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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

**Withdrawer**

JET 4/27/2005

**File Folder** DISSIDENTS (5/23)

**FOIA**

F06-114/6

**Box Number** 23

YARHI-MILO

2305

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
9303	MEMO	RENTSCHLER TO ALLEN RE SWEDEN, THE SOVIET SUB, RAOUL WALLENBERG, ETC <i>R 3/19/2013 F2006-114/6</i>	1	11/3/1981	B1
9304	MEMO	FEITH TO ALLEN RE SWEDEN, SOVIET SUB, AND RAOUL WALLENBERG <i>R 3/19/2013 F2006-114/6</i>	1	11/2/1981	B1
9306	CABLE	301435Z OCT 81 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	1	10/30/1981	B1
9307	CABLE	091642Z NOV 81 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	1	11/9/1981	B1
9308	CABLE	251637Z NOV 81 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	2	11/25/1981	B1
9309	CABLE	282130Z NOV 81 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	2	11/28/1981	B1
9310	CABLE	271421Z NOV 81 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	2	11/27/1981	B1
9311	CABLE	281513Z NOV 81 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	1	11/28/1981	B1
9312	CABLE	281858Z NOV 81 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	1	11/28/1981	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

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B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
9313	CABLE	291329Z NOV 81 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	2	11/29/1981	B1
9314	CABLE	011545Z DEC 81 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	1	12/1/1981	B1
9305	MEMO	PIPES TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE SOVIET EMIGRANT POLICY AND HELSINKI ACCORDS <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	1	12/4/1981	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

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*Disseminations*~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## MEMORANDUM

ACTION

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

November 3, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

THROUGH: DOUG FEITH *DF*

FROM: JAMES M. RENTSCHLER

SUBJECT: Sweden, the Soviet Sub, Raoul Wallenberg, etc. (U)

Before moving on Doug's recommendation in his November 2 memo, you should have the following considerations from the West Europe cluster's perspective:

-- The Swedes have already publicly rejected the notion of linking the sub with the Wallenberg case (Foreign Minister Ullsten, in a direct response to that question on Nightline last Friday, dismissed it as a practical Swedish option). (U)

-- The official State Department position, pace Elliott Abrams, is that the sub affair is a matter between Swedes and Soviets and we are not about to interfere in the Swedish handling of it (particularly since the Swedes are so very good at what they're now doing). (U)

More broadly, Doug's memo alludes to two objectives, "scoring a propaganda coup abroad" and "political points at home." Seems to me that NSC staff competence properly relates to only the first of these and that the second is a call for the domestic side of the house (in whose shoes I would want to know what kind of points, with whom, and how important they really would be to the President). (U)

So far as the propaganda is concerned, the Swedes are doing an excellent job on their own (the sub case has been front-page news in Scandinavia for days) and certainly need no assist from us. Indeed, any call from "a high-level USG official" would, in my view, be seen - and resented - as a heavy-handed intrusion into local sensitivities. In which case there may be some short-term political points to be scored at home (again, where and with whom and to what purpose?), but accompanied by some risk of damaging our bilateral relationship for no tangible gain, or at the very least looking like jerks when the Foreign Minister himself has already gone on record against the ploy we are proposing. The question, essentially, is not whether the Soviets would be displeased but whether the Swedes would be. Answer: They would be. (U)

In view of these considerations your West Europe cluster is containing its enthusiasm for the kind of call Abrams suggests (and wonders, in its possibly paranoid way, why he is touting this idea onto us instead of pushing it with his own principals...). Dennis Blair concurs.

cc: Dick Pipes

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Review on November 3, 1987

Tab I Copy of Feith memo

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR FOG-114/6 #9303

BY RW DATE 3/19/83

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Handwritten notes at top right*

MEMORANDUM

6409

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

November 2, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: DOUGLAS J. FEITH *DF*

SUBJECT: Sweden, the Soviet Sub, and Raoul Wallenberg

DECLASSIFIED  
NLRR Folio-11416 #9304  
BY RW NARA DATE: 3/19/83

Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams passed along to me (informally) the following idea for scoring a propoganda coup abroad and political points at home:

A high USG official (yourself? the President?) should call the Swedish Ambassador and suggest that the Swedes try to trade the grounded Soviet sub for Wallenberg. Even if the Swedes don't pursue the suggestion, the Administration will get "A" for effort. If the Swedes do pursue it, the benefits are obvious. The Soviets will not be pleased, but I think we can suffer their displeasure.

Cary Lord concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you make the suggested call to the Swedish Ambassador and see that the call is publicized.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab I *OS* Oslo 6124 (received this evening), attached for your information

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Review November 2, 1981

*Handwritten notes:*  
night line - *Fisher*  
From *Ulsted*. *Tom H...*  
The sub 2 just in at 5-51 1.1 2011  
*quid*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
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PAGE 01 OSLO 6124  
EOB251 AN007893

DTG: 301435Z OCT 81 PSM: 049427  
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 5668  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 1711  
USMISSION USNATO 3921  
USNHR SHAPE BE  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE  
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ OSLO 6124

SHAPE FOR INTAFF; VAIHINGEN AND RAMSTEIN FOR POLADS;  
DEPT FOR EUR GOMPERT  
E.O. 12065: ROS-1,3 10/30/91 (BARKLEY RICHARD C) OR-M  
TAGS: NATO, PEPR, PINR, US, SV, NO, US  
SUBJ: THE PUBLIC RELATIONS VALUE OF THE SOVIET SUBMARINE  
VIOLATION OF SWEDISH NEUTRALITY.  
REF: (A) STOCKHOLM 4971 (NOTAL)  
(B) OSLO 6107 (NOTAL) (C) STOCKHOLM 4997 (NOTAL)

1. (ENTIRE TEXT.)
2. SUMMARY: THE STRANDING OF THE SOVIET SUBMARINE ON THE SWEDISH COAST, AND THE OBVIOUS SOVIET VIOLATION OF SWEDISH NEUTRALITY WHICH IT REPRESENTS, HAVE HAD A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE NORWEGIAN PUBLIC'S PERCEPTION OF THE SOVIET THREAT AND CREDIBILITY. WE SUSPECT A SIMILAR IMPACT IS BEING FELT THROUGHOUT SCANDINAVIA. WHILE THE EFFECT ELSEWHERE IN WESTERN EUROPE MAY NOT BE AS DRAMATIC, WE SHOULD NOT MISS ANY OPPORTUNITY TO PLAY UP THE EPISODE FOR ITS MAXIMUM PUBLIC RELATIONS EFFECT, INCLUDING APPROPRIATE MELLOING OF THE EPISODE WITH OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE ESTERN POLITICAL OFFENSIVE. END SUMMARY.

3. THE NORWEGIAN PRESS AND MEDIA OF OCTOBER 29 AND 30 HAVE PROVIDED AN INTENSELY INTERESTED PUBLIC WITH A FLOOD OF REPOSTING ON THE SOVIET SUBMARINE STRANDED ON THE COASTLINE OF SWEDEN, WITHIN THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF SWEDEN'S LARGEST NAVAL FACILITY. THE PRESS, ACROSS THE

POLITICAL SPECTRUM (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE PRO-SOVIET "FRIHETEN"), TYPIFIES THE EPISODE AS A "SERIOUS EMBARRASSMENT" FOR THE SOVIETS AND A "CATASTROPHIC" SETBACK FOR SOVIET CREDIBILITY. NORWEGIAN POLITICIANS, MEDIA AND POLITICAL COMMENTATORS ARE REFLECTING ON THE INCIDENT AS AN OBJECT LESSON FOR SUCH SOVIET ASSURANCES AND GUARANTEES AS THOSE GIVEN LAST SUMMER IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NORDIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREE ZONE DISCUSSION.

4. THE FACT THAT THE VIOLATION OCCURRED ON THE COAST OF NON-ALIGNED SWEDEN MAKES IT ALL THE MORE CONDEMNABLE IN THE MINDS OF NORWEGIANS. SEVERAL PAPERS HAVE COMMENTED ON THE "IRONY" OF THE OBVIOUS VIOLATION OF SWEDISH NEUTRALITY ONLY DAYS AFTER MOSCOW SHARPLY CRITICIZED SECRETARY WEINBERGER'S VISIT TO STOCKHOLM AS A VIOLATION OF SWEDISH NEUTRALITY. ONE MARXIST NEWSPAPER (PRO-CHINESE) CHORTLES WITH A STORY HEADLINED, "WHISKEY ON THE ROCKS", AND, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF PRO-MOSCOW "FRIHETEN", ALL REPEAT ALL OSLO PAPERS OCTOBER 30 CARRY COMMENTARIES AND/OR EDITORIALS SHARPLY CONDEMNING THE SOVIET VIOLATION. THE LABOR PARTY'S "ARBEIDERBLADET", WHICH HAS BEEN VERY CRITICAL IN RECENT DAYS OF USG FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY WROTE: "THE VIOLATION OF SWEDISH TERRITORIAL WATERS CLEARLY SHOWS THE VALUE OF MOSCOW'S REPEATED ASSERTIONS OF SPECIAL SOVIET EFFORTS FOR DETENTE AND PEACE." THE LEFTIST, INDEPENDENT "DAGBLADET", WHICH HAS ALSO BEEN HEAVILY CRITICAL OF U.S. POLICIES, SAYS THE VIOLATION "PROVIDES FOOD FOR THOUGHT. MOSCOW HAS A HABIT OF LECTURING THE WESTERN ALLIANCE ON THEIR AGGRESSIVENESS. ONE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT A NEUTRAL NATION WOULD BE SPARED SUCH A GROSS VIOLATION OF ITS SOVEREIGNTY." "DAGBLADET" THEN WRITES THAT THE SOVIET HANDLING OF THE U-2 AFFAIR HAS SET A "CLEAR PRECEDENT" FOR SWEDEN TO PROSECUTE THE CAPTAIN. IN AN INTERESTING TWIST, THE NORWEGIAN WALLENBERG COMMITTEE HAS CALLED FOR THE SUBMARINE CAPTAIN TO BE HELD AND LATER EXCHANGED FOR RAOUL WALLENBERG, WHOM THEY BELIEVE STILL TO BE HELD IN THE SOVIET UNION.

5. COMMENT: WE RECOGNIZE IT IS UNLIKELY THE DRAMATIC IMPACT OF THE EPISODE IN SCANDINAVIA CAN BE READILY TRANSFERRED WITH SIMILAR DRAMATIC IMPACT ELSEWHERE IN WESTERN EUROPE. BUT THE VIOLATION LIKELY HAS SIGNIFICANT PUBLIC RELATIONS VALUE THROUGHOUT EUROPE, AND PARTICULARLY IN NATO COUNTRIES WHERE THE WINDS OF UNILATERALISM AND PACIFISM HAVE BEEN BLOWING SO STRONGLY, AS A CRYSTAL CLEAR REMINDER OF SOVIET DUPLICITY AND MILITARISTIC OPPORTUNISM. HOPEFULLY WE WILL NOT MISS THE OPPORTUNITY TO DRAW MAXIMUM PUBLIC RELATIONS ADVANTAGE FROM THE INCIDENT, INCLUDING INCORPORATION BY US AND OUR ALLIES IN THE CURRENT WESTERN POLITICAL OFFENSIVE.

