). Add that this danger looked no sweeter to him than does the present nuclear threat: it meant the slaughter of nearly his entire people, and a pitiful state of slavery for the few survivors. It often happened that after such an invasion, an entire nation would disappear without a trace.

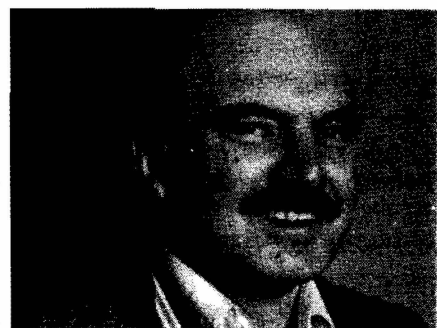
And let's suppose that this same Greek, whose

tunic you have borrowed, is endowed with literary talent, but deprived of an overabundance of wealth, strength and beauty; and note that a fortunate person of those times needed the latter two qualities even more than one does in our own time. Suppose, furthermore, that the owner of your clothes has an inclination for scepticism and analysis, and for this reason is not the sort to get inflamed by cheap patriotic fervor, or infected by the epidemic xenophobia, or blinded with fury by the sight of the blood of his neighbour. Finally, suppose that he wishes passionately to live, and to create something that can't be corrupted, and that no one can force him to believe in the gods just because unbelief can be punished. Of course the playwright Euripides (circa 48-46 BC) was not simply the sum of these traits just listed, but, without a doubt, they all lived within him, now helping, now hindering him in the attainment of the goals he set for himself. Euripides' contemporaries - at any rate the Athenians - know him well but they liked him little, and selectively at that. As with any other great person, he wore on his face the traces of dangerous free-thinking, even when zealously (if awkwardly) swearing devotion to the authorities. Plato, who was Euripides' junior, hinted in his *Dialogues* that Euripides did not believe in the sacredness of the oracle of Delphi: that's the same as to doubt today that the Academy of Sciences is scientific! In truth, Euripides wasn't always able to keep to himself his opinion that the oracular expression of the will of the gods was manipulated by clever high priests (a denunciation?)

Euripides wrote tragedies, serious dramatic plays that developed the traditional plots using the traditional stage decrees. What distinguishes his creative work from that of other Greek playwrights is the frequent presence of arguments on abstract themes. Often these debates put a stop to all other action in the play. His productions were not meant to be read: they should be seen on the stage from the fresh sun-filled gaze of an ancient Greek. Such a view is already closed to us. Our perception has been spoiled by cinema, and in part even by modern theatre which is going to seed.

I have seen a performance of "Medea" only once. Today it looks clumsy. People come in hordes to see it though! They come to enjoy the hints about modern reality. A mother kills her children in order to cause pain to the husband who abandoned her. What do I need to sit there for three hours for while they try to explicate the circumstances of the crime? Such a mother could never be pardoned, even by reason of insecurity. Is the plot so distant from us? In principle not really. A reliable eyewitness told me about a case of insanity that took place in the Ukraine in 1933. But there, the mother having killed her children also ate them. Even Medea wouldn't have gone that far. Even in the early blossoming of Greek pre-Homeric literature the only ones devouring their children were fathers; run-ins

DR
MARK
REITMAN



between fathers and sons were no rarity. Nonetheless, to the modern reader, this Greco-Ukrainian subject would not be a legitimate theme for art; Euripides finds it entirely to his taste. On the other hand I believe that if we were to go through all of Euripides' plays, we would find more to disagree with.

This however makes it all the nicer to find myself in agreement with him on questions of war and peace. His handling of the questions has the sharpness of the modern analysis and the depth of the ancient.

There were quite a few ancient authors who were interested in the theme of peace, including the comedian Aristophanes, a junior and competitor of Euripides who had a mean and mocking pen. All the same, Aristophanes' main goal was to get a laugh. He touched truth only in passing. Laughter is a shotgun with sights attached; say what you like, it degrades the object portrayed. And at the same time it threatens to turn criticism of militarism into harmless bantering. What's the point of avoiding war if it's so funny? Sometimes laughter makes one forget that war walks hand in hand with death. That is what happened in the case of the great poem, 'Vassily Terkin' by A Tvardovsky for which I have great respect, but all the same it is written by someone located behind the lines.

