

on censorship

# index

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**REPRESSION IN IRAN**

**DON MATTERA**

**SIX POEMS**

**THE GREEK PRESS**

**UNDER THE COLONELS**

**THE ONETTI AFFAIR**

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**LENINGRAD KGB V. BRODSKY'S**

**POEMS / MILAN KUNDERA /**

**CZECH UNDERGROUND PRESS /**

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## Dangerous banknotes

How does the official currency of a country become so harmful that it has to be withdrawn and every banknote exchanged? This kind of complete monetary exchange normally arises following on a galloping inflation. True, the protagonists of the September putsch in Chile have achieved the doubtful distinction of the 1973 record in monetary disintegration; last year the rate of inflation was over 100 per cent. But the banknotes are not being exchanged for this reason, but in order to stop 'harmful political propaganda', which can be waged by banknotes issued at the time of the Popular Front . . .

It is an old Chilean custom to write various slogans on banknotes. At the time of the Popular Front, the 'war of slogans' between the revolutionary forces and the right-wing organisers of the putsch was extended to writing mottoes on banknotes, as well as on fences and walls. Sometimes the same note would bear the message 'Allende must resign' and under it 'Down with the conspirators! Long live the Popular Front!' These slogans, written in ink, did not make the notes invalid, as everyone accepted them according to long standing custom. The steps now taken by the junta, according to which all banknotes must be handed in by 26 January, reflect the fact that banknote slogans hostile to the dictatorship have become widespread.

But even without the slogans written on the banknotes issued under the Popular Front, the masters of the fascist order still regard these notes as harmful and dangerous. The 500 escudo note, for example, depicts on one of its sides a miner, with the legend '1971: the year of nationalising copper, saltpetre and iron ore'. On the other side, there is a picture of the Chuquicamata mine, the world's largest open-cast copper mine, with the words of President Bal[a]maceda, driven to suicide by imperialism and the Chilean oligarchy in 1891, 'We cannot accept that this enormous, wealthy territory of Chile should become a foreign enterprise'. The 1,000 escudo note issued by the Allende government in its last months carries a Neruda quotation from his poem on Carrera, which begins, 'You spoke aloud of liberty before everyone else, when others dared barely whisper it!'

There is no information as to what the new escudo notes of the military régime will look like. But neither the burning of progressive books, nor the elimination of slogans of liberty and independence from banknotes can kill the fervent desire of the Chilean people for liberty. It is certain that anti-junta slogans, written in ink, will soon appear on the new banknotes too.

# Clayton Yeo

## Case number 15

'Case number 15' is the name for a campaign which the Leningrad branch of the Committee for State Security (KGB) is now conducting against several Leningrad intellectuals who are admirers of the work of the exiled poet Joseph Brodsky. The affair came to light on 3 April 1974 when the KGB searched the flat of Vladimir Maramzin, a writer of children's stories who was gathering Brodsky's poetry into a five-volume collection 'for posterity'. The officials confiscated all the literature they found having to do with Brodsky.

On 22 or 23 April the KGB arrested Mikhail Kheifets, a friend of Maramzin and author of an introduction to the collection. When Maramzin heard that the KGB had charged Kheifets with being responsible for the compiling of Brodsky's poetry, he issued a statement denying Kheifets' complicity and taking full responsibility on himself. (This statement was published in the *New York Review of Books*, 18 July 1974.) Then, during the last ten days of July, Maramzin too was arrested.

While Kheifets and Maramzin were awaiting trial, another Leningrad intellectual came under investigation. He is Professor Yefim Etkind, an eminent Leningrad scholar, a friend of Solzhenitsyn and the author of an unpublished commentary on the collection of Brodsky's work. He was drummed out of his post at Leningrad's Herzen Institute of Pedagogy in late April. He too seems in danger of arrest, since by the standards apparently being adopted by the Leningrad KGB in the case, he is as 'guilty' as the others.

Several features of the affair are unusual and need to be explained in order to give a fuller understanding of the implications of the events in Leningrad. In the Brezhnev era, and especially in the present period of establishing closer diplomatic and commercial ties with western countries, the Soviet leadership has called for tighter control over persons whose attitudes and ideas do not conform to the official norms. This policy is motivated by fears that a larger number of

Soviet citizens could be affected by such 'deviant' ideas at a time when closer business ties with the West, tourism, etc are exposing more of the Soviet populace to liberal and permissive western customs. This in turn could affect the ordered development of Soviet society.

The manner in which local organs execute this (or any other) central policy is affected by their own bureaucratic interests. Solzhenitsyn illustrates this fact when he states in *The Gulag Archipelago* that in the Stalin period, local security organs arrested many people for no other reason than to bring up their figures for 'work done'.

Why did they all slip into harness and pursue so zealously not truth but *totals* of the processed and condemned? Because it was most comfortable for them not to be different from the others. And because these totals meant an easy life, supplementary pay, awards and decoration, and the expansion and prosperity of the Organs themselves. If they ran up high totals, they could loaf when they felt like it, or do poor work or go out and enjoy themselves at night. And that is just what they did. Low totals led to their being kicked out, to the loss of their feed-bag. For Stalin could never be convinced that in any district, or city, or military unit, he might suddenly cease to have enemies.

In a recent statement in London, Joseph Brodsky brought this reasoning up to date:

As with provincial organs of State anywhere in the world, its agents are indolent and tend to perform their given tasks with the least expenditure of energy. And the task currently given to local organs by the central headquarters in Moscow is the intensification of the ideological and administrative struggle with so-called nonconformists. Thus, in Maramzin's arrest, so as not to burden themselves with the creation of new cases and yet to demonstrate to the Moscow authorities that it is indeed at work, the Leningrad KGB has turned to whipping a dead horse. It is, after all, some two years now that I have been in the United States.

The functionaries of the Leningrad KGB are traditionally anxious to prove their mettle. A career in Leningrad is one of the best routes to power

in the USSR. The leaders of Leningrad's KGB, and those of its party apparatus, have a greater chance of rising to the top in the national hierarchy than even their Moscow counterparts – with whom they compete for high office. With this reward in mind, despite their traditional indolence, they are anxious to show their ability. When central policy demands ideological rigour and severity towards independently minded persons, the Leningrad KGB must display them. But they are powerful enough to decide their own manner of work and the subjects of their efforts. Therefore, while the Leningrad organs can take credit for those of their endeavours which are successful in terms of centrally-determined policy, they must also take the blame for their failures. Recently the Leningrad KGB appears to have made one famous blunder. In the late summer of 1973 they picked up the 70-year-old Elizaveta Voronyanskaya, one of Solzhenitsyn's former typists, and interrogated her continuously for five days in an effort to ascertain the location of a manuscript copy of the then unpublished *Gulag Archipelago*. She finally submitted and gave them the information.

What must have seemed a major coup for the Leningrad KGB turned sour when Voronyanskaya took her life immediately after the interrogation. This tragic event precipitated much unfavourable comment in the West on the incident itself and on the continuing campaign against Solzhenitsyn. This was a black mark against the Leningrad KGB organs in particular. Their Moscow superiors (not to speak of their Moscow rivals) must have been even more irritated with them when the affair culminated in Solzhenitsyn's decision to have *Gulag Archipelago* published abroad as a result of the confiscation of the manuscript.

'Case number 15' may be another such blunder. The transparently oppressive nature of these latest actions against a group of intellectuals has combined with the international reputation of Professor Etkind and Joseph Brodsky to provoke a strong reaction in several Western countries. For Maramzin, Kheifets and Professor Etkind, like many other members of the Soviet intelligentsia, have not openly defied the Soviet establishment through public protest. They have worked productively within the system while hoping that one day they and others like them may be able to

speak and write more freely.

Etkind, formerly the prized student of the most eminent Russian philologist of this century, V. M. Zhirmunsky, has during his twenty years at Leningrad's Herzen Institute of Pedagogy earned an international reputation in the study of languages. He is the author of many acclaimed scholarly works on the theory of translation of the Russian, German and French languages. He is particularly interested in the work of Bertolt Brecht, and wrote a study of him in 1971. Etkind ascribes more than scholarly importance to his work, as is clear from his statement to the Academic Council of the Herzen Institute on 24 April 1974:

In my lecture course on the theory and history of translation, a course which I have given for many years, I have invariably advanced the concept of the importance of the reciprocal penetration of cultures and their mutual enrichment throughout another, the notion of translation as the practical implementation of internationalism in the realms of science and artistic literature.

Kheifets is less well known. He has written and published a number of popular historical works, and at least one of them, on the 'People's Will' movement in nineteenth century Russia, was made into an educational film. Kheifets also wrote 'for the drawer' a critical account of the Soviet actions in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Maramzin has written many children's stories which have been published in official journals including *Literaturnaya Rossiya*, *Yunost* and *Prostor*. He has also supplemented his income by writing a variety of popular works for publication. As he said in 1971:

I have never turned down literary work offered me. I have written children's stories and commentaries for children. I have written reviews, sketches, scripts for art films, for television, popular and documentary scripts, radio plays. I have dramatised and screened the classics and Soviet writers as well. But you see, I am a simple prose-writer. No problem, I told myself, you simply have to work not 10 hours a day but 16 – then you'll be able both to write your prose, and to turn out something that has a chance of reaching the reader.

'For the drawer' Maramzin has written a number of satirical works similar in style to the prose of James Joyce. On the basis of these works Brodsky has described Maramzin as 'the most out-

standing Russian prose writer of the post-war generation'. However, Maramzin's prose deviates sharply from official literary norms and cannot be published in the USSR. In the search of his flat in

### Enemies and Slaves

This past week it was reported that the writer Vladimir Rafailovich Maramzin was arrested in Leningrad by KGB agents. Maramzin's name is certainly less known to the general public than Solzhenitsyn's. Perhaps this arrest will disclose to the reader that there is yet another writer in Russia. To put it in plain language, Russia is that country where the name of a writer appears not on the cover of his book, but on the door of his prison cell. . . .

The Soviet government, in contrast to traditional police states, occupies itself not with the suppression of its political opponents but with the spiritual castration of its 250 million citizenry. Thus literature and everything related to it, even posthumously, becomes the main target of the KGB's domestic activity. For more than half a century Russian writers have been killed, exiled, put in prisons or in mental institutions. In this light what is now happening in Leningrad no longer merely intrigues as a paradox of police action. It instills horror.