BARKLEY  
BT

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F06-114/16 # 9306

BY LOJ NARA, DATE 12/13/06

CONFIDENTIAL

SAKHAROV

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
MESSAGE CENTER

PAGE 01 SECSTATE WASHDC 8905 DTG: 091642Z NOV 81 PSN: 004741  
EOB723 AN011197 TOR: 314/0347Z CSN: HCE772

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/005 A2

RAISED BY CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT DURING PRESIDENT  
BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE FRG IN LATE NOVEMBER.

--AS YOU MAY ALSO BE AWARE, DR. SAKHAROV SENT A  
PERSONAL MESSAGE TO SECRETARY HAIG, ASKING FOR OUR  
SUPPORT IN FURTHERING ANY EFFORTS YOUR GOVERNMENT MIGHT  
MAKE ON BEHALF OF LISA ALEKSEYEVA.

--IN THIS REGARD, WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO KNOW THAT WE  
CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE DESIRE OF MS. ALEKSEYEVA TO  
COME TO THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS A MATTER WHICH IS  
OBVIOUSLY OF DEEPEST PERSONAL CONCERN TO DR. SAKHAROV,  
AND WE SUSPECT THAT THE ISSUE IS BEING USED BY SOVIET  
AUTHORITIES AS A MEANS OF PUTTING PRESSURE ON HIM.

--THE SECRETARY AND OTHER U.S. OFFICIALS HAVE RAISED A  
NUMBER OF HUMAN RIGHTS CASES WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN  
RECENT MONTHS, INCLUDING THE CASE OF THE SAKHAROV  
FAMILY, BUT WE HAVE RECEIVED NO SATISFACTORY RESPONSE.

--ANY ACTION WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT MIGHT DEEM  
APPROPRIATE TO ASSIST MS. ALEKSEYEVA, DR. SAKHAROV OR  
OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY WOULD BE DEEPLY APPRECIATED.

--THE SECRETARY WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR PASSING THESE  
VIEWS TO FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER.

5. FOR MOSCOW: IN RESPONDING TO DR. SAKHAROV'S LETTER  
TO THE SECRETARY DURING YOUR NEXT CONVERSATION WITH  
MRS. BONNER, EMBASSY SHOULD INFORM HER IN CONFIDENCE  
THAT:

--THE U.S. HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE APPROPRIATE  
OFFICIALS OF THE FRG GOVERNMENT AND HAS PASSED ON THE  
SECRETARY'S STRONGLY-HELD VIEWS IN SUPPORT OF  
EMIGRATION FOR LISA ALEKSEYEVA.

--WE CANNOT OF COURSE GUARANTEE THAT THIS MATTER WILL  
BE DISCUSSED AT THE SCHMIDT-BREZHNEV MEETINGS, BUT THE  
FRG IS AWARE OF OUR DEEP CONCERN ON THIS ISSUE, AND OF  
OUR GENERAL CONCERN FOR THE WELFARE OF THE ENTIRE  
SAKHAROV FAMILY.

HAIG  
BT

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ STATE 298905

EXDIS  
E.O. 12065: RDS-4 11/02/01 (HAIG, ALEXANDER M., JR.)

TAGS: PINT, SHUM, UR, CGEN  
SUBJECT: SAKHAROV LETTERS TO SECRETARY AND FRG  
CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT

REF: MOSCOW 14519 (EXDIS)

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. AS ADDRESSEES ARE AWARE, DR. ANDREI SAKHAROV HAS  
REQUESTED FURTHER ASSISTANCE FROM THE SECRETARY IN  
OBTAINING SOVIET PERMISSION FOR LISA ALEKSEYEVA  
(FIANCEE OF SAKHAROV'S STEPSON) TO COME TO THE U.S.  
(REFTEL). SAKHAROV REQUESTS THAT SECRETARY ENCOURAGE  
CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT TO RAISE LISA ALEKSEYEVA'S CASE WITH  
PRESIDENT BREZHNEV WHEN THE SOVIET LEADER VISITS FRG IN  
LATE NOVEMBER. SAKHAROV HAS ALREADY CONVEYED A  
PERSONAL REQUEST TO THIS EFFECT TO SCHMIDT.

3. SECRETARY WISHES TO HONOR SAKHAROV REQUEST FOR  
HELP, BUT AT SAME TIME DOES NOT WISH TO GIVE APPEARANCE  
THAT USG IS ACCORDING PRIMACY TO ALEKSEYEVA CASE, SINCE  
THERE ARE MANY OTHER EMIGRATION CASES NOW ON THE AGENDA  
OF EQUALLY COMPELLING IMPORTANCE. THEREFORE, WE HAVE  
DECIDED THAT BEST MEANS TO HONOR

SAKHAROV'S PERSONAL REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE IS BY  
LOW-KEY DEMARCHE IN BONN WHICH WOULD RELATE USG VIEWS  
ON ALEKSEYEVA CASE AND REQUEST THAT THEY BE TRANSMITTED  
TO FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER.

4. FOR BONN: EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO MAKE FOLLOWING  
POINTS TO MFA AT APPROPRIATE LEVEL:

--AS YOU MAY BE AWARE, OUR EMBASSY IN MOSCOW RECENTLY  
FORWARDED TO YOUR EMBASSY A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM DR.  
ANDREI SAKHAROV FOR CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT.

--THE MESSAGE REQUESTED THE CHANCELLOR'S HELP IN  
GAINING SOVIET EXIT PERMISSION FOR MS. LISA ALEKSEYEVA,  
THE FIANCEE OF DR. SAKHAROV'S STEPSON. SPECIFICALLY,  
DR. SAKHAROV ASKED THAT LISA ALEKSEYEVA'S CASE BE

DECLASSIFIED

NLS FOG-114/6-9307

BY HOJ, NARA, DATE 12/13/07

CONFIDENTIAL

EXDIS

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

November 23, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: RICHARD PIPES <sup>RP</sup>

SUBJECT: Sakharov Hunger Strike

I enclose a proposed Presidential statement on behalf of Andrei Sakharov which, if approved, should be released as soon as possible.

For your information, Elizaveta Alekseeva applied for a regular Soviet exit visa over three years ago, while her fiance was already in the United States. She was refused on the grounds that she had no marital status. Last spring, she married Semionov by proxy in Montana, which, I am told makes the two legally married under US law though possibly not under Soviet law.

Unless a strong Presidential statement will be forthcoming soon, the KGB is likely to conclude that Sakharov and the whole human rights movement of which he is the living symbol has been all but abandoned by us.

Speechwriters have cleared the text.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Tab I      Memo to President  
          A - Suggested Presidential statement  
          B - Copy of letter & telegram on Sakharov's behalf



## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN

SUBJECT: Sakharov Hunger Strike

Andrei Sakharov, the leading Soviet human rights activist and Nobel Prize Laureate, has begun last Saturday a hunger strike on behalf of his daughter-in-law. This young woman, Elizaveta Alekseeva, has been repeatedly refused by the Soviet authorities an exit visa to join her husband, Aleksei Semionov, Sakharov's step-son, who is presently studying at Brandeis University. Sakharov believes that his daughter-in-law is being punished for his activities and has adopted the hunger strike as a last desperate measure to influence the Soviet government.

You have received over the weekend a telegram from 28 prominent scientists and scholars, twenty of them Nobel Prize laureates, addressed to a number of heads of state, urging you and them to intercede on behalf of Sakharov. Given the outstanding achievements of Sakharov in the field of human rights causes and his great friendship for the United States, it would be most appropriate for you to release, as soon as possible, a Presidential Statement on Sakharov's behalf. A suggested text is included. Speechwriters have cleared the text.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the Presidential Statement concerning Andrei Sakharov.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Tab A Suggested Presidential Statement  
Tab B Copy of letter & telegram on Sakharov's behalf

7

PROPOSED TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

Academician Andrei Sakharov, a leading Soviet scientist and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, has decided to go on a hunger strike to protest the repeated refusal of the Soviet authorities to grant an exit visa to his daughter-in-law, Elizaveta Alekseeva, to join her husband, Mr. Aleksei Semionov, a student at an American university. The young couple has been separated for a long time. I am concerned for the health of Mr. Sakharov and strongly urge the Soviet government to allow Ms. Alekseeva to join her husband.

# Sakharov International Committee, Inc.

P.O. Box 9422  
Washington, D.C. 20016  
Tel. (202) 364-0200

## President

\*Sheldon Lee Glashow

## Executive Director

Edward D. Lozansky

## Secretary-Treasurer

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Ernst Neizvestny  
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\*James Rainwater  
Mstislav Rostropovich  
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George Vineyard  
\*George Wald  
Jerome B. Wiesner  
Robert R. Wilson

\*Nobel Laureates

November 20, 1981

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am sending you a copy of a telegram wired to you and to the heads of governments of France, England, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland.

The Sakharov International Committee which has initiated this telegram hopes that your appeal to President Brezhnev on behalf of Dr. Sakharov will lead to the cancellation of his planned hunger strike.

Sincerely,

*Edward Lozansky*

Edward Lozansky  
Executive Director  
Sakharov International Committee



\*Andrei Sakharov  
World Renowned Physicist  
Peace Nobel Laureate  
Exiled to Gorki, U.S.S.R.

# Sakharov International Committee, Inc.

P.O. Box 9422  
Washington, D.C. 20016  
Tel. (202) 364-0200

## President

\*Sheldon Lee Glashow

## Executive Director

Edward D. Lozansky

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\*Andre Lwoff  
Vladimir Maximov  
Zubin Mehta  
Louis Michel  
Jack Miller  
Daniel Patrick Moynihan  
\*Robert S. Mulliken  
Ernst Neizvestny  
Victor Potapov  
\*Ilya Prigogine  
\*James Rainwater  
Mstislav Rostropovich  
Maxim Shostakovich  
Joseph Silverstein  
\*Herbert A. Simon  
Edward Teller  
\*Howard Temin  
Paul E. Tsongas  
Valentin Turchin  
George Vineyard  
\*George Wald  
Jerome B. Wiesner  
Robert R. Wilson

\*Nobel Laureates

November 20, 1981

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

We ask you to contact the Soviet government concerning Andrei Sakharov's hunger strike that is scheduled to begin on November 22, 1981. For three years, Sakharov has been demanding an exit visa for his daughter-in-law Liza Alekseyeva. We believe that this demand can be met and the hunger strike thus avoided.

\*Julius Axelrod  
\*David Baltimore  
Lipman Bers  
\*Nicholaas Bloembergen  
\*Owen Chamberlain  
Noam Chomsky  
\*Carl Cori  
Sidney Drell  
\*Walter Gilbert  
\*Donald Glaser  
\*Sheldon Lee Glashow  
\*Roger Guillemin  
\*Robert Holley  
\*Arthur Kornberg

Francis Low  
Philip Morrison  
\*Daniel Nathans  
\*Marshal Nirenberg  
\*Linus Pauling  
\*Paul Samuelson  
\*Arthur Shawlaw  
\*Herbert Simon  
B. F. Skinner  
\*Howard Temin  
\*Samuel Ting  
\*George Wald  
Jerome Wiesner  
Gerald and Leona Zacharias



\*Andrei Sakharov  
World Renowned Physicist  
Peace Nobel Laureate  
Exiled to Gorki, U.S.S.R.