SHARPENING SWORDS

Euripides enjoyed portraying tragic absurdities, the very thing that always accompanies wars, whether they be modern, ancient, civil, liberation, Punic . . . Wherein lies the modernity of Euripides' approach to war? The author was not a non-resister, blind and deaf to all arguments in his opposition to violence. Euripides did not negate the necessity of wars in certain extraordinary situations. What's more, he praised wars of liberation and of defense: he praised the young men of Athens who fell in such wars. He did denounce wars of acquisition and unjust wars, even when they were waged by his own land of Athens. The latter he had to do, of course, by allegory using Aesopian language in order to avoid being called a traitor. For example, Euripides criticized the Athenian warring on distant Sicily only allegorically. This was no doubt not to the taste of the Athenian authorities,

their fairly democratic leanings notwithstanding, and Euripides had to emigrate. In Athens, no barriers were put in the way of emigration. The threat of mass flight of their population did not number among their fears.

Of course, the main scourges of war are death, mutilation and destruction. But war also coarsens morals; it resurrects dormant discords, and increases the number of rear-guard scoundrels.

CONTINUATION OF EURIPIDES ON WAR AND PEACE

Anyway, let's give the floor to Euripides, or rather to Glashatai of Thebes, propagandist for the opposing side:

Hope is a harmful business.
Reciprocally exciting the spirit
it plunges countries into abuse,
raising its voice for war
Each hopes the other will perish.
If they thought of their own death
While they cast their pebbles,
Hellas would not have perished from the

wars.

Cleverly noted is the connection between prewar propaganda and the degeneration of a cold war into a hot one. It has occurred this way more than once even in our millenium. The Second World War was the inevitable result of an inhuman ideology; the First, however, was the fruit of the ambitions and miscalculations of the leaders of that time. As became clear much later, at the moment of the Sarajevo assassination neither side wanted to begin a war—everything just happened by itself, like a reflex, without any contribution from the intellect. In this electronic century, the most important decisions are usually made by machines without souls, to whom fear is unknown. True, the speeches of Euripides' characters can be far from reflecting the opinions of the author—he often reveals his own opinions through a negative character. Apparently this happens with Glashatai as well, which adds a multilayered quality to his image.

Of course, not everyone agrees with Glashatai; many affirm that it is precisely fear, not hope, that engenders war. ("There is nothing to fear but fear itself"—F D Roosevelt.) Who is right? In fact both are right, for hope of survival, though the antithesis of fear, is actually akin to it to the extent that they easily flow one into the other.

The tyrants of the Greek cities of Sparta and Thebes used fear as an instrument to manipulate their citizens. At the necessary moment, the moment of initiating the war, they would insinuate into their citizens' fear the hope for salvation through a pre-emptive strike.

The last step on the road to war is especially important:

An intelligent helmsman

Knows how to restrain himself at the right moment,

thinks Glashatai, probably bearing in mind the ruler of athens, Theseus the Just. Our times as well provide a number of examples of prudent restraint—although such a decision, needless to say, does not increase the power of the helmsman himself. Humanity should be forever grateful to N S Khrushchev, who during the 60's Cuban missile crisis did not turn his back on the ultimatum of John F. Kennedy. Historians argue over the magnitude of the role of this decision in the events that ensued—the power of Khrushchev could not survive any more.

The ideas of Theseus and Glashatai differ in many respects, and the latter closes the argument with this resume:

On the subject of this argument

You think one way, I will think another.

Often one can only guess at Euripides' relation to one or the other side of the argument (the heroes of his tragedy argue incessantly). Without doubt Euripides is not an advocate of unanimity. Verbal struggles should thunder while swords keep silent in their scabbards. Recognition of the right to hold differing opinions, according to Euripides, is an important guarantee of peace, though not always an effective one. If "the 300 Spartans" had been Athenian philosophers, they would have had no less than 300 opinions and could not have stood against the Persians. But they had only one opinion—the opinion of Emperor Leonid—so they did not discuss; they fought instead. Only at the end of the 18th century did democratic armies begin at times to defeat authoritarian ones, but this was somehow accompanied by the fall in the democracy level to that of "absolutism."

The tragedy of "The Suppliants" is constructed around the mothers who come after a defeat to ask the victors for their sons' corpses. Euripides sympathizes with their request (it happens that even irrational sons cannot be res-

urrected). But he definitely condemns their leader Adrast who does not restrain himself at the "necessary moment" and who has unleashed the war.

