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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Name MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

Withdrawer

JET 4/28/2005

File Folder DISSIDENTS (16/23)

FOIA

F06-114/6

Box Number 23

YARHI-MILO

2316

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
9452	MEMO	LENCZOWSKI TO CLARK RE INVITATION TO SOLZHENITSYN <i>R 3/19/2013 F2006-114/6</i>	3	7/15/1983	B1
9453	MEMO	LENCZOWSKI TO CLARK RE INVITATION TO SOLZHENITSYN <i>R 3/19/2013 F2006-114/6</i>	3	7/15/1983	B1
9454	MEMO	SOLZHENITSYN OPPOSING ARGUMENTS AND RESPONSES <i>R 3/19/2013 F2006-114/6</i>	2	ND	B1
9455	CABLE	050844Z OCT 83 <i>R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	2	10/5/1983	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]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

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]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.



National Andrei Sakharov Day

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Dr. Andrei Sakharov has earned the admiration and gratitude of the people of the United States and other countries throughout the world for his tireless and courageous efforts on behalf of international peace and on behalf of basic human freedoms for the peoples of the Soviet Union. In recognition of this work, Dr. Sakharov was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. Soviet authorities prevented Dr. Sakharov from receiving this award in person by prohibiting him from leaving the Soviet Union.

In the face of continuous harassment and mistreatment by the Soviet authorities, Dr. Sakharov has continued his work for peace and individual human rights. Despite his exile to the remote city of Gorkiy on January 22, 1980, and despite continued efforts by the Soviet authorities to deny Dr. Sakharov the means of continuing his work and of maintaining contact with the outside world, the example of Andrei Sakharov's courage continues to shine brightly.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 51, has designated May 21, 1983 as "National Andrei Sakharov Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that day. On this occasion, Americans everywhere are given the opportunity to reaffirm that, despite attempts at repression, the ideals of peace and freedom will endure and ultimately triumph.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim May 21, 1983 as National Andrei Sakharov Day. I call upon the American people to observe that day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this eighteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventh.

Ronald Reagan

FILE - 1
SAKHAROV

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 8, 1983

Paula -
Per our
conversation

TO: PAULA DOBRIANSKY
FROM: CHARLIE PONTICELLI *cmp*
SUBJECT: Presidential Letters for Senators Dole and Moynihan and Congressmen Kemp, Solarz, and Courter regarding Sakharov Proclamation

Paula-- Ken Duberstein has requested that Presidential letters be sent, along with ceremonial pens, to the primary sponsors of the Sakharov proclamation. B. Oglesby has also requested and additional letter for Congressman Jim Courter.

In putting together the attached draft, I basically "lifted" from the language in the proclamation.

Could you please approve this draft and/or let me know of any revisions you deem appropriate??

Many thanks--



CLEARED BY PHONE -

TD

6/8/83

DRAFT

DATE??

Dear _____:

On May 18, it was my honor to sign Senate Joint Resolution 51, which designated May 21, 1983, as National Andrei Sakharov Day.

I am pleased to present you with this ceremonial pen in recognition of your^{*} (leadership) efforts in securing passage of this resolution.

This measure pays appropriate tribute to a man who has earned the admiration and gratitude of the people of the United States and other countries throughout the world for his tireless and courageous efforts on behalf of international peace and on behalf of basic human freedoms for the peoples of the Soviet Union. In the face of continuous harassment and mistreatment by the Soviet authorities, Dr. Andrei Sakharov has continued his work for peace and individual human rights. Despite his exile to the remote city of Gorkiy on January 22, 1980, and despite continued efforts by the Soviet authorities to deny Dr. Sakharov the means of continuing his work and of maintaining contact with the outside world, the example of Andrei Sakharov's courage continues to shine brightly.

Again, it is my privilege to recognize your efforts for giving Americans everywhere the opportunity to reaffirm that, despite attempts at repression, the ideals of peace and freedom will endure and ultimately triumph.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

* Courier's letter will say "efforts" only -
Dole, Moynihan, Kemp + Solary = "leadership efforts"

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLIE PONTICELLI

FROM: LYNN SKOLNICK

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL LETTERS ON THE "NATIONAL
ANDREI SAKHAROV DAY" PROCLAMATION

On May 18, 1983 we held a signing ceremony for the Sakharov proclamation signing. Enclosed are the four signing pens that the President used -- they should be sent with letters to the primary sponsors of the legislation, Senators Dole and Moynihan and Congressmen Kemp and Solarz.

Congressman Courter has requested a letter and a ceremonial pen. Please check with Pam and B to see if they want letters and ceremonial pens to be sent to any of the other members that attended. (List attached)

Thanks.

*Paula Dobriansky (NSC)
Linas Kojelis (Public Liaison)
x 6574*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 23, 1983

TO: DAVE FISCHER
FROM: PAM TURNER
SUBJECT: Attendance at Meeting with the President

The following Senators attended the signing ceremony for the Resolution honoring Andrei Sakharov on Wednesday, May 18, 1983, in the Rose Garden.

ACCEPT

Robert Dole
Patrick Moynihan
Edward Kennedy
Claiborne Pell (arrived at end of ceremony)

REGRET

Strom Thurmond
Malcolm Wallop
Charles Percy

cc: Annie S
Hughes

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVE FISCHER

FROM: M. B. OGLESBY, JR. *ho*

SUBJECT: Presidential Ceremony Attendance

The following Members of the House of Representatives were in attendance at the 10:45 Rose Garden Ceremony this morning in honor of Dr. Andrei Sakharov:

- Congressman Jack Kemp (R-New York)
- Congressman James Courter (R-New Jersey)
- Congressman Gus Yatron (D-Pennsylvania)
- Congressman Tom Lantos (D-California)

Regretted:

- Congressman Dante Fascell
- Congressman Don Ritter
- Congressman Chris Smith
- Congressman Clement Zablocki
- Congressman William Broomfield
- Congressman Robert Garcia

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 18, 1983

NATIONAL ANDREI SAKHAROV DAY

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Dr. Andrei Sakharov has earned the admiration and gratitude of the people of the United States and other countries throughout the world for his tireless and courageous efforts on behalf of international peace and on behalf of basic human freedoms for the peoples of the Soviet Union. In recognition of this work, Dr. Sakharov was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. Soviet authorities prevented Dr. Sakharov from receiving this award in person by prohibiting him from leaving the Soviet Union.

In the face of continuous harassment and mistreatment by the Soviet authorities, Dr. Sakharov has continued his work for peace and individual human rights. Despite his exile to the remote city of Gorkiy on January 22, 1980, and despite continued efforts by the Soviet authorities to deny Dr. Sakharov the means of continuing his work and of maintaining contact with the outside world, the example of Andrei Sakharov's courage continues to shine brightly.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 51, has designated May 21, 1983 as "National Andrei Sakharov Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that day. On this occasion, Americans everywhere are given the opportunity to reaffirm that, despite attempts at repression, the ideals of peace and freedom will endure and ultimately triumph.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim May 21, 1983 as National Andrei Sakharov Day. I call upon the American people to observe that day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this eighteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventh.

RONALD REAGAN

6/8/83

IMPRISONED SOVIET DISSIDENT TREATED FOR BRAIN INJURIES

MOSCOW, JUNE 8, REUTER - IMPRISONED SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS
ACTIVIST YURI ORLOV HAS BEEN UNDERGOING MEDICAL TREATMENT FOR
SKULL AND BRAIN INJURIES, ACCORDING TO A LETTER FROM THE
AUTHORITIES TO HIS WIFE.