---

\*Nobel Laureates

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ACTION EUR-12

MOSCOW 16262 01 OF 02 251642Z

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ICAE-00 SP-02 SPRS-02 /062 W

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R 251637Z NOV 61  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9411  
INFO AMCONSUL Leningrad  
AMEMBASSY MADRID

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 16202

MADRID FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 12065: XDS-4 11/25/01 (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN) DR-M  
TAGS: PINR, SHUM, CSCE, UR  
SUBJECT: REFUSENIK/DISSIDENT UPDATE

REFS: (A) OTTAWA 06962, (B) STATE 285628

1. ~~(A)~~ - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. LOCAL REACTION TO SAKHAROV'S HUNGER STRIKE

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LOCAL REACTION TO SAKHAROV'S HUNGER STRIKE, WHICH BEGAN ON SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22, IN GORKIY, APPEARS TO BE SOMEWHAT NEGATIVE. THE REFUSENIKS AND INTELLECTUALS WHOM WE HAVE TALKED WITH OPPOSE THE STRIKE OWING TO SAKHAROV'S SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE AS THE UNOFFICIAL HEAD OF THE SOVIET DISSIDENT MOVEMENT. THEY FEAR THAT, EVEN IF SAKHAROV DOES NOT PERISH AS A RESULT OF THE STRIKE, HE MAY "SQUANDER" HIS POLITICAL CAPITAL IN PROTESTING IN THIS WAY OVER THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES' REFUSAL TO PERMIT THE EMIGRATION OF HIS DAUGHTER-IN-LAW LIZA ALEKSEYEVA, WHICH MANY OF OUR SOURCES PERCEIVE TO BE OF RELATIVELY LITTLE IMPORTANCE COMPARED TO OTHER PROBLEMS FACING THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT. ONE INTELLECTUAL ALSO CRITICIZED THE STRIKE'S TIMING, NOTING THAT POLAND IS NOW THE TOPIC OF OVERRIDING INTEREST AMONG HIS PEERS AND, GIVEN SAKHAROV'S ISOLATION IN GORKIY, THAT ANY ACTION ON HIS PART WOULD HAVE LITTLE DOMESTIC EFFECT AT THE PRESENT TIME. THIS SOURCE, RATHER, BELIEVES THAT SAKHAROV SHOULD HAVE WAITED, SINCE IT IS LIKELY THAT THE IMPACT OF HIS ACTS AND STATEMENTS WILL INCREASE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THIS SOURCE ALSO THOUGHT THAT, IF FRG CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT MENTIONED SAKHAROV'S HUNGER STRIKE AND ALEKSEYEVA'S EMIGRATION DURING HIS MEETING WITH BREZHNEV, IT COULD PARTIALLY COMPENSATE FOR THE "NEGATIVE" ASPECTS OF THE STRIKE BY UNDERLINING THE IMPORTANCE THE WEST AS A WHOLE PLACES ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION. OF COURSE, OUR SOURCES' PERSPECTIVES ARE PRIMARILY POLITICAL, WHEREAS SAKHAROV'S APPEARS TO BE MORAL AND, AS INDICATED IN MANY OF HIS RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS, HE BELIEVES LIZA'S PLIGHT IS HIS PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY.

3. ALEKSANDR PARITSKIY.

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LOCAL JEWISH ACTIVISTS HAVE CONFIRMED THAT ALEKSANDR PARTISKIY HAS BEEN SENTENCED TO THREE YEARS IN PRISON FOR HAVING DEFAMED THE SOVIET STATE AND SOCIAL SYSTEM. THE CANADIAN EMBASSY HERE RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS TO ATTEND HIS TRIAL (REF A) ONLY ONE DAY BEFORE IT WAS TO BEGIN. CONSEQUENTLY, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO

OBTAIN PERMISSION TO TRAVEL TO KHARKOV IN TIME TO COVER THE TRIAL. (EVEN HAD THE EMBASSY OBTAINED TRAVEL PERMISSION, IT IS HIGHLY DOUBTFUL THAT ATTENDANCE AT THE TRIAL WOULD HAVE BEEN ALLOWED.) THE WIFE OF A LOCAL REFUSENIK WAS IN KHARKOV DURING THE TRIAL, AND, UPON HER RETURN TO MOSCOW, GAVE US A PARTIAL TRANSCRIPT OF IT WHICH WE ARE POUCHING TO THE DEPARTMENT (EUR/SOV). THIS TRANSCRIPT REVEALS THAT PARITSKIY WAS FINGERED FOR CONTACTS WITH FOREIGN TOURISTS, LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS AT THE UNOFFICIAL JEWISH "UNIVERSITY" IN KHARKOV, TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH WESTERNERS, AND LISTENING TO FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS. IT CONCLUDES WITH PARITSKIY'S RINGING REAFFIRMATION OF HIS INTENTION TO EMIGRATE TO ISRAEL.

4. SVERDLOVSK CASE

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THE KGB HAS ACCUSED TWO SVERDLOVSK RESIDENTS, LEV SHEFER AND VLADIMIR YELCHIN, OF THE "ANTI-SOVIET" ACTIVITY OF HAVING COLLECTED ANTI-SOVIET INFORMATION FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES AND OF HAVING DISSEMINATED IT IN AN ORGANIZED MANNER. SHEFER, A JEWISH ENGINEER, HAS APPLIED TO EMIGRATE. YELCHIN, A GENTILE MARRIED TO A JEVESS, HAS NOT. BOTH MEN REPORTEDLY WERE SENTENCED TO SIX YEARS IN PRISON IN 1970 FOR ANTI-SOVIET ACTIVITY. IN THIS CONNECTION, A SVERDLOVSK KGB OFFICER REPORTEDLY HAS QUESTIONED THREE MOSCOW HEBREW TEACHERS, NATASHA KHAASSIN, YULI KOSHAROVSKIY, AND PAVEL ABRAMOVICH ABOUT SHEFER'S AND YELCHIN'S

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ACTIVITIES (REF B). NEITHER KHASSIN NOR ABRAMOVICH KNOWS THEM. KOSCHAROVSKIY, WHO LIVED IN SVERDLOVSK BEFORE MOVING TO MOSCOW ABOUT TEN YEARS AGO, WAS AN ACQUAINTANCE OF SHEFER'S. DURING THE INTERROGATIONS, THE KGB OFFICER ALLEGEDLY ACCUSED ABRAMOVICH OF HAVING COOPERATED WITH SHEFER IN EMIGRATION ACTIVITIES AND ASSERTED THAT THE KGB HAD FOUND COPIES OF "ISRAEL TODAY," AN ISRAELI INFORMATION MAGAZINE, IN THEIR APARTMENTS. THE KGB ALSO REPORTEDLY HAS QUESTIONED LENINGRAD REFUSENIK ROALD ZELICHONOK IN CONNECTION WITH THE SVERDLOVSK CASE AND HAS PRESSURED HIM TO APPEAR AS A WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION THERE. KGB OFFICIALS AND POLICE HAVE SEARCHED HIS APARTMENT, CONFISCATED HIS PAPERS, AND DISCONNECTED HIS TELEPHONE. THE KGB EVIDENTLY ALSO HAS QUESTIONED AS YET UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS IN VILNIUS ABOUT THE SVERDLOVSK CASE. LOCAL REFUSENIKS BELIEVE THAT A "SHOW TRIAL" IS IMMINENT IN SVERDLOVSK AND THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE CHOSEN THAT LOCATION, A CLOSED CITY, TO REDUCE PUBLIITY ABOUT THE TRIAL.

5. STATUS OF LEONARD TERNOVSKIY

WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN ANY INFORMATION ON THE STATUS OF LEONARD TERNOVSKIY, WHO WAS SENTENCED ON DECEMBER 31, 1980, TO THREE YEARS IN A "GENERAL REGIME" CAMP FOR HAVING VIOLATED ARTICLE 190-1 OF THE RSFSR CRIMINAL CODE. WE WILL PURSUE THIS SUBJECT.

6. STREMLAU'S MEETING WITH LERNER

JOHN STREMLAU OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION AND EMBOFF MET WITH ALEKSANDR LERNER IN HIS APARTMENT ON NOVEMBER 20 SO THAT STREMLAU COULD GIVE HIM AN INVITATION FROM THE FOUNDATION'S PRESIDENT TO USE ITS INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARS CENTER IN BELLAGIO, ITALY, FOR ONE MONTH. LERNER WAS EXTREMELY PLEASED, EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION FOR THIS HONOR, AND ACCEPTED IT, SUBJECT OF COURSE TO RECEIVING PERMISSION TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION. LATER THAT SAME DAY, THE EMBASSY UNSUCCESSFULLY ATTEMPTED TO MAKE AN APPOINTMENT FOR STREMLAU WITH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES PRESIDENT ALEKSANDROV, WHO, WE WERE TOLD, WAS OUT OF TOWN, TO DISCUSS THE FELLOWSHIP FOR LERNER. STREMLAU PLANS TO SEND LETTERS ON THIS SUBJECT TO ALEKSANDROV AND TO MARCHUK, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COMMITTEE FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

7. EMBOFF'S ATTEMPT TO CONTACT KIEV REFUSENIKS

EMBOFF WHO VISITED KIEV NOVEMBER 11-12 ATTEMPTED TO CONTACT BY PHONE SEVERAL REFUSENIK

FAMILIES. NO ONE ANSWERED AT THE HOME OF VLADIMIR KISLIK, AND LEV ELBERT'S NUMBER APPARENTLY HAD BEEN DISCONNECTED. EMBOFF MANAGED TO REACH MRS. YOSIF BERENSHEIN BY PHONE. SHE SAID THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN HER FAMILY'S SITUATION. EACH TIME THEY APPLY FOR PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE, THEY ARE DENIED IT. SHE DESCRIBED THE GENERAL SITUATION FOR PROSPECTIVE JEWISH EMIGRANTS IN KIEV AS "BAD," AND ASKED TO MEET WITH THE EMBOFF LATER IN THE DAY. SHE DID NOT, HOWEVER, APPEAR AT THE AGREED-UPON TIME AND PLACE.  
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E.O. 12065: RDS-1 11/17/01 (STOESSEL, WALTER J., JR.)

TAGS: SHUM, UR, US  
SUBJECT: U.S. DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS ON SAKHAROV

NOTE

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. AT THE SECRETARY'S REQUEST, UNDER SECRETARY STOESSEL REQUESTED SOVIET AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN TO CALL ON HIM NOVEMBER 27 CONCERNING THE SAKHAROV HUNGER STRIKE. DOBRYNIN WAS INDISPOSED SO IN THE INTEREST OF URGENCY STOESSEL RECEIVED MINISTER-COUNSELOR BESSMERTNYKH IN HIS STEAD. EUR/SOV DIRECTOR SIMONS ACCOMPANIED THE UNDER SECRETARY.

3. FYI, TO BE HELD VERY CLOSELY. POSTS SHOULD BE AWARE THAT THE SECRETARY RAISED THE CASES OF SAKHAROV AND HIS FAMILY AND OF ANATOLIY SHCHARANSKIY PRIVATELY WITH DOBRYNIN NOVEMBER 11; THAT THE PRESIDENT REITERATED HIS PERSONAL INTEREST IN THESE CASES IN HIS NOVEMBER 17 LETTER TO BREZHNEV; AND THAT DOBRYNIN SENT THE SECRETARY AN INSTRUCTED NON-PAPER NOVEMBER 19 MAKING THE POINT THAT QUOTE IT IS INAPPROPRIATE FOR THE US SIDE TO RAISE THE QUESTION ABOUT SAKHAROV AND SCHARANSKY (SIC) UNQUOTE BECAUSE QUOTE SUCH A QUESTION... DOES NOT EXIST IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. IT BELONGS ENTIRELY TO THE DOMESTIC

COMPETENCE OF THE SOVIET STATE. UNQUOTE. END FYI.

