

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

Articles on the Kuropaty Massacre

FROM:

Acting Director, Foreign Broadcast Information Service

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TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

1. Executive Assistant to the DDCI
7E12 Headquarters

John:

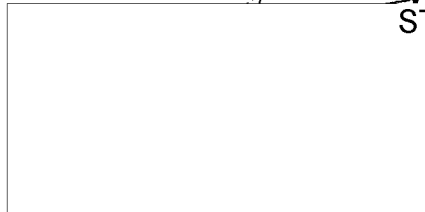
Attached are the articles on the Kuropaty massacre we could find. All articles noted here were translated or transcribed by FBIS. In general, we would say that the Soviets have treated the story fairly openly, carrying pieces in several of their major papers as well as in the popular English language Moscow News. As best we know, the story "broke" in the USSR with the publication of an item in the Belorussian literary magazine Literatura i Mastatstva, a source FBIS has no access to. Fortunately, however, the item was reprinted in a Polish literary magazine, a translation of which is included here. Hope this helps. Questions about this package or about the story in general can be raised with

[redacted], our senior Soviet analyst, on [redacted] (secure).

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FBIS-SOV-88-177
13 September 1988

64

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

The biggest number of crimes committed in Moscow are crimes against property, Nikolay Solovyev said. The number of car thefts and robberies increased. But the number of grievous crimes and thefts of state property dropped.

Pre-War Belorussia Shootings Investigated
PM1209105988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by M. Shimanskiy: "Tragedy in Kuropaty: Who Was Shot Here?"]

[Text] As we have already reported (IZVESTIYA No 241) the Belorussian Council of Ministers has created a government commission to investigate the circumstances of the deaths of the people whose remains have been discovered in the Kuropaty Forest near Minsk. The investigation group of the republic's prosecutor's office has made available to the commission the results of the interrogation of witnesses.

V. Sobolev, chief of the investigation section, and Ya. Brolishs, investigator for especially important cases, told your IZVESTIYA correspondent that 80 inhabitants of the villages of Tsna, Zaboloty, Drozdovo, and others were questioned.

N. Karzhvich, born 1919: "In 1937 they began to erect a fence in this forest. The fence was about 3 meters high. The approach road was from the direction of Minsk. The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs kept constant guard over the territory. They usually brought people here in the evening, after 1700-1800 hours. They shot them immediately. I did not go there often, my parents would not let me. When I did approach I looked through a hole in the fence. People were put in a line above some holes. On one occasion my father and I drove by this place in a cart. A hole about 5 meters long was full of bodies. They were covered only with branches."

O. Borovskaya, born 1927: "Of the events which took place in that forest I can say the following: Shouts and groans could be heard from the forest. People shouted: 'Why us?' And shots were also heard. At first the shooting was during the day and at night. This all happened in 1937-1938 and then continued right up to the war itself. Later it was usually every couple of days or so. Women's voices were also heard.

"In the summer of 1938 we children were once out picking berries. We crept in through a trench under the fence. The trucks began to arrive. There was nowhere to go so I hid under a fir tree. A covered truck followed a passenger car. There were bars on the body of the truck. Bareheaded men dressed in gray civilian suits got out of the passenger car. The men led people out of the truck. Their hands were tied behind their backs. They began to shoot them. The people cried: 'Oh, God, why us?'"

D. Tovstik, born 1911: "It was a year or two before the war, that is, in 1939 or 1940. One summer's day we were reaping corn near this forest. A truck with an open chassis approached us along the road. Men in civilian clothing were sitting in it. The truck went inside the fence. We decided to take a look and approached the fence, removed the boards, and saw the men digging a hole. Then they left. Soon after that a truck with a black cabin passed through the fence into the forest. And shots and shouting were heard immediately. Then the truck left. We went to look. When we had crawled under the fence we saw the hole had been covered with fresh sand, which was moving."

N. Potershuk, born 1929: "Everyone in our village at the time knew about the shootings because shots were heard from the forest almost every day. None of the local inhabitants knew who was being shot—they were frightened to talk about it, even among themselves. I remember how once a friend and I nonetheless decided to take a look at what was happening there on the other side of the fence. This was in approximately 1939. We approached the fence toward evening. I saw and well remember how some 40 meters from where we were sitting about 8 men were digging a hole. When they had dug the hole they were put in a truck and driven away. We ran to the gravel road and waited. Soon trucks appeared, one covered, the others ordinary trucks with high sides. These trucks contained only men, they were driven from the trucks by men in military uniform and pushed toward the hole. Then shots were heard."

"We are continuing the questioning of witnesses," Ya. Brolishs said. "We are also to carry out and to obtain conclusions from the forensic, criminal, and other expert reports which have already been commissioned. When we have all the conclusions, we will analyze them carefully and compare them with the witnesses' evidence. Only after that will it be possible to draw objective and reliable conclusions about the events in Kuropaty.

V. Kondratyev, first deputy prosecutor of the Belorussian SSR, is directly supervising the investigation.

"I want to appeal through IZVESTIYA," he said, "to all those who know anything about the events in Kuropaty to tell this to the Belorussian Prosecutor's Office."

Group Formed To Reorganize Pedagogical Academy
LD0909163488 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT
9 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—TASS correspondent Eleonora Sutotskaya writes:

A solid body of scientists, workers in culture, education, representatives of public organizations have been commissioned with shaping the future of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR. The academy, which

16

Zenon POZNYAK

KUROPATY

A NATIONAL TRAGEDY THAT EVERYONE SHOULD KNOW ABOUT

Early in 1937 Karol Kononovich, a forest ranger, discovered some disorder in the forest: somebody had dug pits in the earth, had filled them in and planted pine trees on them. But the pine trees had withered. A peasant's bag hung forgotten on a nearby tree. Inside were bread and sausage. The ranger ran off to the rural Soviet to phone: "where one should phone". This is so-and-so speaking, he reported. From the receiver came a metallic voice: "Look less keenly if you wish to remain alive." Kononovich understood it all very well. And a little later a high (taller than three metres) fence of boards, topped with barbed wire, appeared in the forest. From behind it one could hear shots - round the clock and at all seasons - and shouts, wails, pleas. That was how this fearsome place (some 10-15 hectares in area) originated not so far from Minsk. Its traditional name was Brod, or Kuropaty. It was a place where people were shot on a mass scale. It was a "murder-place" which operated every day - from 1937 to June 1941.

Such "murder-places" were near other large cities in Byelorussia, too. By questioning witnesses, five major places of mass extermination of people at the time of Stalin's repressions were found (to date) in Minsk and its environs alone.

HIDING THE SIGNS

The villages Tsna-Yodkova, Drozdovo, Zelyony Lug and Zelyonovka and isolated homesteads were located around Kuropaty at a distance of 1.5-2.5 km. My colleague Yevgeny Shmygalov and I had a chance to hear in the 1970s the stories told by the long-time peasants about the details of the murders. The peasants' daily life went on to the crackle of shots. Sometimes they even tried - when harvesting wheat or planting potatoes - to count the killed: a shot per person. "Our hands dropped and we couldn't work," sighed the storytellers. "The entire village lived in terror. For five years, due to the shooting, we couldn't sleep at night," said Roman Batsyan (born in 1913), an old resident of Tsna.

Yevgeny Shmygalov and I conducted a methodical poll in 1987-1988 of dozens of witnesses (some 170 have been found) and did archaeological diggings of the burials in Kuropaty. As a result of the work, we wrote an article that was published on June 3 by the Republican newspaper Litaratura i Mastatstva. I'll briefly cite the main facts and conclusions of our research. The people were shot after dinner, towards the evening and all through-out the night. The doomed people were brought in vans, were shot by groups with Nagant revolvers and thrown into deep pits. The murderers wore NKVD uniforms. After a group of people were shot, the dead bodies were slightly covered with sand, and the next group was brought - until the pit was full.

As a result of our research and archaeological digging, we found out that in the 40s, already after the war, all the graves in Kuropaty were subjected to exhumation. Some of the witnesses said that soldiers "potted about" there. Who was it that needed to dig up the dead bodies secretly and why? Where were the remains taken? Who was trying to "cover the tracks"? We posed these questions in the article. It turned out that lots of traces were left. Our digging showed that the exhumation had been carried out carelessly. We found the remains of those executed at the bottom of the pits which were quite deep - some 10 metres. We found dozens of skulls hot through, leather and rubber footwear made in the USSR (the redemarks on the galoshes show

1937 and 1938), shells from a Soviet revolver, buttons, purses with Soviet coins of the 30s, eyeglasses, china and enamel mugs, a toothbrush made by a factory in Vitebsk, etc.

INVESTIGATION HAS STARTED

The publication of the article was preceded by the resistance of what we now call the "braking forces". However, the newspaper stood up well to the pressure. The article did appear in Litaratura i Mastatstva, though in a somewhat abridged version.

A government commission "to corroborate the facts described in the article" was set up two weeks after the publication. And the History Institute of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences received the following letter from the Byelorussian Procurator's Office: "The BSSR Procurator's Office is investigating a criminal case involving the discovery of forest graves on the territory of the Minsk District. It is necessary to exhume the remains in order to determine the circumstances surrounding the interments. Guided by Article 44 of the BSSR Code of Criminal Procedure, we request assistance. Please delegate an institute staff member - an archaeology expert - to take part in the selective exhumation."

That was how the digging (it was done on July 6-15) was undertaken by an investigation group of the BSSR Procurator's Office, led by Ya. Brolis, investigator of specially important cases attached to the BSSR Procurator, on the one hand, and, on the other, archaeologists from the staff of the History Institute of the BSSR Academy of Sciences - my colleagues N. Krivaltsevich (research student), O. Iov (postgraduate student) and myself.

We made 7 digs to a maximum depth of 2.75 m and totaling 44 sq m in area.

The research was done in the presence of witnesses, protocols, diary entries and general measurements were kept, photos and video tape recordings were made; several news teams made films of the work, TV and newspaper people and several members of the government commission were present. After the field work was over the research data was analyzed and generalized, drawings were made (plans, profiles, crosscuts of the excavations, etc.), conclusions were drawn, and a re-

search report was prepared which was discussed and approved by the general meeting of the Archaeology Department. A copy of the report has been handed over to the BSSR Procurator's Office.



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PROOFS

Bullet holes were discovered in nearly all the skulls that were found (312 in all), as a rule in the back of the head, quite often two and even three holes. There were also side holes and holes from behind - "under the skull". Some of the victims may have put up resistance and in such cases the shooting was done unsystematically (but then, this could also be an expression of the different "styles" of the killers).

Mikhail Karpovich (b. 1919), a resident of Tsna, one of the witnesses, who at that time was 18 years old, managed to see something absolutely exceptional - the doomed people being shot in groups, but not in the back of the head. They were stood up in a row before the pit, each one was gagged and blindfolded. Then a murderer came up "from the flank" and fired point-blank at the head of the edge-person, bringing down two

people with one shot. "As they fired," Karpovich says, "two people at once fell into the pit. They were saving bullets." It was a sort of a bravado, a sport, a demonstration of professionalism. Some 200 empty shells from a Soviet Nagant revolver and one from a TT pistol were found. Dozens of bullets were discovered, some of them inside the skulls. The diameters of the shells, bullets and the bullet holes in the skulls coincide.

The majority of skulls have large (up to 5-6 cm in diameter) lacerated holes in the foreheads, temples or tops. This shows that the Nagant muzzle was stuck close to the back of the head: after the shot the powder gases under pressure followed the bullet into the skull and out through the hole it made. Some residents from the neighbouring villages said that very often on Saturdays people from the forest, dressed in NKVD uniforms, would come at about 11 p.m. (apparently after their work shift) to the village dances.

What shocked me most of all during the digging - not as a researcher but population. The point is that the informer was immediately paid for each "enemy" revealed - a certain sum in cash from the special NKVD fund (some 15 roubles per man in today's currency). The Jews from Selivonovka always drank after selling one more co-villager and even composed a song about their "deeds" which they sang during the bouts.

The majority of those buried in Kuropaty were not of high social status. The No. 1 grave was filled in, most probably, in winter: a lot of winter clothing was found in it.

Further east and south-eastwards are the interments of 1939 and later. Mainly people from Western Byelorussia lie there. Most of all things of "intellectual" use were found in grave No.5 - many accessories, eyeglasses, a monocle, pince-nez, medicines, etc. The footwear there was of high quality, factory-made or custom-made especially for the wearer, women's high-heeled boots, gloves, etc.

From the things found in the graves and from the fact that some of them (like clothes and footwear) were found neatly folded, from the presence of food, purses, etc., we may conclude that the people were preparing for some trip, that they had left their homes not long before their death, and had not been kept in jail before they were shot. This makes one think that they were "liquidated" - to use the term then used - without a trial.

After making the necessary measurements, calculations and after summing up all the data, we can approximate the initial (before the exhumation of the 40s) number of people buried in the investigated graves. If we take the average number of corpses - 200 per grave - and simply multiply it by the number of graves found to date (510) - we'll get 102,000 people. However, the real number of victims must be bigger. In addition, in March-May 1988 some 100 (if not more) graves were filled up and then leveled over by bulldozers when a gas main was being laid and the forest around it cut down. Many graves disappeared when the ring road was being laid in the early 50s-late 60s, and maybe in the 40s, too, when afforestation work was done in the area. The graves to the south of the ring road, where the southern border of the "murder-places" was, have still not been taken into account.

as a human being - was the great number of women buried. Women's skulls and belongings were found in all the graves.

HOW MANY WERE BURIED THERE?

We managed to reveal the geography and the chronology of the burials in Kuropaty. The shootings started in the territory's eastern part. The graves there are dated 1937-1938. The dig-ups revealed things and objects exclusively of Soviet make, and a lot of self-made or artisan footwear. Very few toilet articles. It all shows that it was mainly local residents that were buried here. This is confirmed by the letters I got from Mikol Rymarev (b. 1927) from Bobruisk, in which he makes an attempt to recollect the names of the hundreds of his co-villagers who died in those four years. At the beginning of the 1930s his Selivonovka village had 120 houses, over 800 villagers. At the outset of the 40s, before the war, there were less than 30 houses left. Several people - the collective farm chairman, the rural Soviet chairman, a team leader and a couple of their henchmen - terrorized the entire

When you hear the witnesses' accounts of this gory horror story, when you see with your own eyes the evidence and the remains, when you're in a pit in the ground together with dead bodies, when you recognize tableware that you remember from your childhood and other utensils, scattered among the bones, the familiar rubber women's shoes (which I remember my mother wore in her youth) when you pull out from under skulls with bullet holes the light as flax, long strands of women's hair, like the hair you used to see in the morning on a woman when you see all this, and experience the smell of decay in the blossoming forest full of singing of birds (I don't mention here how psychologically difficult the digging was), when you see all this - you are at a real loss for words. You can't find any. You're numb.

In conclusion, I want to share two thoughts concerning the aforementioned shootings. The first is that no one will now be able to hide the truth about Kuropaty. The second is that every honest individual must fight Stalinism - that evil, lying, cruel, anti-human phenomenon.

STAT

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There is no supplement this week.

INDEX 50077



Oct - 16 - 28, 1988

28 Aug - 4 Sep 88 p 4
MOSCOW NEWS weekly No. 34, 1988

EVENTS, INFORMATION

PRESS AGENCY

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recommendations at the conference. And not only by representatives of historical science from the Baltic Republics - R. Šarmaitis, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences, Lithuanian SSR, and O. Kuuli (Estonia), D. Sc. (History). There were also new and well-argued approaches to the Soviet-Finnish War (November 1939-March 1940), even though, as M. Semiryaga (Institute of the International Labour Movement, Moscow) noted, historians to this day do not agree on whether this conflict was part of World War II.

Attention focused on the so-called secret protocols to the 1939 Soviet-German treaties. Falin noted: "I'd like to remind the audience that we're talking about copies from copies. No one has as yet seen the originals of these protocols. Thus the following questions arise: why were these materials put into circulation - and under suspicious circumstances - only after World War II? Why didn't the USA and Great Britain, who knew from their own intelligence sources about the Soviet-German talks in 1939, make these materials public when their relations with the USSR - before the creation of the anti-Hitler coalition - were quite tense? Why didn't Hitler use these papers, if he had them, to discredit the USSR during the war? Why didn't Ribbentrop say a single word about these documents at the Nuremberg Trial when it would have been to his benefit?" (L. Bezymensky, commentator of the New Times weekly, added: "At the Nuremberg Trial, when a certain American handed copies of the secret protocols to defendant Hess, the court refused to accept them and demanded the originals. It never got them.") These are legitimate questions waiting to be answered.

Answer to such "riddles of history" should be sought through joint efforts. If only because - as we can see from the experience of the last 50 years - no one can deal with problems of peace alone.

Alexander SHAVLYUK

EVENTS MIRRORED IN THE PRESS

TRAGEDY OF KURAPATY FOREST

Mass murders in Byelorussia (1937-41) under investigation

The Byelorussian weekly "Literatura i Mastatstva" recently published an article entitled "Kurapaty - Road to Death" that stirred up the whole Republic.

Zenon Poznyak and Yevgeny Shmygalev claim that from 1937 to 1941 people were driven out daily to Kurapaty forest on the northern outskirts of Minsk and shot. Their article is based on eyewitness accounts, according to which a part of the pine forest covering 10-15 hectares was surrounded with a three-metre solid plank fence topped with barbed wire. There were also guards and dogs. People from neighbouring villages tried to skirt that horrible place from where one could hear shots and people screaming, crying and pleading day and night. A few brave boys managed to pry open a couple of the planks and wriggle through the enclosure. One of them was Nikolai Karpovich, now 70 and retired. He says people were killed in groups: "They were gagged, lined up in a row and shot point-blank in the side of the head with rifles. The object was to kill two people with one bullet. One shot and two people fell into the pit in front of them... When the pit was full of bodies, sand was poured over it and levelled... The guards and the executioners wore NKVD uniforms."

Eyewitnesses maintain that the shootings continued until the beginning of the war. During the war, locals dismantled the fence for wood and the old forest was razed. After the war, new trees grew up there. The new forest became a favourite place for picnics and outings. Most people had no idea....

Just days after the article about

Kurapaty forest appeared, the Council of Ministers of Byelorussia set up a government commission to investigate. The Republican Procurator's Office initiated proceedings. A week later a meeting in memory of the victims of Stalinist repressions was held in Kurapaty forest by public request - 3,000 people attended. The meeting lasted four hours - longer than any other ever held there. Exhumation of remains from the mass graves in Kurapaty has already begun. Mikhail Savitsky, a member of the government commission and People's Artist of the USSR, says that the process is being supervised by archaeologists, investigators and experts. Everything is recorded in notes and on a film. Documentary film makers, TV and press reporters are also on the scene. The article claimed that bodies had been exhumed in Kurapaty before - the commission's findings confirm this: "Who did it, when and why must also be cleared up by the commission," said Savitsky.

There are over 500 graves in Kurapaty. Some of the common graves were destroyed when a gas main was laid and a road built there.

The investigators are questioning witnesses interviewed in the newspaper article and looking for new witnesses. They will also have to do some detective work in the archives of the MVD and KGB.