What is frightening in the case of Maramzin is precisely that he is a writer. In no sense is he a dissident. (The word 'dissident' is itself a deluding word, by its etymology as if calling for negative reaction on the part of the government.) As with every true writer, his primary concern has been use of the language and feeding of his family, rather than dealings with governmental authorities. These he simply ignored. But in Russia this is not easy to do. The government treats its subjects either as enemies or as slaves, and all the more so when they are writers.

I appeal to everyone who holds a pen in his hand to step forth in defence of Vladimir Maramzin. For literature, whether it be Russian, English, French, Italian, German, or any other, is the spiritual property of all, and no-one can be allowed to lay hands on it. Speaking of those who hold a pen, I appeal not only to writers but to readers as well. For the imprisoning of a writer is the same as the burning of a book.

Joseph Brodsky

Poet in Residence, Michigan University

(in *The Times*, 8/8/74)

April 1974, 10,000 manuscript pages of his writings were confiscated.

Apart from continuing with their own creative activities, Maramzin, Kheifets and Etkind were brought by their devotion to Russian literature to try to save from destruction the poetry of Joseph Brodsky. In 1973 Maramzin set about compiling the poems of Brodsky: 'I wanted to collect them in order to preserve for Russian culture all that has been done by this great poet. Those who are now part of the persecution of Brodsky will nevertheless come to be proud of him in their own lifetime' (see the *New York Review of Books*, 18/7/74). Kheifets wrote an introduction to the five-volume compilation and Professor Etkind wrote a commentary on Brodsky's work. After the search of his flat last April, Maramzin sent a copy of the collection abroad to ensure its survival, and soon afterwards came the arrests of Kheifets and himself.

On 25 April 1974, the Academic Board of Leningrad's Herzen Institute of Pedagogy held a special meeting to deal with Etkind. The meeting was attended by a secretary of the Leningrad City Party Committee and by several KGB agents. A number of Etkind's colleagues condemned his work and his unfitness to hold a teaching position and the KGB presented to the meeting a report of the results of their investigation of Etkind's academic work and personal behaviour.

Etkind stated later that these events were a tragic recrudescence of the events of 1949. In 1949, a campaign of slander and bigotry was instigated in Leningrad to drive leading academics from their posts. The 'spirit of 1949' was similar to that of the McCarthy era in the USA in that it was motivated by intolerance, bigotry and xenophobia and precipitated a 'witchhunt' against some of the USSR's most outstanding people. But the Soviet events differed from those in the USA in one essential respect: many of the victims were executed. Etkind said of the 1974 development:

A quarter of a century has passed. Truth has triumphed. The books of genuine scholars, some persecuted and even physically liquidated, have been published and republished, while the writings of their detractors have been forgotten, and their names surrounded with contempt. It seemed that it was impossible to resurrect the spirit of 1949. . . . Alas, it is not only possible, but so simple. Professors,

writers, poets, have known their colleague for many years, but let others tell them that their colleague is a state criminal – and they rush to believe it.

As well as being expelled from the Herzen Institute, Professor Etkind was dismissed from the Leningrad branch of the Union of Soviet Writers, thus being deprived of any means of earning his livelihood. At present he is under continuing investigation by the KGB.

The trial of Mikhail Kheifets took place in Leningrad on 9-13 September. He was accused of

anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and sentenced to four years in a strict regime labour camp, to be followed by two years' exile.

On 14 September Andrei Sakharov issued an appeal on his behalf. Recalling the 'savage and unfounded sentences' in other political trials, he protested against 'the scandalous disparity between the facts of the case and the punishment'.

At the time this issue of INDEX went to press Vladimir Maramzin had not been brought to trial.



# Anon.

## The Czechoslovak underground press

Soviet *samizdat* publications, particularly the *Chronicle of Current Events*, are well known all over the world, but Czechoslovak *samizdat* is virtually unknown. There are striking differences between the Czechoslovak and Soviet publications. For instance, unlike their Soviet counterparts, the Czech editors do not claim to be acting within the framework of the existing law or constitution.

The Czechoslovak pamphlets, broadsheets and duplicated newspapers contain articles of political opinion and analysis; therefore if identified, the authors face a charge of undermining the republic. This happened in the summer of 1972 when 46 leading oppositionists arrested towards the end of 1971 were brought to trial. The Communist Party and the Secret Service (STB) then proudly claimed to have crushed 'the few individuals who were out to overthrow the regime' and to have put a stop to the publication and distribution of 'anti-state literature'. Events disprove this claim. Broadsheets appeared shortly after the trials, giving detailed descriptions of the proceedings. The STB's initial success was limited to reducing the number of regular newspapers and their circulation. The situation improved later and the STB's reputed successes were closer to wishful thinking than reality.

A random selection of 1973 issues of the two main broadsheets published by the socialist opposition inside the republic – *Národní Noviny* (*National Gazette*) and *Fakta, připomínky, události* (*Facts, Comments, Events*) – gives an idea of the contents of the clandestine press. These can be classified into four categories. The first consists of information about the situation inside the Communist Party, the struggle for power between various factions or individuals, and decisions taken at secret meetings or at official meetings of the party presidium or central committee, etc. The second embraces the international scene, particularly the activities of the Western communist parties and New Left organisations, and world

reactions to developments in Czechoslovakia. The third includes documents which illustrate the atmosphere in the country, such as transcripts of trial speeches, interviews and so on. The fourth comprises items of home news inaccessible to the reader of the national press. These may include statements by the socialist opposition groups, information about the background of newly appointed officials, reports on forms of repression against dissidents and so on.

The last category contains the greatest variety of items. The following are some examples: a manifesto issued by the Socialist Movement of Czechoslovak Citizens on the fifth anniversary of the invasion and the letter sent by Czech political prisoners to the Moscow Peace Congress (both appeared in *Facts, Comments, Events* of September 1973). An earlier issue of *Facts, Comments, Events* published the full text of the Czech writers' petition asking President Svoboda to grant an amnesty to political prisoners and in the meantime to allow them out on parole at Christmas. It revealed that the idea of a petition was inspired by none other than the President's daughter, Mrs Sona Kusáková (whose husband was recently appointed Minister of Culture). Mrs Kusáková told the poet, Jaroslav Seifert, former chairman of the Writers' Union, that the President wished to perform a good deed before retiring in the near future. Not all the writers approached were courageous enough to sign, says the article. Our readers may remember that the President was allowed neither to retire nor to grant the amnesty, and the petition organisers were grilled by the STB.

Under the title 'Books on Trial', the April 1973 *National Gazette* gave an account of the lawsuit brought by Rudolf Slánský, son of the former General-Secretary of the Communist Party, executed in 1953, Karel Kosík, the best known Czechoslovak Marxist philosopher and former member of the CPC's Central Committee, and Jiří Lederer, the popular journalist, who sued

the secret police for the return of confiscated books. The judge, Dr Zelenka, remarked: 'No hostile activity has been proved against the plaintiffs, but taking into consideration their associates at home and abroad and the anti-socialist nature of the confiscated documents, taken as a whole, the danger exists that these documents could be used to damage the interests of the state.'

The book confiscated from Lederer was a copy in French of Artur London's *L'Aveu*, in which the former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs describes the trials of the fifties condemned long ago by the Party. Moreover the book had been published in Czechoslovakia and sold more than 30,000 copies. Kosík was deprived of the Piller Report (a report on the trials of the fifties compiled by a commission appointed by the Party presidium and headed by Jan Piller). Explaining that he had received the book by post and had not had time to read it carefully, Kosík asked the judge to specify the anti-socialist content. The judge remained silent, probably aware that there was no answer to that question. The article quotes Kosík's comment: 'If in a period of history books represent a danger to a regime, it is, in fact, human lives that are in danger.'

Lastly, Slánský demanded the return of documents issued by the Czechoslovak National Assembly of its proceedings between 21 and 27 August 1968. This too was refused.

The *National Gazette* tries to cover all aspects of the contemporary scene. The April issue publishes a review of Jireš's film *My Love to the Swallows*. (This film was shown at the London NFF in March of this year.) The reviewer regretted that the Czech public had ignored this film, suggesting that empty cinemas and failure to attract an audience even by screening it on television was the price Jireš's film had had to pay for the communist hero war films, falsifying history, shown in the fifties and again in the present. The reviewer points out a fact, overlooked by the English reviews, that 'characters appear in the film, whose real names the CP believes are no longer known to the public': Vítězka, in real life Slávka Hejzlarová, now expelled from the party and living in emigration; Jarina - in real life Jaroslava Kryslová, also purged from the party;

and Jožinek - the heroine's brother who graduated in the Soviet Union after 1945 and is now expelled from the party.

The October 1973 issue of the *National Gazette* highlights the 'quality' of newly appointed directors of research institutes, e.g. Mr Zalabák, director of a large microbiological research institute, whose degree thesis was written for him by a prisoner; later he failed to get a PhD as two theses were proved to be plagiarisms.

The *National Gazette* throws light on Czechoslovak-Soviet scientific co-operation. Professor Frank, head of a department of the joint nuclear research institute at Dubno, a Nobel Prize Winner and member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences complained to the Czechoslovak Ambassador that co-operation between Czechoslovak and Soviet scientists had almost come to a standstill. The Ambassador replied that this was a result of the crisis year of 1968. The Soviet professor however retorted that co-operation had flourished until the end of 1969, the first major difficulties having arisen in 1970 and 1971. The *Gazette* observes sarcastically: 'One has the feeling that the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences is applying its own version of a Soviet method: the Russians send mentally healthy people to lunatic asylums; the Czechs hand over healthy institutions to lunatics.'

The same issue of the *Gazette* describes the revealing case of a Czech writer. On 15 September 1973 a film was shown on Czechoslovak television which illustrated the ethics of contemporary Czechoslovak journalism. In it Ostrava writer Ota Filip admitted having wished to slander the republic and aid the imperialists by allowing himself to be filmed by a West German television crew, reading extracts from his novel published in the Federal Republic, and by telling the West German public that he was forced to work as a milkman. This was undeniably true at the time, but the STB confiscated the film. Today it is no longer true, because Filip lost his job just after the transmission of the TV programme.