4. STOESSEL THANKED BESSMERTNYKH FOR CALLING ON SHORT NOTICE, AND SAID HE WISHED TO TALK ON THE SECRETARY'S BEHALF ABOUT THE SAKHAROV CASE AND THE HUNGER STRIKE SAKHAROV AND HIS WIFE HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO SECURE RELEASE OF THEIR DAUGHTER-IN-LAW. BESSMERTNYKH KNEW THE SECRETARY AND THE PRESIDENT WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE CASE OF SAKHAROV AND SHCHARANSKIY, AND THE HUNGER STRIKE REDOUBLES THIS CONCERN, STOESSEL SAID. WE HAD STUDIED THE SOVIET MESSAGE RECEIVED NOVEMBER 19 CAREFULLY, AND HOPED OUR POINTS WOULD ALSO BE STUDIED CAREFULLY ON THE SOVIET SIDE.

5. SAKHAROV'S HEALTH IS NOT GOOD, STOESSEL WENT ON, AND THE HUNGER STRIKE THREATENS TO MAKE IT WORSE. IF HE

BECOMES GRAVELY ILL OR DIES, THERE WILL BE A TREMENDOUS PUBLIC OUTCRY. PUBLIC INTEREST IS INTENSE. THE SECRETARY HAD ASKED HIM TO TALK ABOUT THE CASE ON THIS BASIS, IN A LOW-KEY, PRIVATE WAY. SUCH A PUBLIC OUTCRY WOULD NOT BE IN THE INTEREST OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.

6. OF COURSE, STOESSEL CONTINUED, OUR INTEREST IN RELEASE OF THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW DOES NOT DETRACT FROM OUR INTEREST IN THE CASES OF SAKHAROV AND SHCHARANSKIY THEMSELVES.

7. IN CONCLUSION, STOESSEL DREW ATTENTION TO THE NOVEMBER 24 SENSE OF THE SENATE RESOLUTION ON THE HUNGER STRIKE WHICH REQUESTED THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO PASS A COPY OF THE RESOLUTION TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. ON THE SECRETARY'S BEHALF HE WISHED TO PASS ON THIS COPY, AS WELL AS A NON-PAPER EMBODYING THE POINTS HE HAD MADE. (TEXT OF NON-PAPER ENDS THIS MESSAGE.)

8. BESSMERTNYKH RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS NOT A NEW SUBJECT, SO HE WOULD NOT HAVE MUCH TO SAY EXCEPT THAT THE DEMARCHE WOULD BE REPORTED. WHAT HAD BEEN SAID ON INSTRUCTIONS NOVEMBER 19 STANDS. WITH REGARD TO THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, WITHOUT ENTERING INTO TECHNICALITIES IT WAS TRUE THAT NO VALID MARRIAGE HAD BEEN EXECUTED. HE WOULD REPORT THAT CONGRESS HAD ASKED THE SECRETARY TO HAND OVER A COPY OF THE RESOLUTION, BUT SINCE THE MATTER WAS ENTIRELY A SOVIET DOMESTIC ONE HE COULD NOT ACCEPT IT. HOWEVER, HE REPEATED, THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DEMARCHE WOULD BE REPORTED. (FYI BESSMERTNYKH ACCEPTED THE TEXT OF THE NON-PAPER. END FYI) HE DID NOT KNOW THE STATE OF SAKHAROV'S HEALTH. IN HUMAN TERMS HE WISHED HIM GOOD HEALTH. OF COURSE THE HUNGER STRIKE WOULD HURT. HOWEVER, HE SUSPECTED IT WOULD NOT END AS TRAGICALLY AS MANY SEEMED TO THINK.

9. SPEAKING OFF-THE-RECORD, BESSMERTNYKH SAID THE TREMENDOUS PUBLICITY SURROUNDING THE HUNGER STRIKE "CAST A SHADOW" OVER IT BY AROUSING DOUBTS AS TO ITS AIMS AND SERIOUSNESS. SIMONS POINTED OUT THAT GOOD FRIENDS OF SAKHAROV WERE COMING TO US WITH PLEAS FOR INTERVENTION, BUT OF AN ENTIRELY PRIVATE, NON-PUBLICIZED KIND. BESSMERTNYKH CONCLUDED THAT MAY BE TRUE, BUT OTHERS -- INCLUDING THE RELATIVES WHO HAD VISITED THE SOVIET EMBASSY TWO DAYS AGO -- ALWAYS SEEMED TO COME WITH NEWSMEN.

10. TEXT OF U.S. NON-PAPER, BEGIN TEXT. THE SECRETARY HAS ASKED ME TO EXPRESS TO YOU ONCE AGAIN THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL INTEREST AND HIS OWN IN SEEING SAKHAROV AND HIS FAMILY AND ANATOLIY SHCHARANSKIY RELEASED.

THE MESSAGE RECEIVED NOVEMBER 19 HAS BEEN CAREFULLY STUDIED. THERE APPEAR TO US TO BE A NUMBER OF FACTORS WE HOPE THE SOVIET SIDE WILL WEIGH WITH EQUAL CARE.

SAKHAROV'S HEALTH IS POOR. THE HUNGER STRIKE WILL PLACE HIS LIFE IN DANGER.

THERE WOULD BE A MAJOR PUBLIC OUTCRY IF SAKHAROV WERE TO BECOME EXTREMELY ILL OR DIE. PUBLIC CONCERN IN THE UNITED STATES IS INTENSE. THE LATEST EVIDENCE IS THE RESOLUTION PASSED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE SENATE NOVEMBER 24. ON THE SECRETARY'S BEHALF, I WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT YOU WITH A COPY.

WE CANNOT BELIEVE SUCH A MAJOR PUBLIC OUTCRY WITH REGARD TO THIS CASE IS IN THE INTEREST OF YOUR GOVERNMENT, ANY MORE THAN IT IS IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST TO IGNORE ANY OF

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THE CASES MENTIONED BY THE SECRETARY NOVEMBER 11 AND BY  
THE PRESIDENT IN HIS NOVEMBER 17 LETTER TO PRESIDENT  
BREZHNEV. ENT TEXT. CLARK  
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EXDIS

MADRID FOR AMBASSADOR KAMPelman

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 11/27/01 (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN) OR-M

TAGS: CSCE, SHUM, PINT, UR

SUBJECT: SAKHAROV/BONNER HUNGER STRIKE.

REF: MOSCOW 16240

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SOVIET ACADEMICIAN AND LEADING DISSIDENT ANDREY SAKHAROV MAY BE SUFFERING FROM HEART TROUBLE IN THIS, THE SIXTH DAY OF THE HUNGER STRIKE HE AND WIFE, YELENA BONNER, ARE CONDUCTING ON BEHALF OF DAUGHTER-IN-LAW LIZA ALEKSEYEVA'S QUEST FOR EXIT PERMISSION TO JOIN HER HUSBAND. EMOFFS WERE TOLD NOVEMBER 27 THAT LIZA HAS NOT RECEIVED REPLIES TO HER TWO MOST RECENT TELEGRAMS TO THE SAKHAROV'S, BUT THAT FRIENDS IN GORKIY WERE ABLE TO VISIT THEM ON NOVEMBER 26 TO LEARN OF THE SAKHAROV'S DETERIORATING CONDITION. END SUMMARY.

3. EMOFFS MET NOVEMBER 27 WITH LIZA ALEKSEYEVA, DAUGHTER-IN-LAW OF ANDREY SAKHAROV AND YELENA BONNER, IN THE SAKHAROV'S MOSCOW APARTMENT. LIZA REPORTED THAT SHE HAS RECEIVED NO REPLY TO THE LAST TWO CABLES SHE SENT TO GORKIY PER ARRANGEMENT DESCRIBED REFTEL. SHE HAS, HOWEVER, RECEIVED CONFIRMATION FROM THE SOVIET TELEGRAPH OFFICE THAT HER TELEGRAMS HAVE BEEN DELIVERED. MEANWHILE, SHE SPOKE NOVEMBER 26 WITH FRIENDS WHO VISITED THE SAKHAROV'S IN THEIR GORKIY APARTMENT AND REPORTED THAT THE COUPLE IS DOING ALL RIGHT UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, ALTHOUGH SAKHAROV IS NOW SUFFERING FROM HEART TROUBLE. LIZA DID NOT KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THIS MEANS, BUT NOTED THAT THE ACADEMICIAN MAY HAVE HAD A MINOR HEART ATTACK IN 1974 OR 1975 AND CONTINUES TO SUFFER FROM ANGINA PECTORIS (INTERIOR CHEST PAIN DUE TO INSUFFICIENT BLOOD TO THE HEART MUSCLE) AND ISCHEMIA (DEFICIENT BLOOD SUPPLY, USUALLY RELATED TO ARTERIOSCLEROSIS).

4. DESPITE ANY DIFFICULTIES, THE SAKHAROV'S ARE

CONTINUING A STRICT REGIME. LIZA REPORTS THAT THEY CONSUME ONLY MINERAL AND TAP WATER. ASKED IF THEY HAVE OR ARE TAKING JUICES, LIZA REPLIED THAT THEY HAVE A SMALL SUPPLY OF JUICE - NOT ENOUGH, SHE SPECIFICALLY SAID, TO GET THEM THROUGH AFTER THE HUNGER STRIKE IS OVER - BUT ARE NOT TAKING ANY NOW. LIZA ALSO REPORTED THAT THE SAKHAROV'S HAVE A SMALL, PRIMITIVE ELECTROCARDIOGRAM MACHINE WHICH BONNER, A RETIRED DOCTOR, CAN USE TO MONITOR HER HUSBAND'S CONDITION. UNLIKE THEIR PREVIOUS HUNGER STRIKE IN 1974, HOWEVER, NO LOCAL DOCTOR IS ATTENDING THEM. LIZA DID SAY THAT BONNER HAS SEEN A GORKIY DOCTOR IN THE COURSE OF HER STAY THERE AND COULD, PRESUMABLY, TURN TO HIM FOR ASSISTANCE.

5. LIZA TOLD EMOFFS THAT ONLY NORMAL SURVEILLANCE OF THE SAKHAROV'S GORKIY FLAT IS BEING CONDUCTED AND WAS SOMEWHAT ENCOURAGED THAT THE GORKIY FRIENDS WERE ALLOWED IN BY THE PLAINCLOTHES GUARDS. SHE FEELS CERTAIN THAT HER TELEGRAMS ARE REACHING THE SAKHAROV'S, BUT IS UNCERTAIN WHY THEY HAVE NOT ANSWERED FOR TWO DAYS.