The tragedy ends with a scene in which the goddess Athena proposes that the conquered take a vow that they will not begin a new assault. The conquered usually did not withhold such oaths, and sometimes these were even written into the constitutions of conquered countries. But these promises, as a rule, do not survive longer than a generation. The practical Euripedes knew well the value of such vows. Here is the typical speech of the conquered Adrast:

People, a pitiful race!

Why do you sharpen your spears for reciprocal murder?

Enough! Without anxiety

Peacefully guard your cities.

Alas, such speeches are rarely found in the conquered. Only later and in other lands does one find the Emperor Ashoka, who gave the pledge of peace after a lost war—this, if seems, is the only ruler in all of history who did such a thing. There should be a monument to him in every capital of the world—however, such a monument does not stand even in the capital of India, his homeland and not by any means the most warlike of nations. The call to "peacefully guard one's own cities" too often remains without response—it's so much more fun to pillage the cities of others!

Do Wars Restore Justice?

During the long centuries before Euripedes, in his own time and after him, people have supposed that through war the justice that has been trampled on could be restored. Euripedes did not think so. The cause of the Trojan war, Helen (she is presented as such in "The Trojan Women") goes unpunished. On the other hand, many people did suffer who bore no responsibility for bloodshed. (Hecuba, for example, lost a son and a daughter—but what is Hecuba to Helen?) And what do the gods think on this subject? Most likely Euripedes thought that the gods were an empty fiction, though it was dangerous to assert this directly. However, by way of compensation for the gods, criticism was allowed. Here is how the wise Athena behaves in the tragedy "The Trojan Women," after having decided the fate of the Greek victors:

Athena:	As they sail home from Ilion Zeus will send them a shower of unheard-of hail . . .
Poseidon:	Yes, it will be so. But the power to take Troy

Was given by you.

Athena:

I want to punish them, allied with you.

Here the mechanism of decision-making by the world's powerful is presented in parodic form. It turns out that the gods are not omnipotent! They, as it were, set up draft committees to prepare dirty tricks for people, both large and small, then pass these along for the approval of Zeus. He then carries them out using the full strength of his power. The fact is not suppressed that even from the very beginning the Greeks acted with Athena's approval. Pointing to this, the scoundrel Poseidon chuckles, apparently with malicious pleasure—which does not keep him, however, from approving this proposal of Athena. By the way, the act of transferring to the gods the responsibility for dirty business is one of the main characteristics of the morality of that time. More than one rascal was comforted by the thought that he was created by the gods and that the latter bear the responsibility for his own scoundrel sins. But a believer in the gods would not have written in this way—this is the attitude of an atheist with a good share of cynicism, in no way that of a believer. The Biblical Job at the height of his diatribes ventures much less abuse—and is punished for his effrontery. Whereas in Euripedes, the gods arrange vile deeds like a bunch of swindlers. By the way, it is no better to look at those mortals who rule the world—emperors, tyrants, warriors, heroes. Even the great Herakles in Euripedes is wanting in intellect and is not overburdened with nobleness. And several tragedies are in general populated only with villains. Where, here, could one speak of justice!

Part II of *Euripedes* will follow in issue number 4.

Send letters objecting to the persecution of the independent Soviet peace movement to the following addresses:

SSSR, Moscow
Prospect Mira 36
Sovetskii Komitet Mira
Yurii Zhukov

SSSR, Moscow
Kremlin
General Secretary of C.P.S.U.

SEMINAR REPORT: CONVERSION, CONTINUED...

Text of Dr. Dudkin's presentation, at a seminar in Moscow

This document of the Group to Establish Trust between the USSR and the USA, 'Key to Peace,' presents two basic propositions.

The first proposition: the fundamental reason for the disappointing results of disarmament efforts can be traced to the absence of a personal interest in disarmament among military-industrial circles, the pressure of these circles on governments and their fostering of conditions of distrust between countries.

The second proposition: the way out of this dead-end situation for the world lies in the development and acceptance of the Project for Inter-Governmental Peaceful Conversion, established by means of the step-by-step transfer of the military-industrial personnel of both super-powers over to the development and implementation of global peace projects.

In connection with the first of these propositions, the following supporting arguments are made:

- a) Military and other professionals working in the defence field would not be able to fulfill their current duties conscientiously if they did not believe in the unconditional importance of this work for their country. Any projects for agreements (between rival countries) are therefore looked upon them with particular prejudice;
- b) Disarmament threatens their position in society;
- c) The influence of the military-industrial personnel on the political leadership of the superpowers has unavoidably grown together with the increase in the military-industrial activities of the superpowers;
- d) In recent years, time and again we have witnessed a historically unprecedented circumstance, whereby agreements already virtually concluded between countries are then rejected by the political leadership for extremely superficial reasons;

- e) Even the leaders of the superpowers have noted the pressure exerted on them by the military-industrial circles in order to obtain increases in military expenditures.