In the Czech programme Filip mentioned the names of some people who are unpopular with the present regime. Many of them (e.g. Ludvík Vaculík) knowing how such programmes are made, phoned to assure him that they did not blame him or regard him as a collaborator. Filip

wrote to Vaculík, describing how he had been forced to participate, the STB having threatened that his son would not be allowed to study, his wife would lose her job and strange things might happen to him crossing a dark bridge while cars were passing. Aware of the mental state Filip had been reduced to, the STB sought an alibi. The writers referred to were told that the police knew of threats they had made to Filip and that if anything happened to him, such as suicide, they, the Prague writers, would be held responsible. This dangerous 'solution' prompted Vaculík to show the STB Filip's letter which proved beyond doubt where the responsibility for his desperate state lay. The STB then forced Filip to sign a note requesting Vaculík to return his original letter. He was assured that as he had behaved sensibly nothing would happen to him, his wife or his child. Thus encouraged, Filip sat down and recounted the whole affair in another letter to Vaculík. The *Gazette* observes: 'The future historian will have a number of documents available when he tries to analyse this curious period jocularly referred to in official Czech as normalisation.'

The *National Gazette* referred to Chile in their November issue in connection with the repression of scientists. Readers were reminded that at the time when the Czechoslovak press reported that the fascist junta in Chile had stripped progressive scientists of their academic titles, about 150 Czechoslovak scholars had received a circular demanding the return of their diplomas. This decision has so far affected only graduates of the Party Political College and the Military Political Academy. The decision quotes the following provision of the law: 'Academic titles may be awarded to graduates whose scientific creative work based on the scientific world outlook (i.e. Marxism) and professional practice guarantee their further development as socialist scientists.'

The *Gazette* finds a certain 'logic' in this procedure. After all, a scientist expelled from the party and therefore dismissed from his job is now employed as a dredger operator, stoker, driver, bricklayer or road-maker, his 'professional practice' does not guarantee his further development as a socialist scientist. The *Gazette* sees a paradox in the fact that the CPC which deprives scientists of doctorates still recognises academic titles

obtained at the Theological Faculty, which can hardly be described as based on scientific Marxism.

The *Gazette* concludes that party membership is more important than scientific knowledge, that phoney PhDs may be awarded (e.g. Bilak) while genuine doctorates may be taken away on orders from above, and that reward for work under 'socialism' is not according to merit but to arbitrary decrees. Lastly, that Husák is more consistent than the Holy Church and his enemy Antonín Novotný. For the Church sent Jan Hus to the stake but did not deprive him of his doctorate, and Novotný sent Husák to prison but left him his academic title although it had been awarded in the First Republic.

*Facts, Comments, Events* is interested in the attitudes and activities of other communist parties, particularly in the West. The January 1973 issue ran a long article analysing communist party attitudes to the Czechoslovak situation five years after the January 1968 changes. This issue draws attention to Brezhnev's qualified support for Kadar's and Gierek's reforms in Hungary and Poland, pointing out that these have common factors with the original reforms envisaged by the Prague Spring leaders at the beginning of 1968. The paper also mentions Soviet support for Honnecker, the first East European communist leader to admit the existence of political prisoners in his country and to grant an amnesty to 3,000 political prisoners. At the same time the East German government halted proceedings against three million citizens who had fled to the German Federal Republic, thus allowing them to return home without risk of prosecution.

In the same issue, the editors give prominence to a new law passed in Rumania, making illegal any act by the Rumanian Government which might infringe the sovereignty of the Rumanian Republic (such as inviting foreign troops). This law sets down the army's obligation to disobey orders that would damage Rumania's sovereignty and to fight to defend its territory.

In a detached tone, but with a hint of understandable pride, *Facts, Comments, Events* summarises a review of Czechoslovak *samizdat* by Pierre Daix, a member of the French Communist Party's Central Committee, which was published in *Le Monde*. Pierre Daix asserted that the level

of Czechoslovak *samizdat* publications was high, that their existence proved that arrests had not succeeded in destroying the opposition. Comparing Czechoslovak opposition with Soviet dissidents, Daix observed that the former played a more important role, showed greater insight, was less naive, grasped more profoundly and took into greater account the international context and had a much clearer concept of its strategy and aims.

In connection with the fifth anniversary of the invasion, most of the clandestine papers concentrated on Western reactions. Some reported mainly, or exclusively, the reactions of Western communist parties and New Left organisations, for instance an extract from an article by Adriano Guerera, published in *Unitá* and reprinted by *Facts, Comments, Events*. This monthly, however, also printed long excerpts from two articles published in *Le Monde* on 21 August 1973. 'The Summer of the Tanks in Prague Five Years Ago' by Michel Tatu was probably chosen because it raised controversial issues still topical in Czechoslovakia, such as the whole question of resistance. The editors identified themselves more or less unreservedly with the second article written by Jiří Pelikán under the title 'The Unpalatable Reality'.

International events covered by the official press are taken up by the socialist opposition newspapers because this news is always slanted and omits a number of salient facts. The situation in Chile and the Middle East are analysed by the *National Gazette* in October 1973 and the proceedings of the Moscow Peace Congress are covered widely. The organisers were enraged, the *Gazette* reports, when some of the delegates quoted extracts from Lenin's Declaration on the 1917 Peace which proved that the Soviet Union had in fact betrayed the principles contained therein which it so frequently tried to turn to its own advantage. The *Gazette* reprinted one of the quotations:

A just or democratic peace . . . is a peace without annexation (i.e. without the acquisition of foreign territories and without forcibly incorporating foreign nations) and without reparations. By annexation or acquisition of foreign territory the government understands, in conformity with the legal view of democracy in general and the working classes in particular, any kind of annexation of a small or weak nation by a large or strong nation, without the

express, unequivocal and voluntary agreement and wish of that nation, regardless of when this forcible incorporation was carried out and regardless of the maturity or backwardness of the nation forcibly annexed or forcibly held within the frontiers of a given state.

If any nation is held within the frontiers of a given state by force and, despite having expressed the wish – whether in the press, at popular assemblies, in party resolutions or through revolts and uprisings – is denied the right to decide on its own forms of state existence by a free vote without the slightest intimidation, after the complete withdrawal of the troops of the annexing or stronger nation, then the incorporation of this nation is annexation, i.e. assault and violence.

The *Gazette* continues: 'But since the end of the First World War the USSR has acquired about 700,000 square kilometres, an area equal to Czechoslovakia, Italy, the Federal German Republic and Holland together, and this excludes those less overt annexations and occupations which we know from our own experience.'

Every issue of *Facts, Comments, Events* and the *National Gazette* has a supplement containing important documentary material. *Facts, Comments, Events* (January 1973) published the full text of Jiří Müller's speeches at his trial and appeal proceedings (published in the Special Issue of our Bulletin). The *Gazette* (October 1973) published nearly the whole text of an appeal by Bratislava professor Jan Kalina against his two-year sentence for incitement, in which he proved that not his own activity but the action of the judiciary in sentencing him was a violation of the socialist law.

Interviews can assume a documentary character. The *National Gazette* (April 1973) reprinted from *Die Zeit* an interview with Ludvík Vaculík (published later in English in INDEX). In their introduction the editors said that they had decided to publish the interview for its Kafkaesque and Schweik-like humour.

The introduction concluded, however, on what might be interpreted as a note of faint disapproval. The *samizdat* editors obviously thought that there was a lot to complain of. Moreover, they could hardly condone Vaculík's justification for his decision never to be involved in any illegal activity (publishing, distributing or even reading *samizdat* material is a heinous crime under the

present Czechoslovak penal code). If the editors did not heap praises on Vaculík, as many people in the Republic and abroad are wont to do, neither did they criticise him. There is a depth of tolerance among groups and individuals advocating different forms of opposition.

In November the *Gazette* reprinted a long extract from an interview with protest song writer Wolf Biermann, published in *Rote Hilfer Dokumentation*. The editors evidently saw some similarity between conditions in Czechoslovakia and those in the GDR described by Biermann, and fully

endorsed Biermann's 'revolutionary and socialist views', as they put it.

In conclusion we should like to stress that besides providing otherwise unobtainable facts and analyses, the existence and more or less regular appearance of these clandestine papers provides a tremendous boost to public morale. □

(With acknowledgements to the Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists, from whose Bulletin, nos.6-7, this article is reprinted in a slightly shortened form.)

# Milan Kundera

## Life is elsewhere

### (extract)

*Milan Kundera is a leading Czech novelist and short story writer. Born in Brno in 1929, he studied and later was a lecturer at the Film Faculty of the Prague Drama Academy. He first became known to readers with his three books of short stories called Laughable Loves (1963, 1965 and 1968); one of these stories, 'A Game of Make-Believe', appeared in the Penguin anthology, New Writing in Czechoslovakia (Penguin Books, 1969) and the whole collection has just been published by Alfred A. Knopf in New York.*

*At the same time Kundera's American publisher brought out his latest work, Life Is Elsewhere, which, together with The Joke (1967) and a novel he is at present working on, forms a trilogy giving a vivid picture of life in Communist Czechoslovakia. Whereas the hero of Kundera's previous book becomes a victim of the humourless bureaucratic machine because of a harmless joke he makes on a postcard to his girl friend, Jaromil, the protagonist of Life Is Elsewhere, wrecks his girl's life in his eagerness to be accepted as an equal by the secret policeman who used to be a schoolmate of his. A romantic poet with an over-protective mother, Jaromil wholeheartedly joins the 'revolution' of February 1948, which he believes will change the world. (This excerpt is taken from Part 5 of the book entitled 'The Poet Is Jealous'.)*

Only two days ago he had been out there in front of the camera in a light overcoat, yet today he had to put on his winter coat, hat and scarf; snow had fallen. They were to meet at six outside her house. Now it was a quarter past, and still no sign of the redhead.

Being kept waiting a while by his date, that was no tragedy, but having suffered so many humiliations in the past few days, Jaromil simply could not take any more; there he was, pacing up and down the pavement in full view of the passers-by, so that it was plain for all to see he was waiting for someone who was in no hurry to meet him, publicly displaying his defeat.