IRINA ORLOV TOLD WESTERN-REPORTERS TODAY THAT THE
PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE IN THE URALS TOWN OF CHUSOVOY, WHERE HER
HUSBAND IS HELD IN A LABOR CAMP, HAD GIVEN NO DETAILS IN THE
LETTER OF HOW HE SUSTAINED THE INJURIES.

THE LETTER, WHICH TURNED DOWN HER APPEALS FOR HER HUSBAND'S
 EARLY RELEASE FROM IMPRISONMENT, SAID ONLY THAT HE HAD BEEN
 UNDER A DOCTOR'S CARE AND HAD RECOVERED.

ORLOV, A 58-YEAR-OLD PHYSICIST, WAS A FOUNDER OF THE MOSCOW
 HELSINKI HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING GROUP IN THE MID-1970S.

HE WAS TRIED ON CHARGES OF ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION IN 1978
 AND SENTENCED TO SEVEN YEARS IN A LABOR CAMP FOLLOWED BY FIVE
 YEARS OF INTERNAL EXILE.

IRINA ORLOV CHARGED LAST JANUARY THAT HER HUSBAND HAD BEEN
 SEVERELY BEATEN IN THE PRESENCE OF CAMP ADMINISTRATORS IN THE
 AUTUMN AND HAD BEEN REFUSED MEDICAL TREATMENT.

MORE 0926 RB

R108R 15872) L29TCZCRYR

AM-ORLOV 2 MOSCOW

SHE HAS CLAIMED ON OTHER OCCASIONS THAT HE HAD BEEN
 PHYSICALLY MALTREATED AT THE CAMP.

THE PROSECUTOR'S LETTER, WHICH ARRIVED IN MOSCOW YESTERDAY,
 WAS THE FIRST OFFICIAL EVIDENCE TO BACK UP HER ALLEGATIONS.

IRINA ORLOV SAID THE PROSECUTOR'S LETTER RULED OUT CLEMENCY
 FOR HER HUSBAND. SHE SAID IT APPEARED TO BE A RESPONSE TO AN
 APPEAL FOR HIS FREEDOM WHICH SHE ADDRESSED TO SOVIET LEADER
 YURI ANDROPOV IN MAY.

IN A STATEMENT, SHE APPEALED TO THE CHIEF U.S. DELEGATE AT
 THE MADRID EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE, MAX KAMPELMAN, TO HELP
 HER HUSBAND.

"I CONSIDER THAT ONLY EXTRAORDINARY ATTEMPTS FROM THE WEST
 CAN HELP WIN MY HUSBAND'S RELEASE AND PREVENT HIM FROM DYING IN
 A SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMP," SHE SAID.

REUTER 0928 RB

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 13, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JM*

SUBJECT: Appointment Request for Solzhenitsyn

Walter Annenberg has written the President to call his attention to an article in the Wall Street Journal on Alexander Solzhenitsyn. He suggests that there may come a time when it would be advantageous to invite Solzhenitsyn to lunch at the White House. The article is an interesting one and worth reading. As for inviting Solzhenitsyn, I feel that this is an option we should keep open for the future, but that now is not an appropriate time for the following reasons:

- Solzhenitsyn represents only one strain of anti-Soviet emigre thinking, which is at considerable variance with that of Sakharov, for example. A meeting at the White House would not be universally welcomed by anti-Soviet emigres and even could be seen as a gratuitous slap at Sakharov following his courageous and very helpful article in Foreign Affairs.
- Solzhenitsyn refused an invitation last year to attend on May 11 both a lunch and a subsequent private meeting with the President at the White House. While he would probably accept an invitation to meet with the President alone, the fact remains that he has passed up a previous opportunity for a meeting.
- A meeting at this time would be interpreted by some segments of U.S. and allied public opinion as running counter to our desire for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to Fred Ryan recommending against inviting Solzhenitsyn to lunch at the White House at this time but pointing out that this is an option that we should keep open for the future.

TD Paula Dobriansky, Peter Sommer, and Ty *TWC* Cobb concur. John Lenczowski believes that a lunch with Solzhenitsyn should be arranged now and will be forwarding his comments to you separately.

RECOMMENDATION

OK NO

— — That you send the memo at Tab I to Fred Ryan.

Attachment:
Tab I Memo to Fred Ryan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Lunch with Alexander Solzhenitsyn

With regard to Walter Annenberg's suggestion that Alexander Solzhenitsyn be invited to lunch at the White House, I feel that this is an option we should keep open for the future, but that now is not an appropriate time for the following reasons:

- Solzhenitsyn represents only one strain of anti-Soviet emigre thinking, which is at considerable variance with that of Sakharov, for example. A meeting at the White House would not be universally welcomed by anti-Soviet emigres and even could be seen as a gratuitous slap at Sakharov, following his courageous and very helpful article in Foreign Affairs.
- Solzhenitsyn refused an invitation last year to attend on May 11 both a lunch and a subsequent private meeting with the President at the White House. While he would probably accept an invitation to meet with the President alone, the fact remains that he has passed up a previous opportunity for a meeting.
- A meeting at this time would be interpreted by some segments of U.S. and allied public opinion as running counter to our desire for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 15, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

THROUGH: CHARLES P. TYSON

FROM: JOHN LENCZOWSKI *JL*

SUBJECT: Invitation to Solzhenitsyn

I fully agree with Walter Annenberg that the President should invite Solzhenitsyn to lunch. And I believe that now is a particularly good time, since he has just received the Templeton Foundation Prize for Progress in Religion which cited him as a "pioneer in the renaissance of religion in atheist nations," and "a living symbol of the continuing vitality of the Orthodox tradition of spirituality." A Presidential meeting with him at this time could have a powerful symbolic political effect that would serve the security interests of our country and the entire Free World.

There are several reasons for this:

- Solzhenitsyn is a unique symbol of the superior power of faith over totalitarian oppression.
- He is the most prominent political figure in the world today unabashedly articulating the political consequences of our failure to recognize the existence of absolute good and absolute evil and the relationship of these concepts to the contemporary world situation. He therefore serves an indispensable role in explaining the fundamental moral essence of the East-West conflict. His Templeton address and subsequent press conference remarks are only the most recent of his powerful expositions on the importance of religion and moral consciousness in avoiding the totalitarian temptation and the spiritual and therefore geo-political capitulation to communism.
- His message included one key point that should be broadcast repeatedly across the land: that a false confidence from relying on our nuclear umbrella has "relaxed the West, sapping its strength, its moral qualities, its courage. Freedom does not depend on any 'umbrella', it depends on stout hearts and steadfast men." The President should be the premier promoter of this idea, and should use Solzhenitsyn as part of his campaign.

DECLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: OADR

NLRRF06-114/6 #9452
BY *RW* NARA DATE *3/19/13*

- Such a meeting would be a major symbolic reaffirmation of the President's renunciation of the policy of appeasement which inspired Kissinger to recommend against a meeting between Solzhenitsyn and President Ford.
- Such a meeting would signal our willingness to conduct a policy of true reciprocity. Do Soviet Party leaders ever hesitate to meet with any opponent of American democracy (e.g., Angela Davis, et al.) to avoid offending the U.S. Government?
- Such a meeting would do valuable service to our public diplomacy effort. One photograph with Solzhenitsyn will tell a thousand words to millions of people.
- Solzhenitsyn is a hero to the American labor movement. In appreciation for all he has done in the interests of the working man, the AFL-CIO gave him a national platform for two of his most powerful addresses.

I do not believe the arguments presented to you in opposition to inviting Solzhenitsyn now outweigh the arguments in favor.

