

BASKET THREE: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE NINETY-FIFTH CONGRESS SECOND SESSION ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS Volume V

THE RIGHT TO CITIZENSHIP
IN THE SOVIET UNION
MAY 4, 1978

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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS: THE RIGHT TO CITIZENSHIP IN THE SOVIET UNION

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1978

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE,
Washington, D.C.

The Commission met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m. in room 1318, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Dante B. Fascell, chairman, presiding.

In attendance: Commissioners Fascell, Dole, Derian, and Hon. Jacob Javits.

Also present: R. Spencer Oliver, staff director and counsel.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR DOLE

Senator DOLE. First, I'll apologize for the delay in opening the hearings, but I understand the House is tied up in a markup and many of my colleagues in the Senate are engaged in hearings. Hopefully they will be here later.

I would like to read a statement from our chairman, Congressman Fascell, and then we'll proceed with the witness.

Our witness this morning does not need any introduction. An overture would be more appropriate, but our subject today is not music, it is human rights.

Maestro Rostropovich is not here as the world's greatest cellist, nor as the holder of the Lenin Prize or the Siemens Prize, nor as a Peoples' Artist of the U.S.S.R., nor as musical director of the National Symphony. He is all of those and more, but he is appearing before the Helsinki Commission as a man without a country, a man wronged by the arbitrary action of Soviet authorities who 6 weeks ago took away his citizenship and that of his wife, Galina Vishnevskaya, without a hearing, a right to defense, or a right to appeal.

The Rostropoviches are not the only victims of this practice, one the U.S. Supreme Court has called "cruel and unusual punishment" when it was imposed on an American soldier for desertion in time of war. Their fate has been shared by scientists like Zhores Medvedev, Valery Chalidze; by writers such as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, by poet Thomas Venclova—after he testified to this Commission last year—and by Maj. Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, when he came to the United States for temporary medical treatment, and also came before our Commission.

None of them received any formal warning that their conduct imperiled their right to be citizens of the land where they were born. None received any official explanation of the grounds for the decrees making them homeless. None received the elementary right to face his accusers and answer their charges.

In treating the Rostropoviches and others as they have, the Soviet Union has defied the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In doing so, it has violated its Helsinki Accord pledge to "act in conformity" with that declaration. It has also quite specifically infringed on the undertaking it made in ratifying the Convention on Racial Discrimination to "guarantee the right of everyone . . . to nationality."

The only way to call the Soviet Union to justice for such behavior is before the court of public opinion. In that court we have our friends here today.

They have given the world the beauty of their music.

They have spoken the language of the heart.

On behalf of all those on the Commission, it's an honor to have them here today. I now ask Senator Javits, our esteemed colleague from New York, to introduce the witnesses.

Senator JAVITS. Senator Dole, thank you very much. The whole world is grateful to the Helsinki Commission. Dante Fascell, and yourself have been important leaders in this effort, and it is a great honor for me to have been asked by Maestro Rostropovich to introduce him to the Commission.

The Rostropoviches have shown a great example of dignity and courage to the world, of the universality of music. The extraordinary distinction of Maestro Rostropovich himself makes his a very vivid case to the world, because the real issues—and he will testify to them himself—are whether or not Soviet society will be open or closed. This could have more of an effect upon the future of the Soviet Union as the other superpower in the world, even, than the SALT negotiations or the many other efforts we're making under the rubric of détente with the Soviet Union.

These issues really do shake the Soviet Union by its roots, because they appeal to the quarter of a billion people of the Soviet Union who know much better than we what the kind of repression they suffer really means. And especially when so vivid an example is given as that of the Rostropovich family.

But I hope, Mr. Chairman, and I'm sure that the maestro himself will make this clear. They are in no danger personally, they are living comfortably and with great honor in our country and in Switzerland. But the vividness of their example is important, because it shows not only the repressive, but the duplicitous nature of the Soviet conduct.

On the one side, the words they use are words we use, words of freedom, words of democracy, words of peoples' republics, words of wars of national liberation. But when it gets down to action, the Rostropoviches are deprived of their nationality by an arbitrary act for which there is no appeal—and not only no appeal, but all requests for a hearing have been denied.

And even their home, which is inviolate under our laws in our society, and that of most other civilized nations, is no longer theirs.

It's even denied to their children whose visa was renewed and who remain Soviet citizens, though they're attending Juilliard, the great school of music in my own home state.

So Mr. Chairman, we're very grateful as a country—and I'd like to express that in introducing the maestro and Mme. Vishnevskaya to the Commission—for his willingness to give testimony which will fortify the Soviet people. And in that respect he is a Russian and he feels it very deeply I know, and wants to serve them, notwithstanding the denial to him by their Government of his nationality.

And also, we owe them thanks for alerting us to the real nature of the Soviets, and I'm sure he will feel as I feel, that doesn't mean we shouldn't make every effort to come to agreements and make as many agreements as we can, but we should always bear in mind the essential inhumanity and injustice of this regime and do everything we can in the interests not only of the Soviet people, but of the people of the whole world, to undo its iniquities and to give the great Soviet people an opportunity at long last to express themselves in whatever form of government they wish, even a Communist government, so long as it preserves the essentiality of what is to the maestro and to me human rights.

And so I have great honor, Mr. Chairman, in introducing to the committee Maestro Rostropovich, a great and distinguished human being, who has been so unjustly used as to make an extraordinary and vivid example to the world of what we're up against.

Senator DOLE. I thank my colleague very much. I know that you have another commitment and we appreciate your coming. Thank you, Senator Javits.

The lady seated on the maestro's left is their interpreter, Nadia Efremov. I would also like to point out that Patt Derian, the administration's member of the CSCE, is present and Patt, I think as most everyone knows, is Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, Humanitarian Affairs.

Patt, do you have any preliminary remarks?

Ms. DERIAN. Thank you very much, Senator Dole, but I do not have anything to say at this point. Since our session has been delayed I think we might as well move right along.

Senator DOLE. Maestro Rostropovich, you may proceed in any way you wish. Your entire statement will be made a part of the record.

**STATEMENT OF MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH ACCOMPANIED BY
MME. GALINA VISHNEVSKAYA (AND AN INTERPRETER: MS.
NADIA EFREMOV)**

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. Mr. Chairman and honorable ladies and gentlemen, first of all, I would like to thank everyone for the opportunity to speak here today.

For us it is a tremendous opportunity, through the Helsinki Commission, to tell the whole world the truth about our case, about the shock that overcame us and completely destroyed our normal activities. This is why my wife and I have spent many nights preparing the document that will serve as a detailed official response to all the accusations against us.

And we would like to present this document to all the members of the Commission. It should be before you, and you can familiarize yourself with all the materials it contains. [See p. 16]

Primarily, I would like to answer the question of why we decided to leave the Soviet Union. We left to be able to continue our normal concert activities, for to be an artist or a literary figure, to make a slight attempt to express your own opinion, proved to be completely impossible in our country.

We were guilty of only one thing: We provided a home for the great Russian writer, Solzhenitsyn, who lived in our house for 4 years, as he had no other place to go.

The official authorities of the Soviet government told us we had to evict Solzhenitsyn. Without making any official political declarations, simply as human beings, we answered that we could not do this.

After this we started being harassed. This harassment reached such stages that we were completely deprived of appearances on radio and television. Our professional activities were practically paralyzed, and thus they finally forced us to request permission to go abroad for 2 years in our statement to that effect to Chairman Brezhnev.

Now TASS, in its official statement, says that we left on a normal concert tour. Moreover, TASS cynically adds that it was completely understandable to everyone that we were granted permission to leave for this concert tour, as the Soviet Union is always widening its cultural horizons, always expanding its cultural exchanges.

For this cultural exchange we came with our whole family and even our dog. Not one contract officially had been signed by Goskontsert which said we were departing for a concert tour.

We had absolutely no money, and the first 3 months we lived on loans from friends.

Such was the beginning of the cultural exchange.

I would like the honorable members of the Commission to hear the declaration that we wrote to Chairman Brezhnev the 29th of March of 1974, and, of course our Government very well knows why we left.

I will now read the statement to which Brezhnev responded with permission to leave the country for the Rostropovichs:

To Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: In recent years an intolerable atmosphere of persecution has been created around our family. Our artistic activity has been shamefully limited and our art ignored.

We have written to you many times with requests for help, but have received no reply.

Since we see no way out of this tragic situation, we request you to permit us and our two children to go abroad for two years.

With sincere respect, Galina Vishnevskaya, Mstislav Rostropovich.

Now the official Soviet authorities are looking for dozens of reasons to explain our trip abroad. They find laughable reasons that we left only to make more money, that we left on a normal concert tour and never came back, that we retain our Soviet passports simply because it gives us a reason not to pay American taxes. This is all such complete fabrication and untruth, such untruth, that if the Americans were to sell them a lie detector, it would break from the strain. [Laughter.]

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH. [through the interpreter]. Yes.

Why doesn't the Soviet Government openly admit for once that the only reason we were deprived of our Soviet citizenship was because

we, not as politicians, but as musicians and as human beings, feel we have the right to defend our colleagues, to befriend those whom we find necessary, and to speak with those we find necessary.

We always tried to think about returning to the Soviet Union. We very punctually went each year to the Embassy in Washington to extend our visas.

The official TASS statements say that we had been warned, and they list the Embassies in which they allegedly had talked to us. This again is completely untrue. There was only one instance in Paris, in December 1976, when we really talked to the Soviet Ambassador in Paris, Chervonenko. This was the only conversation, in December of 1976, and we were deprived of our citizenship in 1978.

This was what occurred during our conversation with Chervonenko, the only discussion I had regarding our return to Russia was in December 1976 at the Soviet Embassy in Paris. On that occasion V. Chervonenko, the Ambassador, informed us that the Soviet authorities were dissatisfied with our interviews and with my intention to give a concert in Paris in aid of old and needy Russians 2 weeks later.

We told him that our interviews covered only artistic matters and our personal affairs—things we were competent to talk about. As far as the concert for Russians was concerned, we told him that in no sense was it anti-Soviet. Chervonenko asked us on what conditions we could return. We said there was only one: That the real reason for our enforced departure from the USSR for such a lengthy period should be stated in the Soviet press. Everything would then fall into place and we could return and work normally. We did not wish to return—and we could not do so—when our names were completely boycotted and we were treated like dead souls.

It is interesting to note that the order of deprivation of citizenship of the Supreme Soviet was dated March 7. We had submitted our applications for visa renewals the 16th of February.

After this we kept in constant touch with the Soviet Embassy requesting an answer to our application. The Soviet Embassy asked us about our future plans, about which countries we intended to visit, and I told them that on March 9 I planned to leave the United States to go to France. And even though the order had been dated March 7, they would not let us know, so it could not happen while we were in the United States.

On March 15, in France, at 6 o'clock in the evening, I spoke with the cultural attache' of the Soviet Embassy in France who told me, "Don't worry about it, in a couple of days we will get your renewals."

And 3 hours later, while sitting in front of the television set, we heard about the order for deprivation of citizenship.

Our authorities thought that we would agree to all of this quietly, because, according to the rumors, we have everything here. But after our official statement and the open letter to Chairman Brezhnev, dated March 17—only on March 22 did an official TASS statement appear, full of lies and very, very feeble.

TASS claimed that we had given 63 concerts to benefit anti-Soviet White emigrants, and anti-Soviet propaganda dissemination centers.

I have given many performances in Washington. I performed at an official concert for the U.N. Children's Fund here in Washington, I gave a benefit concert for "Save the Whales" at which President Carter was present.

These were all part of the 63 alleged concerts, and these are supposed to be the main anti-Soviet propaganda dissemination centers referred to in the TASS statement.