Anatoly STUK

Minsk

{h1}Belorussian Mass Executions, Graves, Stalinist Crimes Detailed

{s1}26000057 Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish <bx;l>No 31, 30 Jul 88 pp 16, 11
<ba>

{sb}[Article reprinted from Minsk LITERATURA I MASTATSTVA, 3 Jun 88 in Belorussian: "The Corpses Rotted, the Earth Subsided;" first paragraph is editorial introduction.]

{txt}[Text] "The rehabilitation of those who had been in the past victims of unjust political accusations and lawlessness is our party duty and social duty" ("Theses of the Central Committee for the 19th All-Union Party Conference"). This preface is provided by the Belorussian periodical LITERATURA I MASTATSTVA of 3 June 1988 for the article by Zyanon Paznyak and Yaugiyen Shmygalou dealing with Stalinist persecutions in Belorussia in the 1930's. We are reprinting it with some minor abridgments. The title is provided by the Editors.

According to some of our investigators, in Belorussia alone during the thirties hundreds of thousands of people were subjected to repressions. A large number were sent to the country's east and north (the Solovets Islands, Vorkuta, Kolyma), while the remainder were liquidated on the spot, not far from their domiciles. That cost much less and did not overload the already crowded railroad lines. But where precisely were these hundreds of thousands liquidated? In what earth do their bones rest?

Do not think, dear reader, that this is some special land cursed by both God and people. In reality, these are the same locales which we daily tread under our feet or where we relax in pleasant natural surroundings. For many years there have been forces operating in this country--and they still operate, except that they employ different methods--whose special concern is to conceal these ancient matters, to hide their bloody spoor from the people.

We have quite a few majestic monuments erected to victims of German fascism and reflecting the heroism of the Belorussian people, but so far there are not any reminding the rising generation about the victims of Stalinism. This is a mistake which should not be tolerated. We should remember them, those people who were not heroes but innocent victims of a tyrant, those toil-worn workers, starving kolkhozniks, those first people's intellectuals, women and men, who, shot in the nape, fell into graves which they had dug themselves, without cursing, without protesting, and merely uttering the miserable and tragic words, "What for?"

They shall never hear the answer to their question; it is we who should give that answer. This aim is furthered in the article by two authors who fulfilled their duty to the nation and to history.

<ital>Vasil Bykau, Lenin Prize Winner<med>

What we desire to relate to our readers is known to many people, but obviously those who knew about it all had submitted, like ourselves, to the force of circumstances and waited. For us this waiting was made intolerable by the awareness that life goes on rapidly, people die, and the memory of the terrible crimes committed in the thirties is evanesing.

A man who has committed a crime and lives with it is a criminal, one capable of continuing to do evil. Such a man is subject to punishment. He who has demonstrated repentance and, owing to agony of conscience, shame and pain, returned to the primal state, is restored to humanity. The purging of conscience is indispensable to a society which has permitted and engendered genocide--that greatest crime against mankind. Repentance will not be, as is known, shown by those killers who are no longer alive nor by the "silent pensioners." It is the subsequent generations that have to purge themselves, generations that have not even witnessed this tragedy; they should purge themselves of the guilt of their forebearers.

<ital>Z. PAZNYAK:<med> In my youth I felt heartbreak on listening to the tales of men who returned from Stalinist prisons and camps, from virtual nonexistence. At the time I had written nothing and taken no notes. I was horrified to realize my mistake in the stagnant atmosphere of the seventies when I saw how everything was slowly reverting, how the nation's memory of those times was turning into folklore and myths and even disappearing, and yet the memory of those frightful tales related to me persisted.

People were herded from one spot to another. They were transported on trains in [minus]20-Centigrade-degree frost. The train halts. The order falls, "Everyone get undressed for the baths," the escorts command. In bone-chilling frost naked people are hosed with water. The escorts jest, "Pleasant sensations. Now go to sleep." And they bolt the doors. In the morning only a few remain alive. The ice-stiffened corpses were loaded onto horse-drawn carts so that their heads would hang from the carts, and one of the executioners lopped them with an axe. Apparently such was the command, for certainty's sake. Years pass, but the killer of corpses persists in memory.

They transport them to Kolyma, stuff them into a barracks put together from boards, with crevices through which a freezing northern wind whistles. After the first night one-half of the deportees no longer get up. The survivors place the stiffened, frozen corpses alongside the walls in order to cover the cracks and warm themselves a little.

Ivan Trafimavich Smal, a party member since 1917 and member of the Gomel Regional Committee, related, "In 1937 I worked at the Mogilev Automotive Repair Works as a deputy director. They took me away following a thoughtless denunciation by a Komsomolets-Stakhanovite on the grounds that the plant did not repair two cars on schedule. They pushed me into a cell so crowded with people clinging to each other that there was no room even to move. These people suffocated owing to lack of air, went insane, and died standing, with the corpses standing together with the living, and when there was no room for even one more prisoner, the guards hurled living people onto our heads.

"To extort his confession, the prisoner was placed in a special dark cell that was one and one-half meters high and filled with icy water. In the only dry spot of that cell stood a black coffin, and only there could the prisoner find shelter from the freezing water. Many people became insane in that coffin."

Ivan Trafimavich endured all the torments without yielding, without signing the accusation against him. After Yezhov's fall he was released, a sick and gray-haired man. As it happened, in the early 1950's he and his son went on business to the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Social Welfare. In the hallway he

saw a self-assured, elegantly dressed woman with a proudly raised head and graying hair. "Good day, Ivan Trafimovich," she sang out rather than said, in her deep voice, and went on. Ivan Trafimovich fainted on the arms of his son. "Father, who is she?" "It's Baykova. Before the war she was the examining magistrate at the Mogilev People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs." It was she who had tortured Ivan Trafimovich. All Mogilev prisoners trembled before Baykova. This sadist interrogated only males, and she enjoyed in particular torturing former revolutionaries. She used to order prisoners to undress completely and dance to the tune of the waltz "On the Hills of Manchuria," which she also ordered them to sing; next, she took a specially made whip with wire fringes and beat them on the genitals and other sensitive spots with it, bringing herself to ecstasy and the prisoner to fainting from pain.

Before 1937 Ivan Trafimovich's son attended the same school as Baykova's son (Baykova's husband also was a functionary of the NKVD) and visited him often at home, being ignorant of what happened. The polite, apron-wearing hostess treated him to candy and tea.

<ital>YE. SHMYGALOU:<med> In the mid-1950's, when I was a captain in the Soviet Army, I served in Volgograd Oblast where I met Lieutenant Piatr Uvarau, who had in the 1940's taken part in deporting Tatars from the Crimea. He told me that all the regions inhabited by the Crimean Tatars had been simultaneously surrounded by NKVD troops. The Tatars were given about one hour to assemble. They all were herded by rifle-toting soldiers. Anyone who tried to escape was shot. They were driven onto trains and dispatched to Siberia and Kazakhstan. While on the trains they were fed exclusively with salted bird's foot [Ornithopus] and herring without being given any water. Many of them died; first the sick and the old, and then others. They begged for mercy, but they were not shown any. Their valuables and money were seized by the escorts. Uvarau enjoyed telling me about the tortures of the Tatars; he viewed his actions as proper and praised Stalin's decree on the Tatars.

<ital>Z. PAZNYAK:<med> A Book of National Memory should be written. We were shaken by the images arising from tales told by various people. An inhabitant of Minsk, Syargiyey Fyodorovich Ladutska, recalls, "I remember how I once passed by the NKVD building in the winter of 1938. The frost was biting, yet clouds of steam arose from the gratings on the open windows of cellars, as if from a locomotive--because so many people were imprisoned there." This image is as striking as a thunderbolt. [Gazing at the upper floor Ladutska saw] awesome little figures wearing stiff-collared uniform jackets and baggy military pants, submitting reports, opening and closing briefcases with papers, and perusing documents, while underneath them steam, blood, and sweat were being squeezed from the mass of people stuffed into the cells. Where was this locomotive racing? Toward what terminus?

We located that terminus, for we could not rest until we would solve the mystery of the whereabouts of the executed prisoners. Where are they?

In the early 1970's, in the northern outskirts of Minsk, to the left of Logoyskaya Highway, before the circular trolley line, there still existed the village of Zialony Lug. Old inhabitants of that village told us that, two kilometers north of the village, between the trolley line and the road to Zaslavl, in the woods, during 1937-1941, each summer automobiles brought people who were then executed daily and nightly. The slightly hilly area was covered by

dense primeval forests. A section of the forest measuring 10 to 15 hectares in area was partitioned off with a more than 3 meters tall board fence and topped with barbed wire. Behind the fence were guards with dogs. People were transported there on a gravel road stretching from Logoyskaya Highway to Zaslauye. At the time that road was called "Road of Death."

In 1987-1988 we looked up some inhabitants of the since demolished village of Zialony Lug and collected the testimonies of old inhabitants and witnesses of these events from neighboring villages. We cleared up various details and jotted down the answers to our questions.

The shootings there began in 1937. At first they took place thrice daily: in the morning, at 1400 hours, and in the evenings. People were transported to the forest in several automobiles at a time and immediately executed. The corpses were thrown into previously excavated deep trenches, layer upon layer. Once a trench was full, it was covered with a layer of sand no thicker than 20-25 centimeters. Sometimes a small pine tree would be planted on top.

In the second half of 1937 that site was fenced off and the condemned people were brought in following a changed schedule: in the afternoon, in the evening, and all night. They were brought in ceaselessly, each day. Our informants did not remember whether there were pauses on Sundays. The inhabitant of Tsna Village Katsiaryna Mikalayevna-Bagaychuk (born 1919) said, "The shootings occurred daily. The roar of the automobiles was always heard. The males in our village would often gather together as soon as it got dark, go outside, and listen to the shootings. They would talk silently a little, grumble, and then go home."

"Several automobiles at once would enter the fenced-off area; the stream of prisoners was continuous," said Daryta Ignatavna-Tavstsik of Tsna Village (born 1911). "The forest road was worn like an asphalted road. When the shootings began, we could hear moans, weeping, and cursing."

"The whole village trembled with fear. For five years we could not sleep at night owing to the shootings," said an old inhabitant of Tsna, Raman Mikalayevich-Batsiyan (born 1913). This was confirmed by Mikolay Piatrovich-Mikhaychik (born 1929) and other inhabitants of Tsna. "The most daring among the older boys would even clamber over the fence or punch holes in it, and they saw a lot." We asked whether any of them had survived, and we were told: Mikola Karpovich.

Mikalay Vasilevich Karpovich was born in 1919. He is a well-built and still strong man. In 1939 he had joined the army and saw a lot of the world, moving from one front to another. In 1937-1938 he had repeatedly witnessed how people were being killed in the forest. Apparently the graves were excavated before noon, because they were there by the evening, and often even in the early afternoon when the first automobiles with prisoners would arrive. M. Karpovich said that people were being killed in entire groups. They were placed in a row, gags were placed in their mouths, which were then tied with rags so that they would not be spit out. The killers wore NKVD uniforms. They fired their rifles sideways at the first person in the row so as to shoot two people with one bullet at a time. "After each shot," Mikalay Vasilyevich said, "Two people would fall into the grave." That was to save ammunition. After an entire group was shot dead, the positions of the corpses at the bottom of the trench were aligned

properly, they were covered with a layer of sand, and the next group was brought in. Once a trench was full, it was covered with sand and the ground leveled.

"One day," M. Karpovich narrated, "I met an upset and nervous guard from Malanyauki (a village 4 km distant from Tsna). He told me, 'They already kicked the bucket. Come, look, they aren't even covered with sand.' We approached the fence, which ran alongside the road and I saw in a ravine a large and broad pit completely filled with corpses. 'Brother, they are lying there like piglets.'" When asked whether anybody had ever escaped, Mikolay Karpovich answered, "How was it possible, given that fence? To be sure, one evening I was out walking through the forest with a fellow villager. The atmosphere was somehow uncanny, for just then the sounds of shooting ceased. We saw a man sitting at the foot of a tree and wearing a bloodied shirt, looking barely alive. We approached, but we didn't know what to do. Suddenly we heard the roar of a car engine. We jumped back and walked away. We met two NKVD men. They asked, 'Who are you?' 'We are from Tsna.' 'Did you see anybody?' 'No, but,' my fellow villager said, trembling, 'there is somebody over there, farther off.' A moment later we saw them dragging that man by his feet. They threw him into the car like a log of wood and drove off. As to how did he escape from there, to this day I can't figure it out."

And yet, a successful escape did happen. That was in 1938. A prisoner had escaped before being shot. "He climbed the fence and they did not find him," claimed Maryya Rygoravna Potsiarshuk of Tsna Village (born 1911). Just that one man.... Perhaps he is still alive somewhere. Perhaps he will read these lines and contact us.

Maryya Rygoravna confirms that before shooting the condemned people were gagged. This also was mentioned by Vasil Yakavlevich (born 1930), an inhabitant of Drazdova-Skvarchevski Village, and by others. Even so, many of these witnesses had heard cries, sobbing, begging for mercy. Perhaps there were not enough gags? Most likely, something else happened. A person who kills other people regularly and for a long time tends to gradually become a sadist and to conceive a desire to torment his victim before killing him.

The point was not to save bullets when the killers tried to shoot two prisoners at a time with one bullet. It was rather a kind of bravado, a sport for executioners, a demonstration of professionalism. M. Karpovich apparently had witnessed precisely that atypical method of shooting with a rifle. We questioned in detail all the witnesses who heard the shootings and all the eyewitnesses of the shootings, and we reached the conclusions that the weapons used in the executions were principally nagans [a type of revolver, seven-shooter] and pistols (as proved by subsequent excavations of graves).

We asked Valantsina Mikhaylavna Shakhanavay (born 1929) whether the shots were loud. "No," she answered, "they sounded muffled, like 'putt, putt, putt,' but they could be heard all the time. There were pauses, and then 'putt, putt, putt' sounded again." Valantsina Mikhaylovna herself was once inside that hellish place ["dushegubka"]. She and a neighbor's son had dug a hole under that fence in order to gather blueberries; they had been 10-12 years old at the time. They saw excavations, many trenches, some of them filled in. When they got out carrying the blueberries, they encountered a soldier. "Halt! Spill them out!" he ordered the boy. He confiscated the blueberries and suddenly snarled, "Get out! Quick!"

The shootings continued until the outbreak of the war. During the war the inhabitants of neighboring villages dismantled the board fence, using the boards for household purposes. The old primeval forest was cleared and the timber pilfered. Now on its site there stands a postwar forest with trees 40 to 45 years old.

"Did not the Germans conduct any shootings there?" we asked Valentsina Mikyaylavna. "No, no Germans were there, and none of their shootings either," she answered. We asked this question of all our informants, and they all answered that the Germans showed no interest in that locality.

"How did that site look after the fence was dismantled?" we asked V. Shakhanavay. "It looked swollen as it were, with its swollen sands and tall grasses with a very large number of red mushrooms, striped ones, standing on thin legs and looking bloated with blood as it were." People said that human blood was sprouting. Those red mushrooms on the graves were mentioned by many informants. They thought that the mushrooms grew from the blood shed. Again a folkloristic image of martyrdom, I thought. Later it turned out that they were right. These mushrooms are *Marasmius scorodoni*. They grow in deeply excavated sand and smell of garlic.

It is not easy to talk with old women about those times. "O, my children, how many good people were shot!" wails Katsiaryna Mikolayevna Bagaychuk. "If only at least a monument would be erected to them," she cries. Nadzheya Yafimovna Khomich (born 1922) of Zialony Lug said, "It was especially frightful at night." Before the war she had lived in Bobruysk, but she often came to visit her sister, who lived in Zialony Lug, in a house near the forest. "There was continual shooting, barking of dogs, cries, lamentations." She also starts to cry. "The dogs were vicious, and apparently hungry," added Sonya Andreyevna Kozyo (born 1925), also of Zialony Lug. "And the shootings were practically incessant, especially at night." Maryya Ivanovna Patsiarskhuk said, "There was a lot of spilled blood everywhere. Moans, moans, moans. Even those buried were moaning."

Vera Fyodorovna Tovstsiik (born 1933) of Drazdov remembers how, when she was seven, she would run along with older children to look on at the killings. Her memories are fragmentary. She remembers one image: trenches covered with fresh yellow sand, blood on the grass. "And the sand on top of the trenches still moved, as if breathing."

When asked whether anybody was taken away from Drazdov, too, she answered, "I don't remember, because I was little then. Older inhabitants told me that some people were indeed seized from neighboring villages. An automobile would arrive at night and the order would fall, 'Get ready!' Then the man thus ordered, not knowing where he was going to be taken, got ready and put a piece of bread and bacon in his bag, and was transported there and shot dead at the edge of the trench. Could somebody erect a monument to such villagers? How many people were murdered! It was just awful!"

Matruna Mikolayevna Mantasova (born 1914) of Zialony Lug said that in 1937 two males were taken from Podbalotsiye. When we asked her about their identity, she said that they were ordinary people, workers. No one knew why they were selected. "In those times nothing was said and no questions were asked. At night that truck, that 'Chorny Voran' [Black Crow] as it was called, drove from one

village to another, picking up people and transporting them nobody knows to this day where. Perhaps they are resting in these graves. They also took Tanya Matusovich's husband and a neighboring teacher. I don't remember the names of the others. Everyone was talking about people being seized from the villages. How many good people were killed! A monument should now be erected to them. Oh, how the people were martyred!"

V. Shakhanava informed us that she remembers how three people were seized from the neighboring village of Yakubavichi. What for? "They say that one denounced another out of malice, and so they all lost their lives. Here in Tsna Teacher Arseyniy Pavlavich Grushu, a good man, was seized." Valentsina Mikyaylavna said that she heard some older people talk about an activist-brigade leader from Tsna Village who was being pressured to provide the needed number of "enemies of the people."

We asked Maryya Rygoravna Patsiarshuk what she knew about any arrests in the environs. "From Khmarshchini (a no longer existing village) three people were taken: Andrey Filipovich, Stiapan Tsiarluk, and a third whose name I do not remember; he was a newcomer." When asked whether she had heard of proposals or demands to denounce "enemies of the people," she answered, "As of 1937 the chairman of the local soviet (at the time we had belonged to the Papiernanskaya Rural Soviet), was Batsyan Tsimafey Vasilyevich. It was he who had been asked about 'such people.' He used to answer no, there were not any in his area."

Question: Were people executed anywhere else in the area? "Yes, in Zdanovichi, near Barvnaya, near Drazdov, to the right of the narrow-gauge railroad line (now demolished), and in Minsk behind Chaluskineau Park, on the site of the present Vavilov Factory."

M. R. Patsiarshuk, D. I. Tovstik, and M. Ye. Patsiershuk (deputy to the rural soviet, member of the CPSU) were all asked what to do about this site considering that the city is nearby and the construction of the circular trolley tracks damaged the graves. They all answered that a monument should be erected.

We also met people who narrated these events in a whisper, almost. They asked that their names not be made public anywhere. Some were silent in face of our questions. For example, Mikalay Vasilyevich Ignashau (born 1914) of Zialony Lug, who fought throughout the war, and advanced nearly to Berlin, told us only that he feared even to come close to that fence, because he felt that anyone who crosses it never returns.