-- Argument: Solzhenitsyn represents one strain of "emigre" thinking which is at variance with that of Sakharov. Receiving Solzhenitsyn would not be universally welcomed and would be seen as a slap at Sakharov especially now after his recent Foreign Affairs article.

Response: Sakharov's article reveals that he is much closer to Solzhenitsyn than many people think. The President has already given recognition to one courageous man, with one strain of thought. It would therefore be neither unbalanced nor insulting to give recognition to another courageous man with another strain of thought.

-- Argument: Solzhenitsyn refused a previous invitation to a White House lunch last year.

Response: It is my understanding that the way the invitation was handled almost guaranteed that Solzhenitsyn would decline it. He originally learned of the invitation and the controversy surrounding it in the newspapers. In any event this argument appears to be designed not to oppose an invitation now but rather to oppose any further invitation ever.

-- Argument: An invitation now would be seen by Western publics as running counter to our desire for negotiations with the Soviets.

Response: This argument dictates that our public diplomacy efforts in dealing with the Soviet threat be guided not by the necessity of telling the truth about the nature of that threat but by appeasing and abetting the pacifist, isolationist and neutralist sentiments and wishful thinking of elements of the Western public. This is the perfect prescription for self-censorship "in the interests of negotiations."

-- Argument: (Presented at our staff discussion.) An invitation now would harm our efforts to free Shcharansky.

Response: If one accepts this logic, then all the Soviets have to do to preclude us from any freedom of action whatsoever is keep another prominent, courageous soul in the Gulag whose release many Americans would like to secure. We must never let our freedom of action be held hostage by either Soviet terrorism or the prospect of Soviet concessions in any negotiations. In any event, the theory underlying this argument has been proven false from another perspective: President Nixon's mining of Haiphong harbor a few weeks before the Moscow summit of 1972 did not prevent that summit (and all its results) from taking place.

CONCLUSION: I suspect that to say that Solzhenitsyn should not be invited now on account of the arguments presented is another way of opposing any invitation ever. Now is as good a time as any. Solzhneitsyn was received by Prime Minister Thatcher with great accolades. His picture and his message have been all over the European press, and the alleged ill effects on pacifist opinion do not appear to have taken place. To the contrary, Europe has been given a moral boost. As Phil Nicolaides recommended in an earlier memo to you, now is the time for the President to applaud the man's courage, wisdom and genius.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Admiral Poindexter to forward the Schedule Proposal at Tab I to Fred Ryan requesting a Presidential luncheon with Solzhenitsyn.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I Proposed Schedule Proposal

Tab II Jack Matlock's memorandum, July 13

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR., DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: JOHN M. POINDEXTER

REQUEST: To invite Alexandr Solzhenitsyn for a private lunch with the President.

PURPOSE: That the President may hear Solzhenitsyn's message first hand and applaud the man's courage and wisdom.

BACKGROUND: A previous attempt to honor Solzhenitsyn at the White House was rejected by the Ford Administration. The handling of an earlier attempt in this Administration to invite him faced some problems and controversy, the result of which was that Solzhenitsyn declined. He has just received the Templeton Award and was received by Prime Minister Thatcher in Britain.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None.

DATE AND TIME: To be determined.

LOCATION: Oval Office and White House

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Mrs. Reagan (?)
Mr. Alexandr Solzhenitsyn

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: President to receive Solzhenitsyn in Oval Office, photo opportunity, proceed to lunch.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Talking points to be provided.

MEDIA COVERAGE: Press pool photo

RECOMMENDED BY: John Lenczowski, NSC

OPPOSED BY: Jack Matlock, NSC

PROJECT OFFICER: Charles P. Tyson

CJS

7/12/02

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 13, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *gm*

SUBJECT: Appointment Request for Solzhenitsyn

Walter Annenberg has written the President to call his attention to an article in the Wall Street Journal on Alexander Solzhenitsyn. He suggests that there may come a time when it would be advantageous to invite Solzhenitsyn to lunch at the White House. The article is an interesting one and worth reading. As for inviting Solzhenitsyn, I feel that this is an option we should keep open for the future, but that now is not an appropriate time for the following reasons:

- Solzhenitsyn represents only one strain of anti-Soviet emigre thinking, which is at considerable variance with that of Sakharov, for example. A meeting at the White House would not be universally welcomed by anti-Soviet emigres and even could be seen as a gratuitous slap at Sakharov following his courageous and very helpful article in Foreign Affairs.
- Solzhenitsyn refused an invitation last year to attend on May 11 both a lunch and a subsequent private meeting with the President at the White House. While he would probably accept an invitation to meet with the President alone, the fact remains that he has passed up a previous opportunity for a meeting.
- A meeting at this time would be interpreted by some segments of U.S. and allied public opinion as running counter to our desire for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to Fred Ryan recommending against inviting Solzhenitsyn to lunch at the White House at this time but pointing out that this is an option that we should keep open for the future.

PD Paula Dobriansky, Peter Sommer, and Ty *TWC* Cobb concur. John Lenczowski believes that a lunch with Solzhenitsyn should be arranged now and will be forwarding his comments to you separately.

RECOMMENDATION

<u>OK</u>	<u>NO</u>
-----------	-----------

—	—
---	---

That you send the memo at Tab I to Fred Ryan.

Attachment:

Tab I Memo to Fred Ryan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK
SUBJECT: Lunch with Alexander Solzhenitsyn

With regard to Walter Annenberg's suggestion that Alexander Solzhenitsyn be invited to lunch at the White House, I feel that this is an option we should keep open for the future, but that now is not an appropriate time for the following reasons:

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- A meeting at this time would be interpreted by some segments of U.S. and allied public opinion as running counter to our desire for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Dissidents
18

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 26, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: JOHN LENCZOWSKI JL

SUBJECT: Invitation to Solzhenitsyn

I fully agree with Walter Annenberg that the President should invite Solzhenitsyn to lunch. And I believe that now is a particularly good time, since he has just received the Templeton Foundation Prize for Progress in Religion which cited him as a "pioneer in the renaissance of religion in atheist nations." A Presidential meeting with him at this time could have a powerful symbolic political effect that would serve the security interests of our country and the entire Free World.

There are several reasons for this:

-- Solzhenitsyn is a unique symbol of the superior power of faith over totalitarian oppression.

-- He is the most prominent political figure in the world today unabashedly articulating the political consequences of our failure to recognize the existence of absolute good and evil and the relationship of these concepts to the current world situation. He therefore serves an indispensable role in explaining the fundamental moral essence of the East-West conflict. His remarks in Britain are only the most recent of his powerful expositions on the importance of religion and moral consciousness in avoiding the totalitarian temptation and the spiritual and ultimately geo-political capitulation to communism.

-- His message included one key point that should be broadcast repeatedly across the land: that a false confidence from relying on our nuclear umbrella has "relaxed the West, sapping its strength, its moral qualities, its courage. Freedom does not depend on any 'umbrella', it depends on stout hearts and steadfast men." The President should be the premier promoter of this idea, and should use Solzhenitsyn as part of his campaign.

-- Such a meeting would be a major symbolic reaffirmation of the President's renunciation of the policy of appeasement which inspired Kissinger to recommend against a meeting between Solzhenitsyn and President Ford. It would also help blunt criticism by many of the President's strongest supporters of the appointment of Kissinger to the Central America Commission.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLR 7-206-11416 #9453

BY RW NARA DATE 3/19/13

-- Such a meeting would signal our willingness to conduct a policy of true reciprocity. Do Soviet Party leaders ever hesitate to meet with any opponent of American democracy (e.g., Angela Davis, et al.) to avoid offending the U.S. Government?

