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FOIA

F06-114/7

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YARHI-MILO

2406

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
9536	LETTER	DR. YORAM SHACHAR RE ILLANA FRIEDMAN POWER ATTORNEY AND IDA NUDEL [18 - 19]	2	2/7/1986	B6
9534	CABLE	050128Z JUN 86 [40 - 40] PAR 7/7/2008 NLRRF06-114/7	1	6/5/1986	B6
9535	CABLE	021432Z JUL 86 [41 - 41] R 7/7/2008 NLRRF06-114/7	1	7/2/1986	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]

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 5, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY ^{PD}

SUBJECT: Presidential Letters to Senators Dole and Fascell
re Senate Joint Resolution 161

We have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential letters to Senators Dole and Fascell regarding S.J. Res. 161. Our concurrence is noted at the bottom of Chew's incoming memorandum (Tab I).

^{gm} Matlock, ^{sts} Sestanovich, ^{ma} Steiner, ^{ma} Raymond, and ^{ma} C. Lehman concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the response at Tab I.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I - Chew's incoming memo with Dole and Fascell letters attached

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM **URGENT**

DATE: 9/5/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. Today

SUBJECT: Dole and Fascell Letters

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
WRIGHT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Any objection?

RESPONSE:

The NSC poses no objection to these letters.

William F. Martin
Executive Secretary

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bob:

As you know, on August 6, 1985, I signed into law Senate Joint Resolution 161, appealing for the release of Soviet Jewry.

Your leadership in Congress to urge the Soviet Union to release Anatoly Shcharanskiy and all other prisoners of conscience, as well as long-term refuseniks, is well known and was instrumental in obtaining enactment of this important measure. I have repeatedly spoken out against the persecution, intimidations, and imprisonment which Soviet Jews suffer within the borders of the Soviet Union. Further, I have made it clear that the United States will never cease its efforts to secure the freedom of Soviet Jewry. Those thousands of Jews who wish to leave the Soviet Union should be allowed to do so, for that is the only humanitarian response which is both fair and just. My resolve in this matter will remain undiminished.

I was proud to sign this bill into law and, in recognition of your leadership and efforts to pass Senate Joint Resolution 161, I am pleased to present to you the pen with which I signed the legislation.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Bob Dole
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Dante:

As you know, on August 6, 1985, I signed into law Senate Joint Resolution 161, appealing for the release of Soviet Jewry.

Your leadership in Congress to urge the Soviet Union to release Anatoly Shcharanskiy and all other prisoners of conscience, as well as long-term refuseniks, is well known and was instrumental in obtaining enactment of this important measure. I have repeatedly spoken out against the persecution, intimidations, and imprisonment which Soviet Jews suffer within the borders of the Soviet Union. Further, I have made it clear that the United States will never cease its efforts to secure the freedom of Soviet Jewry. Those thousands of Jews who wish to leave the Soviet Union should be allowed to do so, for that is the only humanitarian response which is both fair and just. My resolve in this matter will remain undiminished.

I was proud to sign this bill into law and, in recognition of your leadership and efforts to pass Senate Joint Resolution 161, I am pleased to present to you the pen with which I signed the legislation.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Dante Fascell
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

TO: THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR, MR. E.SHEVARDNADZE

FROM: IDA YA.NUDEL, CITIZEN OF THE USSR, ID NO. LUOM 515668, ISSUED ON 25 MAY 1982 BY THE DEPT. OF THE INTERIOR OF THE KRIVOSHEINO REGION; CITIZEN OF ISRAEL, CERT. NO. 648, ISSUED ON 1 JUNE 1978 BY THE ISRAELI KNESSET.

DEAR SIR,

I APPEAL TO YOU WITH REQUEST TO USE YOUR INFLUENCE ON THE APPROPRIATE SOVIET AUTHORITIES IN ORDER THAT AN EXIT VISA TO GO TO ISRAEL TO JOIN MY SISTER RESIDING THERE IS GRANTED TO ME.