On the other hand, there were some bold souls who amused themselves by digging up the cadavers (especially in the immediate postwar period when there still was no partition) and leaning them against the trees in order to annoy the NKVD. V. Skvarchevskiy said, "One day two cadavers were dug out of a trench by someone who leaned them against trees and placed a newspaper in their hands. This caused a great stir. People wanted to know who did it. Such was life in those times."

Analysis of the Stalinist system of genocide and the new facts currently made public serve to understand why priority had been given to liquidating the intelligentsia, leading party and military cadres, and industrious peasants. But it sometimes is hard to understand why uneducated and even illiterate workers and peasants also were murdered. It is difficult to understand Stalin's logic

and the logic of those who had been in charge under him, because essentially this is not human logic but bears some other hallmarks. This mystery may be partially elucidated by the so-called planned economy of persecutions. In the thirties Molotov informed Stalin that there was a shortage of prisons and, most importantly, he complained, prisoners "have to be fed."

At the time there was famine in the country. It was then that the system of camps was expanded on a broad scale and killings of people en route to internal exile, by the cold and frost, or by starvation, etc., began to be employed. In this connection, a planned "progressive" method was used. Every city, town, and rayon received an "allotment." The repressions were carried out in accordance with a timetable. "Competition" for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan for repressions (uncovering "enemies of the people") arose. The number of individually uncovered "enemies" was given in reports, speeches, and the press. If, however, the "allotment" could not be met and the plan period was nearing its end, just anybody would be seized. It was then that the "black crows" began to visit the villages.

The area near Zaslavl Road was called "Brod." Formerly swamps extended in its vicinity. And what about that site which later had been fenced off, that forest on the rolling hills? Did it have a name too? When asked this question, the inhabitants of Drazdov answered, yes, its name was Kurapaty. Why? Because in the spring it would bloom with a carpet of white flowers-- "kurapaty" (anemones).

Kurapaty produces an unusually dismal impression. To the south this site is bisected by a trolley track built there in 1957; during its construction, bones and skulls were uncovered. We climb the hill, enter the forest, and immediately encounter the graves--a countless number of collapsed, grass-overgrown pits. The corpses had rotted and the earth subsided.

The pits vary in size: 2x3, 3x3, 4x4 meters and larger. Their depth reaches 70-80 cm. In the center runs a range of hills whose crests form a continuous ridge. The slopes and ravines are pockmarked with numerous collapsed pits. The ridge is almost level; probably a road used to run there. Probably also, that road was traversed by automobiles whose headlamps illuminated the site at night. To the south we found the place where the fence used to be. A trench that used to be in front of that fence, as told us by the inhabitants of neighboring villages, was clearly visible. Barely perceptible depressions in the soil show us where pylons spaced 4 meters apart used to stand.

The pits differ in size. It may be that their depth differed also and that is why the number of the victims cannot be accurately determined according to the number of the graves.

In the 1970's Kurapaty was still fairly rustic. Now the Zialony Lug 6 Borough of Minsk has spread toward it. The visitor to the graves despairs to find that nowadays this is a recreational area for the inhabitants of Minsk, with children playing there.

<ital>Z. PAZNYAK:<med> On May Day this year this area was crowded and gay, like a boulevard. Picnickers arrived gaily in entire families. They started bonfires on the graves; they ate, drank, roasted shashlik, strummed guitars, played cards, broke off branches, cut trees, to the whine of transistor radios. One person was stripping the bark off a small birch tree that had grown in the

soil of a collapsed grave--he wanted to taste the sap. I wondered why no blood streamed from it. It is clear that these people did not know anything, that they did not know that an entire generation was resting underneath them.

<ital>YE. SHMYGALOU:<med> When the "silent pensioners" who helped to bring about this oblivion go to their death, they are placed in coffins and eulogies are pronounced over their graves, with an orchestra playing. For those who rest here, the orchestra was the baying of hounds and the sounds of nagan shots. And how the children and families of the repressed suffered! No! All this must be remembered. Let everyone get his due after his death.

An inspection of some of the graves produced in us a terrifying suspicion. We noticed depressions that were too deep, with mounds of earth nearby indicating recent excavations. Some of the pits were freshly dug up to a depth of one meter. No bone fragments were to be seen anywhere. In one grave some school pupils were building a dugout that was slightly more than one meter deep. At the bottom there lie some loose recently moved sand. Our anxiety grew, because we remembered the tale of a villager (who asked that his name be kept confidential) about soldiers digging there for a long time immediately after the war.

On 5 May 1988 a group of archeologists from the Institute of History, Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, excavated one of the subsidences. The exploration shaft in the center of the pit was 1.5 meters deep. Nothing was found except sand.

This finding struck our team of five persons as hard as the fact itself of the mass persecutions. How could we have underestimated their baseness! What kind of people had busied themselves there right after the war? Traces were being obliterated then, which means that even then those people knew about the atrocities! [Oh, you Stalinists!] Where is your "honest" faith in the justice of your affairs, in the justice of your decisions! It turns out that already then you had been fearful. Such a tremendous, exhausting, Egyptian labor was accomplished! So many cadavers were dug up! Where were they concealed? Were they transported away and buried? Or burned? It was not some minor functionary who had ordered the exhumations. Who was it? Beria? Tsanava? Malenkov? Who?

But even then it turned out that the murderers did not succeed in obliterating the traces. We were approached by the boys who had on May Day built a dugout in a subsidence. They led us to the other side of the area. They pushed away the spruce branches concealing a partition of sticks and we saw a pile of human skulls with bullet holes in them, as well as piles of bones and leather and rubber shoes. On excavating the pit to a depth of 2 meters, in order to build their dugout, those boys found these piles, in the lower layers of the grave.

Let us bear in mind that every time the NKVD troops executed a group of people they covered the corpses with a layer of sand and leveled it. During the postwar exhumations, soldiers picked out bones to a depth of 2 meters and apparently thought that there were no bones any deeper. Or perhaps they simply "goofed off" whenever their supervisors were not nearby. The actual depth of that grave was 2.8 meters and it measured 3x3 meters in area. The boys carefully picked out one-half of the layer of human remains (23 skeletons). Among the skeletons they found mugs of china and enamel, a leather purse with Soviet kopecks of the 1930s (most recent date on a coin: 1938), a toothbrush in a

container bearing the brand of a Vitebsk factory, and a large number of spent cartridge cases traceable to a 7.5 mm caliber nagan as well as round broken eyeglass lenses in a thin metal frame. All the rubber galoshes bore trademarks of Soviet factories and the date 1937. Male leather shoes and female footwear also were found. The bullet holes in the skulls are to be seen mostly in the occiput, which often shows two holes side by side. In several skulls the holes were in the temporal and frontal regions, and even in the top of the skull (when those still alive in the pit were shot from above). All these holes had a diameter of 7.5 mm.

What do these finds say? The graves were filled in the years 1937-1938. The victims were executed with nagans, without a trial, and without announcement of death sentences. They rest in these graves together with their bundles, taken when ordered to "get ready," with drinking mugs, toothbrushes, and even copper coins. Clearly, they were not expecting to be executed.

One long pit-grave was broken into by an excavation for a gas pipeline running on the ridge of hills across Kurapaty. It is a small grave, located at a distance from the road traveled by the condemned. Apparently, it was somehow forgotten or "lost" during the exhumations. Workers, and later children, excavated there bones and 15 skulls with bullet holes in them, along with 20 pairs of leather footwear and galoshes, including also remains of ladies' shoes. The galoshes bear trademarks of Soviet factories and the date 1939. One galosh bears the trademark of a Riga factory and an inscription in Latvian. Date: 1939. This is a 1940 grave in which a Latvian was buried among others (it seems to us that in those times there had been no trade in galoshes with Latvia).

A record of those excavations was prepared and the Baravlyanska Rural Soviet was notified. The Chairman of the Council Siargiey Ivanovich Chachanets, showed understanding of the findings. A committee for elucidating the attendant circumstances and reburying the human remains was even set up. The bones were gathered into a special coffin.

At present the priority is to erect suitable tablets on Kurapaty with information about this site so that people would know that this is not a place for picnics and recreation. Judging from what we discovered, we do not think that the exhumation of the graves conducted in the 1940's had been thorough. At the bottom of these deep subsidences of a certainty there still rest thousands of corpses.

A public reburial of the excavated remains also is indispensable. Further, erecting on this site a monument to the victims of Stalinist repressions should be considered.

One more thing: Should the killers be pardoned or punished? Reader, think about it. We ourselves feel that genocide cannot remain unpunished. There should be no statute of limitation for the culprits. When one stands in a cool, 3 meters deep grave and picks up the slippery sole of a tiny female shoe (size 34), one has no doubts about it.

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SUBJ: COMMISSION PROBES ORIGINS OF UNMARKED GRAVES

SOURCE: MOSCOW IZVESTIYA IN RUSSIAN 28 AUG 88 MORNING

EDITION P 2

TEXT:

//(REPORT BY IZVESTIYA OWN CORRESPONDENT M. SHIMANSKIY UNDER THE RUBRIC "GLASNOST VERSUS RUMORS": "WHOSE REMAINS LIE IN THE FOREST NEAR MINSK"))

((TEXT)) MINSK -- TODAY THE NAME KUROPATY IS OFTEN HEARD IN BELORUSSIA, AND IS BECOMING SURROUNDED BY DIVERSE RUMORS. MANY ANONYMOUS GRAVES HAVE BEEN DISCOVERED HERE.

KUROPATY IS A FOREST TRACT ON THE NORTHERN OUTSKIRTS OF MINSK. THE "ZELENY LUG" RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT HAS SPREAD RIGHT UP TO IT. OLD-TIMERS CONFIRM THAT FROM 1937 TO 1941 SHOTS WERE HEARD EVERY DAY AND EVERY NIGHT IN THE WOOD.

RECENTLY WHEN A GAS LINE TRENCH WAS LAID ONE OF THE GRAVES WAS DISTURBED. BONES, 15 BULLET-RIDDEN HUMAN SKULLS AND THE REMAINS OF 20 PAIRS OF SHOES WERE FOUND IN IT. THE SUPPOSITION WAS VOICED THAT DURING STALIN'S TIME MASS EXECUTIONS TOOK PLACE IN THE KUROPATY WOOD.

THE BELORUSSIAN SSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SET UP A GOVERNMENTAL COMMISSION WHICH WAS INSTRUCTED TO FIND OUT WHOSE REMAINS LIE IN KUROPATY AND WHAT HAPPENED HERE AT THE END OF THE 1930'S AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 1940'S. I MET WITH G. TARNAVSKIY, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION AND BELORUSSIAN SSR PROSECUTOR.

"WE CAN WELL UNDERSTAND PUBLIC CONCERN IN CONNECTION WITH THE MASS GRAVES DISCOVERED IN KUROPATY," HE SAID. "OUR COMMISSION HAS STARTED WORK. IT IS HEADED BY N. MAZAY, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE

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REPUBLIC'S COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. IT INCLUDES REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT, PARTY, AND SOVIET ORGANS AND THE PUBLIC. HERO OF SOCIALIST LABOR AND WRITER VASIL BYKOV, USSR PEOPLE'S ARTIST MIKHAIL SAVITSKIY, AND HERO OF THE SOVIET UNION MARIYA OSIPOVA ARE AMONG THEM. SPECIALISTS BEGAN TO WORK IN THE ARCHIVES BUT MANY DOCUMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH BELORUSSIA'S OCCUPATION DURING THE WAR YEARS WERE NOT KEPT.

EXCAVATIONS ARE ALSO UNDER WAY. HUMAN REMAINS AND VARIOUS OBJECTS HAVE ALSO BEEN DISCOVERED: CLOTHING, FOOTWEAR, COMBS AND EYEGASSES... ALL THESE ARE BEING HANDED OVER TO THE INSTITUTE OF FORENSIC EXAMINATION FOR INVESTIGATION. THERE ARE HOLES IN SOME SKULLS WHICH ARE SIMILAR TO BULLET HOLES. BUT THE EXPERT EXAMINATION WILL ANSWER THIS QUESTION PRECISELY."

"HAS IT BEEN ESTABLISHED WHEN THESE PEOPLE WERE BURIED IN KUROPATY?"

"IT IS STILL IMPOSSIBLE TO ANSWER THIS PRECISELY. ACCORDING TO WITNESSES' STORIES, THIS WAS AT THE END OF THE 1930'S AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 1940'S. BUT THE FINAL CONCLUSION CAN ONLY BE MADE AFTER THE INVESTIGATION IS COMPLETED. EXPERT EXAMINATION WILL DETERMINE WHAT HAPPENED IN KUROPATY AND WHEN, WHO IS BURIED HERE AND WHAT AGE AND SEX THESE PEOPLE WERE. THE TRUTH ABOUT THE EVENTS IN KUROPATY MUST BE TOLD.

BUT THE DIFFICULTY OF OUR INVESTIGATION LIES IN THE FACT THAT DURING THE LAST WAR THE NAZIS CARRIED OUT MASS EXECUTIONS OF THE PEACEFUL POPULATION THROUGHOUT BELORUSSIAN TERRITORY, AND KILLED POWS IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS, INCLUDING IN THE MINSK VICINITY. CITIZENS FROM OTHER OCCUPIED STATES WERE ALSO BROUGHT HERE TO BE EXECUTED. FOR THIS REASON HASTY CONCLUSIONS SHOULD NOT BE MADE. HASTY CONCLUSIONS NOT FOUNDED ON TRUSTWORTHY INFORMATION ONLY GIVE RISE TO RUMORS AND CONJECTURES, AND ROUSE EMOTIONS. AS SOON AS THE COMMISSION HAS PRECISE, VERIFIED DATA AT ITS DISPOSAL, THESE WILL ALL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC.

THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSION CONTINUES ITS WORK.

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COUNTRY: USSR

SUBJ: BELORUSSIAN THIRTIES' SHOOTINGS INVESTIGATED

SOURCE: MOSCOW IZVESTIYA IN RUSSIAN 12 SEP 88 MORNING

EDITION P 4

TEXT:

//((REPORT BY M. SHIMANSKIY: "TRAGEDY IN KUROPATY: WHO WAS SHOT HERE?"))

((TEXT)) AS WE HAVE ALREADY REPORTED (IZVESTIYA NO. 241) THE BELORUSSIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HAS CREATED A GOVERNMENT COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DEATHS OF THE PEOPLE WHOSE REMAINS HAVE BEEN DISCOVERED IN THE KUROPATY FOREST NEAR MINSK. THE INVESTIGATION GROUP OF THE REPUBLIC'S PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE HAS MADE AVAILABLE TO THE COMMISSION THE RESULTS OF THE INTERROGATION OF WITNESSES.

V. SOBOLEV, CHIEF OF THE INVESTIGATION SECTION, AND YA. BROLISHS, INVESTIGATOR FOR ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT CASES, TOLD YOUR IZVESTIYA CORRESPONDENT THAT 80 INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGES OF TSNA, ZABOLOTYE, DROZDOVO, AND OTHERS WERE QUESTIONED.

N. KARZHVICH, BORN 1919: "IN 1937 THEY BEGAN TO ERECT A FENCE IN THIS FOREST. THE FENCE WAS ABOUT 3 METERS HIGH. THE APPROACH ROAD WAS FROM THE DIRECTION OF MINSK. THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS KEPT CONSTANT GUARD OVER THE TERRITORY. THEY USUALLY BROUGHT PEOPLE HERE IN THE EVENING, AFTER 1700-1800 HOURS. THEY SHOT THEM IMMEDIATELY. I DID NOT GO THERE OFTEN, MY PARENTS WOULD NOT LET ME. WHEN I DID APPROACH I LOOKED THROUGH A HOLE IN THE FENCE. PEOPLE WERE PUT IN A LINE ABOVE SOME HOLES. ON ONE OCCASION MY FATHER AND I DROVE BY THIS PLACE IN A CART. A HOLE ABOUT 5 METERS LONG WAS FULL OF BODIES. THEY WERE COVERED ONLY

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WITH BRANCHES.

O. BOROVSKAYA, BORN 1927: "OF THE EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THAT FOREST I CAN SAY THE FOLLOWING: SHOUTS AND GROANS COULD BE HEARD FROM THE FOREST. PEOPLE SHOUTED: 'WHY US?' AND SHOTS WERE ALSO HEARD. AT FIRST THE SHOOTING WAS DURING THE DAY AND AT NIGHT. THIS ALL HAPPENED IN 1937-1938 AND THEN CONTINUED RIGHT UP TO THE WAR ITSELF. LATER IT WAS USUALLY EVERY COUPLE OF DAYS OR SO. WOMEN'S VOICES WERE ALSO HEARD.

"IN THE SUMMER OF 1938 WE CHILDREN WERE ONCE OUT PICKING BERRIES. WE CREPT IN THROUGH A TRENCH UNDER THE FENCE. THE TRUCKS BEGAN TO ARRIVE. THERE WAS NOWHERE TO GO SO I HID UNDER A FIR TREE. A COVERED TRUCK FOLLOWED A PASSENGER CAR. THERE WERE BARS ON THE BODY OF THE TRUCK. MEN DRESSED IN GRAY CIVILIAN SUITS AND BAREHEADED GOT OUT OF THE PASSENGER CAR. THE MEN LED PEOPLE OUT OF THE TRUCK. THEIR HANDS WERE TIED BEHIND THEIR BACKS. THEY BEGAN TO SHOOT THEM. THE PEOPLE CRIED: "OH, GOD, WHY US?"

D. TOVSTIK, BORN 1911: "IT WAS A YEAR OR TWO BEFORE THE WAR, THAT IS IN 1939 OR 1940. ONE SUMMER'S DAY WE WERE REAPING CORN NEAR THIS FOREST. A TRUCK WITH AN OPEN CHASSIS APPROACHED US ALONG THE ROAD. MEN IN CIVILIAN CLOTHING WERE SITTING IN IT. THE TRUCK WENT INSIDE THE FENCE. WE DECIDED TO TAKE A LOOK AND APPROACHED THE FENCE, REMOVED THE BOARDS, AND SAW THE MEN DIGGING A HOLE. THEN THEY LEFT. SOON AFTER THAT A TRUCK WITH A BLACK CABIN PASSED THROUGH THE FENCE INTO THE FOREST. AND SHOTS AND SHOUTING WERE HEARD IMMEDIATELY. THEN THE TRUCK LEFT. WE WENT TO LOOK. WHEN WE HAD CRAWLED UNDER THE FENCE WE SAW THE HOLE HAD BEEN COVERED WITH FRESH SAND, WHICH WAS MOVING."