He was afraid to glance at his watch lest that tell-tale glance betray to the whole street that he was a lover waiting in vain; he pulled the sleeve of his coat back a little and tucked it under his watch so that he could look at the watch now and again without appearing to do so; when he found that the minutes hand had crept almost up to twenty past six he felt quite furious: how come that he always arrived ahead of the appointed time and she, the more stupid and ugly of the two, came late?

Then she arrived at last, encountering Jaromil's stony face. They

went up to her room, sat down, and the girl made her apologies. She had been at a girl friend's. That was the worst possible thing she could have said. Not that any excuse would have helped, but this one least of all – a girl friend was in his eyes a complete nonentity. He told her he quite realised how important it was for her to chat with her girl friend and he therefore suggested that she went straight back to her.

The girl saw things were bad; she told him they had had important things to talk about; her friend was in a bad way, she and her boy were splitting up, she had cried and the redhead had had to console her and could not leave before she had done so.

Jaromil said it was very noble of her to dry her friend's tears for her. But who was going to dry *her* tears when she and Jaromil split up because he refused to go out with a girl to whom the tears of some stupid bitch meant more than he did?

The girl realised that things were going from bad to worse; she said she was sorry, she wanted to apologise and beg his forgiveness.

But all this was not enough for his wounded pride; her apologies, he told her, did not alter his conviction that what she called love was no love at all; no, he said, anticipating possible protest, he was *not* being petty when he made such a fuss about a seemingly trifling incident; it was in small things such as this that her feelings for him could be seen in their true light; her unbearable nonchalance, her uncaring attitude which made her treat him the same as she treated a girl friend, a customer in the shop, a passer-by in the street! Don't let her dare tell him again she loved him! Her love was only a pale imitation of the real thing.

The girl understood that things were as bad as they could possibly be. She tried to cure Jaromil's hate-filled sorrow with a kiss; he pushed her away almost brutally; she took advantage of this by going down on her knees and pressing her head against his stomach; Jaromil hesitated, but then he lifted her to her feet and coldly asked her kindly not to touch him.

The hatred that went to his head like alcohol was wonderful and it exhilarated him; the more so, as it seemed to be reflecting back from the girl and hurt him too; it was a self-torturing hatred, for Jaromil knew well enough that by repulsing the redhead he was chasing away the only woman he had; he was aware that his anger was unjustified and that he was being unreasonable; but perhaps this made him even more cruel, being attracted by the precipice; the precipice of loneliness, of self-condemnation; he knew he was not going to be happy without her (he would be all alone), nor would he be satisfied with himself (he would have the knowledge that he had wronged her), but all this was as nothing against the wonderful intoxication of his anger. He told her that what he had said wasn't meant just for here and now but for good; he never wanted her to touch him again.

This was not the first occasion on which the girl had encountered Jaromil's self-pitying fury and jealousy, but this time she discerned in his voice a determination bordering on obsession; she felt he was

capable of doing anything to assuage his unaccountable anger. And that was why, when it was almost too late, on the very edge of the precipice, she said: 'Please don't be angry with me. Don't be angry that I lied to you. I didn't go to see any girl friend.'

This confused him.

'Where were you then?'

'You'll be mad at me because you don't like him, but I can't help it – I just had to go and see him.'

'Who did you have to go and see?'

'My brother. The one who used to live here.'

This added fuel to the fire.

'Why do you have to keep seeing him?'

'Don't be mad, he means nothing to me, really. Compared to you he doesn't mean a thing, but can't you understand, he *is* my brother. We grew up together for fifteen years. He's leaving. For a long time. I just had to go and say goodbye to him.'

He found the idea of sentimental farewells between brother and sister irritating.

'Where can your brother be going that you have to spend such a long time with him and miss everything else? Is he going away for a week's business trip? Or maybe a weekend in the country?' No, it wasn't a weekend in the country, nor a business trip; it was something far more serious than that, but she could not tell Jaromil because she knew he would be annoyed.

'And you call this love? Hiding from me things you know I wouldn't approve of? Having secrets from me?'

Yes, she said, she knew that love meant they should tell each other everything; but couldn't he understand that she was scared, simply scared.

'Oh, come on, why should you be scared to tell me where your brother is going?'

Couldn't Jaromil guess? Did he really have no idea what it was she could not tell him?

No, Jaromil could not guess; (now his anger was only stumbling behind his curiosity).

At last she confided in him: her brother had decided to leave the country, to leave in secret, illegally; in two days' time he would be over the border.

What? Her brother wanted to leave socialist Czechoslovakia? To betray the revolution? He wanted to become an exile? Didn't he know what it meant to be an exile? Didn't he realise that every exile automatically became an agent of the foreign intelligence organisations which were out to destroy their country?

The girl nodded and agreed with everything he was saying. Her instinct told her that Jaromil would more readily forgive the illegal escape of her brother than a quarter of an hour's wait. That was why she kept nodding her head and agreeing with everything he said.

'What's the point of agreeing with me? You should have talked him out of it. Kept him from doing such a wicked thing.'

She *had* tried to talk him out of it, had done all she could, and that was why she had been delayed; perhaps Jaromil would see now why she had kept him waiting; perhaps now he would find it possible to forgive her.

Strangely enough, Jaromil said he forgave her for being late; but what he could *not* forgive was her brother's defection.

'He's placed himself on the other side of the barricade. That makes him my personal enemy. Should a war break out, he'll be shooting at me and I at him. You realise that, don't you?'

'Yes, I do,' she assured him, adding that she would always stand by him; by him and no one else.

'What do you mean, you stand by me? If you did, you would never allow your brother to bolt over the border.'

'But what was I to do? You don't expect me to hold him back by force?'

'You should have come to me at once, *I* would have known what to do. But no, you had to lie to me, make up stories about your girl friend. You wanted to deceive me. And you say you stand by me.'

She swore she did, would always do so.

'All right, if what you say is true, you would have called the police.'

The police! How could she have called the police? She couldn't. Jaromil could not stand to be contradicted.

'What do you mean, you couldn't. If *you* don't call them, I will.' She kept repeating that a brother was a brother, so how could she possibly give him away to the police.

'So your brother *does* mean more to you than I do.'

Of course he didn't, but that wasn't to say she could go and denounce him.

'Love is everything or nothing. He and I stand on opposite sides. You can't stand in the middle. If you're on my side, then you have to do as I do, want the same things as I do. For me, the fate of the revolution is my own fate. If anyone goes against the revolution, he goes against me. And if my foes aren't your foes, then you are *my* enemy.'

No, of course she wasn't his enemy; of course she wanted to be as one with him; she knew love was all or nothing.

'Yes, exactly – all or nothing. Next to genuine love, everything else pales into insignificance.'

Yes, she thought the same, she felt exactly as he did.

'That's how you can tell true love, by its being completely deaf to the outside world. But you, you always listen to what other people tell you, you show consideration to everyone else, and by doing so you trample on me.'

That was the last thing she wanted, to trample on him, but she was terribly afraid of hurting her brother.

'So what if he does get hurt? Serve him right. Or is it that you're afraid of him? Are you afraid of alienating him or your family? Do you mean to go on being dependent on them in everything

you do? If only you knew how I hate that tendency of yours to do things by halves, your utter inability to love.'

No, that wasn't true, she *was* capable of love, she loved Jaromil as best as she knew how.

'Yes, I'm sure you do,' he replied, laughing. 'The trouble is, you *don't* know how. Don't know at all.'

Again she assured him this wasn't true.

'Could you live without me?'

No, she could not.

'Could you go on living if I died?'

No, no, no.

'Could you go on living if I left you?'

No, no, she shook her head.

What more could he ask? His anger evaporated, leaving him in a highly excited state; their death suddenly became tangible and close; the sweet death they promised one another should one of them remain behind.

'I couldn't live without you either,' he said in a voice filled with emotion. And she repeated that she wouldn't know how to live, wouldn't want to live without him, and they both went on repeating this until they were lost in a huge cloud of passion; they tore off their clothes and made love; suddenly his hand felt her wet tears on her cheek; how fantastic, he thought, this was the first time a woman had wept for love of him; tears were to him what one dissolved into when one wished to be more than a mere human being, it seemed to him that tears enabled one to escape one's material being, escape the restricting frontiers of one's human destiny and become part of infinity. Those moist tears moved him immeasurably and he found that he too was crying; they made love and were moist all over, their bodies and their faces, they made love and it was as if they were dissolving, their moisture mingled and flowed together like two rivers, they wept and made love and were for that moment set apart from the world, like a lake that had taken off and was soaring towards the heavens.

He got up and put his clothes on, no longer cruel towards her. She kept asking why he was so sad and he, instead of saying anything, just stroked her cheek. And then, looking straight into her eyes, he asked: 'Do you want to go to the police on your own?'

She had thought that their wonderful lovemaking had put paid to his anger with her brother once and for all; the question took her completely unawares and she did not know what to say. Again (in a calm, sad voice) he asked her: 'Are you going to do it on your own?'

She mumbled something indistinct, hoping to make him change his mind but at the same time afraid to say it out loud; her intention was clear to him, though, and Jaromil said:

'Look, I can see why you don't want to go. So why don't I arrange it myself?'

And again (compassionately, sadly, disappointedly) he stroked her cheek.

She was so confused she could not speak. They kissed, and he left. When he awoke in the morning, his mother was already out.

Earlier, while he was still asleep, she had put his shirt, tie, trousers, jacket, and of course also his underpants, on a chair all ready for him to put on; she found it impossible to abandon this habit of twenty years, and Jaromil accepted it passively. But this morning, when he caught sight of those carefully folded beige-coloured underpants with their wide, flapping legs and huge opening in front which seemed to be urging their wearer to pass water, he was seized with a grandiose anger.

He got up as one does on the threshold of an important, decisive day. Picking up the underpants, he held them at arm's length and scrutinised them with an almost loving hate; then he put one corner of the trouser leg between his teeth and, holding the garment firmly in his right hand, gave it a sharp tug; he heard the sound of rent cloth, threw the torn underpants on the floor, hoping his mother would see them there when she returned.

Then he donned a pair of yellow trunks, put on the laid out shirt, tie, pants and jacket, and left the house.