I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO OBTAIN AN EMIGRATION PERMIT SINCE 1971. REPRESENTATIVES OF YOUR MINISTRY IN MANY FOREIGN CAPITALS HAVE TO DEVOTE A LOT OF TIME IN DISCUSSING MY FATE AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH I LIVE WITH MY FRIENDS AND WITH PEOPLE SYMPATHETIC TO MY CAUSE. SOME OF YOUR COLLEAGUES, SUCH AS, FOR EXAMPLE, MR. A.DOBRYNIN, PROBABLY KNOW BY HEART ALL THE DETAILS ABOUT MY PAST AND PRESENT LIFE. UNFORTUNATELY, YOU YOURSELF PROBABLY HAD TO OBSERVE MY NUMEROUS PORTRAITS, WHICH WERE PUT ON DISPLAY, AND TO HEAR THE SLOGANS CHANTED ABOUT MY DESIRE TO LEAVE FOR ISRAEL.

WHO NEEDS ALL THIS UNPLEASANTNESS AND WHY?

IN DECEMBER 1971, WHEN THE OVIR OFFICE IN MOSCOW NOTIFIED ME THAT AN EXIT VISA WAS BEING DENIED TO ME, I WAS TOLD THE FOLLOWING:

REASON FOR REFUSAL: "STATE INTERESTS"

VALIDITY OF REFUSAL: "TILL JANUARY 1977"

GROUND FOR REFUSAL: "YOU KNOW NO SECRETS, BUT YOU MAY HAVE OVERHEARD SOMETHING".

IT WOULD BE USELESS TO CLAIM: "I DID NOT PRY AND DID NOT EAVESDROP ON ANYONE, I WAS NOT A SPY AND I DID NOT PASS ON INFORMATION TO ANYONE". NO ONE WOULD BELIEVE ME. BUT 14 YEARS HAVE PASSED. IS IT POSSIBLE THAT FOR THESE 14 YEARS THE SECRETS, WHICH I DID NOT HEAR, STILL HAVE NOT LOST THEIR RELEVANCE - DESPITE THE PRESENT TEMPO OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT? ANY PERSON, EVEN NOT A VERY EDUCATED ONE, CAN UNDERSTAND THAT ALL THE RUMOURS HAVE BEEN FORGOTTEN AND ALL THE SECRETS HAVE STOPPED BEING SECRETS.

WHY, THEN, ALL THIS AGGRAVATION? AND I DO NOT REFER HERE TO MY SHORT-TERM ARRESTS, THE TRUMPED-UP HOOLIGANISM CHARGE PRESENTED AGAINST ME, THE TRIAL, THE 4 YEARS OF EXILE, THE REFUSAL OF THE AUTHORITIES (WHO SEEMED TO MAKE A MOCKERY OF THE LAW) TO GRANT ME A RESIDENCE PERMIT SO THAT I COULD RETURN AFTER THE TERM OF EXILE TO MY OWN MOSCOW APARTMENT, MY EXPULSION FROM MOSCOW, THE JONDERINGS FROM TOWN TO TOWN WHILE SEEKING A RESIDENCE PERMIT AND THE FORCED EXPULSIONS, THE FACT THAT I WAS DEPRIVED OF MY PRIVATE APARTMENT - AGAIN IN VIOLATION OF THE LAW, THE CONSTANT BUGGING OF ANY PLACE WHERE I LIVED, THE THEFT OF MY LETTERS AND OF CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESSED TO ME, THE THREATS TO WHICH MY FRIENDS HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT MY ISOLATION, THE ENDLESS INVITATIONS TO COME TO THE POLICE FOR "BRAINWASHING" SESSIONS, ETC.ETC. THE LIST IS ENDLESS.

ALL THIS HAS BEEN DONE IN ORDER TO TAKE REVENGE FOR MY ACTIVE POSITION IN THE MATTER OF REPATRIATION TO ISRAEL AND THE QUESTION OF RIGHTS OF OTHER JEWS LIKE ME. IN THE MEANTIME, MEN OF GOOD WILL HAVE MORE AND MORE SYMPATHY FOR ME AS A WOMAN WHO HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO SENSELESS TORTMENTS.

