

The Human-Rights Movement and the True and Free Adventists

by Ludmilla Alexeyeva

The very name of the religion of the Seventh-day Adventists suggests its fundamental tenet: the expectation of an imminent Second Coming and final judgment day. The Adventists' plan of salvation consists of a rigid observance of the moral law contained in the Ten Commandments. They treat all the commandments as equally important and do not permit the transgression of a single one.

The church was founded in 1844 in the United States, and its adherents appeared in Russia in the last century. An internal split occurred within the Russian Seventh-day Adventist church in 1914 over the sixth commandment, "Thou shalt not kill"—a commandment the Adventists follow to the point of not eating animal flesh. The entry of Russia into the First World War and the subsequent general mobilization created a dilemma for the group: either the Adventists had to transgress the sixth commandment and join the army, or they had to disobey the mobilization order. After the October Revolution, arguments over this point ceased for a few years, because the decree of

January 4, 1919, signed by Lenin released from military service any people whose religious beliefs forbade them to bear arms. This decree gradually ceased to be observed. At the Fifth Congress of Seventh-day Adventists in 1924, the church suspended the categorical ban on carrying arms; it was resolved that every church member should individually decide whether to serve in the military. The Fifth Congress also modified adherence to the fourth commandment on observing the Sabbath in the same way—a decision that complicated the lives of those Adventists who refused to work on Saturday, a workday in the Soviet Union at that time.

At the Sixth Congress of the Seventh-day Adventists in 1928, the church leadership, under pressure from government authorities, passed a resolution that forced members to renounce both the fourth and sixth commandments. The new resolution required that every member, under the threat of excommunication, "carry out state and military service of all kinds, just like any other citizen." Orthodox Adventists refused to recognize this resolution, and an internal schism resulted. Adventists who held to the conviction that moral law obliged them to observe all Ten Commandments without exception (even under conditions in the Soviet Union where this obligation inevitably leads to conflict with the authorities) called themselves the All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh-day Adventists.

From its inception, the True and Free Adventist church was not recognized by the authorities, and so was subjected to persecutions. Gregory Ostvald, the first leader of the church, died in a labor camp in 1937. His successor, Pyotr Manzhura

Ludmilla Alexeyeva and her husband were forced to flee the Soviet Union and move to the United States in 1977. The year before, Alexeyeva, who graduated from Moscow University and edited Soviet scientific publications, was a founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Watch group. (Other founding members included such prominent human-rights leaders as Alexander Ginzburg, Yuri Orlov, and Anatoly Sharansky.) Alexeyeva now lives in northern Virginia and continues to write and lecture widely on the subject of human rights. The essay printed here first appeared as a chapter in Alexeyeva's book *Soviet Dissent: Contemporary Movements for National, Religious, and Human Rights*, Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Connecticut, 1985.

died in camp in 1949. Vladimir Shelkov, the third church leader, was arrested several times and in 1945 was sentenced to be shot. After 55 days the sentence was reduced to ten years in a labor camp; Shelkov spent a total of 26 years in camps and in internal exile. Between prison sentences he lived "illegally," that is, with a country-wide search warrant out for his arrest.¹ Like his predecessors, Shelkov died in camp, in January 1980 at the age of 84.²

Commitment to Spiritual and Civil Freedom

Like other religious groups in the USSR, the True and Free Seventh-day Adventists formulated their civic position vis-à-vis an atheist government that imposes its will on them. The position adopted by the independent Baptists and the Pentecostals was a direct result of their religious doctrine. They considered it a sacred duty of the church and its members to stand up for an independent religious life and freedom of conscience in the face of government pressure. The civic position of present-day True and Free Seventh-day Adventists does not follow from their religious teachings, but rather is an organic part of those teachings. In the words of Shelkov, this consists of "a struggle, without bloodshed, for the basic rights and liberties of every citizen."³ The church of True and Free Seventh-day Adventists is founded on the conviction that man is created in the image of God and retains his divine likeness as long as he observes the Ten Commandments with a free conscience and conviction, a process that ensures the development of a harmonious and whole personality. One's duty before God is to preserve one's freedom and moral principles under any circumstances and at any sacrifice. If one relinquishes one's freedom, one ceases to be a human being in the full sense of the word. The most important human rights concern civil, rather than economic freedoms, since the soul is more important to believers than the body.