I gave concerts all over the world for sick children. In Germany there is a home built for retarded children with the profits from a concert. There was a benefit concert to save Carnegie Hall. There is a complete list of the charity concerts given in the document before you. And in that you can see what the Soviet Union considers to be anti-Soviet organizations.

Other countries give prizes and medals for these activities—my country deprives me of my citizenship.

TASS accuses me of donating \$35,000 to the publication *Kontinent* "Rostropovich donated \$35,000 to the fund of the anti-Soviet magazine *Kontinent*," TASS quote.

This is a lie. The *Kontinent* fund also provides help for Russians. I paid \$4,000 into the fund for this purpose, and this money has already been distributed among persons in need. I never paid any other money into the fund. A photocopy of the *Kontinent* letter to this effect is appended.

We have only three official newspaper documents: A very small comment in *Izvestia*, the TASS statement, and a long article in a paper published particularly for Russian emigrants abroad by the Soviet Union called *The Voice of the Fatherland—Golos Rodiny*.

Among other lies, this last article states that not only do we not pay taxes, but we support with our profits anti-Soviet organizations, and we buy grand houses. They state that we bought a house in London for £175,000. They even quote the price in the article, and I would very much like someone to point out this house to me, because I've not seen it. [Laughter.]

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. We've always lived here with the intention that we would eventually return home. Therefore, believe us, we have absolutely no property anywhere abroad. We have always rented our living quarters.

The only property we own is in the Soviet Union: an apartment in Moscow and a dacha in the suburbs of Moscow.

The latest news we've had from Moscow is that officials have called my sister, who has the keys to our apartment. All of my records—not long-playing, but archives—are in this apartment, and the authorities are demanding the keys.

I forbade her to give over the keys and said that they should break down the doors, as robbers and crooks always do.

This is the only property we own, and concrete proof that we always intended to return home.

The *Voice of the Fatherland* accuses us of meeting only with anti-Soviet activists. I would like to name the people that I have met abroad.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH. President Jimmy Carter, Giscard d'Estaing, Raymond Barre, Walter Scheel, Helmut Schmidt, Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky, Pierre Trudeau, and many, many other people. [Laughter.]

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. They write that we met the Zionist, Bernstein. My answer to that was—

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH. Leonard Bernstein is well known not only in the West but in the U.S.S.R., and * * *

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. * * * and his fame is not as a Zionist, but as a pianist, an outstanding composer, and a brilliant conductor. He is one of the greatest musicians in the United States whose music I play and conduct with great pleasure and whose friendship I consider a great honor.

In order to truthfully explain our views, I would like to be able to read excerpts from our open letter to Comrade Brezhnev dated March 17.

We are musicians. We think and live music. Our attitude to life, our views, our relationship to people and events, stem entirely from our profession. The charges made against us by the Supreme Soviet are pure fiction. We have never been involved in any anti-Soviet organization, whether at home or abroad.

You know as well as anyone else that our only "fault" was to give shelter to the writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn. For this, with your approval, every sort of persecution was brought down upon us.

We found it impossible to live with the cancellation of concerts, the prohibition of travel abroad as guest artists, the boycott by radio, television, and the press, the overall attempt to paralyze our musical activities.

While he was still in Russia, Rostropovich appealed to you on three occasions: at first with a letter and then with telegrams requesting your help. But neither you nor anyone of your subordinates as much as responded to this cry from the heart.

We do not recognize your right to do violence to us in the absence of any specific formal charges and any recourse to legal defence against such charges.

We demand a court trial in any venue in the USSR and at any time, the sole condition being that this trial be open to the public.

We have learned from our lawyer that there is no opportunity for legal recourse to the due process, but there is another court, fortunately, the court of worldwide public opinion.

The Soviet Union recognized the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 15 states: "Everyone has the right to a nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality."

If the Soviet Union recognized this declaration and signed it, then it is necessary to someday force the Soviet Union to observe that which it has signed.

Our own personal affairs aren't bad in this world. We grieve over the fact that we have been forcibly deprived of our homeland, but we appeal to the Helsinki Commission not to defend us, but to publicize the fact that there are tens, hundreds, thousands of people who need defending now, and there will be many, many more such thousands in the future.

This is why we have taken up the time of people who are busy with the Government of the United States, because we would like to be sure that our example will not be repeated with others.

We are very upset that General Grigorenko was deprived of his citizenship. He is an elderly man who has spilled blood for his country, and, of course, he cannot start a new life in any other country now. We ask you as a free country to raise your voices to aid the oppressed. Therefore we speak out for everyone who is suffering this oppression.

My wife agrees with everything that I have said, and a part of her letter will be read to be made public:

The Soviet Government has shown that in the Soviet Union people's fate is decided not by the law, but by the persons who control the law. I do not recognize the right of these persons to deprive me forcefully of the soil which has been given me by God.

Near Leningrad in a common grave lie my family who starved to death during the blockade. I've given to my people the greater part of my life. I have borne and brought up two children, and I will not allow anybody to order my family about as if we were slaves.

GALINA VISHNEVSKAYA.

We have not come to accuse anyone. We have come to tell the truth. Primarily, we wanted to tell the truth to the people of our country, and I appealed four times to Brezhnev for a chance to talk to someone.

And even now, everyone refuses to talk with us, and I've not spoken to anyone in power. But we refuse in the name of our compatriots to be silenced.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH. Thank you very much for your attention and thank you very much for the chance you give to us to speak here.

If you agree, some words from my wife now.

STATEMENT OF MME GALINA VISHNEVSKAYA

Mme. VISHNEVSKAYA [through the interpreter]. My husband has already told you that I agree completely with all he has said. We've devoted our whole life in our country to our art, and to our people. Now I only want to keep you for a short time.

I would like to read a short excerpt from the stenographer's report of the 22nd Party Congress of the Communist Party.

When the cult of Stalin and his Politburo were exposed and all of their crimes against the Soviet people were revealed, Shelepin, who was at that time Chairman of the KGB, in great ire exclaimed at that Congress:

Sometimes one wonders how these people—Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, Voroshilov, and others—can walk upon the earth in peace and sleep quietly. They should be terrorized by nightmares. They should hear the sobs and the curses of the mothers, wives, and children of their comrades who had been executed though innocent.

And how did the Soviet Government treat these comrades who had been declared criminals before the Soviet people? They still live in free dachas and the widows and orphans and wives of the innocent comrades executed by the above-mentioned "enemies of the State" cynically still get very high pensions. And because we befriended, out of our human convictions, a Russian writer, they deprived us of our country, deprived us of our home, and in addition to that they took away our children.

I said this so everyone will know the duplicity of the Politburo which in fact rules not only the law, but the fate of every Soviet citizen.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you very much, Ms. Derian?

QUESTIONS AND REMARKS

Ms. DERIAN. We are all terrifically moved by the comments you have made, the story you have told and the demonstration of concern for other people. I would be particularly interested in your thoughts—if they are not too painful—back at the time when, as artists highly regarded in your society, you suddenly found the instrument of the society, namely, the Soviet Government, arrayed against you.

What was the effect on your family when your livelihood was cut off, your tomorrow was uncertain and your pleas for help went unheard? What happens in your family in a situation like that, and what happens to you?

I ask because this is something that happens to people in many places in the world, more and more as time goes on. It is very hard for Americans to have that experience, to understand what it means. It is foreign to our experience, except in our recent past for some of the citizens of our country who were systematically denied the access to Government.

So I wonder if you would take a minute, if you can, to speak a little bit about what the effect of this would be, drawing from your own personal experience. But I am sure this is one which is shared by many others.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. First of all, the systematic deprivation of rights totally wears down a person spiritually and morally. This kind of deprivation of rights totally stifles the free exchange of human ideas, which is as necessary as air. I must say that I first began to understand the system of complete repression in the arts—to which I was very close—when there were edicts issued against great composers in our country, when they were charged with formalism in their work.

All musicians who understood music knew that these charges were totally false, but because they were so afraid of punishment and persecution, they nevertheless signed letters agreeing with these charges.

And it was a mark of great heroism simply not to sign such letters, let alone make a separate protest. Therefore, for the same reasons, such letters were signed against Pasternak, against Anna Akhmatova, and for these same reasons letters are now being signed against Academician Sakharov by his colleagues.

And I think that the measure taken against us, that of depriving us of Soviet citizenship, was primarily directed against the Soviet intelligentsia, to frighten and intimidate them, so that they would not feel free to say that which they consider must be said.

And I think this whole policy is directed toward repression of human rights in our country.

Ms. DERIAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FASCELL. Senator Dole?

Senator DOLE. First, I thank both of you for your statements. You've just returned from Europe, I understand. Do you still have Soviet passports, or have they been taken away?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. After it was announced that we were deprived of Soviet citizenship, 2 days later, at 9 o'clock in the morning, without any forewarning, two clerks from the consular section in France came to our house and said, "We've come to take away your passports."

We asked them, "Do you have any documents? How do you know that you're to take the passports?"

And they said, "Oh yes, we know that you have been deprived of your passports. We live here in France. We know this from the newspapers and television."

And to this we answered, "We do not consider that the Soviet Union has the right to deprive us of citizenship, and these are the only documents which we have at all, and therefore we do not consider it necessary to give back these documents."

And then we politely said to them, "Goodbye." [Laughter.]

Senator DOLE. So you still have the passports?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. Yes; but these passports were only valid until the 25th of March, therefore they're invalid at this time.

Senator DOLE. What are you using now for travel documents?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. We are very grateful to the Prince of Monaco who gave us for 6 months passports of his country for travel purposes. We got them just before we came to the United States so that there could be somewhere that they could put the stamp for the visa to the United States.

Before that, for 2 months we had Swiss documents, which expire on the 15th of May.

Senator DOLE. Although you still have your home and your apartment in the Soviet Union, and it's always been your intention to return there, by stripping you of citizenship you are now stateless persons. Do you have any plans to seek citizenship elsewhere?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. At the present time we're still thinking about that problem. The main thing is that we have documents now which enable us to travel, which of course is very important for us. Therefore, we have the opportunity to think about this question.

Senator DOLE. As I understand, your daughters retain their citizenship. They're not affected by the action taken against you?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. That's correct.

It's interesting, when they called my sister in Moscow and told her to give back the keys to our apartment, she said to them, "But please! They have two children who are Soviet citizens. They need somewhere to live when they come back here."

They said, "Well, that's not important. When they come back they'll find somewhere or other they can live."

Mme. VISHNEVSKAYA [through the interpreter]. They said, "The apartment doesn't belong to them anyway. It's not their property. They've never worked in the Soviet Union, and their parents have been deprived of their citizenship."

Senator DOLE. Mr. Rostropovich, as I understand, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that no one can be arbitrarily stripped of their citizenship, and as I understand the Denationalization Decree of the Presidium, it contained very vague language.

It said you were, for example, quote, "Committing acts which are harmful to the prestige of the U.S.S.R."

This decree was issued without any hearing, without any opportunity for you to participate, and, as far as I can understand, there was no opportunity for redress under international law.

Do you plan any formal appeal to the Soviet Government or to any international body, such as the U.N. Human Rights Commission?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. We immediately wrote an appeal to Mr. Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations—

Senator DOLE. Is that in your statement which you presented?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. Yes, it's included in the statements. Part of that document is included. I'll send the rest.

We received a response almost immediately saying that this matter had been turned over to Geneva. Then we received a very long letter from Geneva indicating the points of law, and legal provisions that would be the basis for their work on our case in the future.

Senator DOLE. Who was the letter from?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. From the Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

I would like to say that of course we greatly respect these organizations, but the only thing I would like to ascertain is that the Soviet Union acts much more quickly. They take action while people here are still talking. [Laughter.]

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH. I think that there was a lot of talk in Belgrade, and just after the talk in Belgrade they take away our citizenship. This may be the result of this conversation from our country.