There does not seem to be an urgent need to develop each of these points in detail (given of course that I and the other authors of this document do not find ourselves beset by questions concerning them). During the course of numerous private discussions on this question, we have found that doubts are raised not concerning these above enumerated points, nor concerning the basic thesis that the military-industrial complex exerts a negative influence on the process of disarmament. What has called forth doubts is the assertion that the military-industrial circles' lack of interest in disarmament can be called the fundamental root cause for the failure of peace efforts to achieve marked results. (The term 'military circles' here includes those living in the capitalist countries for whom detente may mean the threat of unemployment.)

Certain opponents of this position have asserted that the root cause belongs rather to the sphere of ideology and political economy and some of the latter believe that the ideology and practice of communism somehow require an arms race in connection with the following two basic reasons:

- a) The internationalist ideology of communism presupposes that direct assistance be given to all friends of communist ideology and to opponents of the leading capitalist states. But in order to fearlessly assist pro-communist and anti-imperialist (as they are called) movements, it is necessary to have military superiority;
- b) The state of military confrontation allows the leadership of the socialist countries to explain the difficulties of daily life and the relatively lower standard of living in the socialist as compared with the leading capitalist countries by pointing to the necessity for large military

expenditures in order to keep pace with the arms race imposed on them by the opposing superpower. In conditions of detente, the governments of the socialist countries would no longer be able to point to the arms race imposed upon them and would not be able to make the same excuses before their population which would have already discovered the relative inefficiency of the socialist economic system.

To our mind, these arguments for all their seeming significance and reasonableness appear absolutely false. It is true that the ideology and practice of communism presupposes the extension of assistance to all long-standing as well as incidental allies. But such help can be extended even under conditions of detente. Moreover, experience shows that in conditions of a run-away arms race, it becomes more and more problematic to extend such help, inasmuch as each further step in this direction brings the human race closer and closer to the brink.

As to the second 'economic' argument, it works on the questionable assumption that the leaders of the socialist countries are aware of the comparative inefficiencies of the socialist system and feel a need to somehow justify to the population their comparative economic deficiencies in comparison with the developed capitalist countries.

But isn't it clear, after all, that detente and the effects of the joint intergovernmental projects will lead to a significant, steady rise in the standard of living, which will clearly be welcomed by the population? As to the comparative deficiencies in the standard of living; even if we assume that the leadership of the socialist countries in fact need to 'justify themselves before their populations,' they can still find other justifications. They can, for example, point to the consequences of the previous (and present) long period of the arms race. In this way, one can see that the ideological explanation whereby the leadership of the socialist countries are assumed to have a personal stake in the continuation of the arms race does not hold up under close examination.

As regards the efforts to explain the cause of the capitalist governments' motivation for maintaining the arms race by reference to socio-economic factors, this position usually appeals to the following two arguments:

- a) Large monopolies have a personal interest in receiving large military orders and therefore exert pressure on the political stance of their respective governments;
- b) The governments of the capitalist countries have their own motivation to keep up the arms race so as to halt the rise in unemployment, or to lower the rate of unemployment.

We will not try to contradict these arguments, inasmuch as they already completely coincide with our own arguments concerning the reasons why military-industrial circles find the disarmament process not to be in their own interest. Be that as it may, I would prefer to consider the main thesis of this presentation to be the following: independently of whether we consider the fundamental reason for the arms-race to be the military industry's personal stake in seeing it continue (ie lack of a personal interest in disarmament), or ideological disputes, or the existing state of distrust, or yet another reason, the path out of the global nuclear dead-end proposed by us in our document may in any case serve as the key to eliminating, or dramatically lowering, the danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

Actual realization of the ideas presented in the proposed agreements for shifting the military-industrial personnel of the superpowers over the work on development and implementation of joint inter-governmental peace projects will have a many-sided result. In fact the realization of these ideas will:

- a) Eliminate the problem of the military-industrial complex not having a personal interest in encouraging disarmament;
- b) Bring into being a fundamentally new groundwork upon which can be constructed an atmosphere of trust and co-operation between the people of the superpowers;
- c) Create conditions in which co-operation towards elimination of the ecological, bio-chemical and other dangers threatening mankind will become possible;
- d) Create conditions in which the superpowers can better take advantage of the constructive aspects of the other side's experience in resolving the economic and social problems within their respective countries.