6. LIZA APPEARED NERVOUS AND CLEARLY IS INCREASINGLY WORRIED ABOUT SAKHAROV'S HEART PROBLEMS. SHE TOLD EMOFFS THAT FRIENDS ARE VISITING HER REGULARLY. WHEN ASKED HOW THEY REGARD THE SAKHAROV'S HUNGER STRIKE, LIZA REPLIED THAT "ITS DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO BE FOR OR AGAINST IT; THEY UNDERSTAND IT AND UNDERSTAND WHY HE IS DOING THIS. WHILE THEY HOPE THAT THE HUNGER STRIKE ENDS SOON, THEY ALSO KNOW THAT HE CANNOT GO ON LIKE THIS, CANNOT TOLERATE HIS

SITUATION ANY LONGER." THE SAKHAROV'S SENSE OF ISOLATION IN GORKIY MUST BE INCREASING: LIZA TOLD EMOFFS THAT THE COUPLE IS AFRAID TO LEAVE THEIR APARTMENT IN THEIR WEAKENED CONDITION FOR FEAR OF BEING "SEIZED." (COMMENT: WHILE WE HESITATE TO READ TOO MUCH INTO THIS, IT APPEARS THAT LIZA MAY THINK THAT SAKHAROV IS SO FRUSTRATED WITH HIS SITUATION IN GORKIY THAT HE HAS CONCLUDED HE HAS NOTHING FURTHER TO LOSE AND MIGHT BE ABLE TO HELP HER. END COMMENT) LIZA ALSO REPORTED THAT SHE HAS HEARD NOTHING FROM HER HUSBAND, ALEKSEY SEMENOV, THOUGH HIS TELEGRAMS BT

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BY MDI, NARA, DATE 12/13/07

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AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE 1295

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 16294

EXDIS  
MADRID FOR AMBASSADOR KAMPELMAN  
ONLY OCCASIONALLY MAKE IT THROUGH THE SOVIET POSTAL  
SYSTEM.

7. LIZA PROMISED TO PHONE EMBOFFS AS SOON  
AS SHE HEARS ANYTHING FROM THE SAKHAROV'S AND  
EMBOFFS PLAN TO SEE HER AGAIN OVER THE  
WEEKEND. WE WILL REPORT FURTHER AS WE LEARN OF NEW  
DEVELOPMENTS. HARTMAN  
BT

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9465  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE 1747  
AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE 1296  
AMCONSUL Leningrad 5119

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ MOSCOW 16343

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 11/28/01 (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN) OR-M  
TAGS: SHUM, PINT, UR  
SUBJECT: SAKHAROV/BONNER HUNGER STRIKE  
REF: (A) MOSCOW 16294 (B) STATE 316028 (NOTAL)

1. ~~(CONFIDENTIAL)~~-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SAKHAROV'S CONTINUE NOT TO REPLY TO TELEGRAMS SENT BY LIZA ALEKSEYEVA, THEIR DAUGHTER-IN-LAW. IN MEETING NOVEMBER 28, LIZA HAD NOTHING FURTHER TO REPORT CONCERNING STATUS OF HUNGER STRIKE AND IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY WORRIED ABOUT SAKHAROV'S HEALTH. END SUMMARY.

3. EMBOFF MET LIZA ALEKSEYEVA NOVEMBER 28 AT THE SAKHAROV'S MOSCOW APARTMENT TO DISCUSS THE HUNGER STRIKE BEING WAGED IN GORKIY BY ANDREY SAKHAROV AND YELENA BONNER. LIZA REPORTED THAT SHE STILL IS RECEIVING NO REPLY TO HER TELEGRAM MESSAGES TO THE SAKHAROV'S; THE LAST THREE HAVE ALL GONE UNANSWERED. LIZA PLANS TO SEND ANOTHER TELEGRAM TODAY (SATUROAY). SHE IS SOMEWHAT CONCERNED THAT THE 'CERTIFICATE OF DELIVERY' THE TELEGRAPH OFFICE PROVIDES AS VERIFICATION THAT THE TELEGRAM WAS RECEIVED DOES NOT BEAR THE SIGNATURE OF EITHER SAKHAROV OR BONNER. (NOTE: SHE WOULD NOT RECEIVE THE ACTUAL RECEIPT THEY WOULD SIGN, BUT SOME FACSIMILE OF THAT RECEIPT. APPARENTLY, WHAT SHE GETS IS NOT EVEN THAT.) LIZA NOTED THAT IN THEIR WEAKENED STATE, THE SAKHAROV'S HAVE NO DIRECT MEANS OF COMMUNICATING WITH HER, ABSENT THE DAILY ARRIVAL OF THE TELEGRAM DELIVERY PERSON. SHE CONTINUES TO DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT THESE TELEGRAMS ARE BEING INTERCEPTED BY THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES.

4. THE GORKIY FRIENDS WHO VISITED THE SAKHAROV'S EARLIER (REF A) HAVE NOT CONTACTED LIZA LATELY AND SHE APPARENTLY HAS GREAT DIFFICULTY CALLING THEM. THEREFORE, BECAUSE SHE LACKS ANY RECENT INFORMATION, SHE COULD ADD LITTLE TO THE

PREVIOUS REPORT REGARDING SAKHAROV'S INCREASINGLY SERIOUS HEART CONDITION. WORRY ABOUT THIS IS MAKING HER INCREASINGLY NERVOUS, BUT LIZA'S DEMEANOR REMAINS RELATIVELY CALM GIVEN THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

5. EMBOFF STRESSED TO ALEKSEYEVA USG'S STRONG INTEREST IN THIS MATTER, CONCERN FOR THE SAKHAROV'S HEALTH, AND HOPE THAT LIZA WILL SHORTLY RECEIVE PERMISSION TO JOIN HER HUSBAND IN THE UNITED STATES. HE READ AND TRANSLATED TEXT OF MOYNIHAN RESOLUTION ON SAKHAROV (REF B). SHE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE SUPPORT.

6. AS REPORTED REF A, LIZA IS UNABLE TO CONTACT HER HUSBAND IN THE U.S., ALEKSEY SEMYONOV. THE SAKHAROV'S MOSCOW FLAT HAS BEEN WITHOUT A TELEPHONE FOR SEVERAL YEARS, MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR SEMYONOV TO CALL ALEKSEYEVA DIRECTLY. SHE ALSO REPORTS THAT REPEATED EFFORTS IN MOSCOW, Leningrad AND A HOST OF OTHER SOVIET CITIES TO CALL SEMYONOV HAVE PROVEN UNSUCCESSFUL; IN MOST CASES, THE OPERATOR REPLIES THAT THERE IS NO SUCH PHONE NUMBER, THE PHONE HAS BEEN DISCONNECTED, NO ONE IS HOME, ETC. LIZA SAID SHE BELIEVES AN ORDER HAS GONE OUT NOT TO CONNECT CALLS FROM ANYWHERE IN THE SOVIET UNION TO SEMYONOV'S NUMBER; SINCE MOST INTERNATIONAL CALLS ARE ROUTED THROUGH MOSCOW, THE ORDER IS EASY TO ENFORCE.

7. ACTION: BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULTIES IN COMMUNICATING WITH SEMYONOV, DEPARTMENT MAY WISH

TO PASS APPROPRIATE PARTS OF THIS AND PREVIOUS REPORT (REF A) TO SEMYONOV (PROBABLY VIA SEMYONOV FRIEND EDWARD CLINE.) HARTMAN  
BT

EXDIS

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NLS F06-114/6#9311

BY LOT, NARA, DATE 12/13/07

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SECRET

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S E C R E T STATE 316810

NODIS  
MADRID FOR USDEL CSCE  
E. O. 12065: RDS-1 11/30/91 (STOESSEL, WALTER J. JR)

TAGS: SHUM, CSCE, UR, GE

SUBJECT: BREZHNEV VISIT TO BONN: DISCUSSION OF SAKHAROV  
CASE

1. ~~S~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DURING BRIEFING ON BREZHNEV VISIT ON NOVEMBER 27, FRG FOREIGN OFFICE STATE SECRETARY VON STADEN TOLD UNDER SECRETARY STOESSEL THAT THE FRG HAD RAISED THE SAKHAROV CASE WITH THE SOVIETS BEFORE AND DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT. VON STADEN HIMSELF HAD FIRST RAISED THE QUESTION WITH FIRST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KORNIYENKO DURING PREPARATIONS FOR THE VISIT. KORNIYENKO HAD SAID THE MATTER WAS A DOMESTIC ISSUE FOR THE SOVIET UNION AND OF NO INTEREST TO OTHER COUNTRIES. HE HAD ARGUED THAT HE IN ANY CASE DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHY EVERYONE IN THE WEST WAS SO INSISTENT SINCE SAKHAROV DID NOT REALLY HAVE ANY RELATIVES IN THE WEST. VON STADEN SAID HE HAD TOLD KORNIYENKO THAT IT WOULD NOT BE PROFITABLE TO DEBATE DIFFERING POINTS OF VIEW ON THE SAKHAROV CASE. THE SOVIETS SHOULD SIMPLY TAKE AS A FACT OF LIFE THAT DEVELOPMENT OF THIS ISSUE WOULD HAVE A STRONG EFFECT ON THE SOVIET IMAGE IN THE WEST.

3. VON STADEN SAID THE CHANCELLOR HAD ALSO RAISED SAKHAROV IN HIS PRIVATE MEETING WITH BREZHNEV. BREZHNEV HAD LISTENED, BUT HAD NOT REACTED IN ANY FASHION.

4. VON STADEN REQUESTED THAT THIS INFORMATION BE TREATED WITH UTMOST CARE. HE NOTED THAT EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE SAKHAROV'S RELEASE WOULD BE DAMAGED IF IT BECAME KNOWN THAT THE GERMANS HAD RAISED HIS CASE IN THIS FASHION.

5. SEPTEL FOLLOWS DESCRIBING UNDER SECRETARY STOESSEL'S NOVEMBER 27 DEMARCHE ON SECRETARY'S BEHALF CONCERNING SAKHAROV. CLARK  
BT

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NLS F06-114/6#9312

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BY LDT, NARA, DATE 12/13/07

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9467

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE 1748  
AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE 1297  
AMCONSUL Leningrad 5120

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 16345

EXDIS  
MADRID FOR U.S. DEL CSCE  
E.O. 12065: RDS-4 (11/29/01) (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN) OR-M  
TAGS: SHUM, CSCE, PINT, UR  
SUBJECT: SAKHAROV/BOHNER HUNGER STRIKE - DAY 8

1. ~~(CONFIDENTIAL)~~-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: LIZA ALEKSEYEVA REPORTS THAT SHE STILL HAS NO WORD FROM THE SAKHAROV'S ON THIS, THE EIGHTH DAY OF THEIR HUNGER STRIKE IN GORKIY. SHE ATTRIBUTES THE LACK OF NEWS TO DELIBERATE SOVIET ACTION TO BLOCK COMMUNICATIONS IN ORDER TO DEFEAT THE HUNGER STRIKE. INDEED, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE EFFECTIVELY SEALED THE SAKHAROV'S OFF. LIZA ASKED THAT EMBOFFS RELAY TO THE U.S. WORD THAT INABILITY TO PASS INFORMATION TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD DOES NOT MEAN THE SAKHAROV'S WILL GIVE UP; ON THE CONTRARY, SHE THINKS, THEY WILL PERSEVERE. SHE IS THINKING OF A TRIP TO GORKIY TO LEARN OF THEIR WELFARE. END SUMMARY.