Senator DOLE. They were expressing their disdain for the Belgrade conference.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FASCELL. I'd like to ask both of you, since the acts against you were to frighten the intelligentsia of the Soviet Union, I'm curious to know why they think that's necessary, and also why they think it will work.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH. [through the interpreter]. The last 4 years of our life, while we have been living abroad, have clearly shown our colleagues and our fellow citizens in the Soviet Union that one can successfully continue one's artistic activity without sacrificing one's conscience.

And we know that there are many people in the Soviet Union who would like to follow our example. Some artists have even tried to do this already.

Our example was like a horrible eyesore for our government when they saw that the intelligentsia was carefully following our life and our success. We met and spoke freely with many Soviet artists abroad. And here my government authorities wanted to prove to them that even if artists are as famous as Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya, the authorities nevertheless can tear off their heads with impunity if they dare to try anything.

Mr. FASCELL. In other words, you were such an outstanding artistic leader—both of you—that the Soviets wanted to make an example of you to frighten other artists? Is that what you're saying?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH. [through the interpreter]. Of course. They are very afraid that anyone speak the truth. It would be hard for you to imagine all the kinds of rumors that were spread about us in order to discredit us even before they deprived us of citizenship.

And at the beginning, when we had just gone abroad, they spread rumors that we were in abject need—

Mme. VISHNEVSKAYA [through the interpreter]. That our children were in an orphanage.

Mr. FASCELL. In other words, the government went on a calculated campaign to discredit you.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH. [through the interpreter]. All the time, over the course of 4 years.

Mr. FASCELL. Including the articles that appeared in the newspapers in the Soviet Union.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. The only articles which appeared about us during this 4-year period were after we had been deprived of Soviet citizenship there were defamatory articles about us in *Voice of the Fatherland*, *Izvestia* and *Soviet Culture*. Before this, our names had been completely boycotted from the press and other media. So actually, over a period of 7 to 8 years, these were the only articles that appeared about us in the Soviet press, these three articles.

Mr. FASCELL. Do you think that the government will continue to remove both your names from the culture of the world by this activity?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. They had been doing so for 8 years before we were even deprived of our citizenship.

Mr. FASCELL. Well, I don't think it will work, because it certainly didn't keep you quiet. [Laughter.]

Mr. FASCELL. Well, explain to me something that has always troubled me whenever I hear cases like this, which seem to be so sad. Why is it that a people who are a very courageous people and very intelligent, as far as I know, why are they so fearful of creativity, of people who—well, in your case—have great artistic talent, something that the whole world can enjoy? Why are they so afraid that somebody will enjoy it?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. This is a system of the education of a whole people which has been going on over a period of sixty years.

Mr. FASCELL. You mean a system of fear?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. A system of punishment for any expression of opinion, free expression of opinion.

In our country, if one attempts free expression in the arts, for example, then there is instant punishment.

One doesn't have to look far for an example—the most talented Soviet stage director, Lyubimov was to stage "Pique Dame" in the Paris opera, "Queen of Spades," a Tchaikovsky opera. And one of the best conductors in the Soviet Union, Rozhdestvensky, was to conduct.

This was an experimental, innovative stage production, and as a demonstration to the whole world, the Soviet Union did not allow these people to leave the Soviet Union, even though all the preparations for this production had already been made.

The result of this was complete indignation and protest from world public opinion, and \$400,000 had been wasted by the Paris opera which had prepared the staging.

So, if a person is in the arts, they simply don't let him out. However, if he wants freedom of expression in politics, formerly, they would just shoot the person. And millions of people were shot for precisely this reason in 1937 and 1938. So this system of education has instilled a fear of free expression in the people.

And therefore, each citizen decides to deal only with his own narrow sphere of interests, and makes no attempt to change the overall situation.

Mr. FASCELL. Senator Dole.

Senator DOLE. As I read the material prepared by the staff, and my own knowledge of the case, I assume that what the Soviets have done is legal, within their jurisdiction limits. But it certainly would appear to be a violation of the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

I'm curious to know what you could tell us about the value of cultural exchanges. There's been, I think, some hesitancy on the part of the Congress and maybe even the Administration, to expand the cultural exchange programs. There's been more willingness on the part of the Russians to expand them, though some recent actions would indicate, perhaps, a contrary view.

If an American group goes to Russia, is anyone entitled to come to that performance, or is it limited to the so-called Party faithful? Are tickets available to the public, or is it a very closely held operation?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. This is dealt with in a variety of ways. For example, when I gave concerts in the last period before I left, music lovers in the provinces could not attend these concerts, because these tickets were only given to Party faithful, to people who did not come to my concerts for joy, not to the music lovers. The Party people came only to sit in chairs and maybe sleep during the concert. [Laughter.]

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH. Such a concert, I must tell you, took place in the city of Obninsk. People came to me afterwards and said they couldn't get tickets. And this happened in many, many other cities.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. And, of course, the system works very well, this system of ticket distribution. The same system was applied at my last concert in May before I left.

Senator DOLE. Can you invite your friends to come?

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH. Yes; that's possible, but I could invite only 10 friends or 20 friends, but in the concert hall there are 2,000 people.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. In regard to cultural exchange, I would like to say that one can't have a very simple attitude. The fact of the matter is that any country—including the United States—must demand from these exchanges what they want.

You should demand those artists and those interesting cultural events which, in fact, do exist in our country, in the Soviet Union.

This is how the situation usually unfolds. There are some very interesting theatrical productions, both innovative productions, and interesting actors—but they're not sent abroad. The authorities send only the productions and performers they consider necessary. And when these people return to the Soviet Union there is tremendous publicity within the Soviet Union exclaiming that the Americans were delighted with what they saw.

And they use this reaction of the Americans as a punishment against the people they refuse to send. They ask these people, "Why should we send you, when these, in fact, have such tremendous success in America?"

You must demand that which you want to see, but I am sure that you would be refused your requests. As far as composers go, an area very close to my heart, composer Tikhon Khrennikov has come here many, many times. He's very mediocre—very mediocre, but that is in any case my compliment for him. [Laughter.] Very mediocre.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. And I can name three brilliant talents, young talents—Pyart, from Tallin, Estonia; Nikolai Sidelnikov from Moscow; Silvestrov from Kiév. These are the three greatest young talents, incredible, incredibly talented people. Why have you not invited these people here instead of Khrennikov? For concerts, they would be so interesting for the American public. But I'm sure that my government, through the influence of Mr. Khrennikov would not agree with these young talented people coming here, but I'm sure these people receive incredible success for my country here.

Mr. FASCELL. Well, you make a very excellent point, and it seems quite clear that as far as the Soviets are concerned, on cultural exchange programs, that artistic talent and ability is not a criteria.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH. Absolutely. You're right.

Mr. FASCELL. Well let me ask you this. Since it seems that the Soviets are on a very determined course to prevent any creative talent—whether it's a beautiful soprano voice or one of the great composers and conductors of the world, or a writer, or whatever—if their objective is to destroy that creativity, or to mold it in such a narrow form that it really is not creative, it seems that their objective is to destroy all intelligence and creative talent in the whole Soviet Union.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. There's a great tradition in our country of attacking the most brilliant talents that we have.

It's very interesting. In the different forms of art I can tell you immediately—who are the greatest Russian painters, for example, at the present time?

They are Kandinsky and Chagall. Both left Soviet Russia. Who is the best writer, creative writer? Now, Solzhenitsyn, Maksimov, Nekrasov—earlier, Bulgakov; poets, Akhmatova, Boris Pasternak, Mandelshtam, all these people were punished and they were the best in our country.

For musicians, who is best? Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Khachaturian, all three of these people were punished.

I know that all three of these composers died before their time because they were all broken in spirit. Furthermore, I know other terrible facts about these composers because I was their good friend, more catastrophic things.

For example, we only just recently recorded "Katerina Izmailova"—"Lady Macbeth," the opera of Shostakovich.

He started composing this opera when he was 23 and finished it when he was 25. And it's a composition of absolute genius.

After this he was utterly crushed because Stalin had been at the premiere and destroyed him completely for the creation of this work.

Thirty-five years later he produced another version because it had not been presented anywhere for 35 years. It had been prohibited. And the second version was much worse, nothing like the original.

And only after this deterioration of it did they let it be produced again. That's why the world never realized the genius of these composers. Prokofiev, Shostakovich—they produced their worst works after they had been repressed and harassed. That's already history.

Mr. FASCELL. It's a sad commentary on human nature, that great genius is destroyed and repressed and denied not only to the people—you have a great culture—but also to the rest of the world.

But nevertheless, the Soviets' loss is the world's gain in your case. And we're delighted that you have the opportunity to still be creative, to be courageous, and to speak out what your thoughts are.

Mme. VISHNEVSKAYA [through the interpreter]. In the Soviet Union they have been mowing down arts like a lawn for 60 years.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. And if a single blade of grass grows up a little higher than the rest, they not only very carefully trim it down with scissors, they send a bulldozer and tanks to do it. [Laughter.]

And do you know why—excuse me—why we are all speaking so openly with you? We're not afraid of our government. We speak openly. Why? Because we love our country. We love our people like Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Chaliapin, Rachmaninoff. There are many other people who are not well known here yet, but we want to give these people the possibility for the creative maximum they're capable of. That's why we are speaking very, very, very, very forcefully and openly about this.

Mr. FASCELL. Well we certainly thank both of you very much for speaking so openly about that. I happen to agree with you that the opportunity to understand, to enjoy, to participate in the culture of a great people is not only a wonderful educational process, but is totally for the betterment of mankind, and I would hope that there would never be an end to a great Soviet culture or Russian culture, and that there always will be great writers and artists and singers and composers and conductors, that the world can understand the Russian people and the Soviets better and appreciate your culture.

It is unfortunate, however, that for whatever reasons—and it seems to me to be purely misguided political reasons of the worst kind, predicated on fear or for loss of control of power, or whatever—that they embarked upon a course of conduct that is so destructive of humanity that only rarely in the world has any people ever stooped that low.

Before we conclude this meeting, I would welcome whatever final comments either one of you would like to make.

Mme. VISHNEVSKAYA [through the interpreter]. We are very grateful to you and we would like to say for ourselves and for our children that we love America very much. We love the American people, and we are very happy here. We love Europe too—but especially America. The Americans are a special people and it is a special country—with freedom and democracy. We have many friends here, people love music here, and we are very very happy.

Mr. ROSTROPOVICH [through the interpreter]. For my last words, in the TASS statement I am accused of two things, aside from everything else: that Rostropovich says that America is becoming his second native country. In the TASS article this is brought against me as an accusation, and it is also considered bad in the TASS article that we are happy here in the West.

I want to use the present occasion to once again reaffirm that I always spoke the truth and therefore I am happy.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

The Commission stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:15 p.m. the hearing was adjourned.]

MATERIALS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY MAESTRO ROSTROPOVICH AND MME. VISHNEVSKAYA

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

When we left the Soviet Union for two years with the permission of the Soviet Government we, Galina Vishnevskaya and Mstislav Rostropovich, were certain that at the end of this period we would be able to return home to continue our artistic activities. We hoped that the intolerable and offensive attitude to us which had caused our departure, would change during that time. Unfortunately this did not happen. We extended our contracts abroad in hope that one day we would be "forgiven" for our humane treatment of A. Solzhenitsyn who, as is well known, lived for four years in our country house (dacha). As we waited for this "amnesty" we continued to present ourselves regularly every year at the Soviet Embassy in Washington requesting extensions to our passports. On February 16th 1978, through the Soviet Embassy in Washington, we submitted a request to L. Brezhnev asking for an extension of our passports for three more years as we had signed contracts abroad for that period. A number of times I rang the Embassy in Washington, but up to March 9th, i.e. the day we moved from New York to Paris, there was no reply to our request from Moscow. It was agreed that as soon as they received a decision from Moscow they would send it on to the Soviet Embassy in Paris. Our passports expired on March 25th 1978 and naturally I kept ringing the Embassy in Paris attempting to hurry them. On March 15th at 5 p.m. the cultural attache, Mr. Yu. Borisov, rang to tell us that so far there had been no answer, but it was expected any day. That very night sitting in front of our television in Paris we learned that we had been stripped of our Soviet citizenship. At the same time someone from the National Orchestra in Washington rang to tell me the news. To this day we have had no official notification of this deprivation.