DEAR MINISTER! ALL THIS CAN BE CHANGED BY A STROKE OF A PEN, BY ISSUING ME AN EXIT VISA. MY FRIENDS WILL SHOUT SOME MORE, BUT THESE WILL BE SHOUTS OF JOY AND YOUR OFFICIALS WILL NOT HAVE TO TAKE ANY MORE TIME OFF THEIR DUTIES IN ORDER TO GIVE MY FRIENDS ANY MORE EXPLANATIONS. I ASSURE YOU THAT MANY OF YOUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL SIGH WITH RELIEF, TOGETHER WITH MY FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES, AS THEY, OFFICIALS STATIONED IN VARIOUS WESTERN CAPITALS, WILL HAVE LESS UNNECESSARY WORK TO DO.

I APPEAL TO YOU ONCE AGAIN TO HELP ME IN MY EFFORTS TO OBTAIN AN EXIT VISA TO GO TO ISRAEL.

RESPECTFULLY YOURS

? JANUARY 1986
KENDERY 278100, MOLDAVSKAYA SSR
UL. SOVETSKAYA 6/2.

IDA NUDEL

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY



אוניברסיטת תל-אביב

FACULTY OF LAW
INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL LAW
TRUBOWICZ BUILDING

הפקולטה למשפטים
המכון לקרימינולוגיה ולמשפט פלילי
בנין טרובוביץ

DR. YORAM SHACHAR, Adv. (LL.B, D.Phil., Oxon.)

February 7, 1986

Dear Sir,

In re: Ms. Ida Nudel - Violations of International Law
and Human Rights by the USSR

Please find enclosed a Petition against the USSR for gross and persistent violations of international law against Ms. Ida Nudel, now in Moedavskaya SSR, Bendery 278100, Sovetskaya 26/2.

I am an Advocate and the Director of the Institute of Criminology and Criminal Law at Tel-Aviv University, Israel. I act in the matter on behalf of Ms. Ilana Friedman, Beit Ha'Poalim 6/20 Rehovot, Israel, who also acts for the said Ida Nudel; Ms. Friedman is Ms. Nudel's sister and her only living relative.

Ida Nudel, born on 27.4.1931 of Jewish descent is a citizen of the USSR. She is an Industrial Economist by profession, and now employed as Park Attendant.

2/...

She has persistently been denied the right to emigrate and join her only family in Israel since 1971. She was exiled in Siberia between 1978-1982, and later forced to leave her Moscow residence and reside in Bendery. She has been persistently persecuted and harassed for her cultural activity and is now denied access to reasonable medical care of her own choice despite failing health.

The Petition cites violations of the Rights to Move and Reside within the State, Adequate Medical Care, Cultural and Religious Freedom, Privacy, Freedom from Undue Police Measures and mainly to Ms. Nudel's Right to Leave the USSR and rejoin her family in Israel. The Petition requires special urgency due to rapid deterioration in Ms. Nudel's health.

אוניברסיטת תל אביב
הפקולטה למשפטים
המכון לזכויות אדם ולמערכת פלילית

Dr. Yoram Shachar, Adv.

Director

Institute of Criminology and
Criminal Law, Tel Aviv University



TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

אוניברסיטת תל-אביב

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המכון לקרימינולוגיה ולמשפט פלילי
בנין טרובוביץ

DR. YORAM SHACHAR, Adv. (LL.B., D.Phil., Oxon.)

February 7, 1986

Dear Sir,

In re: Ida Nudel - Violations of International Law
and Human Rights by the USSR

I kindly request your very urgent attention to the following complaint which I am urged to lodge against the USSR on behalf of Ilana Friedman of Beit Ha'poalim 6/20 Rehovot, Israel, acting for her sister Ida Nudel, MSSR, Bendery 278100, Sovetskaya 26/2, in the matter of severe and persistent violations of International Law and human rights by the USSR against the said Ida Nudel.