3. EMBOFFS VISITED SAKHAROV DAUGHTER-IN-LAW LIZA ALEKSEYEVA IN THE SAKHAROV'S MOSCOW APARTMENT NOVEMBER 29 TO DISCUSS THE HUNGER STRIKE NOW UNDER WAY IN GORKIY. LIZA REPORTED THAT FOR THE FOURTH STRAIGHT DAY SHE HAS RECEIVED NO REPLY TO HER TELEGRAMS TO THE SAKHAROV'S, DESPITE THE FACT THAT EACH HAS A PREPAID REPLY. UNLIKE THE THREE PREVIOUS UNANSWERED CABLES, THE FOURTH DID NOT EVEN PRODUCE A "CERTIFICATE OF RECEIPT," THOUGH THE TELEGRAPH OFFICE CONFIRMED THAT IT DID SEND THE MESSAGE.

4. LIZA INCREASINGLY BELIEVES THAT EITHER HER TELEGRAMS ARE NOT REACHING THE SAKHAROV'S, OR THAT THEIR RESPONSES TO HER ARE BEING BLOCKED BY THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES. ASKED WHAT THAT MEANT, LIZA REPLIED THAT APPARENTLY THE SOVIETS HAVE DECIDED TO TRY TO DEFEAT THE HUNGER STRIKE BY

BLACKING OUT NEWS ABOUT IT. BY KEEPING THE WORLD IN THE DARK ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE STRIKE, THE SOVIETS HOPE TO FRUSTRATE SAKHAROV AND BONNER INTO GIVING UP THEIR PROTEST. LIZA WENT ON TO REQUEST THAT EMBOFFS RELAY THE MESSAGE TO THE U.S. THAT THE BLACKOUT DOES NOT MEAN THE SAKHAROV'S WILL GIVE UP AND CEASE THEIR HUNGER STRIKE, BUT THAT THEY WILL PERSEVERE ALL THE MORE. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OUR TALKS WITH HER, LIZA REFERRED TO THIER POSSIBLE DEATH, SAYING "THEY WILL CONTINUE UNTIL ONE DIES OR UNTIL BOTH DIE, AS LONG AS IT TAKES" ESPECIALLY UNTIL THE OUTSIDE WORLD LEARNS OF WHAT IS OCCURRING.

5. LIZA IS NOW SEARCHING FOR OTHER WAYS TO ASCERTAIN THE SAKHAROV'S CONDITION. UNFORTUNATELY, THE GORKIY FRIENDS WHO VISITED THE COUPLE ON NOVEMBER 26 LACK A TELEPHONE (AS DOES LIZA), MAKING IT ALL BUT IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTACT THEM. ANOTHER PAIR OF FRIENDS WHO VISIT THE SAKHAROV'S ROUGHLY ONCE A MONTH APPARENTLY DO HAVE A PHONE AND LIZA WILL ATTEMPT TO REACH THEM AND REQUEST THEY LEARN WHAT THEY CAN ABOUT THE COUPLE'S SITUATION. BUT THIS WILL BE DIFFICULT BECAUSE THE COUPLE IS VERY OLD AND LIVES SOME DISTANCE FROM THE SAKHAROV'S.

6. LIZA IS ALSO CONSIDERING A TRIP TO GORKIY TO LEARN WHAT SHE CAN. DURING HER MOST RECENT VISIT TO GORKIY LAST SUMMER, HOWEVER, THE GUARD AT THE SAKHAROV'S APARTMENT SPECIFICALLY TOLD LIZA NOT TO RETURN AND SAID SHE WOULD NOT BE ADMITTED INTO THE APARTMENT IF SHE DID. AND BEFORE THE STRIKE, SAKHAROV HIMSELF TOLD LIZA NOT TO ATTEMPT TO COME

TO GORKIY. NONETHELESS, IF NOTHING IS HEARD FROM THE SAKHAROV'S VERY SOON LIZA SAID SHE MAY TRY TO GO TO GORKIY ONCE SHE GETS A TICKET - POSSIBLY TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY.

7. DESPITE THE MOUNTING PRESSURE ON HER, LIZA REMAINS CALM AND IS ABLE TO MAKE CONVERSATION, JOKE AND LAUGH, ETC. HER CONSIDERATION OF A VISIT TO GORKIY, HOWEVER, REVEALS INCREASING WORRY ABOUT WHAT IS TAKING PLACE THERE. LIZA ASSURED EMBOFFS SHE WOULD INFORM US IMMEDIATELY SHOULD ANY WORD FROM GORKIY ARRIVE, AND WILL LET US KNOW SHOULD SHE PLAN TO ATTEMPT A VISIT. MEANWHILE, WE WILL CONTINUE OUR DAILY VISITS.

BT

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NLS FOI-114/6 # 9313

BY LOI, NARA, DATE 12/13/07

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EXDIS

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 16345

EXDIS  
MADRID FOR U.S. DEL CSCE

8. ACTION: EUR/SOV PLEASE PASS GIST OF THIS CABLE  
TO LIZA'S HUSBAND, ALEKSEY SEMYONOV, AND/OR SEMYONOV  
FRIEND EDWARD KLINE. HARTMAN  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
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SAK...A

PAGE 01 MOSCOW (SVCD B 6461 DTG: 011545Z DEC 81 PSN: 032684  
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/006 A3

RECEPTION DAY AT OVIR, SHE MUST WAIT UNTIL AT  
LEAST THURSDAY FOR A MEETING, ALTHOUGH SHE  
WILL CALL OVIR TOMORROW IN HOPES OF SETTING  
UP SUCH A MEETING. LISA HOPE TO SEE ROMANENKOV,  
THE CHIEF OF THE REGIONAL OVIR, WHO RECEIVED  
HER LAST YEAR. SHE EXPECTS TO BE TOLD THAT THE  
CASE IS STILL UNDER REVIEW.

EXDIS

WHTS ASSIGNED DISTRIBUTION:  
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EOB:

5. ONCE SHE HAS HEARD FROM OVIR, LISA WILL  
SCHEDULE HER TRIP TO GORKIY  
(#)

HE WAS  
PREVIOUSLY FORBIDDEN BY THE KGB TO TRAVEL  
THERE, SHE WILL SEND ANOTHER TELEGRAM TO MVD  
MINISTER SHOLOKOV INFORMING HIM OF HER  
INTENTIONS. IF SHE DOES NOT RECEIVE A REPLY,  
SHE WILL TAKE IT AS PERMISSION TO TRAVEL. LISA  
BELIEVES THERE IS NO SENSE IN TRYING TO MAKE THE  
TRIP "SECRETLY" AS SHE COULD EASILY BE TURNED  
BACK.

OP IMMED  
UTS2039  
DE RUEHMO #6461 3351545  
O 011545Z DEC 81  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW (SVCD BY STATE DEPT)

6. LISA ASKED EMOFFS FOR A COPY OF THE SENATE  
RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF SAKHAROV TO TAKE TO  
GORKIY WITH HER. SHE EXPLAINED THAT BONNER AND  
HE ARE UNABLE TO RECEIVE ANY WESTERN RADIO  
STATIONS AS A JAMMING DEVICE COVERING ALL THE  
SHORTWAVE SPECTRUM HAS BEEN INSTALLED IN  
SAKHAROV'S BUILDING. WE PLAN TO GIVE HER A COPY  
OF THE RESOLUTION DECEMBER 2.

EXDIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9535

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE 1759  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 5156  
AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE 1304

CONFIDENTIAL MOSCOW 16461

EXDIS  
MADRID FOR USEL CSCE  
E.O. 12065: RDS-4 12/01/01 (ZIMMERMANN WARREN) OR-M  
TAGS: CSCE, PINT, SHUM, UR  
SUBJECT: SAKHAROV/BONNER HUNGER STRIKE - DAY 10  
REF: MOSCOW 10364

7. ACTION REQUESTED: EUR/SOV PLEASE PASS THE  
GIST OF THIS CABLE TO ALEKSEYEVA'S HUSBAND  
SEMENOV AND/OR HIS FRIEND ED KLINE.  
HARTMAN  
BT

EXDIS

1. ( - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY. LISA ALEKSEYEVA RECEIVED TELEGRAM  
FROM SAKHAROV DECEMBER 1, INDICATING HIS CONDI-  
TION IS "OK" (BY NICHEVOI). LISA HAS SET NO  
DEFINITE DATE FOR TRAVEL TO GORKIY. SHE PLANS  
TO VISIT OVIR DECEMBER 3 TO SEEK INFORMATION  
ON THE STATUS OF HER EMIGRATION APPLICATION.  
END SUMMARY.

EXDIS

3. LISA ALEXSEYEVA RECEIVED A TELEGRAM  
DECEMBER 1 FROM SAKHAROV/BONNER READING  
(INFORMAL TRANSLATION) "WE ARE OK. WE ARE  
KEEPING OUR SPIRITS UP. LIVING ACCORDING  
TO REGIME. SEND A TELEGRAM FROM US TO TANYA  
BY THE FOURTH OF DECEMBER FOR THEIR ELEVENTH  
ANNIVERSARY AND AS WELL ASKING AFTER THE HEALTH  
OF GREGORY NIKELAEVICH DELUEM." MARKINGS ON  
THE TELEGRAM INDICATE IT WAS SENT THE SAME DAY  
AS RECEIVED. LISA IS CONVINCED IT IS  
AUTHENTIC BECAUSE OF THE REQUEST THAT SHE  
SEND MESSAGES TO TAT'YANA YANKELEVICH,  
BONNER'S DAUGHTER, ON THE FOURTH, HER WEDDING  
ANNIVERSARY, AND TO A GREGORY NIKELAEVICH,  
A FAMILY FRIEND IN A HEART CLINIC. LISA ALSO  
BELIEVES THAT THE TELEGRAM ACCURATELY REFLECTS  
SAKHAROV'S CONDITION AS "THE ONE PROMISE I  
WAS ABLE TO EXTRACT FROM HIM BEFORE HE STARTED  
THE STRIKE WAS THAT HE WOULD TELL ME THE TRUTH  
ABOUT HIS PHYSICAL STATE."

4. LISA HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHEN TO TRAVEL  
TO GORKIY, ALTHOUGH SHE REMAINS RESOLVED TO  
GO THERE. SHE PLANS FIRST TO INQUIRE AT THE  
MOSCOW DISTRICT OFFICE OF VISAS AND REGISTRA-  
TION (OVIR) ABOUT THE STATUS OF HER EXIT  
VISA APPLICATION. AS WEDNESDAY IS NOT A

DECLASSIFIED

NLS 106-114/16\* 9314

BY hjt, NARA, DATE 12/13/07

CONFIDENTIAL

SAKHAROV

6796 re-du

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

December 2, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. NANCE

FROM: RICHARD PIPES R

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Statement on Sakharov

Andrei Sakharov, the leading Soviet dissident, is now entering the second week of his hunger strike. He is an elderly man with a history of heart trouble. How long he will survive no one can tell. His death would be a tragedy -- not only for humanitarian reasons but also because it would signify to his oppressors, the KGB, that the West no longer cares.

The President issued earlier this year, on the occasion of Sakharov's 60th birthday, a special message of congratulations to him, extolling his great scientific and humanitarian achievements. I believe strongly that he should follow this up, at the earliest possible date, with a Presidential Statement (text attached at Tab A) expressing his concern over Sakharov's predicament. Such action is urged by a distinguished panel of scientists, including 20 Nobel Prize winners, whose appeal to the President is attached at Tab B.