On March 18, without warning, two officials from the Soviet Consulate in Paris came along and asked us to return our Soviet passports. I said that we considered depriving us of our citizenship an illegal act, that our passports were the only documents in our possession at the moment and therefore we would not give them back. Since then the only official documents in our possession are an item from the newspaper "Izvestia" of March 16th, entitled "Ideological Degenerates", a more extended TASS announcement of March 22nd entitled "The Fruits of Self-expression" signed by a certain Alexei Petrov, (this announcement was sent out to all the Press agencies of the world) and an article by L. Pavlov in the weekly "Golos Rodiny", No. 13, of March 1978. As the TASS announcement and the "Golos Rodiny" article contain a detailed analysis of the "crimes" of G. Vishnevskaya and myself, I consider it my duty to reply, supporting my answers with documents (photocopies of which I attach).

LETTER TO P. N. DEMICHEV—29 MARCH 1974

Dear Petr Nilovich: It is with a feeling of great frustration that we enclose a letter for Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and request you to pass it on to Leonid Ilich.

We thank you sincerely and warmly for all that you wanted to do for us. But even you could only help us for one day. On the next all our hopes for a ray of light in our life here in Russia were dashed.

We are going abroad in order to obtain work which is worthy of us and of our skills. As you know, we have appealed to E. A. Furtseva, the Minister of Culture, many times, both by word of mouth and by letter, about various matters, but without any result.

Appreciating as we do your lofty position as a statesman, we cannot trouble you any longer with every detail of our professional lives. But even if we had been

thoughtless enough to dare trouble you frequently with our affairs, it would not have helped, as may be seen from the case of the "Tosca" opera recording, which has been set aside and cancelled. And so we have yet again, for the nth time (!), been deprived of work.

We have only one artistic life to live, and we do not think it necessary or possible to waste it in a humiliating struggle with fools and scoundrels, people who, we are sure, purposely create an intolerable situation around us.

Having reached creative maturity, we must give our skills to the world. We are convinced that there exists in our country an organized group of people who have both power and influence; this group, in total contradiction to the interests of our state, persecutes talented people whom the state itself needs, leaving them with only two alternatives—suicide or departure abroad.

We hope that we have not given, and will not give you cause to remember us unkindly.

Yours sincerely,

GALINA VISHNEVSKAYA.
SLAVA ROSTROPOVICH.

MARCH 29, 1974.

To Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee, C.P.S.U.:

In recent years an intolerable atmosphere of persecution has been created around our family. Our artistic activity has been shamefully limited and our art ignored.

We have written to you many times with requests for help, but have received no reply.

Since we see no way out of this tragic situation, we request you to permit us and our two children to go abroad for two years.

With sincere respect,

GALINA VISHNEVSKAYA.
MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH.

IZVESTIA, MARCH 16, 1978

IDEOLOGICAL DEGENERATES

[Translated From Russian]

M. L. Rostropovich and G. P. Vishnevskaya who left the Soviet Union a few years ago, show no desire to return home, continue their unpatriotic activities, and debase the name of Soviet citizen. They have systematically given financial help to subversive anti-Soviet centres and other foreign organizations hostile to the Soviet Union. For example in 1976-77 they gave some concerts from which the proceedings went to white emigre organizations.

Although they formally remained Soviet citizens, Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya in reality became ideological degenerates leading activity directed against the Soviet Union and the Soviet People. Considering that Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya systematically commit acts harmful to the prestige of the Soviet Union and incompatible with Soviet citizenship, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet decreed on the grounds of article 7 of the Law of the USSR of August 19, 1938, "The citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics", that for actions debasing the name of Soviet citizen, M. L. Rostropovich and G. P. Vishnevskaya be deprived of their citizenship.

TO WORLD PUBLIC OPINION

In this hard moment for us, we appeal to our friends, to lovers of music, to all people of good will and ask them to express their feelings regarding the inhuman and illegal act of depriving us of the right to live and to die in our native land. We have never been nor are we now involved in politics, either in our Motherland or abroad, but we have devoted all our forces to music, so that its beauty warmed the world.

The official accusations made against us have no connection with the real reasons for this decision, which is only an act of vindictiveness prompted by our purely humane sympathy for the oppressed.

How is it possible to blame us for our artistic activity abroad and by a dictatorial stroke of the pen deprive us of our native land, without even giving us the legal right to justify our actions?

We know that here abroad a dog, thrown on the streets, is taken into care by a society for the protection of animals, and that this society will often call its former owner to account. Is it possible that in our world there is no society, which would stand up for people, who are humiliated, insulted and deprived of their home?

GALINA VISHNEVSKAYA.
MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH.

PARIS, March 17, 1978.

L. I. BREZHNEV,
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, of which you are the head, has deprived us of Soviet citizenship. More accurately, you are depriving us of the possibility to live and die in our homeland, in the country in which we were born and to which with some success we have given almost half a century of our lives, devoting our work and talent to our fellow-countrymen. Our contribution to Soviet art was honored by the Soviet government with the highest awards at its disposal: the Soloist of the Bolshoi Theatre, Galina Vishnevskaya, with the rank of People's Artist of the USSR and the Order of Lenin, and Mstislav Rostropovich with the Stalin Prize, the Lenin Prize, the rank of People's Artist of the USSR and the academic degree of Professor of the Moscow Conservatory.

We are musicians. We think and live music. Our attitude to life, our views, our relationship to people and events stem entirely from our profession. The charges made against us by the Supreme Soviet are pure fiction. We have never been involved in any anti-Soviet organization, whether at home or abroad. You know as well as anyone else that our only "fault" was to give shelter to the writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn. For this, with your approval, every sort of persecution was brought down upon us. We found it impossible to live with the cancellation of concerts the prohibition of travel abroad as guest artists, the boycott by radio, television and the press, the overall attempt to paralyse our musical activity. While he was still in Russia, Rostropovich appealed to you on three occasions: at first with a letter and then with telegrams requesting your help. But neither you nor any one of your subordinates as much as responded to this cry from the heart.

By this means you forced us to request permission to travel abroad for an extended period. The granting of this request was formulated to read like an official travel order for the Ministry of Culture of the USSR. Apparently, however, the tears we shed at home were not enough for you. You have worked harm on us even here.

Now, over your signature—you as "the champion of peace and the rights of man"—we are morally shot in the back on a trumped-up charge depriving us of our right to return to our homeland. The Soviet government has the possibility of mocking those great writers now living in Russia, men like Vladimov, Voinovich, Zinoviev; and you no doubt think that you have thrown us onto the junk-heap where, in your time, you have thrown Rachmaninov, Chaliapin, Stravinsky, Kandinsky, Shemiakin, Neizvestny, Bunin, Solzhenitsyn, Maximov, Nekrassov. You have the power to force us to change our place of residence, but you do not have the power to change our hearts. Wherever we may be, we shall continue to bring our art to the Russian people with pride and love.

We have never occupied ourselves with politics and we have no intention of doing so in the future because we are not by nature inclined to this kind of activity. As artists by profession and conviction, however, we cannot remain indifferent to the plight of our fellow artists. All our acts as human beings and as citizens were dictated by this consideration alone.

We do not recognize your right to do violence to us in the absence of any specific formal charges and any recourse to legal defense against such charges.

We demand a court trial in any venue in the USSR and at any time, the sole condition being that this trial be open to the public.

We hope that you will respond to this our fourth appeal to you. If you fail to respond, then perhaps the color of shame will come to your cheeks.

GALINA VISHNEVSKAYA.
MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH.

[From TASS]

"FRUITS OF 'SELF-EXPRESSION'"

Moscow, March 22, TASS—TASS commentator Alexei Petrov writes:

A few years ago Mstislav Rostropovich, together with his wife Galina Vishnevskaya, left on a trip abroad. The fact itself is by no means an outstanding one, for Rostropovich, just as other artistic figures, was not [repeat] not leaving this country for the first time, due to the USSR's broad cultural exchanges. Yet this time Rostropovich behaved unusually. From the very first days of their stay abroad, Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya began making pretentious anti-Soviet statements on the pages of the West German magazine *Stern*, the French paper *Le Monde* and others, in American mass information media. They were repeatedly utilized by the *Voice of America* and the *Deutsche Welle* radio stations, and others.

What was it that interested so much correspondents in statements made by Rostropovich? Maybe these were reflections of an outstanding musician about the development of modern art, or the story of how, with the assistance of Soviet teachers, he made a career from a pupil of a children's music school to a famous virtuoso.

Alas, exalted words like "music", "art", "creative endeavour" were used by Rostropovich and his spouse Vishnevskaya for other purposes. According to his remarks at press-conference in Paris on March 17, just as in former utterings, neither he nor his wife were able to "work freely" in the Soviet Union. Such a revelation, everything indicates, amazed the *Stern* correspondent so much that he had to ask a few direct and penetrating questions to get the matter straight. (Follow questions and answers right from the above-mentioned weekly):

Stern: But you appeared in western countries when you wanted and had frequently been here.

Let's go on with the statistics. As a soloist of Moscow's State Philharmonic Society, he naturally had every opportunity and all the conditions for concert activities in the Soviet country. The managing director of the Philharmonia A. Kargin informs us that in 1973 Rostropovich gave 18 concerts and continued to appear next year as well.

"Among the musicians living in the USSR," Rostropovich wrote in the pages of the Paris *Le Monde*, "my family was in a special position, quite different from other artists and musicians . . . I was denied the possibility of self-expression."

Concerning the "special position," Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya did, indeed, enjoy it. Laureate of all kinds of competitions and prizes, professor, chief of a chair at Moscow Conservatoire, etc., etc.—are not [repeat] not these signs of special recognition due to talent? Titles and awards were also bestowed on Vishnevskaya. (By the way, the top salary of a soloist at the Bolshoi Theatre had been secured for her till recently).

The singer Vishnevskaya, whose husband alleges that "at home she was surrounded by complete silence," sang on the stage of the Bolshoi Theatre practically all the leading parts on the repertory—in the "Queen of Spades", "Eugene Onegin", "Madame Butterfly", "La Traviata", Semyon Kotko", and others. She was also engaged in the new productions—"Tosca", "The Tsar's Bride", "The Gambler". All throughout the years the number of her appearances was the same as of other leading soloists of the Bolshoi Theatre, which, by the way, cannot be said about her today.

So this is how, when it comes to the truth, matters stand with the notorious "self-expression" and the "restriction of creative freedom", a theme on which the spouses Rostropovich are harping.