Please find enclosed a Power of Attorney and an Affidavit made and signed by the said Ilana Friedman (Hereinafter - "The Affidavit") and authenticated by myself on 7 of February 1986. The Affidavit includes a full description of events relevant to the present Petition. The description is incorporated in the Petition by reference to avoid repetition.

Please be advised that the present Petition mainly involves violations since the year 1982, when Ida Nudel returned from exile, and is made particularly urgent due to a serious threat to Nudel's life through rapid deterioration of health and spirit in recent months. The Petition follows numerous applications to international organs for violations involving the USSR and Ida Nudel in the last 15 years. Needless to say, in this particular case all local remedies have long been exhausted and there is no legal institution within the USSR that will deal with Ida Nudel's request to leave.

I. Violation of the Right to Leave the State

Ida Nudel applied for an Exit visa to leave the USSR in 1971. In the 15 years that passed she renewed her applications on many occasions, e.g. on 27.6.1984, and was consistently refused.

Such refusal amounts to a blunt violation of the Right to Emigrate affirmed by all civilized nations and embodied in every instrument of International Law relevant to political and civil rights.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights [Hereinafter - "The Universal Declaration"], adopted by the U.N. General Assembly of 10.12.48 states in art. 13(2):-

"Everyone has the right to leave any country,
including his own"

A similar statement is made in article 12(2) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 [Hereinafter - 'The Civil Covenant'], ratified by the USSR in 1973.

It is inconceivable by any standard of justice that a member of a voluntary political community should be forced to remain in that community against his or her will. Indeed, freedom to be dissociated from the community is an essential instrument for

continued affirmation of the legitimate basis of a political structure within the community that forms it.

The USSR have affirmed the need for improvement in this matter in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe concluded at Helsinki on 1.8.1975 [Hereinafter - "The Helsinki Accord"], where it has undertaken

"... to facilitate freer movement ... and to contribute to the solution of the humanitarian problem that arises in that connection"

Moreover, the Helsinki Accord requests that

"The 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 with special attention being given to requests of an urgent character - such as requests submitted by persons who are ill or old."

In the concluding Document of the Madrid Follow-Up Conference (on the Helsinki Accord), 1983 [Hereinafter the Madrid Accord] the USSR further undertook to deal with such applications favorably and "decide upon them in the same spirit."

The case of Ida Nudel is undoubtedly most acute in terms of both the Universal Declaration - The Civil Covenant and the Helsinki and Madrid Accords:

1) Length of violation: Ida has been waiting for a permission to leave for 15 years. She has completely devoted her life to efforts to emigrate and has suffered continuous deprivation of body and spirit in the process.

2) Reunification with Family: Ida has been deprived throughout the period of the company of her only family. Unmarried and childless, Ida's only family is her sister Ilana Friedman, now in Israel (See Affidavit ss. 1, 2, 18, 19). Ida and Ilana applied to leave the USSR together in 1971. When Ilana was allowed to leave in 1972 it was assumed that Ida would join her and her family in Israel soon afterwards. As years passed without respite for Ida, Ilana devoted herself completely to campaigning for her sister's rights. The sisters are the only remaining members of a family lost in World War II. They are exceptionally attached to each other, and separation grows intolerable with passage of the years.

3) Urgency Due to Illness: Ida is seriously, perhaps terminally ill. Years of persecution have left her body and soul severely damaged (see Affidavit ss. 15-17). Her heart, kidneys and liver are in poor condition and she may be cancerous. She is largely incapacitated, and has now lost the use of her right hand. After years of neglect (See especially Affidavit s. 16) by public health authorities she has lost faith in the local hospital system. She is in urgent need of drastic medical intervention and hospital care, in a trustworthy and supportive environment, at the hands of trusted medical personnel and in the company of loving family. Recent communications with Ida indicate the possibility that her resistance now starts to fail and she is driven to acts of despair.