-- Such a meeting would do valuable service to our public diplomacy effort. One photograph with Solzhenitsyn will tell a thousand words to millions of people.

-- Solzhenitsyn is a hero to the American labor movement. In appreciation for all he has done in the interests of the working man, the AFL-CIO gave him a national platform for two of his most powerful addresses.

-- The President himself recently quoted Solzhenitsyn's Templeton address in his Captive Nations speech.

-- Such a meeting would be a clear demonstration to the Soviets that while we are prepared to expand a dialogue with them, renew expired treaties and pursue new agreements, we are not going to engage in the kind of self-censorship and public silence about our principles and national purpose that characterized the "detente" period of the 1970s. Ambassador Max Kampelman used this same logic to explain his principled closing speech at CSCE after we compromised our position on the final document.

-- Finally, I do not believe the arguments presented to you in opposition to inviting Solzhenitsyn now outweigh the arguments in favor. These arguments and my responses appear in Tab I, which I encourage you to read.

CONCLUSION: I suspect that to say that Solzhenitsyn should not be invited now on account of the arguments presented is another way of opposing any invitation ever. Now is as good a time as any. Solzhenitsyn was received by Prime Minister Thatcher with great accolades. His picture and his message have been all over the European press, and the alleged ill effects on pacifist opinion do not appear to have taken place. To the contrary, Europe has been given a moral boost. As Phil Nicolaidis recommended in an earlier memo to you, now is the time for the President to applaud the man's courage, wisdom and genius.

My preliminary explorations at State reveal that Counselor Ed Derwinski, Assistant Secretary Elliott Abrams and Ambassador Max Kampelman support such an invitation.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize me to prepare a schedule proposal and seek the official State Department position on this issue.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

- Tab I Opposing Arguments and Responses
- Tab II Jack Matlock's memorandum, July 13

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS AND RESPONSES

-- Argument: Solzhenitsyn represents one strain of "emigre" thinking which is at variance with that of Sakharov. Receiving Solzhenitsyn would not be universally welcomed and would be seen as a slap at Sakharov especially now after his recent Foreign Affairs article.

Response: Sakharov's article reveals that he is much closer to Solzhenitsyn than many people think. The President has already given recognition to one courageous man, with one strain of thought. It would therefore be neither unbalanced nor insulting to give recognition to another courageous man with another strain of thought.

-- Argument: Solzhenitsyn refused a previous invitation to a White House Lunch last year.

Response: It is my understanding that the way the invitation was handled almost guaranteed that Solzhenitsyn would decline it. He originally learned of the invitation and the controversy surrounding it in the newspapers. In any event this argument appears to be designed not to oppose an invitation now but rather to oppose any further invitation ever.

-- Argument: An invitation now would be seen by Western publics as running counter to our desire for negotiations with the Soviets.

Response: This argument dictates that our public diplomacy efforts in dealing with the Soviet threat be guided not by the necessity of telling the truth about the nature of that threat but by appeasing and abetting the pacifist, isolationist and neutralist sentiments and wishful thinking of elements of the Western public. This is the perfect prescription for self-censorship "in the interests of negotiations."

-- Argument: (Presented at our staff discussion.) An invitation now would harm our efforts to free Shcharansky.

Response: If one accepts this logic, then all the Soviets have to do to preclude us from any freedom of action whatsoever is keep another prominent, courageous soul in the Gulag whose release many Americans would like to secure. We must never let our freedom of action be held hostage by either Soviet terrorism or the prospect of Soviet concessions in any negotiations. In any event, the theory underlying this argument has been proven false from another perspective: President Nixon's mining of Haiphong harbor a few weeks before the Moscow summit of 1972 did not prevent that summit (and all its results) from taking place.

-- Argument (This is the European Bureau's position): Solzhenitsyn is not a supporter of democracy and does not represent the Russian democratic opposition. The President instead should meet with Russian democrats.

Response: This argument is simply inaccurate. Solzhenitsyn considers his principal message to be a moral one and sees the question of governmental structures to be of "secondary significance." While he has never stated a preference for any specific form of government, he is a staunch opponent of illegality, arbitrariness and tyranny. His recommendations of positive attributes for a good society, nevertheless, include such prerequisites of democracy as the unconditionality of natural rights. His criticisms of Western democracy are not aimed at the principle of democratic government but at some of the difficulties of its application.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 13, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JM*

SUBJECT: Appointment Request for Solzhenitsyn

Walter Annenberg has written the President to call his attention to an article in the Wall Street Journal on Alexander Solzhenitsyn. He suggests that there may come a time when it would be advantageous to invite Solzhenitsyn to lunch at the White House. The article is an interesting one and worth reading. As for inviting Solzhenitsyn, I feel that this is an option we should keep open for the future, but that now is not an appropriate time for the following reasons:

- Solzhenitsyn represents only one strain of anti-Soviet emigre thinking, which is at considerable variance with that of Sakharov, for example. A meeting at the White House would not be universally welcomed by anti-Soviet emigres and even could be seen as a gratuitous slap at Sakharov following his courageous and very helpful article in Foreign Affairs.
- Solzhenitsyn refused an invitation last year to attend on May 11 both a lunch and a subsequent private meeting with the President at the White House. While he would probably accept an invitation to meet with the President alone, the fact remains that he has passed up a previous opportunity for a meeting.
- A meeting at this time would be interpreted by some segments of U.S. and allied public opinion as running counter to our desire for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to Fred Ryan recommending against inviting Solzhenitsyn to lunch at the White House at this time but pointing out that this is an option that we should keep open for the future.

JF
Paula Dobriansky, Peter Sommer, and *TWC* Ty Cobb concur. John Lenczowski believes that a lunch with Solzhenitsyn should be arranged now and will be forwarding his comments to you separately.

RECOMMENDATION

OK NO

— —

That you send the memo at Tab I to Fred Ryan.

Attachment:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Lunch with Alexander Solzhenitsyn

With regard to Walter Annenberg's suggestion that Alexander Solzhenitsyn be invited to lunch at the White House, I feel that this is an option we should keep open for the future, but that now is not an appropriate time for the following reasons:

- Solzhenitsyn represents only one strain of anti-Soviet emigre thinking, which is at considerable variance with that of Sakharov, for example. A meeting at the White House would not be universally welcomed by anti-Soviet emigres and even could be seen as a gratuitous slap at Sakharov, following his courageous and very helpful article in Foreign Affairs.
- Solzhenitsyn refused an invitation last year to attend on May 11 both a lunch and a subsequent private meeting with the President at the White House. While he would probably accept an invitation to meet with the President alone, the fact remains that he has passed up a previous opportunity for a meeting.
- A meeting at this time would be interpreted by some segments of U.S. and allied public opinion as running counter to our desire for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

4711

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

7-18-83

John L

Redo cover memo
 and Tab I. Does
 State oppose or support?
 That answers should be
 reflected at Tab I.
 Bob K

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dissidents

26

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
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EXDIS
E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: SHUM, PINS, UR
SUBJECT: SOVIET LAW AND YOSIF BEGUN
REF: MOSCOW 012546