Another thing. In the interview given on March 17 Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya maintained that the decision to deny them Soviet citizenship came as a complete surprise to them. The hypocrisy of such statements is easy to prove. For a long time and repeatedly interviews were held with Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya at the USSR embassies in the USA, France, Austria, Denmark, and Luxembourg about their return to the USSR owing to the expiration of the terms of their visas. They were repeatedly warned of the need to round out their affairs abroad within two-three months and return home. Otherwise, they would put themselves in a position where Soviet competent bodies would have to examine the matter of their citizenship. However, Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya failed to draw any conclusions for themselves. Moreover, in an interview for the paper *France Soir* Rostropovich stated: "The Soviet Union is a country of dead souls, where everything live and progressive is murdered." Witness the spouses Rostro-

povich have more than once publicly stated that they had no [repeat] no intention to return to the Soviet Union. Thus, in 1975 Rostropovich held a number of conversations with the *Voice of America* radio station's correspondents in which, by the way, he urged the intensification of programmes by that radio station hostile to the Soviet Union. In one of these conversations he stated:

"America is becoming my homeland". In 1977 in an interview for the *Deutsche Welle* radio station Vishnevskaya, in reply to a question about her possible return to the USSR, said: "There is nowhere and no reason to return to the USSR". Talking to the last offspring of the Russian royal family, one V. Romanov, in May 1975 Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya spoke of the "intolerable atmosphere in the USSR," and Vishnevskaya stated that they decided not to return to the USSR and remain abroad.

Apart from the interviews and other remarks derogating the Soviet social system and the lofty name of a Soviet citizen, Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya continued to carry out anti-Soviet work. They maintain close contacts with hostile centres, organized 63 concerts, the royalties of which they handed to white-emigre organizations which for decades have been engaged in subversive activities against the USSR. Rostropovich donated 35,000 dollars to the fund of the anti-Soviet magazine *Continent*, and held a number of concerts in support of renegades who had left the Soviet Union. . . .

All this taken together ran counter to the ideas of humanism and evoked the legitimate question: is it fitting for Soviet people, patriots of their motherland, to behave in this manner? Qualifying the actions by Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya as being incompatible with Soviet citizenship, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet decided, according to clause 7 of the USSR law of August 19, 1938, "On Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" to deny USSR citizenship to Mstislav Rostropovich and Galina Vishnevskaya for actions, smearing the name of a citizen of the USSR.

Why should the spouses Rostropovich now be showing hypocritical indignation? Indeed, by all their behaviour for over more than four years, they have been actually asking for it themselves.

MARCH 26, 1978.

A REPLY TO TASS

M. Rostropovich

(All bracketed statements are from official TASS print-outs of 22nd March, 1978.)

[A few years ago Mstislav Rostropovich, together with his wife Galina Vishnevskaya, left on a trip abroad. The fact itself is by no means an outstanding one, for Rostropovich, just as other artistic figures, was not leaving this country for the first time, due to the USSR's broad cultural exchanges.]

On the 26th May, 1974, after having been thoroughly searched in the Moscow customs, I left Russia and arrived London, together with my pet dog. The customs officials had not permitted me to take with me orders and medals with which I had been decorated, including the medals for my Lenin and Stalin prizes, the medals of the British Royal Philharmonic Society, the London Symphony Orchestra, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, etc.

So began a slightly unusual concert tour. The Soviet authorities had been so anxious to get rid of me that I was dropped on the heads of the Londoners like a snow shower, without any concerts or a single contract arranged, and without any money in my pocket. In fact I did not give a public performance for nearly three months, and had to live on sums borrowed from friends. My family arrived two months later.

But why were my wife, my children and myself allowed to leave Russia for two years when no other artist had been granted so long a stay abroad? The fact was that we got permission to leave as a result of two appeals made on the 29th March, 1974,—one to Brezhnev, and the other to P. Demichev (who then worked as Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party for cultural matters, and who passed our letter to Brezhnev).

These appeals are appended herewith. Only half an hour after we had made them V. Kukharski, Deputy Minister of Culture, called us to his office and told us that the Soviet government agreed to our departure.

[According to the data of the USSR Goskonsert agency, in 1971 and 1972 Rostropovich gave concerts in Austria and Canada, the United States and France, Hungary and Japan: all in all, he spent abroad on guest tours 155 days.]

Immediately after my return to the USSR from a concert tour in the West, at the end of 1969, the authorities found out about my letter defending Solzhenitsyn.

V. Popov, another deputy Minister of Culture, called me in and said: "That's why we're cancelling your concert tours abroad for nine months." My trip to the USA in 1970 was cancelled straight away, but Mr. Sol Hurok, the impresario, brought public pressure to bear, and insisted on the tour being arranged for the following year. It is therefore more to the point to count how many days I was abroad from 1970 up to my arrival in London on the 26th of May 1974.

[The spouses Rostropovich have more than once publicly stated that they had no intention to return to the Soviet Union.]

This is quite untrue. On the 16th February of this year we submitted a request to Brezhnev, through the Soviet Embassy in Washington, to extend our visas for another three years in connexion with contracts we had already signed for concerts abroad. This shows clearly that we did not want to lose touch with our country, and would have returned home had the circumstances there been favourable, (a point to which I return below).

[So this is how, when it comes to the truth, matters stand with the notorious "self-expression" and "the restriction of creative freedom" a theme on which the spouses Rostropovich are harping on . . .]

. . . In an interview for the paper *France Soir* Rostropovich stated: "The Soviet Union is a country of dead souls, where everything live and progressive is murdered . . ."]

Yes, we still believe that there is no freedom of creativity in our country, and that the authorities do indeed stifle all that is live and progressive in art. Is it possible in Russia to print many outstanding works by our best prose-writers and poets—people like Brodski, Maksimov, Nekrasov, Pasternak, Solzhenitsyn, Vladimov, Voinovich? All were expelled from the USSR Union of Writers. It is only recently that works by Akhmatova and Bulgakov, which were banned for years, have been brought out. And what about the persecution of Prokofiev and Shostakovich, registered for ever in the "historical" Party decree of 1948 on what was called "formalism" in music? And what about the bulldozing of art exhibitions in Moscow?

It was stated in *Izvestia* of the 16th March, 1978, that our actions "damage the prestige of the Soviet Union". Surely it would have been simpler for the Soviet Union to act otherwise than it did, so as not to harm the prestige of its own people. And, now my wife and I have been deprived of our native land. Is it we, the victims of an arbitrary act or its perpetrators who are damaging the prestige of the state?

[Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya maintained that the decision to deny them Soviet citizenship came as a complete surprise to them. The hypocrisy of such statements is easy to prove. For a long time and repeatedly, interviews were held with Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya at the USSR Embassies in the USA, France, Austria, Denmark, and Luxembourg about their return to the USSR owing to the expiration of the terms of their visas. They were repeatedly warned of the need to round up their affairs abroad within two-three months and return home. Otherwise they would put themselves in a position where Soviet competent bodies would have to examine the matter of their citizenship.]

TASS had to tell many lies in order to give this act of coercion at least some appearance of decency! I have never even seen the Soviet Embassy building in Luxembourg. That happened to be the only time, in the four hundred and more concerts which I have given since 26th May, 1974, that a Soviet ambassador came to congratulate me in the interval. I visited the Soviet Embassy in Austria once, in 1975, i.e. a whole year before my two-year visa was due to finish. There was naturally no talk of my return to Russia on that occasion.

In Washington I went to the Soviet Embassy twice. The first time (1976) they sent me straight to the Consulate without letting me into the Embassy building. The passports were extended without a single word being said about my coming back. The second time I was not allowed into the Embassy building again and I had to wait by the guard until the extended passports were brought down to me. Once I saw A. Dobrynin, the Soviet Ambassador, at a reception to mark the hundredth anniversary of the *Washington Post*. It was the only time I met him during those years, and he asked me to dinner on the 17th November, 1977. I accepted his invitation forthwith, but a few days later the Embassy informed my secretary at the Washington Symphony Orchestra that the invitation had been withdrawn.

The only discussion which I had regarding our return to Russia was in December, 1976 at the Soviet Embassy in Paris. On that occasion V. Chervonenko, the Ambassador, informed us that the Soviet authorities were dissatisfied with our interviews and with my intention to give a concert in Paris in aid of old and needy

Russians two weeks later. We told him that our interviews covered only artistic matters and our personal affairs—things we were competent to talk about. As far as the concert for Russians was concerned, we told him that in no sense was it anti-Soviet. Chervonenko asked us on what conditions we could return. We said there was only one: that the real reason for our enforced departure from the USSR for such a lengthy period should be stated in the Soviet press. Everything would then fall into place and we could return and work normally. We did not wish to return—and could not do so—when our names were completely boycotted, and we were treated like dead souls.

The fact was that during the three and a half years we had spent abroad our names were not once mentioned on the Soviet radio, nor printed in a single Soviet newspaper. On the contrary, they were removed from periodicals, not least the albums and books published in 1976 and 1977 to mark the jubilee of the Bolshoi Theatre, where Vishnevskaya had sung for 22 years.

More than 3 months after our talk with Chervonenko, and following a second concert for Russians, our passports were renewed for another year, up to 25th March, 1978. How could I expect that I would be deprived of my citizenship over a year later?

[They maintain close contact with hostile centres . . .]

I would very much like to know what contacts we were supposed to have had, and with which "hostile centres".

[(They) organised 63 concerts, the royalties of which they handed to white-emigre organisations which for decades have been engaged in subversive activities against the USSR.]

I gave 63 charity concerts, including masterclasses (for which tickets were also sometimes sold). I mentioned this figure for the first time at my Paris press conference on the 17th March of this year, and pointed out that only two of these concerts were given for Russians. TASS, however, purposely distorted my replies and now shamelessly and slanderously declares that we gave the royalties from all of the 63 concerts to "white emigré" organisations.

Are The Queen's Silver Jubilee Appeal, the Claude Pompidou Fund (in Paris) or UNICEF, (a United Nations body which helps sick children) white emigré organisations? Let that be on the conscience of TASS. (A list of all my charity concerts is appended.) To return for a moment to the two concerts which I gave for Russians, one was in San Francisco on the 20th September, 1976 for wounded veterans of the First World War—people who were old and sick, and had fought for Russia before the Revolution, long before any White Army existed. The certificate which was presented to me at that concert stated: "T. Mstislav Rostropovich, great artist and cellist, in grateful recognition of his selfless response in aid of those maimed in the First World War . . . We consider it a pleasurable moral duty to express our warm thanks to you for troubling to ease the lot of tired, impoverished and maimed old soldiers. We bow low and offer our respect and gratitude to you, an outstanding son of our dear Motherland Russia. We thank God that he has sent so worthy and warm-hearted a person to help us . . ." A photostat of this document is available.

The second concert for Russians was given in the Salle Pleyel in Paris on the 4th January, 1977, and was organised by the committee of the Centre de Culture et d'Accueil. This committee is made up of prominent Frenchmen under the chairmanship of Monsieur Henry Rollet. In reply to my question about where the royalties from this concert went, Monsieur Rollet declared that they were used entirely in accordance with the object I had in view, namely, "to assist exclusively Russian persons living in France and needing help. No payment of any kind has been made to any organisation, society, whatever". (A photostat of Monsieur H. Rollet's letter of the 23rd March, 1978, is appended.) After that concert I received a great many letters of thanks from Russians whom I had helped materially. Here are some extracts:

"... We have honoured and loved you for many years now, and we are happy that Russian people can be proud of you before the whole world. . . . Our love for you embraces the faith and hope that a people which can produce individuals like yourself has not perished spiritually. We are sincerely grateful to you for that. But we are particularly glad that we can now be personally grateful to you for the great help you have given us." (Sergei and Tamara Zhaba)

"... Your kind and philanthropic heart, and the help—500 francs—which arrived at a difficult moment in my life have warmed, sustained and touched me to the very depths of my soul . . ." (R. Ivanova)

"Deeply revered, endlessly kind Mstislav Leopoldovich . . . I really must thank you from the bottom of my heart for your present. I am so moved by this gesture,

you are so kind . . . Last month I received a letter from the bank asking me to come and collect some of the money from your concert. It helped me a great deal in my lonely life. I have been a widow for 20 years: I am over eighty, and have no children or relatives. I am alone in the world, and an invalid . . ." (E. Paslavskaya)

" . . . Your help came at a moment when there was absolutely nowhere I could expect help from. As I am too old for work, but too 'young' for a pension I had not been able to pay my landlady for about two years, and they were about to evict me . . ." (P. Vadkovskaya)

" . . . Thank you for your generous and kind gesture. Your tactful phrase—that the money was sent 'for my personal expenses'—touched me to the bottom of my heart. The large sum was a real deliverance for me just at that moment." (Lidia Botkina)

" . . . I tender you my great thanks on behalf of all those whom you helped so generously at a difficult time in their lives. May the Lord reward you for your kindness. May I take this opportunity to thank you once again for the sum of one thousand francs which you sent us for the church . . . It helped us a great deal, as we have heavy expenses . . ." (Archpriest L. Mogilevskii)

" . . . While people like Mstislav Rostropovich still exist in our brutal age, it is still possible to live . . ." (N. Mukhina)

" . . . Thank you for thinking about me,—it was really a miracle for me . . . from a good man whom I cannot thank with words, only prayer . . ." (Inna Demkina)

" . . . Your sympathy is particularly valuable and touching, as you are the first person from Russia to give some thought to the elderly and sick of the first emigration . . . I have a heart disease and have not worked for the last six months . . ." (T. Kosminskaya)

Who are the people that I helped? Irina Eneri—a sick, eighty-three year old pianist; the dentist D. Minasov, aged fifty-five—he has cancer and is paralysed; he has a wife, and three children who are still at school; Natalya Mukhina, eighty four years old, who has undergone a hip operation; Ariadna Kudrich, a fifty-six year-old pianist who is chronically ill . . . There are many lonely women and widows amongst those I helped.