4) Breach of obligation not to Persecute Applicants: The USSR have undertaken in the Helsinki and Madrid Accords that

"... the presentation or renewal of applications [concerning family reunification] will not modify the rights and obligations of the applicants ... concerning inter alia employment, housing, residence status, etc. "

Most of the events described in the Affidavit, ss. 8-14 are directly or indirectly related to Ida's application to emigrate and be united with her family in Israel. For 15 years she has been persecuted, harassed, exiled, arrested, dismissed from work, denied adequate employment, denied residence permits and finally driven to illness and total social and cultural isolation for the sole reason of her insistence that she be allowed to emigrate. Ida's request to emigrate has been paid for dearly. It is respectfully submitted that the USSR must now honour its obligation and deliver her to freedom.

5) Absence of Reasons for Refusal: The USSR has unofficially quoted reasons of security (See Affidavit ss. 6-7) reminiscent of The Civil Covenant art. 12(3) ["... restrictions ... provided by law (and) are necessary to protect national security ..."] in reaction to Ida's application to emigrate. Without prejudice as to whether such restrictions are indeed incorporated in Soviet local law, it is submitted that no restrictions based on state security are in any way relevant to Ida's application. Ida has never been in possession of state secrets. By the time of the present Petition she has been employed for fourteen years in menial agricultural work. Prior to her dismissal in 1972 she worked as an accountant for an Institute for Planning and Production where she never came in contact with any secret information. A time-related regulatory restriction which was often mentioned to Ida unofficially had expired 9 years ago. Failing security reasons, the refusal of Ida's application is completely arbitrary and unreasoned, and must finally be removed.

II Violation of the Right to Move within the State

After returning from her punitive exile in Siberia in 26.3.1982, Ida Nudel hoped to remain in her lawfully-possessed apartment in Moscow (See Affidavit ss. 11-12). However, by refusal to renew her Moscow Residence Permit she was forced to abandon her Moscow

residence within 72 hours. For eight months between April 1982 and January 1983 she wandered throughout the USSR, unable to settle in a place of her own choice. She finally received permit to reside in Bendery in February 1983, where she has remained against her will until the time of the present Petition.

Ida Nudel does not wish to remain in the USSR; but as long as she is forced to remain, she has the right to reside in a place of her own choice according to article 13(1) of the Universal Declaration, article 5(d)(I) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [Hereinafter - "The Anti-Discrimination Convention"], and article 12(1) of the Covenant which states:

"Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, has the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence"

III Violation of various Rights of Personal Liberty, Privacy, Conscience, Religion, Expression, Association and Assembly

The account of events concerning Ida Nudel in Bendery 1983-1986, as detailed in the Affidavit ss. 13-14 constitute a violation of a long list of civil, political, social and cultural rights in breach of the Civil Covenant and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966 [Hereinafter "The Social Covenant"]

Ida has regularly been subjected to bodily searches, at home, publicly, and even while traveling in public transport. Her home is watched and regularly searched, both in her presence and her absence. She is often ordered to police headquarters usually to be interrogated about connections and communications of perfectly legal nature. Furthermore, similar measures are taken against persons who come in contact with Ida, at her home or otherwise.

In so doing the USSR violates various rights enumerated in the Universal Declaration arts. 9, 12 and 13 and The Civil Covenant art. 9, 12, 17.

Ida's attempts to associate with neighbors, friends and fellow Jews in social, cultural or religious gatherings at her home and elsewhere have regularly been interrupted. In so doing the USSR have denied Ida the benefit and free exercise of the Jewish minority's right to enjoy Jewish culture, practice the Jewish religion and use its language, in violation of art. 27 of the Civil Covenant. The USSR have also violated, directly and indirectly, Ida's rights to freedom of thought, conscience and religion according to art. 18 of the Civil Covenant, and her freedom of information and right to seek and impart ideas according to art. 20 of the Universal Declaration and arts. 21, 22 of the Civil Covenant.

IV. Violation of the Right to Medical Care

Ida Nudel is entitled according to art. 12(1) of the Social Covenant -

" ... to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health."