He handed in his identity card at the porter's lodge (as one must when entering the huge building that houses the National Security Corps) and went up the stairs. He trod carefully, as if carrying the fate of the whole world on his shoulders; he ascended that staircase as if he were not merely climbing to a higher floor in the building but to a higher floor in his life, from which he would be afforded the sight of something he had never seen before.

Everything was in his favour; when he entered the office, he saw his former school-mate, and the face that confronted him was that of a friend, smiling at him in welcome; a pleasantly surprised, jolly face.

The school caretaker's son said he was very happy to see him, and Jaromil's heart filled with warmth. He took the offered chair and, for the first time, felt that he and his schoolfellows were at last man-to-man; two equals together, two tough guys.

For a while they chatted desultorily as old friends do, but for Jaromil that was just a melodious overture during which he looked forward to the rising of the curtain.

'I have something important to tell you,' he said finally, his voice suitably grave. 'I know of a man who is planning to flee the country in the next few hours. We have to do something about it.'

The caretaker's son looked at him earnestly and asked a few questions, which Jaromil answered quickly and precisely.

'This is very serious indeed,' the caretaker's son told him. 'I can't handle this by myself.'

He took Jaromil down a long corridor to another office, where he introduced him to an older man in plain clothes: introduced him as a friend, so that the other fellow also gave Jaromil a

friendly smile. Then he called in his typist and they took down his statement. Jaromil had to give him all the details: the girl's name, the name of her employers, her age; how he got to know her; her family background; what he father did for a living, her brothers and sisters; when it was she had told him of her brother's plans to leave the country; who this brother was and what did Jaromil know about him.

Jaromil knew a great deal about him, for his girlfriend had often talked about her brothers. That was the reason he had considered the whole affair to be so serious and had hurried to inform his friends, his fellow-fighters, in time. The fact was, her brother hated the social system in Czechoslovakia; that was the sad truth. Although he himself came from an ordinary, poor family, he had once worked as a chauffeur to a bourgeois politician and had thrown in his lot with people who were plotting against the state. Yes, this was something he could swear to, his girlfriend had conveyed her brother's views most accurately; he was willing to shoot the Communists, and Jaromil could well imagine what he would do once he emigrated. His only desire, Jaromil had no doubt, was to destroy socialism in their country.

With manly matter-of-factness they finished dictating the protocol. Then the older man told the caretaker's son to hurry and do what was necessary. Alone with Jaromil, he thanked him for the service he had done his country. If only the whole nation were as alert as he, 'our socialist homeland would be unconquerable', he said. He also said he would be very glad if this meeting was not their last. He was quite sure Jaromil was well aware how many enemies their socialist state had. Jaromil mixed with the students at the university and no doubt knew a number of people in literary circles as well. Of course they realised these were mostly honest people, but there were among them quite a few anti-state elements.

Jaromil gazed at the policeman with a rapt expression on his face; he thought the man looked most handsome, his countenance, full of deep furrows, testifying to a hard, manly life. Yes, he too would be delighted if this were not their last meeting. There was nothing he wanted more, for he knew where he belonged. They shook hands and smiled at one another.

With this smile engraved on his memory (the marvellous wrinkled smile of a he-man) Jaromil left the police headquarters. Standing on the steps leading down to the pavement he took in the frosty, sunny morning above the city's rooftops. He inhaled the cold air and felt full to the brim with this new-found manliness which seemed to be trying to get out through every pore and to burst into song.

It had been his intention to go straight home, sit down at his desk and write poetry. After he had taken the first three steps, however, he turned round; he did not want to be alone. It seemed to him that during this last hour his features had hardened, his gait had become more resolute, his voice harsher, and he wanted

others to see the change that had been wrought in him. So he went to the faculty and engaged everyone in conversation. True, no one told him he was any different, but the sun was shining and an as yet unwritten poem was still floating above the city's chimneys. He went home and shut himself up in his little room. He covered several sheets of paper, but was none too happy with the result.

And so he laid aside his pen and gave himself up to dreaming; he dreamt of that mysterious threshold a boy must cross to become a man; it seemed to him that he now knew the name of that threshold; the name was not love, as he had thought, but duty. It was difficult to compose poems about duty; what flights of imagination could be prompted by this austere word? Yet Jaromil sensed there was some fresh, unusual, unexpected inspiration to be found there; after all, he was not thinking of duty in terms of the old, accepted concept of the word, duty that came as a command from outside, but rather self-imposed duty, created and freely chosen by oneself, the voluntary duty which showed one to be a real man and gave one justifiable pride of achievement.

And pride was exactly what Jaromil felt just now, as he sketched in his mind his own brand new profile. Again he was conscious of the need to be seen in his new, remarkable guise, and he hurried out to meet the redhead. It was just gone six, and she should have been home by now, but her landlord told him she had not returned from the shop yet. Half an hour ago two gentlemen had been there, looking for her, and he had had to tell them that she was not back from work.

Jaromil had time to kill, and so he strolled up and down the street. Before long he noticed two men who were also walking to and fro in front of the house. It occurred to him that these, as likely as not, were the two her landlord had mentioned; and then he saw the redhead herself coming along the street. He did not want her to see him; he took a step back and stood in the doorway of one of the houses, watching her as she hurried towards her apartment block and disappeared inside. The two men followed her in. This unsettled him, and he did not dare move. A minute or so later all three came out again; and it was only now that he saw the car standing by the kerb a short distance away. The two men and the girl got in, and the car drove off.

Jaromil realised that the two gentlemen were most probably from the police; this came as an icy shock, but he was also conscious of an astonished thrill that what he did that morning had been a tangible act which had set wheels in motion.

Next day he went to the girl's flat, hoping to see her as soon as she returned from work. The landlord told him she had not been back since those two gentlemen took her away.

This upset him considerably, and first thing the following morning he made his way once more to the police headquarters. The caretaker's son welcomed him in the same friendly fashion, pressing his hand and smiling broadly. When Jaromil asked him why his girlfriend had not returned home, he advised him not to

worry about it.

'You put us onto a very serious matter, you know. We've got to take a really good look at these folk.' And he gave Jaromil a meaningful smile.

Again Jaromil emerged from the police building into a frosty, sunny morning, again he breathed in the icy air and felt that he had grown in stature. And yet it was different from the day before yesterday. It was only now that he realised that his action had made him *a participant in a tragedy*.

Those were the exact words he used as he descended the steps to the street: I am entering a tragedy. That breezily sinister phrase *we've got to take a good look at these folk* kept ringing in his ears, the words giving free rein to his imagination; he realised that his girlfriend was now in the hands of strange men, at their mercy, and in very real danger; several days of interrogation was surely no joke. He recalled what his schoolmate had told him about the black-haired Jew and the harsh nature of his work.

Then it came to him that he knew why, two days ago, he had covered whole sheets of paper with such rotten verses. Two days ago he still had no idea what it was he had actually done. Only today could he really understand his action, himself, and his destiny. Two days ago he wanted to write poems about duty, today he knew better: duty gained its glory from the bloodied head of love.

Jaromil walked through the streets, dizzy with the awareness of his own fate, like a monument of sorrow. When he got home he found a letter waiting for him. 'I'd like you to come on such and such a day next week to a party, at which you will find people whom you will no doubt be glad to meet.' The letter was signed by the girl film director.

Although the invitation contained no certain promise, it pleased Jaromil immensely, as it proved that the film girl was not a lost opportunity, that the game was not over and could continue. He could not help feeling, however vaguely, that there was some deeper significance to all this, the letter arriving on this day, of all days, the day he had fully grasped the tragic nature of what was happening to him; he was full of an indefinable but intoxicating feeling that everything he had been through these past two days had at last earned him the right to stand face to face with the radiant beauty of the dark-haired film girl; he could go to her party full of confidence, without misgivings, a real man.

He had never felt so splendid before. He knew verses would come easily to him, and he hurried to his desk. No, he told himself, you can't put love and duty in opposition, that's the old-fashioned way of looking at things. Love or duty, a lover or the revolution, no, no, it wasn't like that at all. He hadn't put the redhead in danger because love had no meaning for him; after all, he wanted the world of tomorrow to be a world in which people would love one another more than ever before. Yes, that was it: Jaromil had placed his own girl in danger just *because*

he loved her more than other men loved their women; just because he knew what love was all about and what the future world of love should be like. Of course it was a dreadful thing to have to do, to sacrifice a real woman (red-haired, freckled, tiny, talkative) for the future of mankind, but wasn't this the only really great tragedy of our time, a tragedy worthy of fine verse, of a magnificent poem?

And he sat there at his desk, writing, getting up every now and again to pace the room, and he felt that this was the best thing he had ever written.

It was an intoxicating evening, far more so than all the evenings of love he could have imagined, an intoxicating evening, even though he was spending it all alone in the little room in which he had spent his boyhood; his mother was next door, and Jaromil completely forgot that he had ever been annoyed with her; when she knocked on his door to ask what he was doing he called her 'mummy' in gentle tones and asked her to leave him in peace because 'today I am writing the greatest poem of my life'.

Later that night, when he had gone to bed, he again thought of his girl, surrounded by men: policemen, interrogators, warders; they could do as they pleased with her; they would be there, watching her as she stripped and put on her prison garb; a warder watching her through the spyhole in the cell door as she sat down on the bucket and relieved herself.

He did not really believe in these extreme possibilities (perhaps they'd just question her and let her go), but his imagination refused to be bridled: again and again he thought of her in her cell, sitting on the bucket with a man watching, and the interrogators stripping her clothes off. How strange, he thought, that he should not feel the slightest pang of jealousy.

*You must be mine and die on the rack, if I so desire*, ran Keat's verse. Why should Jaromil be jealous? The redhead was his now more than ever; her fate was of his making; it was *his* eye watching her pee into the bucket; *his* hands touching her through the hands of the warders; she was his victim, his creation, she was his, his, his.