Are not the people who act for the Supreme Soviet ashamed to deprive me, before the whole world, of my citizenship because I helped suffering and sick fellow-countrymen? Are these poor people active and dangerous organisers, as TASS would have it, of subversive anti-Soviet centres?

[Rostropovich donated 35,000 dollars to the fund of the anti-Soviet magazine *Continent*, . . .]

This is a lie. The *Kontinent* fund also provides help for Russians. I paid four thousand dollars into the fund for this purpose, and this money has already been distributed amongst persons in need. I never paid any other money into the fund. (A photocopy of the *Kontinent* letter to this effect is appended.)

[. . . and held a number of concerts in support of renegades who had left the Soviet Union . . .]

This again is untrue. There was no question of "a number of concerts". Apart from the *two* I have already mentioned, I did not give a single performance in aid of Russians or people who had left the USSR.

One final point. During all our time abroad Galina Vishnevskaya took part in four charity concerts; one in the Musée Chagall, another in honour of Marc Chagall's 90th birthday, and two in Aldeburgh for the Benjamin Britten Festival Fund: four charity concerts in the course of three and a half years. She never gave a concert for Russians. Why then, should this be used as a pretext for depriving her of her native land and her home? Or is it a crime to help people? Moreover, Galina Vishnevskaya did not accompany me on my visit to the Soviet Embassy in Austria, and was not with me at concerts in Luxembourg or Denmark. So those embassies had no contacts at all with her. It is curious to note that in the TASS announcement for abroad there is a phrase saying, "in the Bolshoi Theatre the highest soloist's salary had been secured for her until recently." The full TASS announcement was reprinted in the March 24th, 1978 issue of "Soviet Culture". The material in "Soviet Culture" was signed by Boris Petrov whereas the announcement for abroad was signed by Alexei Petrov. In the article by B. Petrov only the above mentioned phrase is absent as it would have been shameful to print such a lie even in the Soviet papers!

I have assembled the relevant documentation and am now making it available in order to show how unfounded were the accusations on the basis of which we were deprived of our Soviet-citizenship. Only by making the truth known can we counter the campaign of slander directed against us, and reveal the illegal acts perpetrated in our homeland.

M. ROSTROPOVICH.

G. VISHEVSKAYA'S REPLY TO TASS

I have no words to express my indignation at this inhuman act. In the name of the Soviet people the Soviet Government has deprived us of our citizenship. Generously allowing our children to remain Soviet citizens the Soviet Government behaves like slave traders breaking up my family and depriving us of our family roof. Having learned the news in Paris on the television we all had a shock. But the "great humanists" spare neither adults nor children. Until now we have been given neither the charges nor the legal right to refute the calumnies that are spread in the Soviet Press. Thus the Soviet Government has shown that in the Soviet Union people's fate is decided not by the Law but by the persons who control the Law. I do not recognise the right of these persons to deprive me forcefully of the soil which has been given me by God. Near Leningrad in a common grave lie my family who starved to death during the blockade. I've given to my people the greater part of my life. I have borne and brought up two children. And I will not allow anybody to order my family about as if we were slaves.

[From *Golos Rodiny*, No. 13, 1978.]

WHAT DID ROSTROPOVICH NEED A SOVIET PASSPORT FOR?

(Translated from Russian)

M. Rostropovich, the cellist and G. Vishnevskaya, his wife, went on a routine tour abroad in 1974. We should bear in mind that during the preceding nine years Rostropovich had toured 24 countries. But this tour turned out to be a special one.

It soon transpired that Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya had no intention of restricting their activities to performances in concert halls. They made a number of statements of an anti-Soviet character which were widely reported by western press, radio and television.

In January, 1975 during their tour of Israel, the Rostropoviches paid a visit to the Israeli President on their own initiative, and met Golda Meir. And within two months their signatures appeared, together with those of other anti-Soviet immigrants, under a letter published in the U.S.A. supporting the reactionary "Tolstoy Foundation".

Appreciation of their activities was not long in coming. They were awarded the annual prize of the so-called "International League for Human Rights". Present at that event were Bernstein, a notorious western Zionist; Andrei Sedikh (alias Yankel Tsvibak), the editor of the anti-Soviet emigré newspaper, "The New Russian Word", which is published in the U.S.A. in Russian; and representatives of the C.I.A.-financed radio stations "Liberty" and "Free Europe". In a word, all the leading lights of anti-Sovietism were there.

These meetings were followed by others, including one with V. Romanov, the "last surviving member of the tsarist family". M. Rostropovich and G. Vishnevskaya were not, however, eager to meet representatives of progressive emigré organizations, or progressive artists.

At all sorts of press conferences and interviews M. Rostropovich and G. Vishnevskaya constantly stressed that they could not work "freely" in the Soviet Union, and that their creative freedom was "restricted" in every possible way, etc. etc. "Among musicians living in the USSR," Rostropovich proclaimed on the pages of the Paris newspaper "Le Monde", "my family had a special position, which was quite unlike that of other artists and musicians. . . . I was deprived of the opportunity of self-expression."

What was this "special position"? M. Rostropovich and G. Vishnevskaya were given the highest awards and titles. They not only had high salaries, but were also paid the highest fees among musicians and artists, to say nothing of their huge flat in Moscow, big dacha, four cars and a tractor for working their dacha plot.

M. Rostropovich went to great lengths to satisfy his Western bosses whenever he had a chance to do so. Take, for example, the statement he made to a "Voice of America" correspondent. "Only here can I speak from the bottom of my heart, and live a full creative life; that is why I am very, very happy here."

It would be logical to ask why, having "found happiness" in the West, M. Rostropovich did not officially break with his Motherland. Why did he keep his Soviet passport, and why was he unwilling to give up his Soviet citizenship? He requested a two-year extension of his passport and, without waiting for a reply,

signed a contract with the Washington Symphony Orchestra, undertaking to work as its musical director and conductor. What was behind all this? As it happens, everything can be explained quite simply. According to current regulations, (and M. Rostropovich had studied them in detail) his Soviet citizenship exempted him from heavy taxation of the proceeds of his concert performances.

So that's what it was! A purely mercenary calculation—making a fuss about "creative freedom" and "lofty political matter" to evade tax payments. Is this what Rostropovich calls "freedom of selfexpression"? In a little over three years these resourceful artists managed to buy two enormous flats in New York and Paris, acquire a £175,000 house in London, and a villa near Lausanne in Switzerland. In addition M. Rostropovich allowed himself to contribute to various anti-Soviet emigre organisations and help renegades who had been thrown out of the Soviet Union. In September, 1976 he gave a concert in San Francisco and sent the proceeds to "Russian invalids abroad", in other words, surviving monarchists and white officers. In January, 1977 he gave a charity concert in France on behalf of "Russians in need", by whom were meant the so-called "dissidents". In February, 1978 he gave a certain anti-Soviet magazine \$35,000.

But does Rostropovich take all this money from his own pocket? Doesn't it come rather from taxes which this "fighter for ideas" has left unpaid? Incidentally, Rostropovich's insatiable passion to become rich has already been noted in the West. Many conflicts are known to have taken place between himself and his impresario. As long ago as December, 1976 the "Voice of America" described G. Vishnevskaya as a "declining singer". M. Rostropovich nevertheless usually insists on her participation in his concerts, together with that of his daughters, as an obligatory condition of contract. Many impresarios object and acquiesce only under strong pressure from M. Rostropovich.

And yet he is right about one thing. In the Soviet Union he would not have the freedom to indulge in such "artistry". In our country we respect artists, but have no use for dirty tricksters who stop at nothing to make a fast buck . . .

One final point. At a press conference in Paris March 17th Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya claimed that the deprivation of citizenship came as a complete surprise to them. They pretend that they had not been warned of the possibility of such a decision in Soviet embassies in the U.S.A., France, Austria, Denmark, and Luxembourg. In fact they were repeatedly advised to conclude their business abroad within two or three months and return home. Otherwise, they were told, they would put themselves in a position which would leave the competent Soviet organs with no alternative but to review their citizenship. However, M. Rostropovich and G. Vishnevskaya did not draw the necessary conclusions from this. Indeed, in a speech on the U.S. national radio network M. Rostropovich complacently declared that he was "a star of the first order" and that "the Soviet authorities would not deprive him of his citizenship for fear of an outcry from world public opinion".

During the last few months our newspaper has received many letters from our countrymen expressing indignation and bewilderment at the Rostropoviches' conduct. We replied that the question of M. Rostropovich and G. Vishnevskaya returning home was under consideration. But, as you can see, the decision depended primarily on them. Nobody was going to deprive them of the possibility of returning home: but they themselves chose otherwise. They have no one but themselves to blame. This is a just ending for their moral degradation.

L. PAVLOV.

A Reply to *Golos Rodiny*

I am reluctant to reply to this article, abounding not only in lies but in rude insulting words directed at me. Although the article contains ideas already published by TASS, it brings forward new accusations on which I would like to dwell here:

" . . . In January 1975 during their tour of Israel, the Rostropovich couple, acting on their own initiative, paid a visit to the Israeli President and met Golda Meir. . . . These meetings were followed by others including one with "the last surviving member of the Royal Romanov family. . . ."

I do not see any fault in our meeting President Kazir and his guests. We met Golda Meir at a reception in our hotel after a concert at which she has been present. We have great respect for these people. Incidentally, the author of the article "forgot" that I had met Golda Meir many years ago when I was sent by

the Ministry of Culture on a tour of Israel as a Soviet artist. Golda Meir, then Foreign Minister, decorated me in the presence of the Soviet Ambassador with the memorial medal "Massada". At that time it was considered in the USSR a merit and not a fault.

My wife and I recently met Jimmy Carter, Giscard d'Estaing, Raymond Barre, Walter Scheel, Helmut Schmidt, Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky, Pierre Trudeau and other State figures who attended our concerts. Obviously we met not only "the last member of the Royal Romanov family" (who, by the way, we have met twice and found a very nice and amiable person).

"... at that event a notorious Western Zionist Bernstein was present. ..."

Leonard Bernstein is well known not only in the West but in the USSR and his fame is not as a Zionist but as a pianist, an outstanding composer and a brilliant conductor. He is one of the greatest musicians in the USA, whose music I play and conduct with great pleasure and whose friendship I consider a great honour.