The cultivation of this moral principle by pres-

ent-day True Adventists seems to have resulted in part from the influence of Vladimir Shelkov, a gifted and prolific religious writer of sermons, essays on biblical themes, and the history of the Adventist church. His works, which would fill a library, are imbued with civic concerns. He also wrote many articles on legal issues: "The Interrelationship of Church and State," "Legislation on Cults," "The Foundations of a Genuine Free Conscience and Equal Rights," a series of brochures entitled "The Struggle for Freedom of Conscience," and "The Legal Struggle With the Dictatorship of Government Atheism for Freedom of Conscience."⁴

Shelkov strongly denounced both the Soviet state, which had made atheism the state ideology, and "bureaucratic," "restricted" churches, which have agreed to recognize the regulations on religious cults imposed on them by an atheistic government: "The government-sanctioned registration of religious organizations facilitates the process of unification of church and state and the interference of government in internal church matters."⁵ In the process the government exploits the state-sanctioned churches for its own purposes. "Honest" governmental support of any church is, according to Shelkov, no better than government atheism. In either case, persecution, administrative and criminal prosecution, and even the annihilation of dissident believers and thinkers are inevitable. This is amply demonstrated by past experiences of the Russian Orthodox church, the Catholic, and the Protestant state-sanctioned churches: "Believers who are free and true to their religious ideals," he said,

ought to resist any pressure whatsoever from the government and refuse all government support; they ought to struggle for equal rights by peaceful means, for the independent spirit of the individual and for freedom of conscience and of faith.

Shelkov insisted on government neutrality not only in the relationship to religion, but also to nationality. In this regard, he wrote:

The present supremacy of government atheism has created ideological confusion and moral decay in the land. Appeals to recreate a national consciousness in the Russian people and a Russian Orthodox church in the spirit of the past are heard: it is said that only a

national rebirth and a national church will save the country from spiritual bankruptcy. But Russian Orthodoxy prevailed in the past as the official religion, and it stained its hands with blood by crushing freedom of conscience and of faith in dissident believers and thinkers. A Russian Inquisition took place, which destroyed 12 million Old Believers and hundreds of thousands of Evangelical Christians and sect members. How does this historical violation of freedom of conscience differ from the Catholic Inquisition, which killed 52 million Christians over a period of twelve-and-a-half centuries? . . . [In the light of this experience] legal guarantees of freedom of conscience and of religious faith are essential, so that they will not be restricted either by the reigning state religion of atheism-materialism-evolutionism, or by the tyranny of any religion that favors unification with the state on the basis of nationalism. . . . [On the basis of these considerations] the equal rights of all men, given by God at birth and enunciated by the Constitution, which have not been guaranteed, but ignored like orphans, ought to be observed by all citizens as a law of God and of pure statehood. Such international and universal laws should be observed in the same way as the laws of one's country.⁶

Connections With Human Rights Groups

During the trial of Shelkov and his associates in 1979, it was noted that the human-rights activities of the True and Free Seventh-day Adventist church had begun in the late sixties, when the human-rights movement was gaining influence, and that their human-rights activities were intensified in the mid-seventies when they made personal contact with the Moscow human-rights workers.⁷