N. POTERSHUK, BORN 1929: "EVERYONE IN OUR VILLAGE AT THE TIME KNEW ABOUT THE SHOOTINGS BECAUSE SHOTS WERE HEARD FROM THE FOREST ALMOST EVERY DAY. NONE OF THE LOCAL INHABITANTS KNEW WHO WAS BEING SHOT -- THEY WERE FRIGHTENED TO TALK ABOUT IT, EVEN AMONG THEMSELVES. I REMEMBER HOW ONCE A FRIEND AND I NONETHELESS DECIDED TO TAKE A LOOK AT WHAT WAS HAPPENING THERE ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE FENCE. THIS WAS IN APPROXIMATELY 1939. WE APPROACHED THE FENCE TOWARD EVENING. I SAW AND WELL REMEMBER HOW SOME 40 METERS FROM WHERE WE WERE SITTING ABOUT 8 MEN WERE DIGGING A HOLE. WHEN THEY HAD DUG THE HOLE THEY WERE PUT IN A TRUCK AND DRIVEN AWAY. WE RAN TO THE GRAVEL ROAD AND WAITED. SOON TRUCKS APPEARED, ONE COVERED, THE OTHERS ORDINARY TRUCKS WITH HIGH SIDES. THESE TRUCKS CONTAINED ONLY MEN, THEY WERE DRIVEN FROM THE TRUCKS BY MEN IN MILITARY UNIFORM AND PUSHED TOWARD THE HOLE. THEN SHOTS WERE HEARD."

"WE ARE CONTINUING THE QUESTIONING OF WITNESSES," YA. BROLISHS SAID. "WE ARE ALSO TO CARRY OUT AND TO OBTAIN CONCLUSIONS FROM THE FORENSIC, CRIMINAL, AND OTHER EXPERT REPORTS WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN COMMISSIONED. WHEN WE HAVE ALL THE CONCLUSIONS, WE WILL ANALYZE THEM CAREFULLY AND COMPARE THEM WITH THE WITNESSES' EVIDENCE AND ONLY AFTER THAT WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO DRAW OBJECTIVE AND RELIABLE CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE EVENTS IN KUROPATY.

V. KONDRATYEV, FIRST DEPUTY PROSECUTOR OF THE BELORUSSIAN SSR, IS DIRECTLY SUPERVISING THE INVESTIGATION.

"I WANT TO APPEAL THROUGH IZVESTIYA," HE SAID, "TO ALL THOSE WHO KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THE EVENTS IN KUROPATY TO TELL THIS TO THE BELORUSSIAN PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE."

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SUBJECT: 270801ZSEP885504

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SERIAL: PM2709080188

BODY

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

PASS: COPY TO UD

COUNTRY: USSR

SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 3 -- STALIN SLANDER SUIT REJECTED

REF: PM1805152688 AND ADD MOSCOW SOVETSKAYA KULTURA

RUSSIAN 19 MAY -- ADAMOVICH WARNS OF ANTIRESTRUCTURING

SOURCE: MOSCOW IZVESTIYA IN RUSSIAN 23 SEP 88 MORNING

EDITION P 6

TEXT:

(((PAVEL GUTIONTOV ARTICLE: "ACTION NO. 17 IN DEFENSE OF COMRADE STALIN DISMISSED BY THE RAYON COURT" -- WORDS WITHIN SLANTLINES PRINTED IN BOLDFACE)))

((TEXT)) THE ACTION WAS FILED BY IVAN TIMOFEYEVICH SHEKHOVTSOV, FORMER PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE OFFICIAL NOW RETIRED ON PENSION AND RESIDENT OF KHARKOV. HE TOOK WRITER ALES ADAMOVICH TO COURT, ACCUSING HIM OF INSULTING I.V. STALIN'S HONOR AND DIGNITY AND ALSO HIS, I.T. SHEKHOVTSOV'S, HONOR AND DIGNITY. THAT WAS THE 17TH ACTION FILED BY SHEKHOVTSOV AGAINST A WIDE RANGE OF PRESS ORGANS AND THEIR WRITERS. THE PREVIOUS 16 WERE NOT REFERRED FOR TRIAL SINCE THEY EXCLUSIVELY CONCERNED ONLY STALIN (SOMEONE WHO, IN SHEKHOVTSOV'S WORDS, "CANNOT PERSONALLY EXPLAIN AND JUSTIFY HIMSELF"), BUT THE FORMER PROSECUTOR PERCEIVED ELEMENTS OF PERSONAL INSULT IN ADAMOVICH'S ARTICLE PUBLISHED BY SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 19 MAY THIS YEAR.

THE POINT IS THAT THE WRITER CITED HIS LETTER TO VASIL BYKOV, WHOM SHEKHOVTSOV HAD TAKEN TO TASK FOR AN ARTICLE IN IZVESTIYA WHICH, IN HIS OPINION, CONTAINED INSULTING ATTACKS AGAINST THE LEADER ((STALIN -- FBIS)), ADVISING HIM TO IMMEDIATELY SEND TO IZVESTIYA A LETTER SAYING THAT HE HAD "REVISED HIS POSITIONS."

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BYKOV FAILED TO REVISE HIS POSITIONS, BUT THE LETTER WAS READ BY ADAMOVICH, WHO, WITHOUT ACTUALLY NAMING THE WRITER, DEEMED IT PERMISSIBLE TO QUOTE THE FOLLOWING LINES FROM IT:

"A STALWART JURIST FROM STALIN'S TIME WRITES: 'YOU SAY: "VAVILOV WAS TORTURED..." BUT THE POINT IS THAT, UNDER THE LAW, THE USE OF TORTURE AND OTHER ILLEGAL METHODS CAN BE CONSIDERED GROUNDS FOR QUASHING A SENTENCE ONLY IF THE PERSONS WHO USED THESE METHODS HAVE THEMSELVES BEEN SENTENCED. SO, WAS INVESTIGATOR KHVAT, WHO IS ALLEGED TO HAVE TORTURED VAVILOV, INVESTIGATED?..."

"DO YOU HEAR," ADAMOVICH COMMENTED, "THE TRIUMPHANT DEFENDER OF BUTCHERS, GLOATING OVER WHAT IS, FRANKLY, OUR LIBERALISM? AHA, IN THE SIXTIES THEY LET THE BUTCHERS EVADE THE COURTS AND HIDE BEHIND THE STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS... WELL, TOUGH| IT IS NOT YOUR VERDICTS, BUT OURS THAT REMAIN IN FORCE|.. WHEN YOU READ THINGS LIKE THAT, YOU GROAN AS IF YOU HAD TOOTHACHE, BUT WHAT THEN, HOW CAN YOU REPLY IF IT IS NOT A PERSON FACING YOU, BUT A BRICK WALL..."

SHEKHOVTSOV HAD NO OBJECTIONS TO HIS OWN LETTER BEING QUOTED. BUT HE COMPLAINED ABOUT THE TERM "TRIUMPHANT DEFENDER OF BUTCHERS" AND DEMANDED PROOF THAT THOSE WHOSE DEFENSE HE HAS UNDERTAKEN WERE INDEED BUTCHERS. AND, AS YOU CAN EASILY UNDERSTAND, LIEUTENANT KHVAT WAS NO MORE THAN AN EXCUSE FOR A CONVERSATION ON A MUCH BROADER TOPIC.

IN ESSENCE, IT CONCERNED THE JUDICIAL ACQUITTAL OF STALINISM.

I WAS INVITED TO ATTEND THE TRIAL BY DANIIL GRANIN, WHO HAD COME TO MOSCOW ON BUSINESS OF HIS OWN AND HAD PUT SOME OF IT OFF SO AS TO BE ABLE TO ATTEND THIS TRIAL. THE HALL WAS CHOCKABLOCK, THERE WERE NO EMPTY SEATS AND SOME PEOPLE WERE EVEN STANDING. TELEVISION AND MOVIE CAMERAS WERE SHOOTING AWAY, AND DOCTORS OF SCIENCES V. POLIKARPOV, A. MISHIN, AND S. SHEBOLDAYEV AND CURRENT AFFAIRS WRITER YU. KARYAKIN WERE AMONG THE WITNESSES SUMMONED...

WHAT POSITIONS WERE TAKEN BY THE SIDES IN THIS TRIAL?

SHEKHOVTSOV DEMANDED AN END TO THE PRESS CENSURING OF THE "PERIOD IN OUR HISTORY WHEN THE PARTY AND STATE WERE HEADED BY COMRADE I.V. STALIN." ALSO THAT MATERIAL ON TOPICS CONCERNING REHABILITATION BE WRITTEN ONLY BY "PERSONS VESTED WITH THE NECESSARY POWERS."

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 002 *****/

REF: PM2709080188 MOSCOW IZVESTIYA RUSSIAN 23 SEP///THE NECESSARY POWERS."

TEXT:

((TEXT)) ADAMOVICH DECLARED THAT "WE WILL NOT WAIT FOR JURISTS FROM THE STALIN SCHOOL TO GIVE US PERMISSION TO EXAMINE THESE THINGS IN THE WAY OUR MORAL SENSE DICTATES."

BY WAY OF EVIDENCE, SHEKHOVTSOV CITED NEWSPAPERS "FROM THE PERIOD 1935-1948." THE RESPONDENTS (THE SOVETSKAYA KULTURA EDITORIAL BOARD IN ADDITION TO ADAMOVICH) CITED THE ASSESSMENTS MADE IN THE REPORT TO THE FESTIVE SESSION DEVOTED TO THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF SOVIET POWER AND A RECENT INTERVIEW GIVEN TO PRAVDA BY M.S. SOLOMENTSEV, MEMBER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO.

SHEKHOVTSOV CLAIMED THAT SINCE THERE HAD BEEN NO TRIAL OF THOSE WHO INSPIRED THE TERROR, IT IS ILLEGAL TO CALL THEM BUTCHERS AND EVEN TO ACCUSE THEM OF CRIMES. THE RESPONDENTS COUNTERCLAIMED:

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SURELY WE ARE ENTITLED TO DESCRIBE MALYUTA SKURATOV ((CHIEF OF SECRET POLICE UNDER IVAN THE TERRIBLE -- FBIS)) AS A BUTCHER AND TAMERLANE AS A BLOODY TYRANT. YET NO COURT PASSED A VERDICT ON EITHER OF THEM, AND NOW IT IS HARDLY FEASIBLE TO GIVE EACH ONE OF THEM THE FLOOR TO JUSTIFY THEMSELVES...

ALL THIS COULD EASILY BE LAUGHED OFF: "COME ON, YOU GUYS, WE'RE GETTING READY TO CELEBRATE OUR MILLENNIUM|" BUT BEHIND THIS ACTION STANDS A TERRIBLE PHENOMENON WHICH IS BY NO MEANS BURIED IN THE PAST. STALINISM IS STILL ALIVE, AND SWEEPING IT OUT OF OUR PRESENT MEANS MORE THAN JUST TAKING THE GENERALISSIMO'S PHOTOGRAPH OFF A BUS WINDSHIELD. STALINISM IS A WAY OF THINKING WHICH SPARES NO THOUGHT FOR MAN...

BUT WHY "RAKE UP THE PAST"? WHY NOT FORGET IT LIKE A BAD NIGHTMARE? WHY REOPEN OLD WOUNDS?

IN ORDER TO PREVENT THESE WOUNDS GOING SEPTIC. IN ORDER TO REALLY CONSIGN THE PAST TO /THE PAST./ IN ORDER TO RESTORE THE SOLE PROPER MEANING OF THE TERMS "GOOD" AND "EVIL" -- BECAUSE, INCIDENTALLY, THE DISTORTION OF THEIR ACTUAL MEANING UNDER STALIN PLAYED BY NO MEANS THE LEAST ROLE IN THE SPROUTING OF DUPLICITY IN BREZHNEV'S ERA.

THE TRAGEDY OF STALINSHCHINA CONCERNS MORE THAN THE PURPOSEFUL DESTRUCTION OF THE PICK AND PRIDE OF THE COUNTRY -- IT MERCILESSLY PERVERTED THE MINDS OF THE SURVIVORS. DURING A BREAK BETWEEN COURT SESSIONS, SOMEONE ASKED SHEKHOVTSOV: "TELL US THEN, DID STALIN DO ANYTHING GOOD FOR YOU PERSONALLY?" IVAN TIMOFEYEVICH REPLIED: "HE DID|" AND HE NARRATED THE FOLLOWING STORY VERBATIM.

BACK IN 1929, HIS FAMILY WAS DEKULAKIZED BY VIRTUE OF A RURAL SOVIET DECISION. AT 3 YEARS OF AGE, HE WAS THE OLDEST OF THREE CHILDREN. WHILE ON BOARD THE SPECIAL TRAIN, HIS MOTHER USED TO WRAP THE WET DIAPERS AROUND HER OWN BODY TO DRY THEM... THE YOUNGEST DIED... BUT RIGHT AFTER STALIN'S ARTICLE "GIDDY WITH SUCCESS" HIS FAMILY WAS BROUGHT BACK...

PRECISELY SO: THE RURAL SOVIET SENT THEM TO EXILE, STALIN BROUGHT THEM BACK...

IVAN TIMOFEYEVICH SHOULD BE PITIED. BUT HE PERSONALLY HAS NO PITY FOR ANYONE. FOLLOWING THE ARTICLE ABOUT RASKOLNIKOV PUBLISHED BY OGONEK LAST YEAR, SHEKHOVTSOV ASKED THE MOSCOW PROSECUTOR TO INSTITUTE CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST ITS AUTHOR, V. POLIKARPOV, "FOR DISSEMINATING IN PRINT DELIBERATELY FALSE FABRICATIONS DEFAMING THE SOVIET STATE AND SOCIAL SYSTEM..." THE JUSTIFICATION OF HIS REQUEST TOOK SIX WRITTEN PAGES. AS IN THE GOOD OLD DAYS...

NOW HE DEMANDS INCONTROVERTIBLE PROOF THAT REPRESSIONS ACTUALLY TOOK PLACE AND THAT STALIN WAS ACTUALLY GUILTY OF THEM. FINE, FACTS WERE ALSO CITED AT THE TRIAL.

THERE WAS MENTION OF A RECENT ARTICLE IN IZVESTIYA ABOUT THE TRAGEDY OF KUROPATY, AN OBSCURE AND TINY PLACE NEAR MINSK WHERE REPRESSED PEOPLE WERE SHOT EN MASSE IN THE LATE THIRTIES. THE BELORUSSIAN PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE HAS LAUNCHED AN INVESTIGATION OF THIS CASE, AND THE NEWSPAPER CITED EXCERPTS FROM EYEWITNESS TESTIMONIES BY LOCAL RESIDENTS...

"HAVE YOU READ ABOUT KUROPATY?", SHEKHOVTSOV WAS ASKED IN COURT.

"AND DID YOU KNOW THAT THIS IZVESTIYA ARTICLE WAS IMMEDIATELY REPORTED BY VOA?", SHEKHOVTSOV ANSWERED THE QUESTION BY ANOTHER

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QUESTION...

ORIGINALS OF THE SO-CALLED "SHOW TRIALS" HAVE BEEN PRESERVED, WITH EVERY PAGE LISTING BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF THE EXPOSED "ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE" FOLLOWED BY A "SUMMARY OF THE CASE" OUTLINED IN A FEW LINES. THERE ARE THREE SIGNATURES UNDERNEATH: VYSHINSKIY, ULRIKH, AND YEZHOV. ALL THAT WAS LEFT FOR STALIN TO DO WAS TO PUT A FIGURE IN THE CORNER OF THE PAGE -- "1" (EXECUTION BY FIRING SQUAD) OR "2" (10 YEARS IN CAMP). THE DESTINY OF THOSE LEFT UNTOUCHED BY STALIN'S PENCIL WAS INDEED DECIDED WITHOUT HIS KNOWLEDGE, BUT ALONG VERY SIMILAR LINES...

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 003 *****/

REF: PM2709080188 MOSCOW IZVESTIYA RUSSIAN 23 SEP///VERY SIMILAR LINES...

TEXT:

((TEXT)) DOCTOR OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES V. POLIKARPOV, TESTIFYING AS WITNESS BEFORE THE COURT, CITED A FIGURE: IN 1937-1938 ALONE STALIN SIGNED 393 LISTS CONTAINING THE NAMES OF HUNDREDS UPON HUNDREDS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE. AND THEN HE SAID, TURNING TO SHEKHOVTSOV: "IF YOU REALLY WERE A HISTORIAN, AS YOU CLAIM, YOU MUST KNOW THAT THE EXPERT STUDY WHICH YOU AS A JURIST DEMAND BE CONDUCTED WAS CONDUCTED EVEN BEFORE THE 20TH CONGRESS, AND ITS DEDUCTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS -- BASED ON A MOST THOROUGH STUDY OF DOCUMENTS -- ARE KNOWN ALL OVER THE WORLD..."

"ARE YOU NOW IN A POSITION TO SHOW ME THE ORIGINALS OF THESE DOCUMENTS?", SHEKHOVTSOV ASKED...

OF COURSE, IVAN TIMOFEYEVICH SHEKHOVTSOV, A JURIST AND UPHOLDER OF THE LAW, KNOWS AND INSISTS THAT NO CITIZEN CAN BE CALLED A CRIMINAL UNLESS HE HAS BEEN TRIED. BUT HE NONETHELESS DEMANDS:

"LET THEM NAME A SPECIFIC IVANOV, PETROV, OR SIDOROV WHO WAS PERSONALLY EXTERMINATED BY STALIN|"

INDEED, HE IS RIGHT HERE. LET US NAME (AND WE NOT ONLY CAN BUT MUST DO THIS|) INDIVIDUALLY ALL THE VICTIMS OF THE TERROR AND THE ORGANIZERS OF THE TERROR -- THOSE WHO PREPARED AND THOSE WHO SIGNED THE "EXTERMINATION LISTS," AND THOSE WHO CARRIED OUT THE UNLAWFUL "SENTENCES." WE MUST DO THIS NOW, EVEN THOUGH IT MIGHT BE LATE. AND IT IS MORE THAN JUST A MATTER OF RESTORING SIMPLE HISTORICAL JUSTICE, EVEN THOUGH THIS IS, OF COURSE, HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT.

I WOULD LIKE TO CITE -- MAINLY VERBATIM -- PART OF THE COURT SPEECH BY WRITER ALES ADAMOVICH, RESPONDENT IN THE ACTION ABOUT INSULTING THE HONOR AND DIGNITY OF STALIN AND A STALINIST:

"NEITHER I NOR MY FAMILY (MOTHER, FATHER, AND BROTHER) SUFFERED DIRECTLY IN STALIN'S REPRESSIONS, THERE IS NO PERSONAL INJURY INVOLVED. NONETHELESS, I CONSIDER MYSELF ONE OF THE VICTIMS AND AM PREPARED TO FILE MY OWN 'ACTION' AGAINST STALIN AND HIS DEFENDERS.

"IT WAS HE, STALIN, WHO RUINED MY COUNTRY'S AGRICULTURE BY 'DEPEASANTIZING' IT AND I, INHABITANT OF AN AREA ACCOUNTING FOR ONE-SIXTH OF THE PLANET, AM INCAPABLE OF FEEDING MYSELF. NOT ONLY DID HE 'DEPEASANTIZE' THE COUNTRY, HE ALSO DEPRIVED IT OF FOOD SCIENTISTS LIKE NIKOLAY VAVILOV, KILLING THEM THROUGH THE AGENCY OF BUTCHER-INVESTIGATORS AND BUTCHER-PROSECUTORS LIKE KHVAT AND VYSHINSKIY.

"IT WAS HE, STALIN, WHO KILLED OFF A SIZABLE PROPORTION OF MY PEOPLE.