Since my original memo was written, Stoessel expressed our concern to Dobrynin, but quiet diplomacy has little effect in such cases and will not impress Moscow as much as a Presidential statement would. A memorandum from you to the President is at Tab I; the notes from you and Dick Allen are at Tab II.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum to the President at Tab I recommending that he approve the statement at Tab A.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
- Tab A Statement for the President's approval
- Tab B Letter from the Sakharov International Committee
- Tab II Notes from Richard Allen and Admiral Nance



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTONACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES W. NANCE

SUBJECT: Sakharov Hunger Strike

Andrei Sakharov, the leading Soviet human rights activist and Nobel Prize Laureate, began a hunger strike on Saturday, November 21, on behalf of his daughter-in-law, Elizaveta Alekseeva. Soviet authorities have repeatedly refused to grant her an exit visa to join her husband, Sakharov's stepson, who presently is studying at Brandeis University. Sakharov believes that his daughter-in-law is being punished for his activities and has adopted the hunger strike as a last desperate measure to influence the Soviet Government.

Over that weekend a telegram was sent to you and other heads of state by 28 prominent scientists and scholars, twenty of them Nobel Prize Laureates, urging you and them to intercede on behalf of Sakharov (Tab B). Given the outstanding achievements of Sakharov in the field of human rights causes and his great friendship for the United States, it would be most appropriate for you to release, as soon as possible, a Presidential statement on Sakharov's behalf. A suggested text is included at Tab A. Speechwriters have cleared the text. The State Department concurs in this recommendation.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the Presidential statement at Tab A concerning Andrei Sakharov.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

## Attachments:

Tab A Suggested Presidential Statement  
Tab B Copy of letter and telegram on Sakharov's behalf

## MEMORANDUM

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES W. NANCE

SUBJECT: Sakharov Hunger Strike

Andrei Sakharov, the leading Soviet human rights activist and Nobel Prize Laureate, began a hunger strike on Saturday, November 21, on behalf of his daughter-in-law, Elizaveta Alekseeva. Soviet authorities have repeatedly refused to grant her an exit visa to join her husband, Sakharov's stepson, who presently is studying at Brandeis University. Sakharov believes that his daughter-in-law is being punished for his activities and has adopted the hunger strike as a last desperate measure to influence the Soviet Government.

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RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the Presidential statement at Tab A concerning Andrei Sakharov.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

## Attachments:

Tab A Suggested Presidential Statement  
Tab B Copy of letter and telegram on Sakharov's behalf

PROPOSED TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

Academician Andrei Sakharov, a leading Soviet scientist and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, has decided to go on a hunger strike to protest the repeated refusal of the Soviet authorities to grant an exit visa to his daughter-in-law, Elizaveta Alekseeva, to join her husband, Mr. Aleksei Semionov, a student at an American university. The young couple has been separated for a long time. I am concerned for the health of Mr. Sakharov and strongly urge the Soviet government to allow Ms. Alekseeva to join her husband.

# Sakharov International Committee, Inc.

P.O. Box 9422  
Washington, D.C. 20016  
Tel. (202) 364-0200

## President

\*Sheldon Lee Glashow

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\*James Rainwater  
Mstislav Rostropovich  
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George Vineyard  
\*George Wald  
Jerome B. Wiesner  
Robert R. Wilson

\*Nobel Laureates

November 20, 1981



\*Andrei Sakharov  
World Renowned Physicist  
Peace Nobel Laureate  
Exiled to Gorki, U.S.S.R.

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am sending you a copy of a telegram wired to you and to the heads of governments of France, England, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland.

The Sakharov International Committee which has initiated this telegram hopes that your appeal to President Brezhnev on behalf of Dr. Sakharov will lead to the cancellation of his planned hunger strike.

Sincerely,

*Edward Lozansky*

Edward Lozansky  
Executive Director  
Sakharov International Committee

# Sakharov International Committee, Inc.

P.O. Box 9422  
Washington, D.C. 20016  
Tel. (202) 364-0200

## President

\*Sheldon Lee Glashow

## Executive Director

Edward D. Lozansky

## Secretary-Treasurer

Sanford A. Gradinger

## Members

Vassily Aksyonov  
\*Philip W. Anderson  
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Joseph Silverstein  
\*Herbert A. Simon  
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\*Howard Temin  
Paul E. Tsongas  
Valentin Turchin  
George Vineyard  
\*George Wald  
Jerome B. Wiesner  
Robert R. Wilson

\*Nobel Laureates

November 20, 1981

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.



\*Andrei Sakharov  
World Renowned Physicist  
Peace Nobel Laureate  
Exiled to Gorki, U.S.S.R.

We ask you to contact the Soviet government concerning Andrei Sakharov's hunger strike that is scheduled to begin on November 22, 1981. For three years, Sakharov has been demanding an exit visa for his daughter-in-law Liza Alekseyeva. We believe that this demand can be met and the hunger strike thus avoided.

\*Julius Axelrod  
\*David Baltimore  
Lipman Bers  
\*Nicholaas Bloembergen  
\*Owen Chamberlain  
Noam Chomsky  
\*Carl Cori  
Sidney Drell  
\*Walter Gilbert  
\*Donald Glaser  
\*Sheldon Lee Glashow  
\*Roger Guillemin  
\*Robert Holley  
\*Arthur Kornberg

Francis Low  
Philip Morrison  
\*Daniel Nathans  
\*Marshal Nirenberg  
\*Linus Pauling  
\*Paul Samuelson  
\*Arthur Shawlaw  
\*Herbert Simon  
B. F. Skinner  
\*Howard Temin  
\*Samuel Ting  
\*George Wald  
Jerome Wiesner  
Gerald and Leona Zacharias

---

\*Nobel Laureates

Dick Pipes -  
with Dick Allen's  
Comments, I don't  
quite know what to  
do with this.

Bob

12/1/81

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Per Dick Pipes:

1. Sakharov is a very special case.
2. He went on the hunger strike to elicit response
3. If he gets none, the KGB will treat him -- and others -- even worse.
4. Western Europe is beginning to comment on the situation.
5. See attached re: Senate resolution

## 'Harassment' of Sakharov Is Denounced by Senate

Associated Press

The Senate unanimously adopted a resolution yesterday denouncing "villainous harassment" of exiled Soviet dissident leader Andrei D. Sakharov and declaring that the Kremlin must be held accountable for his fate.

Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, began a hunger strike Sunday in the Volga River city of Gorky to protest the refusal of Soviet authorities to allow Yelizaveta Alekseyeva to emigrate to the United States.

Alekseyeva is the fiancée of Alexei Semyonov, Bonner's son by a previous marriage. Although the couple was wed last summer in a Montana proxy ceremony arranged by Semyonov, who resides in the United States, the ceremony is not recognized by the Soviet government.

The Senate resolution, approved by voice vote, said Sakharov "has been subjected to villainous harassment, punishment, loss of his livelihood and acts of physical violence"

in retaliation for his outspoken advocacy of human rights.

The Senate resolution called the refusal to let Alekseyeva emigrate "a flagrant violation" of the 1975 Helsinki accords. Also, the measure asserted that "the government of the Soviet Union is responsible and accountable for the fate of Andrei Sakharov and his wife."

The resolution's sponsor, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), said in a floor speech that "we must associate ourselves with Sakharov's struggle, for it is indeed the struggle of all those who cherish peace, freedom and human dignity."

Semyonov, a graduate student at Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass., and Tatyana Yankelevich, Sakharov's stepdaughter, voiced concern earlier yesterday over the hunger strike.

Yankelevich said she and her brother "fear very seriously that if the hunger strike is not over after six days, this could certainly cause most tragic consequences."

RECEIVED

81 NOV 24 A 7: 29

JANET COLSON

J

BUD NANCE

DICK ALLEN

W 24

IRENE DERUS

ejd 257

JANET COLSON

\_\_\_\_\_

BUD NANCE

\_\_\_\_\_

PETER

\_\_\_\_\_

CY TO VP

\_\_\_\_\_

SHOW CC

\_\_\_\_\_

CY TO MEESE

\_\_\_\_\_

SHOW CC

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CY TO BAKER

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SHOW CC

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CY TO DEEVER

\_\_\_\_\_

SHOW CC

\_\_\_\_\_

CY TO BRADY

\_\_\_\_\_

SHOW CC

\_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

*A Statement?*



MEMORANDUM

6796 *[Handwritten signature]*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

November 23, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *[Handwritten initials]*

SUBJECT: Sakharov Hunger Strike

I enclose a proposed Presidential statement on behalf of Andrei Sakharov which, if approved, should be released as soon as possible.

For your information, Elizaveta Alekseeva applied for a regular Soviet exit visa over three years ago, while her fiance was already in the United States. She was refused on the grounds that she had no marital status. Last spring, she married Semionov by proxy in Montana, which, I am told makes the two legally married under US law though possibly not under Soviet law.

Unless a strong Presidential statement will be forthcoming soon, the KGB is likely to conclude that Sakharov and the whole human rights movement of which he is the living symbol has been all but abandoned by us.

Speechwriters have cleared the text.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

- Tab I      Memo to President
- A - Suggested Presidential statement
- B - Copy of letter & telegram on Sakharov's behalf

Unclassified  
(Classification)

31  
FILE -  
DISSIDENTS  
(PARITSKIY)

S/S# 8134510

Date DEC - 4 1981

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

FOR: Mr. James W. Nance  
National Security Council  
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: The President FROM: Bill Green, M.C.

DATE: 30 October 1981 SUBJECT: Mistreatment of

Alexander Paritskiy in USSR

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: 25 November NSC# (if any)

THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY  
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- Other.

REMARKS:

*William C. Melchior*  
L. Paul Bremer III  
Executive Secretary

Unclassified  
(Classification)

Dear Mr. Green:

I am responding to your letter of October 30 to the President concerning Alexander Paritskiy. Like you, we are very concerned over his recent arrest, the threats against his family, and the refusal of the Soviet authorities to permit Mr. Paritskiy and his family to emigrate to Israel.

According to reports we have received, Mr. Paritskiy's trial was held as scheduled, even though Mrs. Paritskiy had petitioned to gain a postponement until another lawyer could be found who was willing to represent her husband. The fact that the Soviet authorities proceeded with the trial without allowing Mr. Paritskiy adequate legal representation is hardly surprising -- it has been our experience that once an individual has been formally charged with a political crime in the Soviet Union, the trial becomes a mere formality. The verdict and punishment in Mr. Paritskiy's case, like so many others, was undoubtedly pre-determined.

We have received further reports that -- as expected -- Mr. Paritskiy has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment for allegedly "spreading fabrications defaming the Soviet state." This sentence is consistent with the pattern of prosecutions of refuseniks and human rights activists in the Soviet Union in recent months.

Let me assure you that the United States Government will continue to monitor Mr. Paritskiy's situation and that we will lend him whatever support and assistance we can in every appropriate way. We have spoken out numerous times against arrests and convictions of this nature, both publicly and through diplomatic channels, and we will continue to do so. U.S. statements have consistently made clear the adverse effect such actions as the arrest of Mr. Paritskiy hold for U.S.-Soviet relations. The Soviets can be under no misapprehension as to the gravity with which the American people and the U.S. Government view the persecution of individuals such as Alexander Paritskiy.