The first mention of Seventh-day Adventists in the *Chronicle of Current Events* was in June 1970, but this was not based on personal contacts. Issue No. 14 contained a report on the trial of Mikhail Sych, a Seventh-day Adventist minister, on whom a regional Vitebsk newspaper reported.⁸ The next information on the Adventists appeared five years later in issue No. 38 (1975)—a report of police searches of homes of Seventh-day Adventists in Samarkand, during which religious literature as well as the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights and the Interna-

tional Covenants on Human Rights were confiscated. The *Chronicle* reported that believers demanded the return of the confiscated materials; they managed to get back the confiscated Bibles.⁹ In the section of No. 38, entitled "Statements by Church Officials and Believers," an article of Shelkov's "A Unified Ideal," was cited,¹⁰ indicating some contacts between the Seventh-day Adventists and human-rights activities. However, after issue No. 38, no further information on the Adventists appeared for two more years. From issue No. 44 (March 1977) on, reports on the persecution of the Adventists and their legal battles appeared regularly. This indicates that contacts between the Adventists and human-rights activists had become regular. These contacts seem to have been established at the end of 1976: in document No. 5 (July 1976) of the Moscow Helsinki Group, "Repression Against Families of Believers," among instances of children being taken away from parents was the case of Seventh-day Adventist Mariya Vlasyuk in the village of Ilyatka in the Ukraine. The affair was reported in detail and supported by the relevant documents.¹¹

In 1977 Shelkov wrote an open letter on behalf of arrested Moscow Helsinki Group members Yury Orlov, Aleksandr Ginsburg, and Anatoly Shcharansky to President Carter and the Belgrade conference of countries that had signed the Helsinki Accords. He described the persecutions of Seventh-day Adventists in the Soviet Union—searches and the breakup of prayer meetings, the persecution of Adventist parents for giving their children a religious upbringing, and prison terms for refusal to bear arms in the military.¹² He and an associate, a minister of the True Adventist church, Rostislav Galetsky, also in hiding, both signed an appeal to the Belgrade Conference as representatives of the All-Union Church of True and Free Seventh-day Adventists (document No. 26 of the Moscow Helsinki Group).¹³ This document appealed to the conference delegates to look into violations of religious freedom in the USSR. It referred also to violations of the right to choose the country of one's residence and of the rights of national minorities, and on the use of forced prison labor and on the existence of political prison-

ers in the USSR—prisoners of conscience—and the difficult conditions in camps for political prisoners.

In February 1978, Rostislav Galetsky participated in a press conference of the Moscow Helsinki Group on the anniversary of the arrests of Orlov and Ginsburg.¹⁴ Galetsky popularized the religious and legal views of the True Adventists in the articles “The Situation of Religion and the Believers in the USSR,” and “On Our Attitude to the Government.” Following Shelkov’s lead in justifying the active human-rights position of the True Adventists, Galetsky writes:

Biblical history is replete with examples of faithful believers engaging in lawful protests and waging decisive (exclusively nonviolent) and just battles. They upheld the principles of freedom of thought, conscience, and of religion—a God-given birthright of every human being and an integral part of the personality.¹⁵

He considers such a position even more essential at the present time:

Our epoch is one of a specific and decisive battle for human rights. . . . The year 1977 was declared a year of religious freedom, yet freedom is not the fruit of inactivity and joyful expectation; it never comes to us of itself.¹⁶

Galetsky appealed to the West for support, not only to Seventh-day Adventists, but to all Christians, all religious believers, and, in general, “to all people of good will. . . who value human rights and liberty.” He asked them to disregard mendacious information released by official Soviet organizations and to avail themselves of newspapers and radio broadcasts to discover the true situation of dissidents in the Soviet Union. He asked that they “make good use of the upcoming Belgrade Conference. . . . to condemn inhuman and illegal acts of violence and oppression in the USSR and support those who are deprived of their rights.”¹⁷

During discussions of proposals for the 1978 Soviet Constitution, many True Adventists wrote to the Commission on the Constitution in 1977-1978, criticizing the proposed constitution. The letter was also signed by the Russian Orthodox priest Gleb Yakunin, Tatyana Velikhanova, and other Moscow human-rights activists. The letter claimed that the new constitution would reduce

and limit democracy in the Soviet Union at a time when the country needed to democratize itself in every possible way.¹⁸

Persecution and the Search for an Underground Printing Press

Beginning in the mid seventies, the Adventists underground publishing house, True Witness, raised the level of its activity. It acquired a printing press and published religious literature and works on human rights. It also published the works of Shelkov.