It would seem that even the extreme pessimists, who believe that due to ideological dif-

ferences the destruction of mankind is already inevitable, would have to admit that the acceptance of our proposals would at any rate postpone the day of nuclear conflict. What's more, such a postponement might give mankind the time it needs to rationally resolve ideological and other sources of conflict in an atmosphere of greater trust and co-operation.

Based on this assumption, I would like to call upon those involved in this debate not to take their example from my essay but instead to concentrate on discussion of the following:

- a) A more detailed elaboration of possible directions which inter-governmental projects, to be implemented by the joint efforts of the military-industrial personnel of the superpowers, could take;
- b) Possible organizational forms which would allow the most rapid implementation of joint conversion.

L Dutkin

EAST EUROPE:

JOINT DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENT PEACE DEFENDERS IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

It is now a year since, in both our countries, new Soviet missiles were deployed. This step was alleged to contribute to the 'balancing' of the nuclear strength of both superpowers. In reality peace was even more endangered and the arms race continues.

This criticism is addressed to all states which are preparing for a new world war, which threaten their neighbours and often order about their own citizens to whom, however, they deny participation in decisions

about truly fundamental questions of their own lives. In this way two more countries—our own countries—have become not only bases for nuclear missiles but also much more likely targets for nuclear revenge. We therefore protest once again against the siting and extension of nuclear complexes on our territory. We are therefore in solidarity with the peace movements in the West which, in their own countries, protest against militarism and nuclear armament.

We regard the following step as the first and important one: No missiles in Europe from the Ural Mountains to the Atlantic! Together with the Polish, Soviet and Hungarian independent peace movements, we believe that nuclear armament is not the reason for the present international crisis. Today's state of affairs is the result of the practices of power politics, that is, of the pursuit of particular, often selfish, interests.

Those who think in terms of 'blocs' and 'enemies' render an honest dialogue impossible. Those who tolerate social inequality or even widen the gap are responsible for hunger and poverty. Those who deny the dignity of individual human beings, who deny freedom of opinion, necessarily also tend to resolve national and international problems by means of violence.

Peace is indivisibly linked to the implementation and observance of all human rights. We want to live in an open society which respects its men and women. The road to such a society does not lead through military barracks, a polluted environment, and missile-launching ramps.

Czechs, Slovaks and Germans from the GDR are jointly signing this declaration as evidence of a continuous alliance and cooperation. Our common solidarity cannot be threatened by any historical resentment nor by any political police. Above all, we are united in the following idea: *Peace in Europe and nuclear disarmament in the world!* We appeal to independent peace movements and to independent citizens' initiatives to join this declaration.

Signed by:

From Czechoslovakia: Peter Cibulka, Jiri Dienstbier, Karel Freund, Vaclav Havel, Eva Kanturkova, Jan Kozlik, Ladislav Lis, Vaclav Maly, Anna Marvanova, Jaroslav Meznik, Radim Palous, Jan Ruml, Jaroslav Sabata, Anna Sabatova jn, Petruska Sustrova, Peter Uhl.

From the German Democratic Republic: Barbel Bohley, Antje Dotkger, Martin Dotkger, Werner Fischer, Elisabeth Gubbes, Catja Havemann, Irena Kukotz, Traudel Kulikowsky, Gisela Metz, Stefan Pickhart, Ulrike Poppe, Jutta Seidl, Anna Quasdorf.

Prague and Berlin, 22 November 1984
(Text and translation from Palach Press)

Original of KGB summons to an interrogation
in Lefortovo prison received by Oleg
Radzinsky in 1982. He is expected home in 1989.

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ПОВЕСТКА

Гр-н Радзинский Олег Александрович

проживающий по адресу: ул. Энергетическая д. 3-а, кв. 44

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комната № 326

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**RETURN
ADDRESS:
MOSCOW**

**EDITOR
SERGEY
BATOVRIN**

TEL. (212) 304-1943

**ADDRESS:
PO BOX 1073
NEW YORK
NY 10040
USA**

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yr Institutions. Please make
cheques payable to Sergey
Batovrin.

This is not a target. It is a peace symbol on the back of a young Muscovite.