1. (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT)
2. APROPOS OF INNA SPERANSKAYA'S "LEGAL" ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF HER COMMON-LAW HUSBAND, IT IS TRUE THAT ACCORDING TO ARTICLE 97, 9 MONTHS IS THE MAXIMUM PERIOD OF TIME A PERSON CAN BE IMPRISONED PENDING COMPLETION OF THE INVESTIGATION AND HANDING DOWN OF AN INDICTMENT. EVEN EXTENDING THIS PERIOD FROM SIX TO NINE MONTHS REQUIRES THE SANCTION OF THE PROCURATOR GENERAL OF THE USSR.
3. HOWEVER, SOVIET "LAW" DOES NOT PROVIDE EVEN A THEORETICAL SAFEGUARD AGAINST INDEFINITE IMPRISONMENT WITHOUT A TRIAL. IN 1965-66, SINYAVSKIY AND DANIEL WERE HELD IN PRISON CONSIDERABLY LONGER THAN NINE MONTHS WITHOUT AN INDICTMENT OR TRIAL. WHEN HAL BERMAN, A PROFESSOR AT HARVARD LAW SCHOOL WHO WAS IN MOSCOW AT THE TIME, ASKED SOVIET LEGAL OFFICIALS HOW THIS COULD BE ALLOWED, THEY REPLIED THAT THE SUPREME SOVIET, PRESUMABLY ACTING THROUGH ITS PRESIDIUM, HAD PASSED A SPECIAL "LAW" SUSPENDING THE 9-MONTH LIMIT IN THE "SPECIAL CASE" OF THESE TWO INDIVIDUALS.
4. AT THE TIME HAL WAS REGARDED AS THE FOREMOST EXPERT ON SOVIET LAW IN THE U. S., AND HE USED TO ARGUE STRONGLY THAT THE SOVIET LEGAL SYSTEM REALLY DID PROVIDE SAFEGUARDS AGAINST ARBITRARY BEHAVIOR BY STATE AUTHORITIES. HOWEVER, EVEN HE HAD TO ADMIT THAT PLACING THE ULTIMATE DISCRETIONARY AUTHORITY FOR HOLDING A SUSPECT WITHOUT TRIAL INDEFINITELY IN A BODY THAT HAD NEVER REGISTERED LESS THAN A COMPLETELY UNANIMOUS VOTE ON ANY ISSUE IN THE ENTIRE HISTORY OF ITS EXISTENCE, DID NOT PROVIDE MUCH CONFIDENCE IN THE INTEGRITY OF THE SYSTEM.
5. IN SUM, WHILE SOVIET LAW CAN OCCASIONALLY BE USED BY DISSIDENTS TO EMBARRASS THE SOVIETS WHEN THEY "HONOR IT" IN THE BREECH, IT IS, AS THE RUSSIAN PROVERB HAS IT, IT IS LIKE THE GUIDE-POLE IN THE RIG

EXDIS

EXDIS

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NLS FOI-014/6-9455

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BY LOI, NARA, DATE 12/13/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
MESSAGE CENTER

27

PAGE 02 OF 02 AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 2558 DTG: 050844Z OCT 83 PSN: 033602

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BEGUN TRIAL VIOLATES "COMMON STANDARDS OF JUSTICE" ACCORDING TO
MORRIS ABRAM -- NEW YORK

Morris B. Abram, Chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, and a prominent New York attorney, issued the following statement concerning the trial of veteran Jewish activist Iosif Begun, which began yesterday in the Soviet city of Vladimir.

This, the third trial of famed Soviet Jewish mathematician Iosif Begun, violates common standards of justice in at least the following respects:

Firstly, he is being tried for the same act for which he served previous time, acts which by civilized norms are not crimes at all, namely, "parasitism" (first trial), residence in a city of his choice (second trial), and now, for "anti-Soviet agitation," which is merely human expression applauded as free speech in the West. Secondly, he is brought to trial over 11 months after arrest, during which he had been held without bail, denied counsel of his own choice, and kept in categorical violation of the Soviets' own rule that trials must take place within a maximum of nine months after arrest.

The real offense which Begun has committed is the attempt to teach and foster a 5,000-year old language, the literature of which has furnished the world with moral insight and great beauty -- Hebrew. His treatment is another horrible example of Soviet inhumanity to man and disrespect for the decent opinion of mankind.

Dissidents
October 13, 1983 29

New Wave of Repression in the Soviet Union

It appears that a new campaign of repression is now underway in the Soviet Union. We have received information that three human rights activists have been tried, are now being tried, or will come to trial in the near future. Those individuals are Iosif Begun, Father Sigitas Tamkevicius, and Oleg Radzinskiy.

We understand that prisoner of conscience Iosif Begun, who was arrested in Leningrad on November 6, 1982, and has spent the past eleven months in custody, came to trial yesterday, October 12, reportedly on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

The situation of Mr. Begun, who has been seeking to emigrate from the USSR since 1971, is well known. A self-taught Hebrew scholar and a leader in the refusenik community, he has endured numerous hardships and harassments, including a previous three-year sentence of internal exile, as a result of his efforts on behalf of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. His courage in defense of religious freedom has earned him respect and admiration worldwide. Nevertheless, despite repeated expressions of concern for Mr. Begun by the United States Government, by human rights groups, and by the public at large, the Soviet authorities see fit to pursue their criminal case against him.

The United States Government has long taken an active interest in Mr. Begun, and has raised his case at many levels. Diplomats

at our Embassy in Moscow have requested permission to travel to Vladimir, the site of the trial, but that permission has been refused. Because Vladimir is an open city, close to Moscow and frequently visited by foreigners, we must conclude that this refusal to grant routine travel permission stems from Soviet unwillingness to allow Western observers to attend Mr. Begun's trial.

The United States Government condemns the proceedings now underway against Iosif Begun. The past half year has seen a number of Soviet actions, such as new measures against such prominent refuseniks as Lev Elbert and Yakov Mesh, and an increase in officially-sanctioned anti-Semitism, which underscore the Soviet Union's poor performance on human rights questions in general, and on issues involving Soviet Jewry in particular. The trial of Mr. Begun -- so soon after the CSCE review in Madrid -- can only further call into question the Soviet Union's commitment to the human rights it professes to respect. We call upon the Soviet authorities to acknowledge the legitimate widespread concern for the plight of Mr. Begun, and to grant him the permission to emigrate he has so long sought.

We have also received reports that Father Sigitas Tamkevicius, a Lithuanian Catholic priest who has been active on behalf of religious freedom in the Soviet Union, has come to trial, or will do so shortly. Father Tamkevicius, who with Father Alfonsas Svarinskas was a founder of the Catholic Committee for the Defense

of Believers' Rights, was arrested May 6 of this year in the hall of the courthouse in Vilnius, Lithuania in which the trial of Father Svarinskas was taking place (Svarinskas was that same day sentenced to seven years of internal exile and three years in a labor camp). We do not at present have information on the charges against Father Tamkevicius, but it seems likely that he will face the same charges leveled against Mr. Begun and, earlier, Father Svarinskas: "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The United States Government condemns this kind of official persecution of those in the USSR who seek to exercise the basic right of freedom of worship, and we hope that Father Tamkevicius will not suffer the same fate as his colleague Father Svarinskas.

Finally, we have received reports that Oleg Radzinskiy will also come to trial soon. Mr. Radzinskiy, a member of the unofficial Soviet peace organization "Group to Establish Trust Between the US and the USSR", was arrested October 28, 1982, and has been held for almost a year. Mr. Radzinskiy, too, reportedly faces charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The inability of the Soviet authorities to tolerate the activities of those such as Mr. Radzinskiy who try to work for peace and disarmament outside the channels of the official, government-controlled, "captive" peace group must inevitably call into question much-repeated Soviet statements regarding the USSR's commitment to peace. There is a stark contrast between aggressive Soviet efforts to encourage peace demonstrations in the West and their arrests and exile of peace activists in the East.

Draft:EUR/SOV:JJBoris *JJB*
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Clear:EUR/SOV:CHanson *CH*
EUR/SOV:RFSmith *RFS*
EUR/SOV:BLPascoe *BLP*
HA:JBuncher *JB*
EUR:MPalmer *MP*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 18, 1983

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Barely a month after attending an international conference in Madrid and joining 34 nations in a commitment to respect human rights, the Soviet Union has gone back on its word, launching a new campaign of repression against human rights activists.