"... for example, what is the point of the statement he made to a correspondent of the "Voice of America": ... 'I am very happy here'."

Yes, it is true even if it gives a pain in the neck to you bureaucrats and oppressors in Moscow. I am not the only person who is happy here. Nureyev, Baryshnikov, Makarova, Ashkenazy and many others can achieve much more in their art in the West than they can in their Motherland. There is something for you as rulers to think about in that.

"... According to the current rules (Mr. Rostropovich has studied them in detail) remaining a Soviet citizen exempts him from considerable taxation on the proceeds from his concerts. There is a trick! It is a purely mercenary calculation—to put up a fuss about "freedom of creativity" and "lofty political ideals" while avoiding paying tax in an underhand manner."

I never debate about "lofty political ideas" because, as I constantly repeat, I am not a politician but a musician. As for taxes, our Soviet passports have never exempted us from paying them. We have conscientiously paid tax wherever we played or asked our agents to pay the tax out of our earnings.

During the last few years we have played most of our concerts in the USA. For example, during the year 1975 I earned in the USA \$352,000 and I paid taxes from this sum of \$150,000. During the year 1976 my earnings were \$189,000 and I paid taxes from this sum of \$78,000. In 1977, my earnings amounted to \$288,500 with tax liability of \$105,000. Naturally we pay less tax in other countries where we play fewer concerts.

"... besides Rostropovich indulged in endowing various anti-Soviet emigre organizations and renegades. ... But does Rostropovich take the money out of his own pocket? Is it not the case that the money comes from the taxes left unpaid by this "fighter for ideas"?"

If I have not paid any taxes why doesn't the Soviet Government through its vast espionage network let the Western Governments know about such actual cases and thus stop the incessant flow of my money into anti-Soviet centres? Indeed the sages and Caesars in our Government should be grateful to me for such a simple and brilliant idea!

"... During some three odd years the resourceful artists on tour have managed to buy two enormous flats in New York and Paris, to pay £175,000 for a house in London, and on top of that to buy a villa near Lausanne in Switzerland."

Here is what the "resourceful artists on tour" have in the West:

Our two daughters, Olga (22) and Elena (19) live and study in New York. We rent a flat for them—three little rooms, 42 square metres, for which we pay 500 dollars monthly. The address 165 West 66 St., New York. In Paris we rent a flat for which we pay 800 dollars monthly because somewhere on this Earth there should be a place where we can keep our belongings and our music. Our address in Paris: 135 Boulevard Malesherbes, Paris 75017.

In Switzerland our friends let us a small flat on the first floor of a little house at 350 dollars a month. The address: Morges, Chemin Du Banc Vert I. We rent flats for ourselves in Paris and Morges because it is simply impossible to live in hotels all year round (for four years); this is apart from the fact that it is much more expensive than renting flats, something which is done by all the employees of all the Soviet Embassies abroad. To this day we have only one small property, our flat in Moscow and the dacha near Moscow. Never, nowhere have we bought houses, flats, or villas and being deprived of our citizenship we are deprived of our only property. The location of our £175,000 house in London (which is probably

very big) is unknown to us. That's why in London we stay with our friends at 4 Holland Park Avenue, London, W11.

"... They had not only very high salaries but were paid the highest fees among musicians, to say nothing of their huge flat in Moscow, big dacha, four cars, and even a tractor to work in the garden of their dacha."

Here the paper tells the truth for once. We bought all that on the money we had earned honestly; we do not consider our property a bribe from the State for our silence and our agreement with what has been done to us and whatever is going to be done to us. We have never complained about bad living conditions. But why don't the Soviet bureaucrats think what tragic circumstances may have caused us to abandon this earthly paradise.

"... In December 1976 the 'Voice of America' described G. Vishnevskaya as a 'declining' singer. Nevertheless Rostropovich insists on her participation in his concerts, as well as that of their daughters, as a main condition of his contracts."

How often the article refers to the "Voice of America"! Apparently this voice is the favourite radio station of the Soviet Government, their main source of information. At last a Soviet paper recognizes the validity and authority of the "Voice of America". Hopefully it indicates that this station is no longer jammed, even when it speaks not only about the "declining singer", but also about the declining but still tenacious Soviet Government. Incidentally the French Academy of Music awarded G. Vishnevskaya the prize of "The best singer in the World in 1977". She was awarded a "Grand prix" for her recordings of the operas "Tosca", "Queen of Spades", "Tzar's Bride" (her last recording in the USSR), for albums of Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky and Shostakovich songs, for Glinka and Rachmaninov songs. A few months ago she had a triumph at "Covent Garden" in "Tosca". It is well known that a number of works by various composers are dedicated to her, works by Shostakovich and Britten among them. She was the first Soviet singer to appear with great success in the best opera houses of the world: La Scala, Grand Opera, and Covent Garden. She was the first singer to win world recognition for the Soviet vocal school.

Shame on the Soviet paper for "throwing stones" at their "People's artist" who has done so much for Soviet vocal art. All the "rising stars" and the "declining stars" put together have not done nearly as much. I owe it to her and to her spiritual strength that we left Russia when my will power was exhausted and I began to despair, gradually nearing a tragic conclusion. That G. Vishnevskaya, with her determination, saved me at that point is well known to the "competent organs" who try to insult and debase her to the best of their ability. They don't realize that, in reality, they debase only Soviet Art and principally the Bolshoi Theatre as indeed its best singer, "The People's Artist" need not be forced on any impresario. The concerts G. Vishnevskaya gives with me take up less than a quarter of the total amount of her performances.

Soviet propaganda balks at nothing. It will not leave alone even my daughters who are pupils at a music school in New York and are not performing musicians yet (during four years they have taken part in four concerts).

"... Mr. Rostropovich is right in one thing. In the Soviet Union he would not have had the freedom to indulge in such 'artistry.' Here we respect artists and have no use for dirty-handed tricksters who balk at nothing where snatching some money is concerned."

Our conscience is absolutely clear before our State. When we toured abroad in 1955-1974, we received 200 dollars for every concert we gave, no matter how many thousands our impresario paid us. The rest of the money (at times 90% and more) was taken by the State. How many millions of dollars of such predatory taxation has the Soviet Government got from Soviet artists, us included? Why don't they say how much money they get from the gramophone records for which Soviet artists are paid absolutely nothing? And why don't their Soviet passports save Soviet artists from the open robbery that can hardly be called taxation?

In conclusion I want to answer myself the main question of the article: "What did Rostropovich need a Soviet passport for?"

You, representatives of the Soviet bureaucracy! Do not look for the answer in the only spheres that you understand—money and living conditions. Admit that artists who were born in their Motherland, who have given all their life to her, who continue their creative work in other countries bearing in their hearts the inspiration and creative fire of their people, can hope for the respect of their

countrymen. Today we cannot return to our country whose government has thrown at us so much filth and calumny. But we do not recognize their right to deprive us of the possibility to return home whether we think it proper. Our art, our love and goodwill towards the people among whom we live now brought out their best feelings for us, Russians, and through us for our Motherland. It is so much more important than a few words picked out of an interview or the entirely fictitious purchasing of villas and houses, or even two concerts on behalf of sick and impoverished Russians, the ostensible reason for our exile.

You probably think that one needs a Soviet passport to order about other people, to interfere with their lives and fates with more freedom and impunity, to persecute people and destroy them morally, to teach great composers to compose and great writers to write?

Unfortunately the simple thought has never occurred to you that a Russian may need a Soviet passport because he loves his Motherland.

M. Rostropovich

Following are excerpts from letters of commendation and gratitude sent to Maestro Rostropovich for his concert activities.

AWARD EXCERPT

To Mstislav Rostropovich, a great artist and cellist, to commemorate his self-sacrificing response in aid of wounded veterans of the First World War.

EXTRACT FROM MONSIEUR HENRY ROLLET'S LETTER OF THE 23RD MARCH, 1978

"... I have the honour to inform you that the sum (put at the disposition of the Centre for Culture and Welcome following the recital of the 4th January, 1977) has been used entirely according to the aim which you set, namely to assist exclusively Russian persons living in France and needing help. No payment of any kind has been made to any organisation, society, or association whatever ...

Yours, etc.,

HENRY ROLLET,
Ex-president of the C.C.A."

LETTER FROM THE MAGAZINE KONTINENT

Dear Mstislav Leopoldovich: We wish to inform you, in reply to your enquiry, that the sum of 4,000 (four thousand) U.S. dollars received from you by the Fund of the Association of Friends of Kontinent for helping needy Russians abroad, was distributed according to your wish. We have never received any other money for the Fund or the magazine from you.

With sincere respect.

V. MAKSIMOV,
Chairman of the Fund Board.
A. NISSEN,
Fund Treasurer.

CHARITY CONCERTS GIVEN BY MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH AFTER HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE U.S.S.R. ON MAY 26TH, THE PROCEEDS OF WHICH WERE DONATED TO THE CHARITIES LISTED BELOW

Date	Country and town	Location	Name of charity
1974			
Aug. 18.....	Austria: Ossiach.....	Church.....	For upkeep of the Church.
Oct. 17 ¹	France: Menton.....	Conservatoire.....	Concert for students.
Oct. 17.....	France: Nice.....	Chagall Museum.....	For the museum fund.
Nov. 2.....	Britain: Cambridge.....	King's College Chapel.....	For the construction of a conservatoire.
Dec. 14.....	Italy: Venice.....	Venice Theatre.....	"Save Venice" fund.
Dec. 20.....	Britain: Oxford.....	Wolfson College.....	To establish a new music society.
Dec. 23.....	France: Paris.....	The "Invalides" Church...	For the French war invalids.

See footnotes at end of table.

CHARITY CONCERTS GIVEN BY MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH AFTER HIS DEPARTURE
FROM THE U.S.S.R. ON MAY 26th, THE PROCEEDS OF WHICH WERE DONATED
TO THE CHARITIES LISTED BELOW—Continued