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"IT WAS HE WHO MADE PEOPLE LOOK SUSPICIOUSLY AT THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS FOR DECADES ON END: COULD HE BE AN INFORMER?.. HE THUS FRAGMENTED US, DEPRIVED US OF THE SENSE OF RESPECT FOR ONE ANOTHER, AND THUS OF OUR OWN SELF-RESPECT.

"IT WAS STALIN WHO, THROUGH HIS POLICY OF REPRESSIONS, ALMOST LEFT ME TO THE MERCY OF FASCISM (AND IN FACT DID LEAVE 80 MILLION) AND AFTERWARD TREATED US (INCLUDING PARTISANS AND UNDERGROUND FIGHTERS) AS TRAITORS: THEY LIVED IN OCCUPIED TERRITORY|

"AND FINALLY IT WAS HE, STALIN, WHO DISCREDITED SOCIALISM...

"THERE IT IS, MY FAR FROM COMPLETE CASE AGAINST STALIN, AND THEREFORE AGAINST HIS DEFENDERS..."

...MOSCOW'S SVERDLOVSKIY RAYON PEOPLE'S COURT DECIDED TO DISMISS I.T. SHEKHOVTSOV'S ACTION. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT AND PRINCIPLED DECISION, THOUGH THE FORMER DEPUTY PROSECUTOR IS, OF COURSE, ENTITLED TO APPEAL AGAINST IT. BUT NO MATTER WHAT HE AND HIS ASSOCIATES MIGHT DO, STALIN AND STALINISM HAVE ALREADY BEEN SENTENCED BY A /SUPREME/ COURT WHOSE SENTENCE IS FINAL AND NOT SUBJECT TO APPEAL. THIS IS THE SENTENCE BY HISTORY, AND THIS SENTENCE IS ALREADY LEGALLY IN FORCE.

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SERIAL: PM0911150288

BODY

PASS: COPY TO UD

COUNTRY: USSR

SUBJ: WEEKLY WORKING FOR 'FOREIGN FOES,' READER CLAIMS

SOURCE: MOSCOW MOSCOW NEWS IN ENGLISH NO. 45, 6 NOV 88 P 2

TEXT:

(((READER'S LETTER FROM THE "LETTERS TO THE EDITOR"

COLUMN: "ONLY CAPITALIST AGENTS STAND TO GAIN. OPEN LETTER

TO YEGOR YAKOVLEV, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF 'MOSCOW NEWS'))

((TEXT)) WITH INDIGNATION AND BITTERNESS I HAVE OBSERVED OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS HOW YOUR NEWSPAPER HAS BEEN TURNING INCREASINGLY INTO AN ORGAN WORKING NOT FOR SOCIALISM AND OUR MOTHERLAND, BUT FOR OUR FOREIGN FOES. FROM ISSUE TO ISSUE YOUR NEWSPAPER PRINTS MATERIAL ABUSING AND SPITTING UPON OUR COUNTRY, ITS HISTORY AND PAST. BRANDISHING THE FLAG OF REPRESSIONS, YOU HAVE BEEN TRYING TO USE THEM TO OVERSHADOW THE ENTIRE HEROIC PAST OF OUR COUNTRY, PORTRAYING THEM AS THE MAIN ASPECT OF THE PREWAR AND POSTWAR PERIODS. OUR PEOPLE'S HEROISM IN BUILDING THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM (I EMPHASIZE: SOCIALISM) IN OUR COUNTRY IS BEING OBSCURED. OF COURSE, THE REPRESSIONS AGAINST INNOCENT PEOPLE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE PREWAR AND POSTWAR YEARS ARE A GREAT TRAGEDY AND PAIN FOR OUR WHOLE PEOPLE AND COUNTRY. THEY WERE CARRIED OUT ON ORDERS FROM THE TOP ECHEOLONS OF THE RULING BODY, NOT CONTROLLED BY THE PEOPLE. BUT THE SHADOW OF THE REPRESSIONS FELL UPON ALL OUR PEOPLE, UPON OUR ENTIRE SYSTEM AND UPON THE WHOLE COUNTRY. THE INNOCENT VICTIMS OF REPRESSIONS HAVE TO BE REHABILITATED. BUT, TO RAISE SUCH A HULLABALOO AROUND THE REPRESSIONS, TO PUT OUR TRAGEDY ON DISPLAY FOR OUR FOES TO SEE AND ENJOY IS BOTH UNSEEMLY AND CRIMINAL. WHATEVER LITTLE BITS BOURGEOIS AGENTS PROCURED BEFORE TO DENIGRATE

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OUR MOTHERLAND IN THE EYES OF THEIR PEOPLE, YOU TREATY THEM TO WHOLESALE THROUGH YOUR PAPER. HOW WOULD YOU, YEGOR YAKOVLEV, FEEL IF YOUR FAMILY AFFAIRS AND SECRETS WERE READ OUT FOR YOUR NEIGHBOURS AND OTHER STRANGERS TO ENJOY? EVEN THOUGH IT MIGHT BE THE TRUTH ABOUT YOUR FAMILY AFFAIRS, YOU WOULD NOT REJOICE AT IT. YOU, YEGOR YAKOVLEV, ARE BY FAR NOT A FIRST-CLASS JOURNALIST, BUT YOU ARE A BRILLIANT MEDIOCRITY, AND YOU ARE SUPPOSED TO POSSESS AN INTELLECT ENABLING YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT DENIGRATING OUR COUNTRY'S PAST IN A NEWSPAPER BY PARADING BEFORE THE ENEMIES DATA DETRIMENTAL TO THE COUNTRY'S PRESTIGE IS UNWORTHY BOTH OF A SOVIET NEWSPAPER AND OF A SOVIET JOURNALIST. IT WAS WITH A FEELING OF DISGUST THAT I READ IN YOUR PAPER OF OCTOBER 9, 1988, THE ARTICLE ENTITLED "KUROPATY", WITH WHAT DELIGHT YOU RELISH THE DETAILS OF OUR PEOPLE'S EXECUTION NEAR MINSK: HOW PEOPLE WERE SHOT THROUGH THE BACK OF THEIR HEAD, FROM UNDER THE SKULL OR THROUGH THE SIDE. WHO NEEDS THESE DETAILS? AFTER ALL, YOU PROVIDE THE FOES WITH MATERIAL FOR EDUCATING THEIR PEOPLE IN THE FEELING OF DISGUST FOR OUR COUNTRY AND HOSTILITY FOR SOCIALISM AS A SYSTEM. I FEEL ASHAMED AND HURT BY YOUR NEWSPAPER AND BY YOU, YEGOR YAKOVLEV, AS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THIS NEWSPAPER.

RESPECTFULLY, BUTIVCHENKO ALEKSEY FEDOROVICH, VETERAN OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR, D.SC. (MILITARY SCIENCES), PROFESSOR

ADMIN

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CONTROLS

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SERIAL: PM0911171088

BODY

PASS: COPY TO UD

COUNTRY: USSR

SUBJ: 'FRONT' MEMBER WARNS AGAINST ANTI-REFORM FORCES

SOURCE: MOSCOW MOSCOW NEWS IN ENGLISH NO. 45, 6 NOV 88 P 13

TEXT:

(((INTERVIEW WITH WRITER VASIL BYKOV BY LEONID MILOSLAVSKIY: "BELORUSSIAN INITIATIVE" -- DATE, PLACE NOT GIVEN; FIRST PARAGRAPH IS EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION)))
 ((TEXT)) SPEAKING ABOUT THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BELORUSSIA, WRITER ALES ADAMOVICH RECALLED VENDEE, A PROVINCE IN FRANCE, WHICH RESISTED THE 1989 REVOLUTION ("OGONEK", NO. 39). THE BELORUSSIAN PRESS RESPONDED WITH AN ARTICLE CALLING ADAMOVICH INCOMPETENT AND POORLY INFORMED. A FEW DAYS LATER THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF MARTIROLOG, A SOCIETY TO COMMEMORATE THE VICTIMS OF STALINISM, DECIDED TO SET UP AN INITIATIVE GROUP OF BELORUSSIA'S POPULAR FRONT. THIS STEP BY THE CREATIVE INTELLECTUALS GENERATED NEW PUBLICATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS. THE IDEOLOGICAL OBSTACLES TO MARTIROLOG'S INITIATIVE ARE AN ALARMING SUGGESTION THAT PERESTROIKA IN BELORUSSIA IS BRAKING, SAYS NATIVE WRITER VASIL BYKOV, MARTIROLOG BOARD MEMBER AND PARTICIPANT IN THE POPULAR FRONT INITIATIVE GROUP. PUBLISHING THE FOLLOWING INTERVIEW WITH BYKOV, "MN" STANDS READY TO PRINT OPPOSING POINTS OF VIEW.

MN: VASIL VLADIMIROVICH, UNTIL NOW THE COUNTRY KNEW VERY LITTLE ABOUT INFORMAL MOVEMENTS IN BELORUSSIA. FROM PUBLICATIONS IN "VECHEVNYY MINSK" (EVENING MINSK), WE NOW KNOW THAT BELORUSSIAN OPPOSE THE "ANTI'POPULAR POPULAR FRONT". ITS INITIATORS ARE CALLED EXTREMISTS, WHILE THE BELORUSSIAN YOUTH FROM THE TOLOKA SOCIETY ARE LABELED

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NATIONALISTS. MANY PEOPLE COMPARE THE ARTICLE ABOUT TOLOKA WITH CRUSHING PREWAR JOURNALISM. BUT THE ARTICLE ALSO CONTAINS FACTS, DOESN'T IT?

VASIL BYKOV: IF YOU HAVE NOTICED, THERE ARE FEW FACTS AND EVEN THOSE, IN MY OPINION, ARE DUBIOUS. MAINLY THEY ARE ARGUMENTS. TOLOKA SUPPORTERS' EFFORTS TO REVIVE THE BELORUSSIAN COAT-OF-ARMS AND THE FLAG ARE CALLED NATIONALISTIC ONLY BECAUSE SOMEWHERE ABROAD THESE SYMBOLS ARE USED TO RALLY BELORUSSIAN EMIGRANTS. SIMILAR ACCUSATIONS ARE AIMED AT ANY ATTEMPT TO RESTORE BELORUSSIAN CULTURE WHICH HAS BEEN DEGENERATING FOR DECADES. THESE TENDENCIES ARE NOT NEW IN THE REPUBLIC. BUT WHEN, IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF PERESTROIKA, THE PRESS STARTS OPENLY FIGHTING ETHNIC SELF-AWARENESS... THAT'S SAD. EVEN IF THE TOLOKA PROGRAMMES COULDN'T DO WITHOUT EXCESSES, THE EXPERIENCE OF THE BALTIC REPUBLICS SHOWS THAT THE MOST COMPLICATED ISSUES CAN BE SOLVED REASONABLY AFTER SOBER DISCUSSION. BY THE WAY, THIS ARTICLE ISN'T JUST A SIGN OF THE PAST. ONE OF ITS FIVE SIGNERS, A. FILIMONOV, DOCTOR OF SCIENCE (HISTORY), IS NOTORIOUS FOR THE SUBJECT OF HIS CANDIDATE'S THESIS: "LAVRENTIY PAVLOVICH BENYA -- LOYAL FRIEND OF THE GREAT STALIN..."

MN: BUT MANY PEOPLE AGREE WITH THESE AUTHORS AND SEE THE MAIN DANGER IN THE POPULAR FRONT....

VASIL BYKOV: YOU KNOW HOW THE DISCUSSION ABOUT THE POPULAR FRONT WAS ORGANIZED WITH THE UNOFFICIAL SOVREMENNIK CLUB? THE PARTY COMMITTEES OF ENTERPRISES GATHERED ABOUT 900 PEOPLE AT THE POLITICAL EDUCATION CENTRE TO REBUFF THE "ENEMIES OF PERESTROIKA". AMONG THE ENEMIES WERE THE FAMOUS BELORUSSIAN WRITER ADAMOVICH AND KOROTICH, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF OGONEK, WHO ALLEGEDLY CAME FROM MOSCOW SPECIALLY TO MAKE TROUBLE. ADAMOVICH WAS DESCRIBED AS TEL-AVIV'S HIRELING, GETTING DOLLARS FROM THERE TO MAINTAIN TWO FLATS - IN MOSCOW AND IN MINSK - AND TO BRIBE PARTY AUTHORITIES... "THE ENEMIES OF PERESTROIKA" DIDN'T COME (AND SHOULD NOT HAVE), BUT THEY WERE REBUFFED.

I DON'T KNOW WHAT OUR POPULAR FRONT WILL BE LIKE OR WHETHER IT WILL GET OFF THE GROUND. BUT I THINK THAT SUCH A RESPONSE FROM OUR "IDEOLOGISTS" TO A PROGRESSIVE IDEA WILL CONVINCEN MANY WAVERERS OF THE NEED TO FIGHT THE PSYCHOLOGY OF STAGNATION. R. BUZUK, REPRESENTATIVE OF BELORUSSIA'S COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WAS AT THE MARTIROLOG MEETING. HE TRIED TO UPSET THE VOTING WHEN THE BOARD WAS BEING ELECTED, DEMANDED THAT HE BE GIVEN THE FLOOR. AFTER THE VOTING, WHEN BUZUK WAS GIVEN THE FLOOR, IT TURNED OUT HE HAD NOTHING TO SAY.

MN: I WAS TOLD THAT YOU THEN TOOK THE MICROPHONE AND SAID, POINTING TO BUZUK: "THIS IS WHAT WE MUST FIGHT!" WHAT, IN YOUR OPINION, IS HOLDING PERESTROIKA BACK IN BELORUSSIA?

VASIL BYKOV: I WOULDN'T LIKE TO THINK THAT BUZUK'S WORK METHODS AND POLITICAL VIEWS ARE TYPICAL OF BELORUSSIA'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE. BUT AMONG THE HIGHER AUTHORITIES THERE ARE STILL QUITE A FEW PEOPLE WHO THINK PERESTROIKA WILL BE

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HURT BY A REVIVAL OF ETHNIC CULTURE. IN FACT, OUR PEOPLE, WHO HAVE HALF-FORGOTTEN THEIR PRIDE, HAVE YET ONE MORE PROBLEM, ONE MORE PAIN - STALINIST REPRESSIONS. IT SEEMS STRANGE AND HORRIBLE TO ME THAT TODAY THERE ARE SOME WHO WANT TO CONCEAL FROM THE PEOPLE THEIR PAST WHICH HAS FOR SO MANY YEARS LAIN IN KUROPATY GRAVES. WHO NEEDS ALL THIS? WHO NEEDED THE CROWDED MEETING IN MEMORY OF THE KUROPATY VICTIMS, WHICH INCIDENTALLY WAS ADDRESSED BY PARTY FUNCTIONARIES, WAS LATER DECLARED ILLEGAL - AND ITS ORGANIZERS FINED? I RECALL THAT ONE OF THE DELEGATES AT THE 19TH PARTY CONFERENCE SAID: "WE ARE STRUGGLING FOR PERESTROKA, BUT WHAT ARE THOSE BAWLERS AT THE MEETINGS STRUGGLING FOR?" MANY PEOPLE CONSIDER THEMSELVES AUTHORS OF PERESTROIKA WHILE DENYING OTHERS THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE. UNLESS WE UNDERSTAND THAT EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO HIS OWN VIEW, THAT ALL IDEAS AT MEETINGS, JUST AS THE MEETINGS THEMSELVES, HAVE BEEN ENGENDERED BY PERESTROIKA, CONFLICTS ARE INEVITABLE. FOR OUR PEOPLE THE MEMORY OF VICTIMS IS AN IDEA WHICH CAN UNITE US IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PERESTROIKA, FOR THE TERROR OF STALINISM NEVER TO BE REPEATED AGAIN. AND THE FACT THAT SUCH AN ASSOCIATION IN OUR COUNTRY IS DECLARED ILLEGAL IN ADVANCE IS TANTAMOUNT TO DEFENDING STALINISM BEHIND PERESTROIKA SLOGANS.

MN: YOU'RE SPEAKING ABOUT A NATIONWIDE ASSOCIATION. BUT THE POPULAR FRONT IS OPPOSED (AT LEAST IN THE PRESS) BY WORKERS AND ORDINARY CITIZENS.

VASIL BYKOV: UNFORTUNATELY, NOT EVERYONE IN OUR COUNTRY HAS LEARNED TO THINK INDEPENDENTLY. NOT EVERYONE UNDERSTANDS THAT IN ORDER TO CRITICIZE SOMETHING, IT IS NECESSARY TO KNOW WHAT THAT SOMETHING IS ABOUT. FOR TOO LONG PEOPLE HAVE BEEN TAUGHT TO LIVE ACCORDING TO A GENERAL PLAN, TO THINK IN TIME WITH SLOGANS, TO TALK AND TO KEEP SILENT BY TURNS. THEREFORE, MANY PEOPLE TODAY, IN ORDER TO PROTEST, DO NOT HAVE TO UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION - THE VIEW OF THE STAFF FUNCTIONARY FROM "THE IDEOLOGICAL COMMISSION OF THE MICRODISTRICT" IS ENOUGH TO ELIMINATE IN THE SOULS OF PEOPLE EVERYTHING PUT THERE BY THE BOOKS OF ADAMOVICH AND TO DECLARE ADAMOVICH AN "ENEMY OF PERESTROIKA"....

THE SITUATION IS ALARMING. WE MUST DO EVERYTHING FOR BELORUSSIA NOT TO BECOME THE VENDEE OF PERESTROIKA.

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SERIAL: PM1011163188

BODY

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

PASS: COPY TO UD

COUNTRY: USSR

SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 3 -- YEVTUSHENKO ON COMMEMORATING PURGES

SOURCE: MOSCOW LITERATURNAYA GAZETA IN RUSSIAN 2 NOV 88 P 2

TEXT:

//((YEVGENIY YEVTUSHENKO LETTER CARRIED AS PART OF "PULSE-88"

FEATURE: "HELP 'MEMORIAL'" -- FIRST FIVE PARAGRAPHS ARE

INTRODUCTION))

((TEXT)) WHAT HAPPENED OVER THE 2 DAYS OF 29-30 OCTOBER IN MOSCOW'S CENTRAL HOUSE OF CINEMATOGRAPHY WORKERS WAS IN ITSELF YET ANOTHER INCONTROVERTIBLE PROOF OF THE CHANGES -- IN DEED AND NOT JUST IN WORDS -- THAT ARE NOW UNDER WAY IN THE COUNTRY'S SOCIAL LIFE. WE RECALL -- AND IT SEEMS ONLY A SHORT WHILE AGO -- HOW SIGNATURES WERE COLLECTED IN STREETS AND SQUARES IN SUPPORT OF THE IDEA OF CREATING A MEMORIAL PERPETUATING THE MEMORY OF THE VICTIMS OF STALIN'S REPRESSIONS.

THE MOVEMENT TO ERECT A MONUMENT GAINED SUPPORT AT THE 19TH PARTY CONFERENCE. ACCOUNT NO. 700454 WAS OPENED, AND IT IMMEDIATELY STARTED RECEIVING VOLUNTARY DONATIONS FROM CITIZENS, INSTITUTIONS, AND ORGANIZATIONS.