Moscow has just sentenced a well-known Soviet refusenik, Iosif Begun, to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years of internal exile. The punishment of this courageous Jewish believer is the most severe measure specified in Article 70 of the Soviet criminal code, dealing with dissemination of so-called anti-Soviet propaganda.

Soviet persecution of religious and political dissidents is not new. In the case of Mr. Begun, the Soviet regime has refused for 13 years to honor his request to emigrate to Israel.

But Soviet policy toward Jewish emigration and dissident movements has sunk to a new low of brutality and repression. Anti-semitism has escalated dramatically, as has harassment of other human rights defenders. We have received reports that Father Sigitas Tamkevicius, a Lithuanian Catholic priest active on behalf of religious freedom, is facing a similar fate as Iosif Begun.

Finally, we have received reports that Oleg Radzinskiy has also been tried. Mr. Radzinskiy, a member of the unofficial Soviet peace organization "Group to Establish Trust Between the US and USSR" was arrested October 28, 1982, and has been held for almost a year. The inability of Soviet authorities to tolerate any activities by those who are not members of their government-controlled, "captive" peace groups illustrates the hypocrisy of their statements. There is a night and day contrast between aggressive Soviet efforts to encourage peace demonstrations in the West and their brutal arrests and exile of peace activists in the East.

We condemn these illegal and inhumane acts. We hold the Soviet Union accountable for its violations of numerous international agreements and accords on human rights to which it is a party. We call upon the Soviets to reverse their inhumane policies and to prove to the world they will back up their words with action, and start living up to their agreements.

#

DRAFT

USSR
Dissidents
(Sakharov)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1983

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: FREDERICK RYAN, DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: FAITH WHITTLESEY

REQUEST: For the President to host a White House concert of the Soviet Emigre Orchestra in honor of Andrei Sakharov.

PURPOSE: To express support for Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov, the Soviet human and national rights movements and to recognize Americans working on behalf of human rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

BACKGROUND: May 21 is the birthday of Andrei Sakharov, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and recognized leader of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union. In recent years, American supporters of Dr. Sakharov have organized public events in honor of him and other defenders of human rights to draw public attention to their oft forgotten struggle.

The Soviet Emigre Orchestra, an 18-piece all-string ensemble of world renown, is planning a U.S. and European concert tour as part of this effort. Their first concert

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will be at the Kennedy Center on May 16, 1984. The short concert at the White House would serve as a highly-publicized kick-off for this important tour, providing the White House an opportunity to honor Dr. Sakharov and the human rights movement in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

PREVIOUS Sakharov Day Proclamation Signing Ceremony,
PARTICIPATION: May 1983 in the Rose Garden.
DATE: May 5-15, 1984
LOCATION: The East Room
DURATION: 1 1/2 hours (The President could limit his participation to 15 minutes).
PARTICIPANTS: 150 leaders of East European-American communities, prominent Soviet and East European dissidents residing in the United States, and presidents of human rights organizations.
OUTLINE OF EVENT: The President makes opening remarks. The orchestra would play several pieces (not longer than 30 minutes total). Guests would then go to the East Room for light refreshments (coffee and pastries).
REMARKS REQUIRED: Brief remarks
MEDIA COVERAGE: Full press
RECOMMENDED BY: Faith Whittlesey
PROJECT OFFICER: Linas Kojelis, x2741

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INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE OPERATION

"SAS"

which means

SAVE ANDREI SAKHAROV

Dear Friends:

We respectfully invite you to join a group of 40 Nobel Prize winners, Presidents of major American Universities, members of the United States Congress, and many other outstanding individuals in their effort to save life of one of the world's greatest scientists and human rights advocates, Peace Nobel Laureate Dr. Andrei Sakharov who is slowly dying in the exile in the remote city of Gorky. Despite the urgent recommendation of physicians for immediate hospitalization, the Soviet government does not permit Sakharov to enter the Academy of Sciences hospital in Moscow. The Soviets are also saying that they will not allow Sakharov to travel to the West on the basis of state security.

This means only one thing: Andropov and his friends are hoping to end Sakharov affair by allowing him to die in Gorky.

The Andrei Sakharov Institute is coordinating a campaign "SAS" - Save Andrei Sakharov with the hope that strong public pressure on the Soviet authorities will force them to liberate Sakharov and his wife. We plan to organize a series of scientific seminars, public demonstrations, and gala performances to attract world's attention to Sakharov case.

Realizing the importance of the European participation in this campaign we plan to rent a bus in Europe, decorate it with posters and pictures of Andrei Sakharov and go from town to town collecting petitions and demonstrating in front of Soviet Embassies. Travelling in the bus will be the Soviet Emigre Orchestra - an excellent group of musicians composed of Soviet emigres. The orchestra will play in the best concert halls, churches, synagogues, and public parks. This will be their musical tribute to Andrei Sakharov. We hope that this campaign will generate enough publicity to force the Soviet government into liberation of Andrei Sakharov and his wife.

The estimated budget of this project is around \$200,000. Not such a big sum when we are talking about saving life of a great scientist and great human being. Still, we have to raise this amount of money. We hope the United States of America has 200 organizations or individuals which will contribute \$1,000 each to this project. The contributions made out to the Andrei Sakharov Institute are fully tax-deductible and can be sent to the address:

The Andrei Sakharov Institute
c/o Department of Physics
American University
Washington, D.C. 20016

For further information, please contact Dr. Edward D. Lozansky at
(202)-364-0200



SAKHAROV SCHOLARSHIP FUND

Division of the Sakharov International Committee, Inc.

c/o Department of Physics, 102 McKinley Building

American University

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. (202) 364-0200

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University of Wisconsin
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- *Charles Townes
University of California, Berkeley
- George Vainard
Director, Brookhaven Laboratory
- *George Wald
Harvard University
- *Torsten N. Wiesel
Harvard Medical School
- Efrem Yankelevich
Sakharov Official Representative in the West

*Nobel Laureates
Affiliation for identification purposes only

THE INTERNATIONAL SAKHAROV DAY

Proposal presented by the ANDREI SAKHAROV INSTITUTE

Organizing Committee:

Vladimir Bukovsky, Stanford University
Sheldon Lee Glashow, Harvard University
Edward Kuznetsov, Munich, Germany
Robert Laffont, Paris, France
Edward D. Lozansky, American University
Nikolaus von Mach, Brussels, Belgium
Vladimir Maximov, Paris, France
Louis Michel, French Academy of Sciences
Efrem Yankelevich, Sakharov Official Representative

For further information, please contact:

Dr. Edward D. Lozansky
Department of Physics
American University
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. (202)-364-0200

INTERNATIONAL ANDREI SAKHAROV DAY

The Andrei Sakharov affair has taken a decisive turn during the last several months. On the one hand, the health of Sakharov and his wife Elena Bonner is quickly deteriorating, but despite the recommendation of the physicians, the Soviet government continues to deny to Sakharov his access to the Academy of Sciences hospital. On the other hand, we are aware that the Sakharovs have now changed their position on remaining in the Soviet Union and are definitely want to go to the West. They have accepted invitations from different governments and scientific organizations to work and live abroad. But here again, the Soviet government categorically refused to grant Sakharovs the exit visas on the ridiculous pretext of state security.