Jaromil did not feel jealous; that night he slept the sleep of men. □

# Continent: a new European quarterly

*Continent, a new quarterly of contemporary prose, poetry and political comment by Russian and East European writers, was launched in October 1974.*

*The magazine, edited by Vladimir Maximov, is to appear in five languages – Russian, English, French, German and Italian. Contributors will include Joseph Brodsky, Robert Conquest, Milovan Djilas, Alexander Galich, Gustav Herling-Grudzinski, Eugene Ionesco, Ludek Pachman, Andrei Sakharov, Zinaida Shakovskaya, Ignazio Silone, Andrei Sinyavsky, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Strannik, Carl-Gustav Ströhm, and other well-known writers.*

*Price per copy: 10 Deutsch Marks (plus postage)*

*Annual subscription: 40 DM (plus postage)*

*The quarterly will be distributed by the German publisher, Ullstein, to whom all orders should be addressed.*

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1000 Berlin 61*

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## Our Task

The birth of a new journal is both a joyful and a painful event. Joyful, because it opens up *new* perspectives, awakens *new* hopes and creates a *new* social and historical situation; and painful, because of the many doubts that arise in the process of creating its ideological and literary framework, and also because of the many uncomfortable premonitions in relation to the struggle which lies ahead and the great responsibility which the founders of such a project are taking upon themselves.

It is an occasion on which it might be tempting to cite a parallel – Alexander Herzen's journal *Kolokol*. But, unfortunately, under present circumstances such a comparison is hardly justified. Herzen's journal was a strictly political publication, for the simple reason that in the 'dark times of reactionary Tzarism' there arose in Russia, *quite unopposed*, a literature which ranks among the

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The logo of the new quarterly.

world's greatest. In those times of 'slavery' none, starting with Pushkin and Gogol and leading up to Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, had to look for a publisher abroad. Every Russian writer who had any merit at all was published in his own country.

For the first time in history a situation has arisen where in all countries where socialism 'rules supreme', from China to Cuba, where at last 'freedom, equality and fraternity' triumph, any literary work which does not conform to the ideology of the political apparatus is treated and condemned as a criminal offence. In itself a book thus constitutes a *corpus delicti*, is evidence of its author's breach of the law, and is used as testimony for persecution. Because of a book its author is exiled, like Joseph Brodsky, because of a book the author for years perishes in a camp, like Andrey Sinyavsky, because of a book an author like Valery Tarsis is locked up in a mental hospital. Not a single dictatorship in the West can claim to have destroyed, put to death, mentally ruined, impoverished and exiled so many of its most brilliant literary figures during its time in power, including two Nobel prize winners; nowhere have there been so many victims as in the history of martyrdom in countries which have the most 'progressive' and 'revolutionary' social structure.

For this very reason we see the task of our journal not so much to be concerned with political polemics against an aggressive totalitarianism, but rather that it should confront it with the literary creativity and spirituality of Eastern Europe, a creativity which has been enriched both by bitter personal experience and a new vision of history that arose from it.

In our opinion, this concept seems to provide a sufficiently broad and fundamental basis to unite all anti-totalitarian forces of Eastern Europe in their dialogue with the West.

He that has ears to hear, let him hear!

Vladimir Maximov

## Preface to the First Issue

The publication of the new journal *Continent* awakens new hopes.

Since in the USSR all attempts to publish journals in *samizdat* which do not accord with the official ideology have been nipped in the bud, and since *Novy Mir* too has been squashed, as the only honest journal and one that went to the roots of things, the Russian intelligentsia, for the first time, has the opportunity to voice its thoughts and pub-

lish its works, notwithstanding the dictates of political officialdom, and across political boundaries. The best solution, and one about which we would feel easier at heart, would be if an independent Russian journal, its authors and publishing house, were to be on native Russian soil. But under present-day circumstances this clearly is not possible.

And yet, the fact that there is to be a journal opens new possibilities for us: *initially* it will have a *Russian* and *German* edition and we may possibly expect that editions in other European languages will follow. And so, our situation of distress and of being scattered through the world changes into one which gives rise to new hope: since this journal is intended to have an international appeal, it represents the endeavour not only of Russian writers and is addressed not to Russian readers alone. In our time, when the perils threatening society and the tasks which emerge from these can no longer be confined within national boundaries, such a development is a natural and fruitful one.

If we turn our attention to the names of the editorial staff, we recognise in them well-known and respected figures from Eastern Europe. From them we may expect that together they will represent the voices and opinions of that part of the world. This fact seems to us to open an even more interesting perspective: the journal might indeed become a true voice of Eastern Europe and could reach those ears in Western Europe, which are not closed to the truth, but wish to hear it. Even forty years ago it would have been impossible to conceive that Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Rumanian, German and Lithuanian writers might have the same experiences, draw the same bitter conclusions from them, and express almost identical hopes for the future. Today this miracle, for which we have had to pay so dearly, has happened. The intelligentsia of Eastern Europe speaks a common language, which is born out of suffering and the insight it imparts. *Continent* will indeed stand high in our esteem, should it succeed to make the voice of Eastern Europe heard clearly. But should Western Europe remain indifferent to its cry, then it will come to grief, very soon.

Our hopes and expectations often exceed what happens in fact. May it not be so this time.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn  
June 1974

# index index

INDEX *Index is a quarterly chronicle of events throughout the world published to illustrate the ways in which freedom of expression is being variously curtailed or denied. Such a chronicle cannot hope to present a comprehensive picture of this problem, but is offered as a supplement to the information and comment appearing elsewhere in these pages.*

## ARGENTINA

**Juan Martin Guevara**, the brother of the Cuban revolutionary hero Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, was released from prison in Cordoba on 22 August, four months after he had been arrested on charges of possessing subversive material. The Federal Court of Appeals had ruled that there was insufficient evidence to warrant his detention.

## BRAZIL

It was reported in July that censorship had been tightened and that newspapers had been prohibited from publishing reports about the country's worsening economic situation.

**Ana Rosa Silva**, a professor of chemistry at the University of São Paulo, together with her husband, a physicist, disappeared without trace on 22 April. Early in August the archbishop of São Paulo, Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns, together with a delegation of lawyers accompanied the families of these and other missing individuals to Brasilia to urge Armando Falcao, the Minister of Justice, to investigate the disappearances.

## CHILE

It was reported in July that the government had forbidden newspapers to publish political news. At about the same time **Marcel Niedergang**, a correspondent of *Le Monde*, the Paris daily newspaper, was refused an entrance visa.

In an interview given early in August President Augusto Pinochet said that no political activity would be allowed in Chile for at least two more years and that Marxist political parties would be forever proscribed. Following a petition submitted by church leaders, Colonel Pedro Ewing, the government secretary-general, said later in the month that the regime was not considering grant-

ing an amnesty in connection with the first anniversary of the junta's seizure of power on 11 September 1973.

On 25 August the government banned the film *Fiddler on the Roof* because it contained 'disruptive elements against the harmony of the Chileans and the process of national reconstruction'.

## CYPRUS

The following Athens daily newspapers are now prohibited in Cyprus: *To Vima*, *Neo* and *Estia*.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**Luděk Pachman**, the Czechoslovak grand-master who was deprived of his citizenship in November 1973 while living abroad (see *Index* 1/1974 p.ii), was suspended from the international chess tournament in Solingen, West Germany, on 8 July after Boris Spassky and Wolfgang Uhlmann, the Russian and East German grand-masters, acting on the instructions of their national federations, had threatened to boycott the tournament if Pachman was allowed to participate. Having now been granted West German citizenship, Pachman will in future be able to play as a member of the German team.

Two prominent supporters of the Prague Spring of 1968 were expatriated by the authorities during July, and are now residing in the West. They were **Jiří Hochman**, a journalist who had been arrested in February 1972 and released later that year for health reasons (see *Index* 1/1972, p.82 and 1/1973, p.iii); and **Ota Filip**, a novelist. Filip, the first Czech writer to be arrested in the course of the post-invasion 'normalisation' (on 25 August 1969), was originally sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment on 17 February 1970. In September

1973 he consented to have a television portrait made of himself in Czechoslovakia by a West German television team, which resulted in the confiscation of the film by the authorities and the expulsion of the West German correspondent, **Hans-Peter Riese** (see Index 1/1974, p.iii). Prevented from finding suitable employment after his release, Filip complained about his situation in a letter to the Party leader Gustav Husák on 20 January 1974 but received no reply. Shortly afterwards (and the same procedure was followed in Hochman's case) he was summoned by the police and presented with the alternative of either emigrating or facing trial for subversive activities – and undoubtedly subsequent imprisonment. Like Hochman, Filip chose emigration. To some observers these expulsions suggest the possible beginning of a new official policy in Czechoslovakia patterned along the Soviet example of expelling prominent dissidents. (The only previous similar case was that of **Luděk Pachman**, referred to above, who was allowed to emigrate in 1972 – see Index 1/1973, p.ii.) Ota Filip has settled in West Germany, while Jiří Hochman has gone to the United States.

An account of the circumstances of those intellectuals and former party supporters who went on trial in Prague and Brno during July and August 1972 (see Index 2/1972, p.90 and 3-4/1972, pp.114-115) and who are still in prison reached London from Prague early in September. Among those still detained are **Dr Jaroslav Šabata**, a former professor at Brno University; **Jiří Müller**, a former student leader; **Dr Milan Šilhan**, a philosopher and former secretary of the Socialist Party in Brno; **Dr Jan Tesař**, an historian; and **Dr Milan Huebl**, an historian. They had received sentences of between three and six and a half years' imprisonment and are now being held in the prisons at Litoměřice and Ostrava to which they were transferred last year. Their mental and physical health was reported to be deteriorating and both Müller and Huebl were said to be losing their eyesight.

#### DAHOMÉY

The military government has forbidden the press from commenting on government policies, it was learnt in July.

#### ECUADOR

It was reported in July that the Guayaquil television station had been occupied and closed down by the army after it had reported that President Lara was likely to retire.

#### EGYPT

Criticising the national press for allegedly over-emphasising the country's economic crisis, President Anwar Sadat ordered extensive changes on 29 August. He told a special committee to submit early proposals 'for the reorganisation of the press', although he said that he would not reimpose the recently abolished censorship (see Index 2/1974, p.iii).

#### ETHIOPIA

Statements by church leaders criticising a new draft constitution were suppressed by the army during August.