THE "MEMORIAL" PUBLIC COUNCIL WAS FORMED, AND ACADEMICIAN A. SAKHAROV WAS ELECTED ITS HONORARY CHAIRMAN. THE ACTION GROUP WAS JOINED BY THE PUBLIC COUNCIL AND THE FOUNDER MEMBERS OF THE NEW ALL-UNION VOLUNTARY HISTORICAL EDUCATION SOCIETY -- THE CREATIVE UNIONS OF CINEMATOGRAPHY WORKERS, ARCHITECTS, THEATER WORKERS, ARTISTS, AND DESIGNERS, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, AND OGONEK -- AND THEY EMBARKED ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS NOBLE IDEA. MEANWHILE PREPARATORY WORK WAS BEING DONE TO ORGANIZE A

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COMPETITION FOR THE CONCEPT AND PLAN OF THE FUTURE MEMORIAL COMPLEX, AND ALSO TO COLLECT DOCUMENTS AND MEMOIRS. AND NOW A MEETING HAS BEEN HELD TO PREPARE FOR THE CONSTITUENT CONFERENCE OF THE "MEMORIAL" SOCIETY.

WHAT SHOULD "MEMORIAL" BE LIKE? WHAT SORT OF MEMORIAL COMPLEX SHOULD BE ERECTED? HOW TO PROVIDE SWIFTER AND MORE EFFECTIVE ASSISTANCE TO FORMER PRISONERS AND THEIR RELATIVES, WHO NEED IT SO URGENTLY? THESE AND MANY OTHER QUESTIONS WERE DISCUSSED AT THE MEETING. ITS PARTICIPANTS TOOK A FIRM STANCE AGAINST ATTEMPTS BY SOME INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH THE NOTORIOUS "DEMOCRATIC UNION" TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SACRED CAUSE OF "MEMORIAL" IN PURSUIT OF THEIR OWN UNSEEMLY GOALS.

IT WAS DECIDED TO CONVENE THE CONSTITUENT CONFERENCE OF THE "MEMORIAL" ALL-UNION VOLUNTARY HISTORICAL EDUCATION SOCIETY IN MOSCOW 17-18 DECEMBER. IT WILL FINALLY DETERMINE THE FUTURE PUBLIC ORGANIZATION'S TASKS AND FORMS OF WORK.

ALMOST EVERY FAMILY IN OUR COUNTRY HAD AT LEAST ONE OF ITS MEMBERS KILLED OR WOUNDED DURING THE WAR AGAINST THE FASCISTS. ALMOST EVERY FAMILY IN OUR COUNTRY HAD AT LEAST ONE OF ITS MEMBERS KILLED, ARRESTED, EXILED, OR WOUNDED THROUGH ALL SORTS OF HUMILIATIONS DURING THE WAR WAGED AGAINST OUR OWN PEOPLE BY THOSE WHO SPOKE IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE.

AND EVEN IF THERE ARE SOME FAMILIES UNAFFECTED BY EITHER OF THESE TWO WARS, SURELY OUR MULTINATIONAL PEOPLE ARE A UNITED FAMILY, AND SURELY OUR MEMORY SHOULD MOURN OUR SHARED FAMILY LOSSES? TO MOURN THE VICTIMS OF JUST ONE OF THESE ACCURSED WARS WOULD BE AS CRIMINALLY UNNATURAL AS IT WOULD BE TO ALLOW COMPASSION TO BE FELT BY JUST ONE-HALF OF ONE'S HEART WHILE FORCIBLY CLAMPING THE ARTERY FEEDING THE OTHER HALF.

OUR PEOPLE'S WAR AGAINST THE FASCISTS LASTED 4 YEARS AND, ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL DATA, WE LOST 20 MILLION LIVES, THE UNOFFICIAL FIGURE BEING EVEN HIGHER.

THE WAR WAGED AGAINST THE PEOPLE BY THOSE WHO SPOKE IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE LASTED FOR DECADES, AND NOBODY HAS YET ACCURATELY CALCULATED HOW MANY MILLIONS OF LIVES WE LOST.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 002 *****/

REF: PM1011163188 MOSCOW LITERATURNAYA GAZETA RUSSIAN 2
NOV///LIVES WE LOST.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) THERE IS A THEORY THAT THE REPRESSIONS WERE SUPPOSEDLY A HARSH NECESSITY AND THAT OTHERWISE WE WOULD NOT HAVE WITHSTOOD THE CLASH WITH FASCISM. BUT THIS THEORY IS BASED EITHER ON HISTORICAL IGNORANCE OR ON HISTORICAL CYNICISM. HOW CAN ANYONE PERCEIVE THE PREWAR DESTRUCTION OF THE PEOPLE AS PREPARATION TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE FROM DESTRUCTION?

HERE ARE FIGURES FROM LIEUTENANT GENERAL TODORSKIY ABOUT THE BLOODLETTING AMONG RED ARMY COMMAND CADRES BEFORE THE WAR: THE REPRESSIONS ACCOUNTED FOR 3 OUT OF 5 MARSHALS, 3 OUT OF 5 ARMY COMMANDERS FIRST RANK, ALL 10 ARMY COMMANDERS SECOND RANK, 50 OUT OF 57 CORPS COMMANDERS, 154 OUT OF 186 DIVISION COMMANDERS, ALL 16 ARMY COMMISSARS FIRST AND SECOND RANK, 25 OUT OF 28 CORPS COMMISSARS, 58 OUT OF 64 DIVISION COMMISSARS, AND 401 OUT OF 456 COLONELS.

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THERE WERE ALSO LIEUTENANTS AND PRIVATES WHO WERE INTERNED FIRST IN HITLER'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS, AND THEN IN STALIN'S. EVEN WHEN THEY ESCAPED FROM HITLER'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND FOUGHT AGAINST FASCISM WITH THE ITALIAN OR FRENCH PARTISANS, THIS DID NOT PREVENT THEM FROM BEING CLASSED AS "TRAITORS." WE ARE AWKWARDLY AND HALTINGLY LEARNING THE BASIC TRUTHS OF HISTORICAL MEMORY, LEAVING BLEEDING OPEN WOUNDS WHERE WE HAVE TORN OFF THE BRAIN-CONSTRAINING CAMELSKIN BELTS OF MANKURTY ((ALLUSION TO PEOPLE IN AYTMATOV NOVEL WHO ARE DEPRIVED OF THEIR MEMORY BY INVADERS WHO TIE BELTS AROUND THEIR HEADS -- FBIS)).

WE ARE BEGINNING TO HONOR THE MEMORY OF OUTSTANDING REVOLUTIONARIES, MILITARY LEADERS, SCIENTISTS, AND WRITERS WHO PERISHED IN PRISON CELLARS OR BEHIND BARBED WIRE. NAMES THAT WERE FAMOUS IN THE PAST AND WERE ONLY WHISPERED FOR SO MANY YEARS, CAN AGAIN BE HEARD ALOUD. BUT THE PEOPLE'S CONSCIENCE AND THE PEOPLE'S TALENT ARE NOT THE EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGE OF THE FAMOUS. IT IS OUR DUTY TO HONOR THE MEMORY OF THE DEAD INNOCENT GRAIN GROWERS, WORKERS, ENGINEERS, PHYSICIANS, TEACHERS, AND PEOPLE OF ALL PROFESSIONS, NATIONALITIES, AND RELIGIONS, EACH OF WHOM REPRESENTS A FRAGMENT OF THE ASSASSINATED PEOPLE'S CONSCIENCE AND PEOPLE'S TALENT.

IN ALL CORNERS OF THE COUNTRY THERE ARE FLICKERING ETERNAL FLAMES WHICH WERE LIT IN MEMORY OF THOSE WHO DIED IN THE WAR AGAINST FASCISM.

IN ALL CORNERS OF THE COUNTRY, BY THE PEOPLE'S WILL, THERE MUST BE MEMORIALS COMMEMORATING THE VICTIMS OF REPRESSIONS, LIKE ETERNAL FLAMES CAST IN STONE. HALFHEARTED REMEMBRANCE LEADS TO HALFHEARTED CONSCIENCE.

THERE CAN BE NO RESTRUCTURING WITHOUT THE RESTRUCTURING OF MEMORY.

THEREFORE HELP "MEMORIAL"!

TO THIS DAY, CHILDREN ON THE BANKS OF KOLYMA RIVER SOMETIMES CARRY BERRIES INSIDE HUMAN SKULLS THEY HAVE FOUND, AND SMILE IN THEIR INNOCENT IGNORANCE.

HOW ARE WE NOW TO DECIPHER THE CODE SIGNS "B-13," "V-41," AND "YA-178" ON THE NAMELESS RICKETY PEGS AND SMALL BOARDS IN THE TAYGA? HOW ARE WE TO MAKE OUT THE SIGN WRITTEN IN INDELIBLE PENCIL ON SOME PLYWOOD TAG TIED TO AN EMACIATED BARE FOOT WHEN THE TUNDRA'S PERMAFROST YIELDS ONE MORE OF ITS TERRIBLE SECRETS IN SPRINGTIME?

BELORUSSIAN PEASANTS IN KUROPATY LOOK IN TERROR AT THE DITCH FILLED WITH HUMAN SKELETONS AS WITNESSES FOR THE PROSECUTION IN THE TRIAL OF HISTORY.

MUSCOVITES SHUDDER ON LEARNING THAT THE KALITNIKOVSKOYE CEMETERY IN THE VERY HEART OF MOSCOW HAS ITS OWN TERRIBLE SECRET DITCH, MOSCOW'S BABIY YAR, WHERE NAKED BODIES WERE BROUGHT IN CARTS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT DURING THE THIRTIES, WITH RAGS STOPPING THE TWO BULLET HOLES IN THEIR HEADS.

OUR MORAL LAW -- "NOBODY HAS BEEN FORGOTTEN AND NOTHING HAS BEEN FORGOTTEN" -- MUST APPLY TO BOTH OF THESE TERRIBLE WARS, THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR AND THE WAR AGAINST OUR OWN PEOPLE.

THE MEMORY WE POSSESS TODAY ACCOMMODATES NEITHER THE TEARS, NOR THE BLOOD, NOR THE HOPES. NOT BEING ARMED WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF HISTORY, WE MAY FIND OURSELVES DISARMED WHEN WE FACE UP TO HISTORY.

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HISTORY CANNOT BE ESCAPED BY MEANS OF MONUMENTS, NOT EVEN THE MOST BEAUTIFUL ONES. THE BEST MONUMENT IS MEMORY. WE TAKE THE TERM "MEMORIAL" TO INCLUDE THE AIR OF HISTORICAL MEMORY AROUND THE MONUMENTS THEMSELVES. THE MEMORIALS ARE CONCEIVED BY US NOT ONLY AS ARCHITECTURAL COMPLEXES BUT ALSO AS SPIRITUAL COMPLEXES, AS LIBRARIES OF FACTS AND TRIBUNES OF PUBLIC THOUGHT.

THE "MEMORIAL" SOCIETY MUST BECOME THE ORGANIZER OF THE RESTRUCTURING OF MEMORY, A CAUSE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE, A UNIVERSAL CAUSE. THE RECREATION OF THE PEOPLE'S MEMORY IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT THE PEOPLE'S HELP.

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 003 *****/

REF: PM1011163188 MOSCOW LITERATURNAYA GAZETA RUSSIAN 2
NOV//THE PEOPLE'S HELP.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) THEREFORE HELP "MEMORIAL" |

THE RUSTY BARBED WIRE OF THE FORMER CAMPS, LYING IN WAIT IN THE BRUSHWOOD, IS A VIPER THAN CAN STILL CAUSE A DEADLY BITE. THE POISON CONTAINED IN THE BARBS OF THE CAMP WIRE HAS CONTAMINATED THOSE WHO PERCEIVE THE PATH INTO THE FUTURE AS LEADING NOT THROUGH DEMOCRACY BUT THROUGH FORCIBLE SUBORDINATION, NOT THROUGH PLURALISM BUT THROUGH CONVEYER-BELT UNIFORMITY. THIS CAMP WIRE ENTANGLED SO MANY TALENTED SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ALL NATIONALITIES IN OUR MOTHERLAND -- PEASANTS, PROLETARIANS, MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA, PARTY MEMBERS, NONPARTY PEOPLE, CLERICS, AND SIMPLE BELIEVERS. WHO KNOWS, HAD THEY REMAINED ALIVE MAYBE DEMOCRACY AND GLASNOST WOULD HAVE DEVELOPED NATURALLY AS FAR BACK AS THE TWENTIES, AND THEN THERE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN SO MANY CRIMES, THE WAR AGAINST FASCISM WOULD HAVE BEEN WON MUCH EARLIER, AND MAYBE THE FASCISTS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CAPTURE POWER BY REFERENCE TO WORLDWIDE "RED TERROR" AND THE ENTIRE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN THE WORLD COULD HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT. OUR FUTURE WAS STOLEN FOR SEVERAL DECADES. WE MUST KNOW HOW THIS HAPPENED SO THAT OUR FUTURE CAN NEVER AGAIN BE STOLEN. THE STUDY OF THE PAST IS THE SALVATION OF THE FUTURE, THE GUARANTEE OF THE FUTURE. THE TASK OF "MEMORIAL" IS TO STUDY THE PAST NOT FOR THE SAKE OF ACCURATE RECORDS BUT FOR THE SAKE OF ACCURACY IN MAPPING OUT FUTURE PROSPECTS, FOR THE SAKE OF ENSURING THAT THE TRAGEDY THAT BEFELL OUR RECENT FOREBEARS DOES NOT RECUR TO BEFALL OUR IMMEDIATE OR DISTANT OFFSPRING.

THEREFORE HELP "MEMORIAL" |

FOLLOWING THE TRAGIC YEARS WHEN CONSCIENCE, JUSTICE, AND TRUTH WERE LOCKED BEHIND BARS, IT IS NECESSARY TO MORALLY SENTENCE STALINISM TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT AS AN ANTI-PEOPLE PHENOMENON. THIS IS NOT SO MUCH A MATTER OF STALIN'S ACTUAL PERSONALITY OR HIS CLOSE ASSOCIATES, IT IS A MATTER OF STALINISM. ITS RESULT HAS BEEN PARADOXICALLY TRAGIC -- THE STATE AND MAN, CLASS INTERESTS AND UNIVERSAL INTERESTS HAVE ALL SUFFERED THROUGH IT. AN ANALYSIS OF THE TRAMPLING OF DEMOCRACY IN THE PAST MEANS ENSURING THE PROTECTION OF DEMOCRACY IN THE FUTURE. THE MEMORIAL IN MOSCOW MUST BE AN ALL-UNION LECTURE AND RESEARCH CENTER WHERE THE MORALITY OF THE PRESENT IS ELABORATED AS THE FOUNDATION OF THE FUTURE ON THE BASIS OF VERIFIED FACTS OF THE PAST. RESEARCH ACTIVITY MUST NOT FOLLOW THE BIASED LINE OF BRINGING ONLY NEGATIVE FACTS TO LIGHT AND DELIBERATELY SENSATIONALIZING THE HORRORS. WE MUST MAKE PUBLIC NOT

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ONLY THE CRIMES AND BETRAYALS BUT ALSO THE COURAGE OF RESISTANCE, THE FEAT OF MERCY, AND THE SPIRITUAL HYGIENE OF NONPARTICIPATION. IT WAS IN THOSE TERRIBLE YEARS THAT MANY GREAT BOOKS WERE WRITTEN AND MANY REMARKABLE TECHNICAL IDEAS WERE PUT FORWARD. BUT AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST NOT USE THE TALENTED AND HONEST WORK OF MANY PEOPLE IN THOSE YEARS TO JUSTIFY THE SELF-GENOCIDE THAT WAS BEING SIMULTANEOUSLY CONDUCTED.

THE TASKS OF THE "MEMORIAL" SOCIETY LACK ALL VENGEFULNESS. WE ARE NOT ADVOCATING THE PHYSICAL PERSECUTION OF THOSE WHO WERE IN SOME WAY OR ANOTHER INVOLVED IN STALINISM'S BLOODY CRIMES. WE DEEM IT PROFOUNDLY IMMORAL TO GROUNDLESSLY ACCUSE PEOPLE WHO ARE STILL ALIVE OR ARE ALREADY DEAD. BUT IF THERE IS IRREFUTABLE EVIDENCE OF GUILT BEFORE THE TRIAL OF HISTORY, THEN LET THE SOCIAL PUNISHMENT TAKE THE FORM OF PUBLISHING THE TRUTH ABOUT SPECIFIC CRIMES COMMITTED BY SPECIFIC PEOPLE, ACCOMPLICES IN THE WAR WAGED AGAINST OUR OWN PEOPLE. THE COVERUP OF THE TRUTH ABOUT CRIMES CONTAINS A POTENTIAL DANGER THAT THEY MIGHT RECUR.

THE "MEMORIAL" SOCIETY MUST BECOME ONE OF THE CENTERS FOR MOST ACTIVE ASSISTANCE TO RESTRUCTURING, GLASNOST, NEW THINKING, AND DEMOCRACY.

THE "MEMORIAL" SOCIETY WILL STRENGTHEN INTERETHNIC TIES BETWEEN OUR COUNTRY'S FRATERNAL PEOPLES, BECAUSE NOTHING BONDS AS FIRMLY AS SHARED SUFFERING.

THE "MEMORIAL" SOCIETY HOPES THAT IT WILL RECEIVE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT BECAUSE OUR SOCIETY'S DEMOCRATIZATION AND COMPLETE DE-STALINIZATION OFFER ONE OF THE MAIN HISTORICAL ARGUMENTS FOR THE SAKE OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND MUTUAL TRUST BETWEEN PEOPLES.

THEREFORE HELP "MEMORIAL" |

THE "MEMORIAL" SOCIETY GRATEFULLY ACCEPTS DONATIONS FOR THE ERECTION OF A MEMORIAL COMPLEX TO THE VICTIMS OF REPRESSIONS (ACCOUNT NO. 700454).

THE "MEMORIAL" SOCIETY AWAITS ANY DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL AND SUGGESTIONS FROM YOU, ADDRESSED TO: 125319 MOSCOW, NO. 2 CHERNYAKHOVSKIY STREET.

ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PUBLIC COUNCIL,
((SIGNED)) YEVG. YEVTUSHENKO

ADMIN

(ENDALL) 2 NOV AZ/MARSHALL/CM 10/1751Z NOV

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SERIAL: PM1511142188

BODY

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

PASS: COPY TO UD

COUNTRY: USSR

SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 2 -- 'TWO VIEWS' ON MINSK CEMETERY CLASH

TEXT:

((EDITORIAL REPORT)) MOSCOW KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA IN
RUSSIAN 13 NOVEMBER 1988 CARRIES A FEATURE ON PAGE 4 UNDER THE
HEADING "DAY OF CONFLICT; LESSONS FROM EXTRAORDINARY SITUATION
IN WHICH TRADITION CLASHED WITH ARROGANCE."