In the recently published letter signed by the leading American and European atomic experts, the scientists categorically reject the idea that Sakharov possesses valuable secret information after being out of the field for more than 15 years. It is obvious that the Soviets are using Sakharov case as an important bargaining chip in their political game with the West. Therefore, all people who care about fate of this great man and who are devoted to the ideals of liberty and justice should continue their fight for the liberation of Andrei Sakharov and his wife. The only weapon which belongs to us in this fight is a strong public pressure on the Soviet authorities.

The Andrei Sakharov Institute (formerly the Sakharov International Committee) was instrumental in getting the United States Congress to adopt a joint Senate-House resolution to declare May 21 as National Andrei Sakharov Day. When the President of the United States has signed this resolution on May 18, 1983 he appealed to all American people and to people of good will all over the world to commemorate this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities. Many individuals and organizations had responded to his appeal. During the month of May of 1983 conferences, meetings, demonstrations, concerts in honor of Sakharov took place in Amsterdam, Paris, Marcellles, Milan, Tokyo, Boston, New York and Washington, D.C.

At this moment the Andrei Sakharov Institute in cooperation with many American and European organizations is planning different activities for the May of 1984. We plan to organize several scientific seminars in different European and American cities to discuss Sakharov's scientific accomplishments and his contributions to the cause of peace, freedom and human rights. The world's most prestigious universities will be presenting Sakharov with the honorary degree.

Each seminar will be followed by a tribute to Andrei Sakharov featuring several prominent speakers who are well recognized in this particular country and the Soviet Emigre Orchestra with an outstanding soloist. The Soviet Emigre Orchestra has an excellent reputation. It played with great success in the best American and European Concerts Halls. In the summer of 1983 the orchestra had been invited to participate in the Yegudi Menuhin festival in Austria.

To cut down the cost for the orchestra tour we plan to rent a bus in Europe which will carry the musicians, the instruments and all publicity posters and flyers. Not only this will bring down the expenses for the transportation, but being properly decorated with Sakharov pictures and appropriate posters, the bus itself will become a generator of publicity.

Also, some concerts will take place in the churches, synagogues, and other public places. For example, the biggest and the most prestigious church in Brussels, has already agreed to offer us their space.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

Step 1. The selection of the sites for the seminars and concerts and solicitation of support from different American and European Organization. October - December 1983.

Step 2. Traveling of the coordinator to each location for the arrangement of all necessary details on the sites. January - February 1984.

Step 3. Preparation and printing of all necessary materials. The final selection of speakers. March - April 1984.

Step 4. The news conference with the announcement of the program of the upcoming events. At this conference the world's renown scientists, writers, musicians, artists, political leaders, and representatives of different trade union, religious, human rights and ethnic groups will make a statement for the International Andrei Sakharov Day. May 16, 1984, New York City.

Step 5. The reception in honor of Andrei Sakharov in the White House with the President of the United States, congressional leaders and prominent guests. May 18 1984 (negotiations with the White house staff are taken place now).

Step 6. Scientific seminar and concert in New York City. Carnegie Hall has been booked for May 21, 1984.

Step 7. May 22, 1984 - beginning of the European tour. At this moment we plan to have seminars and concerts in at least ten European cities: London, Brussels, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Oslo, Geneva, Paris, Milan, Madrid, Munich. Other cities may be added on the request of the local organizations.

PARTICIPANTS

To cut down the cost of the project we will rely mostly on the local scientific community to organize and conduct the scientific seminars, but we plan to invite at least two prominent European scientists to each American seminar and two American scientists to each European seminar. The final selection of the speakers will be made in February - March 1984. We believe that the majority of the Advisory Board of the Andrei Sakharov Institute will be available for the participation in these seminars. There are about 40 Nobel Laureates and two hundred fifty members of the National Academy of Sciences, as well as many leading European scientists among them (partial list of the potential participants is attached).

We believe that if properly organized, the International Sakharov Day will become a major public political, scientific and cultural event which may force the Soviet government to reconsider their stand in the Sakharov affair.

BUDGET FOR THE SCIENTIFIC SEMINARS

Rent of the auditoriums, microphones, projectors	in kind
Travel and per diem for each scientist is counted for two days:	
Travel and per diem for two European scientists to New York	\$ 2,800
Travel and per diem for two European scientists to Washington, D.C.	2,800
Travel and per diem for ten American scientists to Europe	14,000
Speakers fees	in kind
Printing, xerox, publicity, equipment rent	3,000
Postage	800
Telephone	3,000
Travel expenses for coordinator (two trips to all locations):	
Round trip airline tickets from the US to Paris 2 x \$1200	2,400
Travel in Europe (airlines, trains and rental cars to ten cities)	2,000
Per diem for 40 days (2 trips to ten cities, two days per city)	4,000
<hr/>	
subtotal	\$34,800

BUDGET FOR THE 12 CONCERTS

Orchestra Fee (\$4,000 per concert)	\$48,000
Soloists @ \$1,000 per concert	12,000
Airline tickets (20 people and 5 cello)	30,000
Bus in Europe for three weeks	4,000
Per diem for 3 weeks at \$70 per person (20 people)	29,400
Rent of the 6 concert halls @ \$3,000 per hall (6 in kind)	18,000
Publicity at @ \$1,000 per concert	12,000
<hr/>	
subtotal	\$153,000

SALARIES AND BENEFITS

Coordinator for 5 months @ 2,000 per month	\$10,000
Secretary for 5 months	6,000
Fringe Benefits at 21%	3,360
<hr/>	
subtotal	\$19,360
Total	\$207,160

Executive Board of the Andrei Sakharov Institute

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*J. D. Watson, Director, Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory

*Nobel Laureate

Major projects of the Andrei Sakharov Institute (formerly the Sakharov International Committee) since its establishment in March 1980.

April 29, 1980: Special Scientific Session in honor of Sakharov, Shoreham-Americana Hotel, Washington, D.C.

June 15, 1980: Tribute to Sakharov, Eastman School of Music, Rochester, NY

November 10, 1980: Tribute to human rights activists in connection with the opening of the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Teatro Real de Madrid, Madrid, Spain.

February 9, 1981: Tribute to Sakharov, Shcharansky and Brailovsky, Boston Symphony Hall, Boston, Mass. Participants: Boston Symphony Orchestra, Senators Edward Kennedy and Paul Tsongas, Rep. Margaret Heckler and Barney Frank, dean of Harvard School of Arts and Science Henry Rosovsky, Nobel Laureate Sheldon Lee Glashow.

May 19, 1981: Tribute to Sakharov in connection with his 60th birthday, Kennedy Center, Washington, D.C. Participants: Soviet-Emigre Orchestra, Lazar Gosman conducting, Senator Edward Kennedy, Rep. Millicent Fenwick, Prof. Sheldon Lee Glashow.

May 1981: Creation of the Divided Families Group.

December 1981: Creation of the Sakharov Scholarship Fund to promote Sakharov scientific and humanistic ideals.

January 30, 1982: Tribute to Polish trade union Solidarity, American University, Washington, D.C.

March 21, 1982: Tribute to Afghan Freedom Fighters, Sylvania Theater, Washington, D.C.

September 21, 1982: Tribute to the victims of Babi Yar, Kennedy Center, Washington, D.C.

November 9, 1982: Tribute to the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, American University, Washington, D.C.

December 10, 1982: Human Rights Day, Tampa Theater, Tampa Bay, Florida.

May 18, 1983: President Reagan signed the Congressional Resolution proclaiming May 21, as National Andrei Sakharov Day. The resolution was cosponsored by Senators Dole and Moynihan, and Representatives Kemp and Solarz.