#### GREECE

Under a constituent Act published on 3 September, professors and lecturers dismissed after the 1967 coup for resisting the military regimes are to be restored to their posts, while those appointed to their posts by the same regimes are to be suspended and to appear before a disciplinary council on charges of collaboration. The measures were described by Dr Louros, the Minister of Education, as restoring the autonomy of the universities. Those appearing before the disciplinary council, which will consist of the president or vice-president of the State Council and four professors, and which will have power to impose sentences of final or provisional dismissal, will face charges of 'political cooperation exceeding the course of their legal duties, exercising political authority and of carrying out acts contributing to the dissolution of academic freedoms'.

#### GUATEMALA

It was learnt in July that the Association of Periodical Press had protested to the President about the alleged intimidation of journalists critical of government policy.

## PAKISTAN

**Rahim Akhtar**, the editor of the Karachi Urdu daily *Elan*, was arrested on 16 July after he had criticised the police for alleged atrocities in the city, and on 20 July the Sind government ordered the closure of the paper for two months. At the same time it ordered the closure of the independent English-language journal *Outlook* for a similar period. Noted for its consistent criticism of what it called the authoritarian philosophy of Mr Bhutto's government in dealing with opposition, *Outlook* resumed publication about three years ago after it had been closed down during the presidency of Field Marshal Ayub Khan some seven years previously. The closure of the paper brings to four the number of papers closed by the authorities during July (*Chatan*, the Urdu weekly, was closed down for two months after the arrest of its editor early in July – see *Index* 3/1974, p.ix – while *Jasarat*, the right-wing Urdu daily, was also closed for a similar period at about the same time). On 23 July Minhaj Barna, the president of the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists, stated that the editors of all four were being detained and that eight daily and weekly newspapers had been closed under the Defence of Pakistan regulations.

## POLAND

It was learnt in July that **Herbert Kraus**, an Austrian radio and television commentator, who was said to have had the authorities' permission to make a film in Poland, had been arrested on his arrival at Warsaw airport and was interrogated before being expelled.

## PORTUGAL

On 2 August three Lisbon afternoon newspapers, *A Capital*, *Republica* and *Diario de Lisboa* were served by the junta with temporary suspension orders (two of them were ordered to be suspended for two days and the other for a day). Although the orders were issued for unspecified breaches of press regulations, it is believed that they were occasioned by reports carried by the newspapers of a recent Maoist party rally in Lisbon, which were deemed to be offensive to the Armed Forces Movement. The reports included a statement from

groups in Cape Verde islands accusing President Antonio de Spínola of 'betraying the true aspirations of our people for total and unconditional independence'. In the face of widespread opposition from other papers, many of which had decided not to publish out of solidarity, and after the Temporary Press Committee had resigned in protest, the junta withdrew the suspension orders, announcing at the same time that a joint committee consisting of representatives of newspaper management and the journalists' union would study proposals for a new press law. *A Capital* and *Republica* had previously been fined after publishing reports of a demonstration in Lisbon (see *Index* 3/1974, p.x).

On 4 August the junta indefinitely suspended the publication of *Luta Popular* ('People's Struggle'), a small newspaper which was the organ of a Maoist political organisation which in the past had frequently criticised the armed forces. Its editor had been arrested in June (see *Index* 3/1974, p.x).

## SINGAPORE

Under the provisions of an amendment to the Newspaper and Printing Presses Bill passed by Parliament towards the end of August journalists may in future be sentenced to up to two years' imprisonment or receive substantial fines for writing material which is deemed to be biased. Similar penalties may also be imposed on journalists who fail to report any payment received by them from foreign sources in return for publishing news.

## SOUTH AFRICA

**Dr C. F. Beyers Naudé**, the director of the Christian Institute, was acquitted on 22 August on a charge preferred in November 1973 of contravening the Suppression of Communism Act by publishing statements by **Paul Pretorius**, a banned former leader of the National Union of South African Students (see *Index* 1/1974, p.viii).

**David Meroro**, the chairman of the South West Africa People's Organisation went on trial in Windhoek on 3 September on charges of having

been in possession of banned literature under the Suppression of Communism Act. He had been arrested in February when police searched his home and shop and allegedly found five copies of an African communist magazine; he had been held in custody for five months until his release on bail in July.

In an attempt to forestall the press legislation threatened by Mr John Vorster, the Prime Minister, a year earlier (see *Index* 4/1973, p.vi), the Newspaper Press Union, the association of newspaper proprietors, announced early in August that it had adopted a revised code of conduct whereby it had agreed to amend the constitution of the Press Council to enable it to increase its powers of reprimand by imposing fines of up to 10,000 rand (about £6,700) on newspapers which it found guilty of provoking 'racial incitement'.

Under the provisions of a new Publications Bill embracing all non-newspaper publications and which was made public on 7 August, the possession of any banned publication will in future be an offence punishable by a fine of £300 or six months' imprisonment (the possession of books banned under the Suppression of Communism Act is already an offence). It will also be an offence to 'insult, disparage or belittle' any member of the censors' Appeal Board – a provision seen as a sequel to complaints that members of the present Publications Control Board had to endure public ridicule as a result of some of their decisions.

Towards the end of August a Bill was presented in Parliament under which it would in future be an offence punishable by a fine of £6,000 or 10 years' imprisonment to persuade or incite another to refuse military service or to debate the view that the warfare against black guerrillas on South Africa's northern borders is immoral because it is not in defence of a just society. The proposed legislation was prompted by a decision two weeks earlier by the South African Council of Churches to challenge Christians to consider whether to become conscientious objectors in the country's present situation and leaders of both the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches later declared that they were prepared to defy the Bill if it became law.

## SOUTH KOREA

By the beginning of August a total of 117 people had been convicted on charges of violating the presidential decrees proclaimed by President Chung Hee Park in January and April (see *Index* 2/1974, p.viii and 3/1974, p.xi). Among those convicted during August of violating the decrees were **Mgr Daniel Tji Hak Soun**, the Roman Catholic bishop of the Wonju diocese east of Seoul, who had been arrested on 6 July and who received a sentence of 15 years' imprisonment on 12 August. Also sentenced at the same time were **Kim Dong Gil**, Professor of History at Yonsei University, and **Dr Kim Chanakook**, Dean of the University's Theological College, who received prison sentences of 15 years and 10 years respectively (both had been detained by the CIA since April); **Park Hyung Kyoo** of the Cheil Presbyterian Church in Seoul was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. All were charged with helping the students to overthrow the government in demonstrations during April. (On similar charges the former South Korean President **Yun Po Sun** was also sentenced before the same court-martial and on the same day to three years' imprisonment suspended for three years.) It was announced in the National Assembly early in August that **Kang Shin Ok**, the lawyer who had defended **Kim Chihah**, the poet (see *Index* 3/1974, p.xi) had been arrested because his defence arguments 'constituted contempt of judges and violation of an emergency presidential decree'. Kang is believed to have categorised the death sentences provided by the decree for any form of political activity by students as 'judicial murder' and to have criticised the court procedures. On 4 September he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. Following congressional criticism in the United States and representations from a number of European Prime Ministers during July and August, Kim Seong Jin, the government spokesman, announced on 23 August that President Park had repealed the two decrees, but added that there would be no amnesty for those awaiting trial or for those who had already been convicted under them.

## SOVIET UNION

**Victor Nekrasov**, the well-known Kiev author who won the Stalin Prize in 1947 for his novel,

*In the Trenches of Stalingrad*, was granted an exit visa in August in order to go to Switzerland 'for two years' to stay with friends. Nekrasov first incurred official displeasure in 1960 when he published his travel notes on a journey to America entitled *Both Sides of the Ocean*. In recent years he has come under attack again for supporting Russian and Ukrainian dissident intellectuals and refusing to denounce them in the Soviet press. And earlier this year (see *Index* 3/1974, p.xiii) he was forcibly removed from Moscow to Kiev for breaking the residence regulations. It is thought unlikely that Nekrasov will be allowed to return to the Soviet Union when his two years have expired.

A Roman Catholic priest, **Father Bernard Vikentievich Mitskevich**, was convicted in Lvov in the Ukraine in August on charges of carrying out unlawful religious activities. He was accused of 'systematically teaching children religion, performing activities directed at arousing superstition and religious fanaticism, and spreading slanderous fabrications against the Soviet system'. His sentence is not known, but is thought to amount to several years in a prison or labour camp.

A prominent Jewish activist and specialist in ancient Chinese philosophy, **Vitaly Rubin**, had a heart seizure when police arrested him at 6.30 am on 4 September on charges of parasitism. Mr Rubin was dismissed from his post at the Institute of Oriental Studies two years ago after applying for permission to emigrate to Israel and has since made a living by giving private lessons. Two weeks prior to his arrest Mr Rubin had announced that the Soviet authorities were trying to humiliate him by forcing him to take up manual labour.

A leading dissident writer on religious subjects, **Anatoly Levitin-Krasnov**, was given permission to emigrate to Switzerland in September and departed on 12 September. Mr Levitin-Krasnov, who has spent nearly ten years in prison and labour camps, is the author of a number of books and pamphlets on religious topics which have appeared only in *samizdat* and in the West. In March this year he was invited to the United States by Archbishop John, the Russian Orthodox Metropolitan of San Francisco, but his application for an exit visa was refused (see *Index* 3/1974, p.xiv).

According to a statement by nine Soviet scientists, including Andrei Sakharov, the Moscow mathematician, **Yuri Gastev**, was subjected in September to repeated harassment by the secret police.

Gastev is the son of the well-known Soviet writer and scientist, Alexei Gastev (who was shot during Stalin's great purge of 1937) and served five years in hard labour camps while Stalin was alive. During a search made of Gastev's flat on 16 August, a copy of No.32 of *A Chronicle of Current Events* was confiscated by the police (see also *Index* 3/1974, p.xiv).

**Vladimir Dremlyuga**, who was arrested during a demonstration in Red Square in 1968 and sentenced to six years' imprisonment in labour camps, was reported to have been released in August.