The USSR is accordingly obligated by art. 12(2)(d) thereby to ensure

" ... the creation of conditions which would assure to all medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness."

Similar rights and obligation are decreed by art. 5(e)(IV) of the Anti-Discrimination Convention, as well as the Universal

Declaration, art. 25(1) which seeks to ensure every person's "right to a standard of living adequate for ... health and well ... being including medical care".

The events detailed in the Affidavit ss. 15-17 constitute a violation by the USSR of Ida Nudel's right to proper and adequate medical care. Officially ordered neglect and deprivation by hospital and other medical personnel, must notably in a short and only period of hospitalization at Tomsk while in punitive exile in Siberia in 1980, have resulted in total loss of trust and confidence by Ida in public official medicine in the USSR. Officially persecuted for 15 years, she now cannot trust hospitals in the USSR for any major operation or other medical intervention. Seriously, perhaps terminally ill, she is doomed to die unless she receives urgent, drastic hospital treatment in a trustworthy environment and in the company of supportive family and associates.

It is, Sir, of utmost importance that you give the matter your very urgent attention. Ida Nudel has been deprived of her most fundamental rights for 15 years. Now that her life seems to draw to its earthly end, it is time for the international community to request the USSR to deliver her to freedom so that she can spend her last days in the company of her family and people.

אוניברסיטת תל-אביב
הפקולטה למשפטים
המכון לגרינולוגיה ופליליה

Dr. Yoram Shachar, Adv.

Director,

The Institute of Criminology and
Criminal Law, Tel Aviv University

Affidavit

I, the undersigned Ilana Friedman, Israeli I.D. No. 1441460 of Beit Ha'Poalim 6/20 Rehovot, Israel, after having been warned that I am required to tell the truth and that I will be liable for punishment fixed by law in the event that I do not, hereby declare in writing as follows:

1. I make this affidavit in support of a Petition submitted on my behalf by Dr. Yoram Shachar against the USSR in the case of my sister Ida Nudel, now in Bendery, USSR.
2. I was born on 19.2.1933 in Newel, USSR. In 1972 I emigrated to Israel and acquired Israeli citizenship. I have remained in close contact with my sister Ida Nudel and have full and direct knowledge of the details enumerated in the present affidavit.
3. My sister Ida Nudel was born on 27.4.1931 in Novorussisk, USSR. Since May 1971 she repeatedly applied to emigrate to Israel but was persistently refused. For her wish to emigrate and her insistence on her, as well as other USSR citizens' right freely to do so, she has been persistently harassed, persecuted, exiled and denied freedom of movement, residence, social contact and medical care of her own choice.
4. The USSR refusal of Ida's application to emigrate has never been properly and officially explained. She has repeatedly been unofficially informed that refusal was based on state security reasons related to her former place of work.

5. Ida Nudel was employed until 1972 as a Costing Accountant at the Moscow Institute of Hydrology and Microbiological Synthesis for Planning and Production. Her work did not involve secrecy of any sort.
6. Ida was on several occasions informed unofficially that all secrecy limitation-periods relating to her work would expire five years after her dismissal from the Institute, namely in 1977. At the time of making the present Affidavit, Ida has not been employed in any but menial agricultural work for fourteen years.
7. It is denied that Ida has ever been in possession of state secrets justifying refusal to emigrate. Now at pension-age, seriously ill and totally detached from any scientific work, refusal of her application is even more arbitrary.
8. Ida has been punished for her activities relating to her application to leave the USSR. Between 1971 and 1978 she has been subjected to a series of measures, including a short imprisonment in October 1973, police detentions and interrogations, most notably in 1977, slanderous accusations in official news media, and constant searches of body and property.
9. On 21.6.78 Ida was sentenced to four years of exile in Siberia after she demonstrated her wish to emigrate by displaying a banner to that effect from her apartment window. Ida was forced to spend her term of exile in the company of exiled criminals, in extremely harsh conditions. Her health, never strong before, has suffered irreparable damage.
10. Since the expiration of her exile term Ida has not been tried for any violation of Soviet law, and yet she has been subjected to numerous penal measures, as detailed below.