As soon as the KGB became aware of its existence, steps were taken to liquidate the True Witness; an investigation was conducted to discover the identity of its contributors and workers, as well as the location of the press. Numerous attempts to recruit informers among the members of the True and Faithful Seventh-day Adventists are known to have been made. During the KGB’s recruiting attempts several persons were prosecuted on the basis of fabricated evidence because they refused to help the KGB in its efforts to discover the publishers. Nina Ruzhechko and Semyon Bakholdin were arrested. In good health before their arrest, both died in imprisonment—Ruzhechko within a month and Bakholdin within two-and-a-half years—of unexplained illnesses.¹⁹ Just what some of those religious believers whom the KGB counted on to find True Witness had to endure is clear from the report of a 19-year-old Adventist, Yakov Dolgoter. He was stopped at the marketplace in Pyatigorsk in February 1978, and brochures printed by the True Witness were found on his person. He was detained for a month, supposedly to ascertain his identity, while the investigators demanded that he reveal the source of the literature. Two KGB agents were assigned to the investigation:

They beat me by turns, first one, then the other. They beat me on the head, the face, and the jaws; they beat me on the neck, being careful to raise the collar of my shirt each time so that there would be no marks. . . . They beat me under the ribs and near my kidneys, each time cursing and repeating, “Tell us where you got it and who gave

it to you, or else we'll show you what Soviet power is!" They suspended me by the neck with a scarf and beat me under the ribs. They stood on either side of me; one of them beat me from one side and the other from the opposite side, so that I bounced like a ball between them. They stood me against the wall and beat my face so hard my head was smashed against the wall. . . . Several times they beat me unconscious and then revived me with cold water. They made me squat down as many as 500 times. They used a kind of chemical preparation, which they made me smell and then sprinkled on my left arm. It turned red immediately and began to swell.

After three-day "investigations" like these, Yakov said they threw him into a cold room full of bedbugs, and the next morning they took him to a psychiatric hospital where the doctor repeated the same questions: Where did he get the brochures? Who gave them to him? Later the investigators frightened him by saying that the doctor had declared him insane and that now they would send him to a psychiatric hospital. They threatened him with the arrest of his father, with the electric chair, with castration, and with a long sentence for "distributing anti-Soviet literature." Having learned nothing from the youth after a month, they released him. On March 20, 1978, he reported to foreign correspondents in Moscow what had happened, after which he was rearrested.²⁰ Along with Rikhard Spalin and Anatoly Ryskal, he was convicted of organizing an underground press. Ryskal and Dogoter received a four-year term in camp and Spalin, a seven-year term.²¹

In March 1978 Vladimir Shelkov and his closest aides, Ilya Lepshin, Arnold Spalin, Sofya Furler, and Sergy Maslov, were arrested. During the search conducted at the time of the arrest, the walls of their home were destroyed and the floors taken up in a vain effort to find the printing press.²²

At one of his press conferences in Moscow during May 1978, Galetsky announced the formation of a human rights group of seven Seventh-day Adventists who had worked for two years under his direction. Galetsky gave the journalists the names of the members, as well as copies of five documents, issued by the group, that were concerned with various incidents of illegal persecution of Seventh-day Adventists and with the status

of the investigations of their leaders.²³ This group, with the Moscow Helsinki Group and academician Sakharov, came to the defense of Shelkov.²⁴