Issue No.10 of the underground *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* reached the West in July and has been published in Lithuanian and English. Among other things it gives further details about what is now known as *Case No.345*, the KGB action aimed at closing down the *Chronicle* and punishing its editors (see *Index* 2/1974, p.xi and 3/1974, p.xii). In this connection a number of police raids took place on 20 March and many people were questioned and had their flats searched. They included a Ukrainian priest, **Vladimir Pigol**, and **Miss Brone Kazelaite** in Kaunas (from the latter the police confiscated 400 unbound prayerbooks and a number of *samizdat* manuscripts), and the **Rev. S. Tamkevičius** in Vilnius (from whom two issues of the *Chronicle* were confiscated, together with ten tapes and a quantity of *samizdat* manuscripts). On 4 April four security agents visited a **Mr Matulionis** in hospital at Druskininkai and searched his possessions. They then removed him from hospital and took him to Vilnius, where they conducted a search of his flat. No incriminating materials were found, but Matulionis was accused of ordering large quantities of prayerbooks and religious books and systematically distributing them. On 8 April the apartment of **Mrs Ona Volskiene** was searched and a typewriter confiscated. On 9 April a small room rented by **Dr Salomeja Mikšyte** in Kulautuva was broken into by the KGB and a typewriter and some religious books were removed, and on the same day **Virgi-**

**lijus Jaugelis** was arrested in Kaunas on charges under Article 68 of the Lithuanian penal code ('anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda') and his flat was searched. On 24 April the KGB made two further raids in Kaunas. The first was on the home of **Juozas Gražys** and on a nearby house that was undergoing renovation. Parts of a duplicating machine and a number of copies of a religious work were removed and Gražys was arrested. The second was on a house in Kalniečiu Street in Kaunas, where a number of religious and pre-war books were confiscated. Police alleged that a duplicator had been known to operate in the house and questioned the women who rent it, but released them without making charges.

The *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* also gives a detailed account of the trial of five intellectuals in Vilnius last March (see *Index* 3/1974, p.xii) and lists their sentences. The trial was held from 18 February to 5 March and the sentences were as follows: **Šarunas Žukauskas** – six years in strict regime labour camps; **Antanas Sakalauskas** – five years in strict regime labour camps; **Vidmantas Povilonis** – two years in strict regime labour camps; **Isidorius Rudaitis** (aged 69) – three years in strict regime labour camps; **Aloyzas Mackevičius** (who gave evidence for the prosecution) – two years in normal regime labour camps.

News arrived while this edition of *Index* was being prepared that No.32 of the Moscow *Chronicle of Current Events* had just appeared, and we understand that copies are already in the West.

Two eminent Ukrainian translators, **Mykola Lukash** (see *Index* 4/1973, p.ix) and **Hryhorii Kochur**, who translates from West Slavonic languages, French and English (he was briefly detained in early 1972: see *Index* 1/1972, p.87) have been expelled from the Writers' Union of the Ukraine for having defended imprisoned intellectuals.

The poet **Victor Korzh**, a member of the Writers' Union of the Ukraine, has been made to recant his speech made at the fifth Writers' Congress of the Ukraine in November 1966, which contained 'immature judgements and some erroneous utterances regarding the state of development' of Ukrainian. (In his speech eight years ago he said,

among other things: 'One wishes the Ukrainian language always to remain pure, fresh and colourful, from kindergartens to establishments of higher education. For this it is necessary to care more about the teaching of our native language at school and at establishments of higher education. . . . While being internationalists, we always remain Ukrainians.') The pretext was that it 'has been used by nationalists abroad for anti-Soviet propaganda'.

## SPAIN

It was reported in July that police had confiscated copies of a number of magazines. An edition of the weekly *Sabado Grafico* was seized after it had published a list of 500 people and given their incomes. Also seized were copies of the weeklies *Hermano Lobo* and *Cambo*, the latter because of an article about Prince Carlos Hugo of Bourbon Parma. At about the same time an edition of the Madrid magazine *Cuadernos para el dialogo*, which was devoted mainly to Portugal, was also seized, as was an edition of the French weekly *l'Express* after publishing an article about the political situation in Spain.

It was also reported in July that five television employees had received prison sentences of between a year and two and a half years because of their alleged membership of the Communist Party and for distributing illegal propaganda.

## SRI LANKA

On 19 August the Colombo High Court refused an application by Independent Newspapers Ltd, five of whose papers were closed by the government in April (see *Index* 3/1974, p.xvii), for an interim injunction on Ridgeway Tillekeratne, Permanent Secretary of the Minister of Broadcasting and Information, restraining him from preventing the publication of the company's newspapers and occupying their registered office and press.

## URUGUAY

It was learnt in July that the government had banned the Rocha newspaper *El Faro* for infringing the press law by 'using expressions derived from Marxist ideology'. The government also

ordered the temporary closure of the weekly *Ninth of February* after it had published an editorial which 'tended to create tension between the armed forces and the national executive'. At about the same time the Montevideo daily *El Diario* was also banned for two days after it had published 'false and sensational news'. Reports of foreign news agencies became subject to censorship after the agencies were instructed to provide the Ministry of the Interior with copies of all material intended for transmission abroad.

## YUGOSLAVIA

**Professor Aras**, a research worker in the Historical Department of the Yugoslav Academy, was among a group of people arrested by the police in Zadar during July on alleged charges of anti-state propaganda and of collaborating with foreigners for the overthrow of the government.

It has been learnt that earlier this year **Josip Dukić**, a priest living on the island of Šolta, was sentenced to four years' strict imprisonment on charges of having maliciously and untruthfully depicted the social and political conditions in Yugoslavia in the course of a conversation with two students.

In June the writer and literary critic **Mihajlo Mihajlov** (see *Index* 1/1972, p.91 and 1/1973, p.xvi) was ordered by a court in Novi Sad, where he lives, to be evicted from his flat on the grounds that his title was invalid. His livelihood thus further threatened – he relies solely on the writings he publishes abroad and for which he needs the use of his flat – he again appealed to President Tito in August to allow him either to find employment in Yugoslavia or to grant him a passport to go abroad. On 7 October he was arrested at his flat on charges of hostile propaganda arising out of articles he had recently published abroad.

Under proposed legislation submitted to the Federal Assembly towards the end of July, foreign correspondents would in future be prohibited from conducting interviews with Yugoslav citizens or organisations – thus restricting their sources only to official channels of information. Printed matter whose purpose is deemed to undermine the socialist, self-management system will also not

be allowed into the country, while foreign correspondents will be forbidden to report 'untrue or alarming news which can endanger public order and peace' or any other news which could 'harm the friendly relations between Yugoslavia and other countries'.

## SOURCES

Agence France-Presse  
 Associated Press  
*Borba* (Belgrade)  
*A Chronicle of Current Events* (New York)  
*A Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* (New York)  
*The Daily Star* (Beirut)  
*The Daily Telegraph*  
*The Guardian*  
*International Herald Tribune*  
*International Press Institute Report*  
*Literaturna Ukraina* (Kiev)  
*The New York Times*  
*Nova Hrvatska* (London)  
*Radio Free Europe Research Report*  
 Reuter  
*The Sunday Times*  
*The Times*  
 United Press International

qualifications, but on their political attributes.

Secondly, the old programme of studies was torn up. The departments of political economy, sociology and the history of ideas were all closed down. 'Security' personnel were appointed to keep a check on teachers and students as well as non-academic staff. (This is now also the rule at secondary schools, where policemen abound with CONAE – *Consejo Nacional de Educación* – inscribed on their armbands. One of their tasks is to check against the wearing of long hair and miniskirts.) The University of Montevideo is now a shadow of its former self, and until the minister of education is replaced there is little possibility of improvement. Interestingly enough, among the rumours and speculations about cabinet changes, the name of Edmundo Narancio is often mentioned. But he appears to have staved off any imminent threat of removal by, last week, dismissing the unpopular Sánchez.

## USSR: Art under the bulldozer

Moscow police and plainclothed agents today used bulldozers, dumpers and sprinkler wagons to thwart attempts to hold an unauthorised open air art exhibition. Word that the event would take place at noon in an open field at the city's edge had spread by mouth and grapevine.

The authorities, too, must have known well in advance because the mechanised equipment was on the spot and ready for action well before the first groups of would-be exhibitors and onlookers arrived in the morning drizzle.

No sooner did the artists start unpacking their canvases, than with heavy irony they were told that the field was not available to them because a volunteer work brigade would be grading it to make a park of culture.

When the artists tried to go ahead in spite of the warning, the bulldozer and dumper drivers bore down on them. Canvases were crushed into the mud or tossed into the dumpers. When the well known painter Oskar Rabin refused to move from the path of an oncoming bulldozer he was pumelled and hustled into a police car.

The harassment lasted for more than an hour. There was no active resistance other than oral protests from the crowd which at its peak must have totalled nearly a thousand. After being pushed

off the initial ground the crowd sought refuge across a paved street in the shadow of a new housing development.

At first the authorities seemed baffled because there was no room for the bulldozers and dumpers to manoeuvre and continue the chase. But soon afterwards two sprinkler wagons, which normally douse Moscow streets in summertime to keep the dust down, were brought up.

This time they played their pressure streams on the crowd which, besides the unofficial exhibitors, included some prominent people in the official Moscow art world and scores of foreign diplomats.

They were treated instead to a different kind of spectacle, thanks to the authorities. The foreign press was also well represented and memorable scenes were recorded on film.

Others were arrested besides Mr Rabin, among them the Leningrad painter, Yevgeny Rukhin. A number of people were roughed up, foreigners among them. The *New York Times* correspondent, Mr Christopher Wren had his front tooth chipped when his camera was pushed into his face, and the Associated Press reporter, Miss Lynn Olson, was knocked down into the mud.

*The Times*, 16/9/74

## Portugal: Art triumphant

One of this city's biggest art shows in years has opened as one of the most striking examples of how the revolution in April has brought cultural opportunities to Portugal that she has not had for almost fifty years.

The Sao Mamed Gallery, one of Lisbon's largest, is showing 186 works by 87 artists that have never been shown publicly because either the work or the artist was objectionable to a regime that attempted to dictate all aspects of Portuguese life.

According to the gallery director, Francisco Pereira Coutinho, and a sponsoring committee of writers and artists, the show is a way of celebrating a military coup that abolished censorship over all means of expression. Since the 25 April coup, however, there has been a retreat. Censorship has not been restored but some severe rules, applied by a military commission, have been established for the news media and there has been consider-