11. On returning to her Moscow residence in Yunikh Lenintsev 79/6 Apt. 28, Moscow 109442. On 26.3.1982, Ida was refused Residence Permission and was forced to leave Moscow within 72 hours. In the following eight months she was forced from place to place, failing to receive Residence Permission and never allowed to stay at any place for more than a few days.
12. In February 1983, Ida received permission to stay in Bendery, a small town in Moldavia. She has thereby been forced into a further term of exile from her lawful Moscow residence and from social, cultural contact and medical care of her own choice. Recently she was forced by both direct and indirect governmental pressure to abandon all her legal rights in her Moscow apartment, and she now faces an indeterminate term of exile in Bendery.
13. Persecution of all social associates and acquaintances by Police in Berdery has left Ida in total isolation. Gatherings of social, cultural or religious nature have been interfered with. All visitors have been interrogated and threatened by police to refrain from further contact. Most notably, police harrassed 20 children and their parents after they participated in a Purim (Traditional Jewish holiday) Party at her home in March, 1983. Unable to travel for reasons of health she now is completely dissociated from all social and cultural support.
14. Throughout the period 1983-1986 Ida has been constantly subjected to police harassment. Her house is regularly searched, both in and without her presence, and is constantly watched. Ida is regularly ordered to report for interrogation at the Police Station. She is followed and harassed when she travels to receive medical care, and is often searched.
15. Throughout 1985 there has occurred a severe deterioration in Ida's physical condition. She suffers severe malfunctions of circularly and urinary systems, her liver is damaged and she is probably

PHOTOGRAPHS OF IDA NUDEL



January 1986

Bendery



January 1982

KriMosheino

To the General Secretary of the Communist Party's
Central Committee of U.S.S.R. Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev.
and

To the President of the State of Israel, Mr. Haim
Herzog.

From Ida Nudel, citizen of the U.S.S.R., bearer of
Identity Card No. OM 515668, issued by the
Ministry of Interior of the _____ region
on 25.03.1982

and citizen of the State of Israel bearing
Citizenship No. 642, issued by the Knesset on
June 12th, 1972.

Public Letter.

In 1971 I approached the Official Soviet
Institutions with the request of being allowed to
leave for my homeland, The State of Israel, in order
to live amongst my People. On December 15th, 1971
I received an official refusal as an answer to my
request.

Wording of the refusal: - Due to national
reasons.

Validity of the refusal - Till January 1975

Reason - "You worked for a classified
institution, we know that you had
no access to secret material but
you may have heard something."

The chief engineer of the Moscow Institute for the
Planning of Microbiological Industry, where I worked
since 1968, _____ told me personally,

Jews should never be trusted, their energy, intellect and knowledge should be exploited but they should never be given positions. The Jews are not an indigenous population and therefore must be forbidden to participate in the solving of our problems."

This idea applied in reality. He used to say: "The non-natives must teach the natives or else I will fire them."

Once this was the attitude of the Head Engineer there no Jew could in fact, participate in confidential work.

The Institute was established in 1967 and the industry itself - only a short time prior to that. Besides the confidential work the Institute was obliged to prepare:

- 1) Programs for the construction of factories which would produce "Antibactin" (a formula for the protection of plants which was sold openly in gardening shops).
- 2) Programs for the building of factories which would produce Pectinsa (a chemical for lightening juices)
- 3) Plans for constructing factories which would produce antibiotics for curing diseases in animals
- 4) Programs for building plants to produce formulas against tape-worms in animals.
- 5) Programs for establishing factories which would produce ferments that would increase the output of juices (in the fruit juice industries).

3.

I worked as an economist in the department for technical-economic reasoning. Technical economic reasoning is that part of the pre-planning stage the purpose of which is to find the most preferable economic location for the factory in plan. The main office would propose the names of the desired areas and it was the economist's task to find the best place, economically, to build the factory within the stated region.