The trial of the Seventh-day Adventist leaders took place in Tashkent in March 1979. As is almost always the case, the trial was for all practical purposes a closed one. Only the immediate families of the accused were admitted to the courtroom. The defendants were accused of writing works printed by True Witness. Shelkov and Lepshin received five years each in a strict-regimen labor camp and their houses were confiscated; Spalin and Furler received five and three years respectively in a standard-regimen camp; Maslov received two years probation and his home was confiscated also.²⁵

In spite of many protests against the cruel sentence given to 84-year-old Shelkov, he was

In spite of many protests against the cruel sentence given to 84-year-old Shelkov, he was sent to a camp in Yakutsia, which has one of the harshest climates in the USSR. After a few months, he died.

sent to a camp in Yakutsia, which has one of the harshest climates in the USSR. After a few months, he died. His children tried for several days to get permission to receive his body so that they could bury him according to his last wish, but permission was refused on the grounds that his sentence would not be completed for three more years, and even though he was dead, his body had to remain in the camp. After his term was up, his children could again request permission to take his ashes home. From all over the country supporters of Shelkov's church came to the funeral in the Yakut village of Tabaga. Evidently, this unorganized demonstration of support had an effect, since the authorities took the unusual step of giving permission for a religious burial and for a cross bearing the name of the deceased to be placed on the grave. Other graves in the camp were simply marked by boards with the number by which the prisoner was known in camp.²⁶

After Shelkov's death, Leonid Murkin, his

deputy, became head of the True and Free Seventh-day Adventists. Immediately after Murkin's election to this post, he went underground and a country-wide search warrant was put out for his arrest.²⁷

The death of the leader of the True and Free Seventh-day Adventists and the incarceration of its leading advocates did not interrupt the work of the True Witness. After Shelkov's arrest, the press began to publish upon letters from the Council of Churches of True and Free Seventh-day Adventists, in addition to the usual religious literature. Each letter described some concrete example of persecution with explanations of unlawfulness of these occurrences. Each letter ended with the same demands. The demand "to free the unlawfully sentenced religious leader and champion of legal equality between believers and atheists, Vladimir Shelkov, President of the All-

Since 1978 the KGB has not stopped trying to locate the printing press and the publishers of *True Witness*. Over a three-year period, they conducted more than 350 searches.

Union Church of True and Free Seventh-day Adventists" was later changed to a demand to "posthumously rehabilitate" him. Further demands were:

1. To free all arrested and convicted ministers and members of the True and Free Seventh-day Adventist church, with compensation for any moral, physical, or material damage they may have suffered.

2. To return all materials confiscated during searches or at the time of arrest.

3. To restore the reputation of the church president Vladimir Shelkov and of other church members slandered and defamed in the eyes of the world by government atheists because of the members' purely religious way of life and their lawful struggle for freedom of conscience and equal rights.

4. To condemn the repression and violations of

the rights of believers by government atheists as an illegal consequence of the state-sanctioned religion of atheism-materialism-evolutionism; and also to condemn all those who violate the rights of others.

5. To put an end to all forms of religious oppression in the USSR: surveillance, eavesdropping, intercepting the mail, and discrimination in the workplace and in educational institutions.

6. To revoke the antireligious legislation on cults, enacted from 1929 to 1975, because it is a contradiction of Lenin's teachings and his directive of January 23, 1918, "On the Separation of Church and State and Church and School," Article 13 of the constitution enacted under Lenin in 1918, Articles 34, 39, 50 and 52 of the present constitution of the USSR, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration of the Rights of Children, the Convention Against Discrimination in Education, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords.

7. To separate atheism, as a private world view, from the state and from schools; to make the Society of Atheists a private organization supported not at government expense, but at the expense of individual atheists, just like any other religious society in the USSR.

8. To declare and enforce a fundamental law of complete equality among believers and atheists.

9. To enforce complete freedom of the religious press, religious meetings, and other religious rights and freedoms on an equal basis with the rights and freedoms of atheists.

10. To guarantee and enforce complete freedom in educating children in a manner compatible with their parents' views, conscience, and conviction.