May, 1983: The Andrei Sakharov Institute has coordinated several lectures, conferences and concerts in honor of Sakharov in New York Boston, Paris, London, Amsterdam, Brussels, Marceilles, Milan, Tokyo. The main event took place on May 20 at the Kennedy Center, Washington, D.C. (speaker Rep. Tom Lantos).

In addition, members of our Committee have given many lectures on different subjects related to the Soviet Union. They published books and articles in the magazines and the newspapers, and appeared many times on national television programs.

Dissidents

FILE

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November 28, 1983

Following info received from John Boris/State 632-8720

Information available through:

The List of Political Prisoners in USSR - May 1, 1983
Published by USSR News Brief, Cahiers du Samizdat
48 rue du Lac
1050 Brussels, Belgium

Dr. Andrei Dmitriyevich Sakharov
G. Gorky 137
Shcherbinka, 2
ul. Gagarina 214, kv. 3
USSR

Mr. Anatoly B. Shcharanskiy
Chistopol (prison)
422950
Tatarskaya ASSR
G. Chistopol
uchr. UE-148/ST-4

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TAGS: SHUM, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET JOURNAL SLANDERS SAKHAROV/BONNER

REF: MOSCOW 14360

CAS 6/10/02

1. SUMMARY: IN A SLANDEROUS ATTACK ON ELENA BONNER AND ANDREY SAKHAROV, HISTORIAN NIKOLAY YAKOVLEV ALLEGES THAT BONNER IS AN AGENT OF WESTERN INTELLIGENCE AND "INTERNATIONAL ZIONISM." YAKOVLEV CHARGES THAT SHE HAS LED A LIFE DEVOTED TO SEDUCING OLDER MEN TO GAIN ACCESS TO THEIR MONEY. AFTER MARRYING SAKHAROV, YAKOVLEV CLAIMS THAT SHE DROVE HIS CHILDREN BY HIS FIRST WIFE FROM HIS HOME AND INSTIGATED HIS SO-CALLED (IN YAKOVLEV'S VIEW) HUMAN RIGHTS EFFORTS. SHE LITERALLY BEAT HIM, SAYS YAKOVLEV, INTO HELPING HER SUPPORT THE EMIGRATION EFFORTS OF HER CHILDREN, AND TODAY SAKHAROV'S ONLY MOMENTS OF REPOSE COME WHEN BONNER TRAVELS TO MOSCOW AND LEAVES HIM ALONE IN GOR'KIY. SHE PURPORTEDLY TAKES ADVANTAGE OF THESE TRIPS TO VISIT THE US EMBASSY TO RECEIVE MONEY ("ACADEMIC WAGES") ON SAKHAROV'S BEHALF. END SUMMARY.

2. AS REPORTED REFTEL, THE OCTOBER ISSUE OF MAN AND THE LAW, A MONTHLY PUBLICATION OF THE SOVIET MINISTRY OF JUSTICE, CONTAINS A SLANDEROUS ATTACK ON ELENA BONNER AND ANDREY SAKHAROV BY NIKOLAY YAKOVLEV, DOCTOR OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES AT THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH. THE COMMENTS ON BONNER/SAKHAROV APPEAR AS PART OF A SERIES OF ARTICLES RUNNING IN THE JOURNAL SINCE JUNE BASED ON YAKOVLEV'S BOOK "THE CIA VERSUS THE USSR." UNDER THE TITLE "E. BONNER AND CHILDREN & CO.," YAKOVLEV TRIES TO LINK HER WITH THE CIA AND "INTERNATIONAL ZIONISM" IN THEIR ALLEGED EFFORTS "TO UNDERMINE THE SOVIET SYSTEM." A COPY OF FULL TEXT WILL BE POUCHED TO EUR/SOV.

3. SAKHAROV, ASSERTS YAKOVLEV, DESERVES PITY AS THE VICTIM OF CIA INSPIRED INTRIGUES. ALL WAS WELL WITH HIM UNTIL HE MET ELENA BONNER WHO, EARLY IN HER LIFE, HAD ATTAINED A HIGH LEVEL OF "PROFESSIONALISM" IN SEDUCING OLDER MEN TO GET AT THEIR MONEY. YAKOVLEV ALLEGES THAT A LONG SERIES OF ROMANCES CULMINATED IN 1950 WHEN BONNER BECAME ROMANTICALLY INVOLVED WITH BOTH YAKOV KISSEL'MAN AND IVAN SEMENOV. BY 1951, YAKOVLEV ASSERTS, SHE HAD REGISTERED MARRIAGES WITH BOTH MEN, AND HER CHILDREN GREW UP WITH TWO FATHERS--

4. YAKOVLEV THEN JUMPS TO THE LATE 1960'S WHEN BONNER AND SAKHAROV MARRIED. YAKOVLEV SAYS BONNER'S FIRST ACTION AFTER THE MARRIAGE WAS TO FORCE SAKHAROV'S THREE CHILDREN BY HIS FIRST WIFE OUT OF THE HOME. SHE SUBSTITUTED HER OWN SON AND DAUGHTER AS "SAKHAROV'S CHILDREN." IT IS PRECISELY AT THIS JUNCTURE, ARGUES YAKOVLEV, THAT SAKHAROV, AT BONNER'S INSTIGATION, BECAME WHAT IS "KNOWN IN THE WEST" AS A DEFENDER OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

5. PROBLEMS DEVELOPED, HOWEVER, SAYS YAKOVLEV, BECAUSE BONNER'S CHILDREN DID NOT DO WELL IN SOVIET INSTITUTES OF HIGHER EDUCATION. AS A RESULT, HE CLAIMS, THEY BEGAN TO PRESS FOR PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE, AND BONNER ENCOURAGED THEM, HOPING TO GAIN ACCESS TO SAKHAROV'S FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS AND THE NOBEL PRIZE MONEY HE HAD RECEIVED FOR HIS "ANTI-SOVIET WORK." SHE ALLEGEDLY FORCED SAKHAROV TO SUPPORT THESE EMIGRATION EFFORTS AND WOULD REGULARLY "BEAT HIM WITH WHATEVER HAPPENED TO BE HANDY." THE EMIGRATION EFFORTS SUCCEEDED IN 1977, AND YAKOVLEV SAYS BONNER FOLLOWED THIS BY RAISING A HUE AND CRY FOR "FAMILY REUNIFICATION" TO HELP HER SON'S FIANCE EMIGRATE. HE CHARGES THAT "UNDER A TORRENT OF BLOWS" SHE FORCED SAKHAROV TO SUPPORT THE EFFORT AND EVEN TO DECLARE A HUNGER STRIKE.

6. WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAIL ABOUT SAKHAROV'S OPINIONS ON DISARMAMENT, YAKOVLEV DECLARES THAT "THAT WHICH SAKHAROV PREACHES AGAINST HIS OWN HOMELAND" WOULD BE CONSIDERED CRIMINAL IN ANY WESTERN COUNTRY. HE SAYS THE "ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES" TAKEN AGAINST SAKHAROV (I.E., HIS EXILE TO

GOR'KIY) HAVE THE FULL APPROVAL OF SOVIET PUBLIC OPINION. HE DESCRIBES SAKHAROV'S PERSONAL SITUATION AS MARKED BY REGULAR FLUCTUATIONS IN MOOD: CALM WHEN HIS WIFE IS IN MOSCOW AND DEPRESSED WHEN SHE IS IN GOR'KIY. YAKOVLEV CLAIMS THAT WHEN BONNER PERIODICALLY TRAVELS TO MOSCOW, SHE VISITS THE AMERICAN EMBASSY AND RECEIVES "ACADEMIC WAGES" ON BEHALF OF SAKHAROV.

HARTMAN

BT

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