Date	Country and town	Location	Name of charity
1975			
Mar. 17	United States: Philadelphia	Curtiss Institute	Open rehearsal with students' orchestra.
Mar. 22	United States: Ann Arbor	Hill Auditorium	For the University Music Society.
Mar. 25	United States: Cleveland	Musical Institute	Master class.
Apr. 19	United States: New York	College of Music of the SUNY Purchase University.	Concert for students.
Aug. 18	Greece: Athens	Herodas Atticus Theatre	For the needy Greek Cypriots.
Aug. 21	France: Bonbon Village	La Grange	For the organization of summer courses of music.
Aug. 25	Switzerland: Zurich	Tonhalle	Concert at the prize-giving ceremony in the field of Art.
Sept. 5	Britain: Exeter	St. David's Church	For the church and the hospital.
Sept. 21	West Germany: Bonn	Beethoven Hall	All the receipts for UNICEF.
Nov. 3	United States: New York	Juilliard School	Master class for cellists and orchestra.
Nov. 5	United States: Bloomington	Music College	Master class for cellists.
Nov. 9 ¹	United States: Hartford	Music College	Master class for cellists.
Nov. 9	United States: Hartford	Symphony Hall	Bursaries for needy students.
Nov. 10	United States: New York	Manhattan Music School	Master class for cellists.
Nov. 13	France: Paris	Theatre des Champs Elysees.	For the Foundation Marcel Vatelot (aid for young French violinists).
Nov. 27	Switzerland: Geneva	Victoria Hall	For "The Fight against Leukania Society". Dedicated by me to the memory of Dinu Lipati on the 25th anniversary of his death.
1976			
Feb. 7	Switzerland: Basle	Salle de la Societe "Roche"	Concert for the Society's members.
Feb. 21	United States: Boston	University Hall, Harvard	Master class for cellists.
Mar. 14	United States: Thomasville	Hospital	Concert for the medical staff.
Apr. 13	United States: New York	Carnegie Hall Menuhin Jubilee.	For the Jerusalem Cultural Foundation and Menuhin's School in Britain.
Apr. 22	Spain: Vendres	Church	Centenary concert on the birth of Casals.
Apr. 26	Switzerland: Basle	Church (Munster)	For the needy students of Basle University.
May 2	Switzerland: Zurich	Tonhalle	Concert for the 70th anniversary of Sacher.
May 2 ²	Switzerland: Zurich	Tonhalle	For needy medical students, to enable them to complete their studies.
May 9	Britain: London	Royal Albert Hall	Yehudi Menuhin's 60th jubilee and for Menuhin's School in Britain.
May 18	United States: New York	Carnegie Hall	Concert for the 85th anniversary of Carnegie Hall and for its restoration.
June 5	United States: Washington	Wolftrap	Concert for the 80th anniversary of Kay Shouse.
June 15	France: Paris	Ecole Normale de Music	For the repair of Cortot Hall.
June 18	Britain: Aldeburgh	Maltings, Snape	In aid of the festival.
Sept. 20	United States: San Francisco	Museum Hall	For Russian invalids of the 1st World War.
Dec. 26	Israel: Tel Aviv	Mann Auditorium	For the philharmonic orchestra.
1977			
Jan. 4	France: Paris	Salle Pleyel	For the needy Russians in France.
Jan. 15	France: Nice	Chagall Museum Hall	For the museum.
Feb. 26	Ireland: Dublin	St. Patrick's Cathedral	For Trinity College students and musicians making their debuts.
Mar. 1	Spain: Madrid	Real Theatre	For Queen Sophie's Foundation in aid of deprived children.
Mar. 4	West Germany: Bonn	Beethoven Hall	For the construction of a home for handicapped children.
Mar. 6	Britain: London	Royal Festival Hall	For the Queen's Silver Jubilee Fund.
Mar. 8	Monaco: Monte Carlo	Opera	For Princess Grace's Fund.
Mar. 9	France: Paris	Opera	For Claude Pompidou's Foundation.
Mar. 11	Switzerland: Lausanne	Cathedral	In aid of handicapped children.
Mar. 14	Holland: Amsterdam	Concertgebouw	World Foundation for the Protection of Wildlife.
Mar. 21	United States: New York	"Y" Auditorium	Concert to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Cello Society of New York.
Mar. 28	United States: Washington	Kennedy Center	For the fund to save the disappearing marine animals.
Apr. 16	United States: Providence	Brown University	Concert with the students' orchestra.
July 7	France: Nice	Casino Mediterranee	Concert for the 90th birthday of Chagall.
Oct. 11	United States: Washington	Kennedy Center	For the National Orchestra.
Oct. 14	United States: Washington	Kennedy Center	For the National Orchestra.
Oct. 23	United States: New York	Waldorf Astoria	Concert for the 50th anniversary of the community center.
Oct. 29	United States: Washington	Kennedy Center	For UNICEF.
Nov. 20	United States: New York	Carnegie Hall	For the Jewish Cultural Foundation.
1978			
Jan. 22	United States: Washington	Kennedy Center	For the National Orchestra.
Mar. 2	United States: New Haven	Yale University	Master class for cellists.

¹ Matinee.² Evening.

APPENDIX

THE RIGHT TO NATIONALITY IN SOVIET AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

May 4, 1978

On March 15, 1978, by an edict of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet for actions "harmful to the prestige of the USSR", famed cellist and National Symphony music director Mstislav Rostropovich and his wife, soprano Galina Vishnevskaya, were stripped of their Soviet citizenship.¹ This decree effectively banished the Rostropoviches from their homeland and left them in the precarious position of "statelessness". Stateless persons are deprived of many privileges, including the diplomatic protection offered by a state to its citizens. In addition, the stateless status of such people makes it nearly impossible for them to enjoy the benefits of international law.

The forced exile of Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya is not unprecedented; in recent years, the Soviet authorities have used denationalization and subsequent banishment as a weapon against many individuals whose political views or activities they found unacceptable. Among these are the author Valery Tarsis, geneticist Zhores Medvedev, writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, physicist Valery Chalidze, poet Tomas Venclova (who was probably punished for his February 1977 testimony to the CSCE Commission), and most recently, General Pyotr Grigorenko, a much-decorated World War II hero, who had come to the United States for temporary medical treatment.

Nor is denationalization unique to the Soviet Union. Nearly every country has legislation regulating the granting or withdrawal of nationality. Individual denationalization occurs under most statutes either automatically, by operation of law, such as in the case of a prolonged absence abroad, or by way of a penalty imposed either by a court or by decision of administrative authorities for actions committed by the citizen. Grounds for the latter may be evading military service (Poland), holding an office of a political character with a foreign government without the permission of one's government (Hungary), engaging in activities which are detrimental to the domestic or external security of one's country (France) and serving in the armed forces of another country without the permission of one's government (U.S.).

INTERNATIONAL LAW

As a rule, questions of nationality are treated as a country's internal affair. As mentioned above, they are normally regulated by the national law of a state, but they do not preclude certain general prescriptions in international law.

The right to a nationality is an internationally recognized human right. Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees that:

Everyone has the right to a nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Although the Universal Declaration is not legally binding, it carries a strong degree of international authority and is, at least, morally binding on the states of the United Nations General Assembly. The binding force of the Declaration on those nations who are signatories to the Helsinki Final Act, including the USSR, is less questionable; the participating states specifically agreed in Principle VII to "act in conformity with . . . the Universal Declaration . . ."

In addition, the Helsinki signatories are further obligated since Principle VII commits them to "respect human rights and fundamental freedoms . . .", among which the right to a nationality should rank high.

The right to a nationality is also recognized in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination to which the Soviet Union is a party. Although in the context of eliminating racial discrimination, this document in Article 5 pledged the signatories to "undertake . . . to guaran-

¹ The terms "nationality" and "citizenship" are used synonymously.

tee the right of everyone, without distinction as to race, color, or national or ethnic origin, to equality before the law, notable in the enjoyment of the following rights:

- (d)(i) the right to freedom of movement and residence within the border of the State;
- (ii) the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country;
- (iii) *the right to nationality; . . .* (emphasis added)

This Convention created a mechanism for enforcement—a committee comprised of 18 “experts of high moral standing” from the signatories was empowered to receive complaints from participating states concerning other participating states’ violations of the Convention. Although the U.S. has not ratified the Convention, France, Great Britain, West Germany, and about 100 other nations have.

SOVIET LAW

Compared to the 1936 version, the new Soviet Constitution concentrates more attention on the issue of citizenship. Article 59 obliges citizens “to observe the Constitution and laws, comply with the standards of socialist conduct and uphold the honor and dignity of Soviet citizenship.” In Article 62, citizens of the USSR are “obliged to safeguard the interests of the Soviet state and to enhance its power and prestige.” While Article 33 states that “the grounds and procedure for acquiring or forfeiting Soviet citizenship are defined by the Law on Citizenship of the USSR”, Article 121 charges the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR with the sole authority to “grant citizenship of the USSR and rule on matters of the renunciation or deprivation of citizenship . . .”

Originally, the 1938 Law on Citizenship allowed for forfeiture of Soviet citizenship either by a sentence of a court or by an executive decree of the Presidium. However, the Fundamental Principles of the Criminal Legislation of the USSR, promulgated in 1959 and still in effect, no longer even mention the judicial sanction. That part of the Citizenship Law was formally repealed by a decree in 1961. The loss of citizenship by an executive decree of the Supreme Soviet remains very much a part of the Soviet legal scene.

Although Article 33 of the Constitution claims that the “grounds . . . for forfeiting . . . citizenship” are found in the Law on Citizenship, nowhere in the legislation are the offenses specified which could justify such drastic punishment. In the case of Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya, the decree stated that they were “systematically committing acts which are harmful to the prestige of the USSR and are incompatible with Soviet citizenship . . .” Yet the decree did not mention what those acts might be. (The Soviet press, however, detailed the “anti-Soviet” nature of Rostropovich’s actions—“interviews and remarks derogating the Soviet social system and the lofty name of a Soviet citizen”, “close contacts with hostile centers”, and holding concerts in “support of renegades who had left the Soviet Union.”) Nor in the case of General Grigorenko, who was accused of “systematically . . . committing acts which are incompatible with Soviet citizenship and by his conduct causes harm to the prestige of the USSR” were the specific actions spelled out.

LEGAL RECOURSE

While the vague language of these decrees may be enough to consider the deprivation of citizenship arbitrary, in addition, the process leading to loss of citizenship is clearly capricious. The denationalization decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were issued without any hearing, without the accused or their counsels having the right to defend their cases. The decrees were also irrevocable and thus provided no opportunity for revision. Neither did they permit any other legal redress. This hardly fulfills the conditions stated in the due process clause of Article 14, which guarantees basic Western concepts of due process in *criminal* cases, of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which the USSR is a party. Although these individual acts of denationalization may be regarded as administrative actions and not judicial decisions, it is difficult to understand why the procedural safeguards for the protection of persons charged with criminal acts should not apply. If persons are being punished for committing acts detrimental to their countries, denationalization without due process is certainly arbitrary.

Nationality is a highly prized possession in socialist countries; persons who have been denationalized in one socialist country cannot be naturalized in another. The Soviet Union, in exercising its power to deprive citizens of this valuable possession,

should be required to comply with its international commitments and to provide procedural safeguards for the individual.

A United States court has ruled that denationalization, as a penalty for desertion in wartime, is "a cruel and unusual punishment." In line with the 8th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the Supreme Court found that "citizenship is not a license that expires upon misbehavior." Such a decision could hardly be expected from a Soviet court, but the observance of some elementary procedural rights that are guaranteed by Soviet legislation on criminal procedures should be the least a state could grant "disloyal" citizens.

CONCLUSION

Formally, the Soviet government's deprivation of Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya's citizenships can be considered legal since both the Soviet Constitution, and their domestic legislation allow for such actions. The Soviets can argue that it was also in conformity with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; in their view, the action was not arbitrary since the persons involved had conducted themselves in a manner seriously prejudicial to the vital interests of the state.

However, the denationalization of Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya is clearly in violation of the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. In addition, the process leading to their loss of citizenship, if not the act itself, can be considered to be in contravention of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Formally, there is no legal redress available. For Rostropovich personally and others in his condition, the question is what pressures of *public opinion*, if not international law can be brought to bear.

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Sources

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(Translation from the Russian)

EDICT OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

DEPRIVING M. L. ROSTROPOVICH AND G. P. VISHNEVSKAYA OF THE CITIZENSHIP OF THE U.S.S.R.¹

Taking into account the fact that Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya systematically are committing acts which are harmful to the prestige of the U.S.S.R. and are incompatible with Soviet citizenship, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. resolves:

On the basis of article 7 of the Law of August 19, 1938, "On Citizenship of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics," to deprive Mstislav Leopoldovich Rostropovich, born in 1927 in the City of Baku, and Galina Pavlovna Vishnevskaya, born in 1926 in the City of Leningrad, of the citizenship of the U.S.S.R. for actions derogating from the dignity of a citizen of the U.S.S.R.

L. BREZHNEV,
*Chairman of the Presidium of the
 Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.*
 M. GEORGADZE,
*Secretary of the Presidium of the
 Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.*

Moscow, The Kremlin, March 15, 1978
 No. 7160-IX.

Translated by Tadeusz Sadowski, Senior Legal Specialist, European Law Division.
 Law Library, Library of Congress, April 1978.

¹ Translated from the original text published in *Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR* [official law gazette of the U.S.S.R.], No. 12, 1978, text 209.