The Honorable  
Bill Green,  
House of Representatives.

As you know, the United States Government has also consistently encouraged Soviet authorities to be less harsh and more responsive toward Soviet Jews who wish to emigrate. We have placed the name of Alexander Paritskiy on the U.S. Government list of unresolved cases of Soviet Jews seeking to emigrate to Israel. We consider this list to be an effective vehicle for emphasizing to the Soviet Government our continued concern about those who are forced to remain in the USSR against their will. The name of Alexander Paritskiy will remain on this list until his case is resolved favorably.

Regrettably, the Soviets view emigration and their treatment of refuseniks as matters of internal policy. The Soviets further contest our right to present views in matters of emigration to third countries such as Israel, where they acknowledge no direct U.S. interests as being involved. These factors, coupled with the current state of heightened bilateral tensions, work to reduce the effectiveness of our efforts in support of those who seek to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, we will continue to do all we can on behalf of Alexander Paritskiy and all those like him who are imprisoned in or who have been denied permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

Sincerely,

Richard Fairbanks  
 Assistant Secretary  
 for Congressional Relations

Drafted:EUR/SOV:ALAGoodman:lclAn  
 11/30/81 X28671 S/S #8134510  
 Cleared:EUR/SOV:TWSimons *JW*  
 EUR:JDScanlan  
 H:TTowell

#2860S

REFERRAL

DATE: 25 NOV 81

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

8134510

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRES

SOURCE: GREEN, WILLIAM

DATE: 30 OCT 81

KEYWORDS: USSR

HUMAN RIGHTS

PARITSKY, ALEKSANDR

CO

SUBJ: LTR US INTERVENTION TO ASSURE FAIR ~~TREAT~~ FOR PARITSKY

---

REQUIRED ACTION: DIRECT REPLY FURNISH INFO COPY

DUE DATE: 04 DEC 81

COMMENTS:

*Cathy Millison*  
FOR ALLEN J LENZ

STAFF DIRECTOR

---

FOR NSC USE ONLY

---

FOR INFO PIPES

STEARMAN

LORD

F WH

O CM C CM

*Received in 5/5-1  
on 11/25 at 2:50 p.m.  
-10X1*

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEE  
HUD-INDEPENDENT AGENCIES  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIACongress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515NEW YORK OFFICE:  
GRAND CENTRAL POST OFFICE BUILDING  
110 EAST 45TH STREET  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017  
(212) 825-4466

8134510

October 30, 1981

045930

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

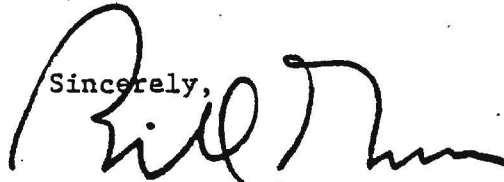
I am writing to urge that everything possible be done to see that the rights of Soviet "refusenik" Aleksandr Paritsky and his family are honored by the Soviet state.

Mr. Paritsky's only crime has been to apply for an exit visa to Israel, yet he will soon be on trial on trumped up charges of "defamation of the Soviet state." Mr. Paritsky has been a stalwart Jewish activist in Kharkov in the Ukraine, and his continued imprisonment will severely weaken the morale of the Kharkov refusenik community.

I hope the U.S. will intercede to see that he has a fair trial, that the threats against his family cease, and that the Paritskys are permitted to emigrate to Israel. We must not allow the Paritsky family to join the growing ranks of dissidents crushed by Soviet human rights abuses.

Thank you for whatever help you can provide to Aleksandr Paritsky and his family.

Sincerely,


Bill Green  
Member of Congress

BG:lk

INTERNAL NSC ROUTING

6796 <sup>36</sup>

LENZ

LEVINE

ALLEN

BAILEY

BERTA

BLAIR

COLSON

DEGRAFFENREID

DOBRIANSKY

LORD

NANCE

NAU

PIPES

*Grow*  
*As requested*

POINDEXTER

REGER

RENTSCHLER

RUSSELL

SHOEMAKER

STEARMAN

TANTER

TYSON

WEISS

WETTERING

FEITH

FONTAINE

GOLD

GREGG

GUHIN

JENNINGS

KEMP

KIMMITT

KRAEMER

ADMIN

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Pipes file  
December 37

12/4

Jack Pipes

We need to answer  
the President's question.

Jack



MEMORANDUM

The President has seen 12/4/81 6796 Redo <sup>RR approved w/7024</sup> <sup>12/4/81</sup>

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 4, 1981

*Just this activity by the Soviet in direct violation of the Helsinki pact? RR*

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES W. NANCE *But*  
SUBJECT: Sakharov Hunger Strike

Andrei Sakharov, the leading Soviet human rights activist and Nobel Prize Laureate, began a hunger strike on Saturday, November 21, on behalf of his daughter-in-law, Elizaveta Alekseeva. Soviet authorities have repeatedly refused to grant her an exit visa to join her husband, Sakharov's stepson, who presently is studying at Brandeis University. Sakharov believes that his daughter-in-law is being punished for his activities and has adopted the hunger strike as a last desperate measure to influence the Soviet Government.

Over that weekend a telegram was sent to you and other heads of state by 28 prominent scientists and scholars, twenty of them Nobel Prize Laureates, urging you and them to intercede on behalf of Sakharov (Tab B). Given the outstanding achievements of Sakharov in the field of human rights causes and his great friendship for the United States, it would be most appropriate for you to release, as soon as possible, a Presidential statement on Sakharov's behalf. A suggested text is included at Tab A. Speechwriters have cleared the text. The State Department concurs in this recommendation.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the Presidential statement at Tab A concerning Andrei Sakharov.

Approve ✓ RR Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

- Tab A Suggested Presidential Statement
- Tab B Copy of letter and telegram on Sakharov's behalf

PROPOSED TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

Academician Andrei Sakharov, a leading Soviet scientist and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, and his wife have been for over a week on a hunger strike. They are protesting the repeated refusal of the Soviet authorities to grant an exit visa to Mr. Sakharov's daughter-in-law, Elizaveta Alekseeva, to join her husband, Mr. Aleksei Semionov, a student at an American university. The young couple has been separated for a long time. I am concerned for the health of Mr. and Mrs. Sakharov and strongly urge the Soviet government to allow Mrs. Alekseeva to join her husband.

# Sakharov International Committee, Inc.

P.O. Box 9422  
Washington, D.C. 20016  
Tel. (202) 364-0200

## President

\*Sheldon Lee Glashow

## Executive Director

Edward D. Lozansky

## Secretary-Treasurer

Sanford A. Gradinger

## Members

Vassily Aksyonov  
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Bernard Henry Levy  
\*Andre Lwoff  
Vladimir Maximov  
Zubin Mehta  
Louis Michel  
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Daniel Patrick Moynihan  
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Ernst Neizvestny  
Victor Potapov  
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\*Nobel Laureates

November 20, 1981



\*Andrei Sakharov  
World Renowned Physicist  
Peace Nobel Laureate  
Exiled to Gorki, U.S.S.R.

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am sending you a copy of a telegram wired to you and to the heads of governments of France, England, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland.

The Sakharov International Committee which has initiated this telegram hopes that your appeal to President Brezhnev on behalf of Dr. Sakharov will lead to the cancellation of his planned hunger strike.

Sincerely,

*Edward Lozansky*

Edward Lozansky  
Executive Director  
Sakharov International Committee

# Sakharov International Committee, Inc.

P.O. Box 9422  
Washington, D.C. 20016  
Tel. (202) 364-0200

## President

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\*Nobel Laureates



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World Renowned Physicist  
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Exiled to Gorki, U.S.S.R.

November 20, 1981

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

We ask you to contact the Soviet government concerning Andrei Sakharov's hunger strike that is scheduled to begin on November 22, 1981. For three years, Sakharov has been demanding an exit visa for his daughter-in-law Liza Alekseyeva. We believe that this demand can be met and the hunger strike thus avoided.

\*Julius Axelrod  
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\*Robert Holley  
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Philip Morrison  
\*Daniel Nathans  
\*Marshal Nirenberg  
\*Linus Pauling  
\*Paul Samuelson  
\*Arthur Shawlaw  
\*Herbert Simon  
B. F. Skinner  
\*Howard Temin  
\*Samuel Ting  
\*George Wald  
Jerome Wiesner  
Gerald and Leona Zacharias

---

\*Nobel Laureates

f

R063R 13407CZCCYNZYR

RVA

PN-SAKHAROV-LEAD 2 MOSCOW (R-059...SAID TODAY.)\*\*\*

IZVESTIA, QUOTING A REPORT BY DOCTORS, SAID THE SAKHAROV'S HAD BEEN GIVEN "PROPHYLACTIC MEDICAL HELP" TO PREVENT ANY COMPLICATION IN THEIR HEALTH.

THE REPORT APPEARED TO SUGGEST THAT PROFESSOR SAKHAROV, 60, AND HIS WIFE, YELENA BONNER, 58, WOULD BE FORCE-FED.

THE COUPLE BEGAN A HUNGER STRIKE ON NOVEMBER 22 TO PROTEST THE AUTHORITIES' REFUSAL TO GRANT AN EMIGRATION VISA TO 26-YEAR-OLD LIZA ALEXEYEV.

MISS ALEXEYEV HAS BEEN SEEKING TO JOIN MRS BONNER'S SON IN THE UNITED STATES. SHE MARRIED HIM BY PROXY LAST JUNE.

EARLIER TODAY, FAMILY SOURCES SAID THAT THE SOVIET POLICE HAD BARRED MARIA PETRENKO-PODYAPOLSKAYA, A FRIEND OF PROFESSOR SAKHAROV, FROM VISITING HIM IN THE PROVINCIAL TOWN OF GORKY WHERE HE IS IN INTERNAL EXILE.

SHE WAS ONE OF SEVERAL FRIENDS WHO SIGNED AN APPEAL TO THE SUPREME SOVIET (PARLIAMENT) LAST WEEK OVER THE SAKHAROV CASE, AND WAS REFUSED A TRAIN TICKET TO GORKY YESTERDAY, THE SOURCES SAID.

ANOTHER FRIEND, WHO FLEW THE 250 MILES TO GORKY FROM MOSCOW, WAS DETAINED BY POLICE AND NOT ALLOWED TO VISIT THE PHYSICIST AND HIS WIFE. HE WAS SENT BACK TO MOSCOW.

(NO PICKUP, R-048)

REUTER 0954 EP

7026 *Disidents*  
6796 47

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 4, 1981

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: JAMES W. NANCE

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *RP*

SUBJECT: Soviet Emigration Policy and Helsinki Accords

In answer to your query whether the Soviet refusal to grant an exit visa to Miss Alekseeva to join her husband in the United States violates the Helsinki Accords, the answer is that it certainly violates their intent. Basket III, Section I, Sub-paragraph B of the Helsinki Final Act states:

"Participating states will deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family."

The Soviet Government could argue that Miss Alekseeva, having married Mr. Semionov by proxy in the United States, is by Soviet law not really a member of his family: but the only reason that a marriage-by-proxy had to be organized last summer is that Miss Alekseeva has been unable for over three years to secure an exit visa which would have enabled her to go through a regular marriage ceremony. (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Review December 4, 1987.

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F06-114/6 # 9305  
BY HOI, NARA, DATE 12/13/07