Since 1978 the KGB has not stopped trying to locate the printing press and the publishers of *True Witness*. Over a three-year period, they conducted more than 350 searches, during which they confiscated literature printed by the *True Witness* and arrested more than 70 people.²⁸ Most of those arrested had publicly spoken out in support of Shelkov and his helpers; all were charged with "slandering the Soviet system" on

the basis of Article 190-1 of the RSFSR criminal code. They were specifically charged with disseminating letters of the Council of Churches of the True and Free Seventh-day Adventists, as well as other Adventist literature on human rights. The standard sentence was three years in a general-regimen labor camp. Rostislav Galetsky was among those arrested. He was arrested on July 1, 1980, during one of his usual visits to Moscow and sentenced to five years in camp on the basis of articles on religious activities and Article 190-1.²⁹

In spite of the searches and arrests, both True Witness and the human-rights struggle of the True Adventists continued. The Council of Churches of the True and Free Seventh-day Adventists published the voluminous report of the conference between the countries that had signed the Helsinki accords in Madrid in 1980. The report described in detail the situation of the church since the 1977 conference in Belgrade and the Madrid conferences.³⁰ In addition, True Witness published at least 15 open letters to the Council of Churches up to 1982. All this material was typographically reproduced.

In March 1981, three Adventists accused of outfitting an underground press were put on trial in Kalinin. On April 19, the *Kalinin Pravda* published a long article on the trial entitled "The Secrets Revealed," stating that in June 1979 Vera Kaduk purchased a house in Kalinin for 18,000 rubles (with money from the "sect"). It said that with the help of Vladimir Fokanov, a 25-year-old Muscovite, and Vasily Kovalchuk, a 23-year-old resident of Dnepropetrovsk, she began to build in the basement of the house a printing shop. Although it never went into operation, it was modeled after functioning publishing operations:

A camouflaged hatchway led from the veranda of the house to a tunnel one-and-a-half by two meters and considerably higher than the average person's height. A trapdoor connected the tunnel to an entryway made of concrete, from which one entered the room. The room was equipped with a water heating system run by two batteries and a boiler that heated the water by an electric heater. The "bunker" received current by circumventing the meter. The cabin contained four typewriters, a hectograph, a rotary press, a large supply of rotary ink, stationery, and printing paper, 35 rolls of rotary film,

and other printing equipment. In addition, 16,433 rubles was found in a total of three hiding places. A large quantity of illegal literature of the Reformist-Adventist Sect—more than 20 different titles—was stored there.

The article claimed that Fokanov was responsible for obtaining the necessary building materials, copy equipment, paper, and such for the press, while Kovalchuk collected the necessary funds from believers. This fund allegedly came from tithes levied on church members. Shelkov was supposed to have raised the tithe to one-fifth of the members' earnings.

Vera Kaduk received a two-year prison term; Fokanov and Kovalchuk each received three-year prison-camp terms.³¹

The legal educational activities of the True Adventist church yielded unquestionable results. Church members accepted the civil-rights position of Shelkov and Galetsky and courageously upheld them. On October 15, 1979, a 25-year-old Adventist, Nina Ovcharenko, a floor polisher from Pyatigorsk, defended herself during her trial for disseminating open letters of the Council of Churches. Her defense speech would have done honor to any lawyer: her arguments were persuasive; her ability to deal with complex legal issues was impressive; and her political courage went beyond what is permissible for a Soviet lawyer:

Throughout the centuries, people with different views on life and different religious beliefs have lived on the earth. Everyone has the right, as a complete individual endowed with all rights and liberties from birth, to his own convictions. This right is enforced by Article 19 of the Declaration of Human Rights and international pacts on human rights ratified by our government in 1957 and 1973. . . .