THE FEATURE OPENS WITH A LETTER FROM WRITER VIKTOR KOZKO,
LENIN KOMSOMOL PRIZEWINNER UNDER THE SUBTITLE "LETTER TO THE
EDITOR," WHICH READS:

"FOR SOME 2 WEEKS BEFORE 30 OCTOBER -- MEMORIAL DAY -- THE
NEWSPAPERS WERE FULL OF SENSATIONALIST ITEMS. ALAS, THE
INTELLIGENTSIA, CULTURAL WORKERS, AND, MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE THREE
CREATIVE UNIONS (OF WRITERS, ARTISTS, AND CINEMA WORKERS) WHICH
WERE THE FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC'S HISTORICAL EDUCATION SOCIETY IN
MEMORY OF THE VICTIMS OF STALINISM -- THE 'MARTIROLOG BELARUSI' --
WERE REALLY PERSECUTED. IN WORKER AUDITORIUMS AND THE NEWSPAPERS
THEY WERE DESCRIBED AS NOTHING BUT A GROUP OF IMPOSTORS AND SCUM
AND, IN THE BEST TRADITIONS OF THE ERA OF STAGNATION, THE QUESTION
WAS REPEATEDLY ASKED: WHO ARE THEY SPONGING OFF? SO A WEDGE WAS
DRIVEN BETWEEN THE CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE WORKING CLASS.
THUS THE PROVOCATION -- THERE IS NO OTHER WORD I CAN CHOOSE -- WAS
NURTURED AND BROUGHT TO A HEAD.

"IT HAPPENED ON 30 OCTOBER. AT 1340 HOURS THE REPUBLIC'S
CHARMING MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS, COMRADE PISKAREV, APPEARED
BEFORE THE PEOPLE OF MINSK ON THEIR TELEVISION SCREENS IN THE
PROGRAM 'MEETING FOR YOU.' THE MINISTER SYMPATHIZED WITH AND

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FELT SORRY FOR V. RASPUTIN: WELL, WHY SHOULD HE SQUANDER HIS TALENTS ON JOURNALISM RATHER THAN WRITE NOVELS? THEN HE READ A POEM BY R. GAMZATOV, THE FAMOUS ONE, ABOUT THE ROAD AND THE HORSE -- WHO SHOULD BE BLAMED IF THE HORSE STUMBLES?

"AT THE SAME TIME, 1340 HOURS, Z. POZNYAK, CHAIRMAN OF THE SOCIETY MENTIONED ABOVE, WAS ARRESTED BY A GROUP OF CIVILIANS ON THE WAY TO THE MOSKOVSKOYE CEMETERY. THIS CAUSED A REAL SENSE OF OUTRAGE AMONG THE OTHERS IN THE PROCESSION BUT DID NOT STOP THEM FROM CONTINUING ON THEIR WAY TO THE MOSKOVSKOYE CEMETERY. THEY WERE WALKING ALONG THE SIDEWALK WITH FLOWERS IN THEIR ARMS, STRICTLY OBSERVING THE TRAFFIC LIGHTS. ALTHOUGH MEMORIAL DAY -- 'DZYADY' -- AND ANY RALLIES IN THIS CONNECTION HAD BEEN CANCELED BY THE CITY AUTHORITIES, PEOPLE WERE GOING NEVERTHELESS TO LAY FLOWERS ON THE GRAVES OF THEIR FRIENDS AND RELATIVES AND OF TWO PEOPLE WHOSE NAMES ARE DEAR TO ALL BELORUSSIANS -- P.M. MASHEROV AND THE WRITER V. KOROTKEVICH.

"BY 1400 HOURS THERE WERE ALREADY SEVERAL THOUSAND PEOPLE AT THE MOSKOVSKOYE CEMETERY. THERE WERE ALSO A LOT OF MILITIAMEN. THERE, AT THE CEMETERY, I FIRST SAW SOVIET WATER CANNONS AND ENORMOUS BLACK MARIAS WITH BARRED WINDOWS.

"THE ENTRANCE TO THE CEMETERY WAS SEALED OFF BY MILITIA CADETS AND THEY WERE NOT LETTING ANYONE THROUGH AT ALL. THE SCULPTOR A. ANIKEYCHIK, THE CREATOR OF THE MEMORIALS TO MASHEROV AND KOROTKEVICH, WAS NOT ALLOWED THROUGH WITH FLOWERS; LIKE MANY OTHERS, HE HAD NOT COME TO TAKE PART IN ANY RALLY, HE JUST WANTED TO VISIT THE GRAVES OF HIS NEAREST AND DEAREST.

"BUT EVERYTHING STILL SEEMED QUITE CALM, EVEN GOOD-HUMORED. THE LIEUTENANT COLONEL REPRESENTING THE DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE CITY MILITIA ADMINISTRATION ANNOUNCED THROUGH A MEGAPHONE TO THOSE PRESENT THAT WE LIVE IN A RULE-OF-LAW STATE. BUT THEN, LINKING ARMS, THE MILITIA CADETS BORE DOWN ON THE PEOPLE.

"HERE PEOPLE SHOWED SIMPLY AMAZING SELF-RESTRAINT. I DID NOT HEAR ANY SHOUTED INSULTS, ONLY CRIES OF BEWILDERMENT: 'COMRADES, WHAT ON EARTH ARE YOU DOING?| YOU WILL FEEL ONLY SHAME TOMORROW|'

"A YOUNG MAN WAS LIFTED UP ABOVE PEOPLE'S HEADS. HE SHOUTED: 'TO KUROPATY, COMRADES|'

"BROKEN UP, THE CROWD MOVED IN ALL DIRECTIONS. THE MAN IN MILITIA UNIFORM WITH THE MEGAPHONE ADVISED PEOPLE TO GO ABOUT THEIR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OR SIMPLY MOVE A LITTLE FURTHER AWAY FROM THE CEMETERY -- INTO THE FIELDS AND THE FOREST, TO BREATHE A BIT OF FRESH AIR.

"I WAS AT THE CEMETERY FOR AROUND 20 MINUTES. THEN, JOINING THE CONVOY OF MILITIA VEHICLES, I FOLLOWED. THE CAVALCADE CAME TO A HALT IN KUROPATY. THE KUROPATY HILLS THEMSELVES -- THE PLACE WHERE THE VICTIMS OF STALIN'S REPRESSIONS WERE SHOT AND BURIED -- WERE CORDONED OFF BY SEVERAL RANKS OF MILITIAMEN READY TO ARREST ANYONE....

"THERE IS, HOWEVER, ONE LESSON IN THIS STORY THAT WE LEARNED FROM THIS TERRIBLE DAY, 30 OCTOBER.

"TODAY IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR ONE PERSON ALONE TO DECIDE ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE EXACTLY WHAT TRADITIONS THE PEOPLE CAN HAVE| I REMEMBER THE FIRST YEAR AFTER THE WAR. MY FATHER HAD STILL NOT COME BACK FROM THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR. BUT A MEAL APPEARED AT MY GRANDMOTHER'S HOUSE -- OATMEAL KISSEL, I THINK. I ASKED HER

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WHAT WE WERE CELEBRATING, WHAT HAD HAPPENED. 'IT IS DZYADY TODAY,' SHE REPLIED. THAT IS HOW PEOPLE LIVED THEN. BUT HOW DO WE LIVE NOW? SEVERAL YEARS AGO, BELORUSSIA WAS SHAKEN BY THIS INFORMATION: IN ONE SETTLEMENT THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES HAD OPENED A DANCE FLOOR ON THE SITE OF THE FORMER FRATERNAL GRAVE OF SERVICEMEN WHO HAD DIED IN THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR....

"NO, REMEMBERING AND PRAYING FOR THOSE WHO GAVE YOU LIFE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A TRADITION AND A CUSTOM OF THE PEOPLE'S MORAL HEALTH. THIS WAS PROVEN BY 30 OCTOBER: IT WAS THE POPULATION THAT WENT TO THE RALLY AND THE PEOPLE THAT LEFT IT. THIS IS THE MAIN LESSON TO BE LEARNED FROM 30 OCTOBER."

/***** BEGINNING OF TAKE 002 *****/

REF: PM1511142188 MOSCOW KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 13 NOV///FROM 30 OCTOBER."

TEXT:

((EDITORIAL REPORT)) THE LETTER IS FOLLOWED BY AN "OFFICIAL OPINION" FROM MAJOR GENERAL OF MILITIA K.M. PLATONOV, BELORUSSIAN SSR DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS (THE FIRST PARAGRAPH IS AN EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION):

"OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT ASKED MAJOR GENERAL OF MILITIA K.M. PLATONOV, BELORUSSIAN SSR DEPUTY INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER, TO COMMENT ON THE EVENTS OF 30 OCTOBER.

"THE RALLY AT THE MOSCOW CEMETERY ON 30 OCTOBER WAS AGAINST THE LAW, BECAUSE IT HAD NOT BEEN AUTHORIZED BY THE MINSK GORISPOLKOM; CITIZENS HAD BEEN INFORMED OF THIS IN ADVANCE THROUGH THE NEWSPAPER VECHERNIY MINSK. THE LAW IS THE LAW -- IT IS BINDING ON EVERYONE.

"HOWEVER, WE WERE INFORMED THE DAY BEFORE THE EVENT THAT MEMBERS OF THE 'TYTEYSHIYA' INFORMAL YOUTH ASSOCIATION WERE MAILING INVITATIONS AND POSTING UP ANNOUNCEMENTS ABOUT THE RALLY AT THE CEMETERY. ON 28 OCTOBER WE HAD ARRESTED A STUDENT FROM THE MINSK THEATER ARTS INSTITUTE WHO HAD BEEN URGING PEOPLE IN THE STREET TO TAKE PART IN THE UNAUTHORIZED RALLY. ON 29 OCTOBER, WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE IS THE KOMSOMOL'S BIRTHDAY, DURING A MEETING WITH WRITERS AT THE WRITERS' CENTER, ALL PARENTS PRESENT WERE INVITED TO COME ALONG TO THE VERY SAME RALLY AND BRING THEIR CHILDREN.

"NATURALLY, IN THIS SITUATION WE WERE FORCED TO TAKE ADVANCE MEASURES TO PROTECT PUBLIC ORDER. THESE MEASURES WERE TAKEN. AFTER ALL, A CROWD DID GATHER AT THE MOSKOVSKOYE CEMETERY. AND THE MILITIA IS OBLIGED TO CONTROL THE SITUATION.

"((CORRESPONDENT)) DID THE PEOPLE PRESENT COMMIT ANY ACTS AGAINST THE LAW?

"((PLATONOV)) OF COURSE THEY DID. FIRST OF ALL, THEY SHOUTED ANTI-SOVIET SLOGANS: 'SOVIETS WITHOUT COMMUNISTS|' AND 'BELORUSSIA DESERVES A BETTER FATE THAN TO BE A FEED TROUGH FOR MOSCOW'; AND INSULTS WERE SHOUTED IN OUR DIRECTION -- 'STALINISTS, MURDERERS|' THE MILITIA WAS PROVOKED INTO USING FORCE, PEOPLE SPAT IN THEIR FACES, STOOD IN THE WAY OF THEIR VEHICLES, AND CALLED FOR THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL FRONT.

"WHAT ARE WE TO UNDERSTAND BY THIS TITLE? IF IT MEANS THE KIND OF DEMONSTRATIONS THAT TOOK PLACE ON 30 OCTOBER, THEN BELORUSSIA REALLY DOES NOT NEED A NATIONAL FRONT. ESPECIALLY AS THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC IS STABLE AND THE GOVERNMENT

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IS FOLLOWING A COURSE OF RESTRUCTURING IN A MODERN, EFFICIENT WAY.

"((CORRESPONDENT)) WERE SPECIAL MEANS EMPLOYED TO ARREST PEOPLE: TRUNCHEONS, TEAR GAS, WATER CANNON?

"((PLATONOV)) NO, THEY WERE NOT. BUT THERE WERE CASES WHERE PARTICULARLY ACTIVE, AGGRESSIVE PARTICIPANTS IN THIS ILLEGAL ACTION WERE ARRESTED. A TOTAL OF 72 CRIME REPORTS WERE MADE OUT. WITHIN 3 HOURS, AFTER EACH ONE HAD BEEN INDIVIDUALLY QUESTIONED, ALL WERE RELEASED. I WILL ALSO ADD THIS: AFTER THESE MEASURES HAD BEEN TAKEN, NO ONE HAD RECOURSE TO THE COURTS, THE PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE, OR PUBLIC HEALTH BODIES. THIS SHOWS THAT THE MILITIA CONDUCTED ITSELF WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF THE LAW...."

FINALLY, THE NEWSPAPER'S OWN CORRESPONDENT O. YEGOROVA SUMS UP THE EVENTS IN A REPORT DATED MINSK UNDER THE SUBTITLE "OUR CORRESPONDENT'S COMMENTARY":

"SO, TWO DIFFERENT VIEWS ON THE SAME EVENT.

"WHAT IS THE TRUTH? WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED IN THE CITY IN WHICH THERE IS SUCH A 'STABLE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION'? TRUE, REAL DEMOCRACY HAS NOTHING IN COMMON WITH ANARCHY. OUR FREEDOMS MUST NOT ONLY BE GUARANTEED -- THEY MUST ALSO BE PROTECTED. THAT IS BEYOND QUESTION. BUT MANY PEOPLE LIVING IN MINSK WERE NOT VERY CONVINCED BY THE APPARENT MOTIVES FOR THE BAN ON THE REQUIEM RALLY: 'THE LACK OF A TRADITION IN THE CITY OF MARKING MEMORIAL DAY AND THE FACT THAT THE GORISPOLKOM IS CURRENTLY STUDYING PUBLIC OPINION ON THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISHING A DATE FOR AN ANNUAL MEMORIAL DAY....'

"COULD THE CITY LEADERS HAVE ACTED MORE WISELY? AFTER ALL, THEY ALSO OFFENDED PEOPLE WHO HAD ABSOLUTELY NO THOUGHT OF GOING TO ANY RALLY. NOT COULD -- SHOULD. ESPECIALLY AS THEY DID NOT HAVE TO LOOK FAR FOR AN EXAMPLE. IN NEIGHBORING POLAND, FOR EXAMPLE, MEMORIAL DAY HAS RECENTLY BEEN CELEBRATED BY THE WHOLE COUNTRY AND EVEN HERE IN BELORUSSIA, IN GRODNO, FOR EXAMPLE, EVERYONE REACHED A REASONABLE COMPROMISE, ALTHOUGH EVEN THERE AT FIRST THERE WERE FEARS ABOUT CROWDS OF PEOPLE GATHERING ON MEMORIAL DAY.

"WE ARE SURE THAT THE CITY AUTHORITIES ARE CERTAINLY NOT OPPOSED TO THE REVIVAL OF POPULAR TRADITIONS. THERE IS ALWAYS A CERTAIN DEGREE OF RISK IN ANY MASS MEETING. BUT HOW, ON WHAT BASIS ARE YOU TO MAKE THE RIGHT DECISION? ONLY BY FOLLOWING THE DICTATES OF COMMON SENSE AND ON THE BASIS OF A THOROUGH KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOCIAL CLIMATE AND THE ABILITY TO PREDICT A SITUATION. HASTY BANS MOST OFTEN OCCUR WHERE THERE IS A GULF BETWEEN OFFICIALS AND ORDINARY PEOPLE. THAT IS WHEN YOU GET RUMORS, SUSPICION, AND EXCESSIVE VIGILANCE. THEN, THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE MADE RESPONSIBLE FOR 'ANTI-SOVIETISM' AND ISOLATED EXTREMIST STATEMENTS.

"LEARNING DEMOCRACY TODAY IS NO EASY TASK BUT IT IS A VITAL NECESSITY -- FOR THOSE WHO ATTEND RALLIES AND THOSE WHO DECIDE THEIR FATE. WE NEED MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY AND MUTUAL STANDARDS. IF WE CAN ATTAIN BOTH TOGETHER, AS ONE, RESTRUCTURING WILL WIN THROUGH. IF NOT -- WE COULD RUIN ANY IDEA, EVEN THE MOST LOFTY AND JUST."

ADMIN

(ENDALL) 13 NOV JW/OWEN/GW 15/1511Z NOV

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Алесь АДАМОВІ
Виктор ЖУК (ф.)

**ОГЛЯНЬСЯ
ОКРУЖАЮЦЬ**

**ПАТРАД
МЕМАРЬЯЛУ
АХВЯРАМ
СТАЛІНІЗМУ!**



312

В

же в 60—70-е годы открылась возможность путешествовать в сталинизм, по местам «не столь отдаленным» (но как раз очень отдаленным). Вот так мы с Янкой Брылем в 1971 году, воспользовавшись каким-то писательским десантом, направились в сторону Дудинки, Норильска — по просторному, как Млечный Путь, Енисею. Сибирские леса и сопки время от времени открывали, показывали нам опустевшие поселки спецпоселенцев, где-то там остались на земле рубцы братских и одиночных могил, отсыхающие стружья лагерей, мы это замечали, но, конечно же, не видели всего того, что мог бы разглядеть «пацан из Дудинки» Виктор Астафьев (помните его недавний рассказ по телевидению?).

Наша с Брылем главная боль в те годы была — хатынская. Мы как раз делали книгу «Я из огненной деревни» — собирали по всей Белоруссии голоса народной памяти о фашистском геноциде. И естественно, что, когда нас позвал к себе в каюту капитан парохо-

да, пожелав побеседовать с писателем об их заботах, делах, мы пустились рассказывать о страшных фактах и подробностях, записанных нами на магнитофонные ленты. Как фашистские каратели убивали целые семьи, заживо сжигали деревни, целые районы...

— Видел, посмотрелся и я, — отозвался капитан, — десятки рейсов сделал — все туда, полные трюмы, а оттуда — никого. Все там остались. Так что посмотрелся и на людей, и на нелюдей, как вы называете.

— После войны немцы, власовцы? — Мы все о своем.

— Нет, в 1937-м и аж до самой войны. Дальше возили другие, а я ушел на фронт.

Рядом с капитаном сидел начальник Дудинского порта, он капитана понял сразу, без уточнений...

Да, путешествовать в сталинизм не всегда означает — откуда-то и куда-то. Иногда это — заглядывать в самого себя. Мы его бадьями из себя вычерпывали, парашами извергали на протяже-

нии десятилетий, а все еще есть выдвигать, по капле. Напрямую внедренную в нас убежденность, или знию (где-то одновременно с угрожающей фразой: у нас зазря не арестовывают?), что палачи, мучившие и убившие наших людей до войны или по войны, делали это как-то «гуманно», оправданнее, что ли, нежели прихвосты с Запада. В той же Дудинке схватился спорить с писателем, для которой идея государственности, державности — оправдание любым мерзостям.

— Они верили! — напирал оппонент. Это он — об охранниках и о самом гитлеровском «вертухае», вышка которого торчала над головами всех 170 (или сколь нас тогда было) — миллионеров. Ну, а кто творил немислимые жестокости землях оккупированной Белоруссии, Украины, России, Прибалтики, — что, они не могут сослаться на с «символы веры»? И могут, и оправдывались именно так на Нюрнбергском суде народов. На «веру» сослались еще на приказ.



Останки из захоронений в Куропатах.
Фото эксперта МВД - БССР Юрия
Орешкина.