All laws, both international and state, guarantee freedom of conscience for all. This is the most fundamental and most important right of all; it makes every citizen a free and complete human being. The lack of freedom of conscience deprives man of dignity and reduces him to the status of an animal, having only the right to work and to rest. . . . Even if atheists were in the majority and believers in the minority in our state the government is nonetheless obligated to consider the interests of believers. Truth and justice are not always on the side of the majority, especially in the sensitive area of freedom of conscience. . . . I consider myself a happy person because I am part of the struggle for truth. . . . Truth requires sacrifices; for the sake of truth, one must

stand firm or even hang from the cross. A just cause is worth the devotion of one's entire life.³²

Nina Ovcharenko's defense speech was distributed in the letters of the Council of Churches.

The ability to hide leaders wanted by the authorities for many years, to keep the whereabouts of a printing press secret, and to keep the press in operation while under constant surveillance testify to a flexible and functional organizational structure within the True Adventist church. This is confirmed in a report on religious life in the USSR (published in the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*). Catholic priests have recognized the success of Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals, and Seventh-day Adventists in the dissemination of religious teachings. This they attribute not only to missionary zeal, but also to "the creation of a strong organization, with lead-

ership at every level: community, club, village, city, province (*oblast*), republic, etc."³³

For obvious reasons, the church does not report on the number of its membership, although it sometimes refers to itself as "many thousands of God's people." Estimates of church membership may be made by comparing data of recent arrests of members of the Evangelical Baptist church and Seventh-day Adventists. From 1878 to 1981, 152 members of the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christian Baptists were arrested, and 87 members of the True and Free Seventh-day Adventist church. Total membership in the independent Baptist church is 100,000, according to G. Vins, their representative abroad, but if the level of repression is similar for both churches, the membership of the True Adventist church would be approximately 50,000.³⁴

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. CCE, No. 48, pp. 117-118; *Documents of the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the USSR*, vol. 1 (in Russian with summaries in English) (San Francisco: Washington Street Research Center 1977), pp. 133-138.
2. CCE, No. 56, p. 93.
3. AS 17, No. 2439 (1976), p. 1.
4. Khronika Press Archives.
5. AS 17, No. 2439 (1976), p. 17.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 16, 18.
7. "Open Letter No. 8," pp. 13, 16, Khronika Press Archives.
8. KTS, No. 14, pp. 433, 434.
9. CCE, No. 38, pp. 134, 135.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
11. *Reports of the Helsinki Accord Monitors*, 1979, pp. 37-48.
12. CCE, No. 45, p. 300; No. 46, p. 99.
13. CCE, No. 47, pp. 160, 161; *Documents of Helsinki Dissent from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, 1978, pp. 74-81.
14. CCE, No. 48, p. 7; AS 17, No. 3216 (1978).
15. Rostislav Galetsky, "Report on the Situation of Religion and Believers in the USSR" (in Russian), p. 1, Khronika Press Archives.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
18. CCE, No. 46, pp. 101-103.
19. AS 33, No. 4411 (1981).
20. CCE, No. 48, p. 118; the complete text is in the Khronika Press Archives.
21. CCE, No. 48, p. 118; *List of Political Prisoners in the USSR, 1 May 1982, USSR News Brief*.
22. CCE, No. 49, pp. 57-63.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 64.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
25. CCE, No. 53, pp. 11-23; AS 19, No. 4301 (1981).
26. CCE, No. 56, p. 93; the full text of Open Letter No. 12 is in the Khronika Press Archives.
27. CCE, No. 62, p. 72; AS 33, No. 4411 (1981), p. 12.
28. CCE, No. 57, p. 70; AS 19, No. 4302 (1981), pp. 3, 4.
29. CCE, No. 47, p. 76; No. 62, p. 71.
30. AS 19, Nos. 4301-4302 (1981).
31. CCE, No. 62, pp. 70, 71.
32. Khronika Press Archives.
33. CCChL, No. 28, pp. 13, 14.
34. Figures are based on data in documents of the Council of Relatives of the Evangelical Christian Baptist Prisoners and the All-Union Church of the True and Free Seventh-day Adventists.