Что ж, и о себе кое-что помню, как при всем моем военном, в партизанах, прозрении (там немало слышал, видел, понял того, что потом обнародовал XX съезд КПСС) как я читал повести, воспоминания о наших лагерях. Уже, кажется, знали главное, а все равно на каждой странице приходилось снова и снова расставаться с навязанным самообманом (да, есть насильственный самообман). Читал «Один день Ивана Денисовича» Солженицына, «Барельеф на скале» Алдан-Семенова, узнавал (насмотрелся на такое, когда гоняли на работу немцы наших военнопленных), но именно это узнавание и пугало, поражаало: что, что? Пристреливали ослабевших?.. Как за «попытку к побегу»? Кто, наши?.. Шаг влево, шаг вправо — стреляем!..

Можно было бы спросить у себя: ну, а куда девались миллионы забранных, увезенных в начале 30-х, в конце 30-х? Не спрашивали, ухитрились как-то не спрашивать. Не впускали в себя всю реальность, даже очевидность.

Даже когда заговорили те, кто все-таки вернулся оттуда. Помню, как заплакал старый человек, рабочий стеклозавода (это моя Глуша, она 85 зекоев поставила в 1937-м, — и почти все рабочие, — Гулагу), как он не выдержал, заплакал, когда стал рассказывать, что следователи выкручивали ему «самое болезненное мужские место»: «Подпиши! Подпишвай!»

Не впускали всю правду. И не выпускали, все удерживали какие-то иллюзии: да, да, но все-таки наши! И Сталин тоже имел заслуги!..

Мы, мнчане, только недавно вдруг сообразили (опять вдруг!), что в 30-е людей губили, уничтожали не только за Полярным кругом, но и рядом с домом. Не увозя за тридцать земель, выполняли «планы» и «обязательства» (тоже сообразили (опять вдруг!) по разоблачению и обезреживанию «врагов» — сначала «социально чуждых», затем «кулаков», а потом уже по профессиям — инженеров, учителей, военных, ветеринаров, парторботников и т. д.

под общим названием — «враги народа»). В городе тысячи людей прислушались, не заедут ли машина, за кем подъедут, придут, в окружающих Минск деревнях тоже не спят по ночам, потому что они там слышали: «пок-пок-пок-пок»...

Потом мы после войны жили в Минске и ничего, ничего не знали, не помнили про Куропаты, лес там вырубил, снова вырос, братские ямы-могилы осели, опустошенные «кем-то», хотя и не до конца, уже после войны. (Точно так же поступали и немцы, покидая оккупированные земли. Да, значит, кто-то помнил о том, о чем мы так послушно забыли, а «он», а «они» о своих заслугах помнили, все-таки: суд истории пугал!)

И вдруг статья в белорусской газете «Літаратура і мастацтва» Зенона Позняк и Евгения Шмыгалева (поддержанная словом Василия Быкова), «Куропаты — дорога смерти», где рассказывалось о раскопах под Минском в мае этого года.

Оказывается, там, где многие мнчане любили отдыхать семьями, с детьми, устраивали пикники — холмистое, заросшее сосняком место это и называется Куропаты. — там кости, простреленные черепа, запятанное преступление (близко, под травкой, под желтым песочком). Тысячи и тысячи убитых были упрятаны более чем в пятистах общих могилах! То-то же странно как-то корчилась земля, ни одного метра без бугорка, без провала, провисания!..

После XX съезда все еще подшучивали (удивительная наша способность даже о Чернобыле анекдоты сочинять и слушать!), мол, как должен вести себя советский человек, если его бить древком его же знамени?.. Тут механизм забывания должен, видимо, срабатывать еще безотказнее?

Но наконец-то пришло время помнить. Когда-нибудь — писал Рей Бредбери — мы вспомним так много, что выроем самую глубокую могилу в мире. Хочется добавить — беспмятству. Тогда, в 70-е, им удалось — тем, кто и могилы опустошал, — нашу, ну, не нашу, так следующих поколений память опустошить. Больше такого похищения памяти допустить мы не должны. Как бы ни хотелось некоторым.

А все еще хочется: пытаются успокоить нашу совесть ссылками на исторические прецеденты (все, мол, революции пожирала своих детей), исторической неизбежностью, даже патриотизмом (все, даже такое, «наше» надо любить), даже «натравливанием» жертв 1929—1933 годов на тех, кого сталинское безумие настигло в 1937 году. — вот уже до чего доходит!

Впрочем, удивляться тут нечему. Мог же автор подобных рассуждений, приехав к нам в Минск еще в 1970-м, объяснить истребление 80 процентов белорусских писателей такой «логикой»: Купалу же и Коласа не посадили? Вот то же, даже хозяйка, если она умная, морковь на грядке прореживает ради того, чтобы крупной расти было более споро. Вот так — в лицо всему институту белорусской литературы, и мы его не вышвырнули за дверь, а некоторым даже провожать его пришлось к поезду (гость как-никак) и выслушивать дальше, какие мы родственно-кровные братья-славяне.

Это тоже из тех времен в нас такая вот терпимость к нетерпимому! Что ж удивляться, что перестройка движется такими зигзагами, а писатели отнюдь не всегда показывают пример особенно ясного мышления, ясных чувств?

Да, памятник жертвам сталинских репрессий, беззаконий, мемориал в Москве — великое дело. Ну, а как быть с Куропатами под Минском?

Работа по изучению материалов, документов уже началась. После статьи в газете, где приведены убедительные свидетельства, прокуратура возбудила уголовное дело по обнаруженным останкам людей в Куропатах — кажется, впервые в нашей истории по преступлению, совершенному государством. Создана правительственная комиссия, но общественность на митинге выразила свое несогласие с ведомственным отбором, келейным назначением членов комиссии, люди потребовали ввести в ее состав Василия Быкова, в честность и объективность которого верят. В кем-то опорожненных могилах все-таки кое-что осталось — это тщательно изучается, работа ведется в архивах, заново опрашиваются свидетели из окружающих Куропаты деревень...

А сколько таких Куропат в других республиках, в больших и малых городах? Не говоря уже о «столицах Гулага»: возле Магадана, в Воркуте и округе, в Дудинке, Норильске...

А как моей Глуше быть: третья часть довоенных рабочих-стеклодувов исчезла в далеких ледяных недрах Гулага — куда нести нашу память, боль, наши цветы? Я уже предлагал: дополнить памятник потерей рабочих поселка Глуши (погибшие на фронте, в партизанах —

102 человека) этими (82). Ведь 82 человека — тоже жертвы войны — антинародной войны диктатора.

Боль, горечь на каждом шагу, при каждом вздохе, шевелении памяти — вот что такое последствия культа Сталина. Что ж, пусть и для все еще громких поклонников палача не будет неожиданностью, что вместо прежних привычных они получают и такие памятники — напоминания о своем кумире — во многих уголках нашей земли.

В Минске же на месте Курapat уже не просто памятник видится, но, как и в Москве, мемориальный исследовательский центр. Мы наконец должны понять, разобраться, что с нами, с нашим обществом произошло. А без этого как двигаться к правовому демократическому государству? Закон Позняк, историк-археолог, привлекающий внимание к Курapatам, он и сегодня моральный центр этой работы. Человек он нестигаемый, одержимый правдой, — такими движется перестройка.

И что еще важно подчеркнуть в этой минской истории — одно лишь событие, в температура перестройки сразу изменилась, жизнь обрела иное качество. Это лишний раз доказывает, как незрел такой сдвиг и в Минске, заслужившем в последнее время печальную репутацию антиперестроечной Вандей стараниями некоторых общественников и идеологических начальников. Но тут они оказались бессильны: тысячи людей, горожан из деревень, двинулись на митинг в Курapatы. С плакатами: «Сталин — кат (палач)», старухи со свечами. А их поджидали на дороге колонны удобных автобусов: не лучше ли вам, граждане, проехать к оперному театру, там и помитингуем. Привычная убежденность руководителей, что они знают, как и что народу лучше. И нежелание считаться с естественными чувствами людей — куда же нести боль свою, если не на место трагедии?

Неудивительно, что инициативу митинга в Курapatax взяли в свои руки молодые неформалы — писатели из «Толоки» и провели его с удивительным для их возраста тактом и чувством ответственности.

Могут сообщить: еще один серьезный барьер против перестройки, возводимый вот уже столько месяцев, о котором бился все это время, казался, один Василь Быков, — затрещал этот барьер, а некоторые секции в одночасье рухнули. Нет, и Павлов, и Бовш, и Залесский, и Бегун, и Игнатенко, и Малашко, и им подобные все еще чувствуют себя на коне. Вот и недавно, уже после Курapat, на различных академических и вузовских сессиях, «круглых столах», подтвердили свои повторные обвинения-приговоры деятелям белорусской культуры, литературы, многие из которых были уже реабилитированы после XX съезда КПСС. Но они и после XXVII гнут свое. Читают и бурно приветствуют доклад: «Сталин — политический вождь» (сам афишу видел), а народ идет с плакатами «Сталин — кат», — что ж «философский» спор уже вынесен на улицу, а это для наших «философов» смертельный номер. Вы где-нибудь слышали наших идеологов, выступающих перед сегодняшней толпой? Нет зрелища, истории на свете печальнее, чем это! В тех же Курapatax было продемонстрировано: только молодежь из «Толоки», принявшая на себя ответственность за порядок и дисциплину, спасла их от позорного изгнания с митинга.

Рядом с Курapatami — Вандей? Это долго продолжаться не может — такое соседство.

Оглянись окрест! — прошлое ждет нашего смелого, безбоязненного взгляда. Оно готово прийти нам на помощь и приходит — в борьбе за будущее, за гуманный правовой, истинно народный социализм. Хочется верить, что он, такой, возможен.

ПРОШУ СЛОВА!



Юрий ТЮРИН,
кандидат
исторических наук

С ОДНОЙ СТОРОНЫ, С ДРУГОЙ СТОРОНЫ...

Открытый календарь на 1989 год. Выпущен Политиздатом, тираж — 13 миллионов экземпляров. Декабрь... Портрет Сталина и подпись: «...деятель Коммунистической партии...». А на обороте лисветского государства, международного коммунистического и рабочего движения». Дальше больше... «Новизна и сложность стоящих в те годы задач выявили крайнюю противоречивость политической фигуры...»

Ах, это они «выявили», новизна и сложность задач! Это они повинны в «противоречивости» фигуры, совершившей геноцид против советского на-

рода, установившей в стране кровавый диктаторский режим, плоды которого — кровь и страх, миллионы загубленных людей, искалеченных судеб. Издатели все это назвали отходом «от ленинских норм и принципов партийной и государственной жизни». Они, издатели, должны быть, запомнили, что культ Сталина — чуждое социализму явление, наиболее пагубно отразилось на продвижении нашего общества по социалистическому пути, стал тормозом на пути реализации огромных преимуществ нового строя, снизил его творческий потенциал, деформировал существенные принципы, заложенные В. И. Лениным.

Или издателям и сегодня не жутко от «теоретического обоснования» Стали-

ным политики массовых репрессий? (его концепции обострения классовых борьбы по мере продвижения страны по социалистическому пути? А ведь у нас было время ознакомиться с его докладом «О недостатках партийной работы и мерах ликвидации троцкистских и иных двурушников» на февральском мартовском (1937 г.) Пленуме ЦК ВКП(б). По Сталину, «чем больше будем продвигаться вперед, тем больше будем иметь успехов, тем больше будем озлобляться остатки разбитых эксплуататорских классов, тем скорее будем идти на более острые формы борьбы, тем больше они будут пакостить советскому государству... И дальше... Враги народа будут двурушничать, двурушничать, будут маскироваться под левых, правых, под партийца, для того чтобы втереться в доверие и открыто себе доступ в наши организации. В разделе доклада «Наши задачи» Сталин дает прямое указание проводить массовые репрессии. Ведь 1937-только началось! И все еще впереди Сталинско-ежовская машина уже была запущена, и конвейер смерти работал. Кстати, некоторые участники того февральско-мартовского Пленума так и не вернулись с него домой. В их числе и Н. И. Бухарин...

На том Пленуме «вождь всех народов» охарактеризовал «настойчивых вредителей», его указание обострению и подделало. «...Настоящий вредитель», говорил Сталин, — должен в любое время показывать успехи в своей работе, ибо это — единственное средство сохраниться ему, как вредителю, втереться в доверие и продолжать свою вредительскую работу. Я думаю, что вопрос этот ясен и не нуждается в дальнейших разъяснениях...» Вот так товарищи из Политиздата.

Как «видный деятель международного коммунистического и рабочего движения» (см. календарь), Сталин тоже «внес» известную лепту: он бесцеремонно вмешивался во внутренние дела коммунистических партий, входящих в Коминтерн. Издатели не могли и знать, что в страшную воронку террора были втянуты Коминтерн, руководящие кадры компартий Австрии, Венгрии, Германии, Польши, Румынии, Финляндии, Латвии, Литвы, Эстонии и других. Нож сталинско-ежовской гилотины обрушился на видных деятелей международного коммунистического и рабочего движения.

Но с чем я категорически не могу согласиться, так это с утверждением: издателей календаря, будто «новизна и сложность стоящих задач» стал причиной умопомрачительных беззаконий, совершенных Сталиным и его ближайшим окружением. Все это над искать не «в новизне и сложности стоящих задач», а в отступлении от принципов коллективизма партийного руководства, свертывании демократизма в партии, деформациях в функционировании верховных органов КПСС — ее съездов, конференций, в уничтожении духа принципиального партийного товарищества, в мелочном самознании Сталина и его пренебрежении к ним партии.

И сегодня, восстанавливая правду демократизма, создавая механизмы, при котором не повторились бы трагические ошибки, мы не можем не оглядываться в прошлое, не говорить о нем правдиво, как бы горько нам ни было. Свергать свои действия и решения с предостережением Энгельса, который считал необходимым, чтобы люди перестали наконец обращаться к партийным чиновникам — своими собственными слугами — с постонойно чрезмерно деликатностью и вместо критики их покорнейше повинноваться им как непогрешимым бюрократам... Это актуально и в наши дни.

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SUBJ: COMMISSION PROBES ORIGINS OF UNMARKED GRAVES
SOURCE: MOSCOW IZVESTIYA IN RUSSIAN 28 AUG 88 MORNING
EDITION P 2TEXT://((REPORT BY IZVESTIYA OWN CORRESPONDENT M. SHIMANSKIY
UNDER THE RUBRIC "GLASNOST VERSUS RUMORS": "WHOSE REMAINS LIE
IN THE FOREST NEAR MINSK"))((TEXT)) MINSK -- TODAY THE NAME KUROPATY IS OFTEN HEARD IN
BELORUSSIA, AND IS BECOMING SURROUNDED BY DIVERSE RUMORS. MANY
ANONYMOUS GRAVES HAVE BEEN DISCOVERED HERE.KUROPATY IS A FOREST TRACT ON THE NORTHERN OUTSKIRTS OF MINSK.
THE "ZELENYI LUG" RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT HAS SPREAD RIGHT UP TO IT.
OLD-TIMERS CONFIRM THAT FROM 1937 TO 1941 SHOTS WERE HEARD EVERY
DAY AND EVERY NIGHT IN THE WOOD.RECENTLY WHEN A GAS LINE TRENCH WAS LAID ONE OF THE GRAVES WAS
DISTURBED. BONES, 15 BULLET-RIDDEN HUMAN SKULLS AND THE REMAINS OF
20 PAIRS OF SHOES WERE FOUND IN IT. THE SUPPOSITION WAS VOICED
THAT DURING STALIN'S TIME MASS EXECUTIONS TOOK PLACE IN THE
KUROPATY WOOD.THE BELORUSSIAN SSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SET UP A
GOVERNMENTAL COMMISSION WHICH WAS INSTRUCTED TO FIND OUT WHOSE
REMAINS LIE IN KUROPATY AND WHAT HAPPENED HERE AT THE END OF THE
1930'S AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 1940'S. I MET WITH G.
TARNAVSKIY, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION AND BELORUSSIAN
SSR PROSECUTOR."WE CAN WELL UNDERSTAND PUBLIC CONCERN IN CONNECTION WITH THE
MASS GRAVES DISCOVERED IN KUROPATY," HE SAID. "OUR COMMISSION HAS
STARTED WORK. IT IS HEADED BY N. MAZAY, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE
REPUBLIC'S COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. IT INCLUDES REPRESENTATIVES OF

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THE LAW ENFORCEMENT, PARTY, AND SOVIET ORGANS AND THE PUBLIC. HERO OF SOCIALIST LABOR AND WRITER VASIL BYKOV, USSR PEOPLE'S ARTIST MIKHAIL SAVITSKIY, AND HERO OF THE SOVIET UNION MARIYA OSIPOVA ARE AMONG THEM. SPECIALISTS BEGAN TO WORK IN THE ARCHIVES BUT MANY DOCUMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH BELORUSSIA'S OCCUPATION DURING THE WAR YEARS WERE NOT KEPT.

EXCAVATIONS ARE ALSO UNDER WAY. HUMAN REMAINS AND VARIOUS OBJECTS HAVE ALSO BEEN DISCOVERED: CLOTHING, FOOTWEAR, COMBS AND EYEGLASSES... ALL THESE ARE BEING HANDED OVER TO THE INSTITUTE OF FORENSIC EXAMINATION FOR INVESTIGATION. THERE ARE HOLES IN SOME SKULLS WHICH ARE SIMILAR TO BULLET HOLES. BUT THE EXPERT EXAMINATION WILL ANSWER THIS QUESTION PRECISELY."

"HAS IT BEEN ESTABLISHED WHEN THESE PEOPLE WERE BURIED IN KUROPATY?"

"IT IS STILL IMPOSSIBLE TO ANSWER THIS PRECISELY. ACCORDING TO WITNESSES' STORIES, THIS WAS AT THE END OF THE 1930'S AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 1940'S. BUT THE FINAL CONCLUSION CAN ONLY BE MADE AFTER THE INVESTIGATION IS COMPLETED. EXPERT EXAMINATION WILL DETERMINE WHAT HAPPENED IN KUROPATY AND WHEN, WHO IS BURIED HERE AND WHAT AGE AND SEX THESE PEOPLE WERE. THE TRUTH ABOUT THE EVENTS IN KUROPATY MUST BE TOLD.

BUT THE DIFFICULTY OF OUR INVESTIGATION LIES IN THE FACT THAT DURING THE LAST WAR THE NAZIS CARRIED OUT MASS EXECUTIONS OF THE PEACEFUL POPULATION THROUGHOUT BELORUSSIAN TERRITORY, AND KILLED POWS IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS, INCLUDING IN THE MINSK VICINITY. CITIZENS FROM OTHER OCCUPIED STATES WERE ALSO BROUGHT HERE TO BE EXECUTED. FOR THIS REASON HASTY CONCLUSIONS SHOULD NOT BE MADE. HASTY CONCLUSIONS NOT FOUNDED ON TRUSTWORTHY INFORMATION ONLY GIVE RISE TO RUMORS AND CONJECTURES, AND ROUSE EMOTIONS. AS SOON AS THE COMMISSION HAS PRECISE, VERIFIED DATA AT ITS DISPOSAL, THESE WILL ALL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC.

THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSION CONTINUES ITS WORK.

ADMIN

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