At the end of the 60's the Microbiological Industry in Russia was at its very beginnings. Real plants for the production of the formulas I have already mentioned were in fact non-existent and the technical-economic reasonings were prepared on the basis of laboratory data. The prices for the formulas, whose production was in the planning stage, were random, for no precedents had yet been set and laboratory data do not enable the determining of the formula's cost.

Why was I forced to use the material from the "Special Department"

During the period I worked for the Institution, the only formula which they then began to produce in Russia was Antibacterin, the formula to protect plants. The factory in which they used to produce it was situated on the grounds belonging to another factory, a ~~small~~ one. Therefore it was only natural that all the production plans of Antibacterin were held in the special department and this due to the location and inter-connection between internal and external sewerage systems. At least that is how I understand it now.

When I worked at the Institute there was

no guard at the entrance to the building. In its passages it was possible to see strange people who had come from outside, looking for public toilets. They were carrying sacks on their backs and were obviously intending to buy meat from the butcher shop situated next to the factory. Everyone could hear anything that was said in the passageway or in the rooms. Only when I requested to be allowed to leave for Israel, did it become clear that I knew some enormous secret, the nature of which I have not been able to lose over 15 years.

And all this in spite of the fact that I never took part in the preparation of any classified product and only used the data about Antibacterin production (a formula which is not confidential at all) in order to compare them to the data I received while calculating the cost of formulas meant for agriculture and food industries.

Many different officials, some who are still alive today and others who are deceased, promised me many times that in January 1977 I would receive an exit permit because in that month the period of confinement would end. So claimed the late Albert Ivanov who was the vice-director of the Administration Department of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and who in his time held authority. Directors of the General Soviet "Obir" office, who were lower-level officials, repeated the same thing to me saying until mid 1976 "In January 1977 you will be able to leave."

Why was my request rejected after the date of limitation expired?

Around 1977 my name was publicized in wide circles outside of the U.S.S.R borders and gained

5.

significant importance. I became the symbol of Jewish resistance to K.G.B. tyranny and persecution for all those who asked openly to be permitted to leave for Israel or for those who expressed their national aspirations.

In 1978 a fabricated accusation of "hooliganism" was made against me and I was exiled for 4 years. I was in exile for 4 years. The ~~prolonged~~^{tumped-up} sentence cost me my health and years of my life. What did my persecutors achieve with this?

My name joined the rows of names of victims who suffer for their ideals. I became popular amongst not only Jews but also ~~Christians~~ Gentiles. During my years in exile I received almost 12,000 letters from 51 countries of the world, all arrived through the Soviet post. These letters contained expressions of affection and concern for my fate. Often the writers expressed their bitterness about the attitude of the Soviet authorities towards me because of my desire to live in Israel.

Simple people of the world called to the Soviet authorities to honour the responsibilities they took upon themselves and international conventions.

In March 1982 I returned to Moscow, to my own personal apartment which I had purchased with my own finances. In accordance with Soviet Laws relating to the registration of citizens in Moscow, I was required, after serving the sentence, to receive permission to live in my former residence.

They broke Soviet rules, which it seems, can be applied in a selective manner and took the right to live in my own flat from me.

Why didn't I sue them? Whom? Those very people who have the right to enforce laws selectively.

The story cannot end thus. I will not give up my right to live in Israel. Many turn to the Soviet government asking them to permit me to leave for Israel — Presidents of various countries, Senators, Members of Congress, Businessmen and thousands of simple people all over the world. They do not get a positive answer; they are frightened off by: "this woman knows a great secret, a great secret!"

Actually my persecutors are right. I do know a secret, the secret of tears that have not yet been shed, the secret of suffering from loneliness and separation from relatives and friends, the secret of human identity, the secret of moral victories. Victories? Yes! And that is the true reason, the non-fabricated reason why the Soviet authorities refuse to permit me to leave for Israel — "she should know, let her learn her lesson!" — vengeance and nothing else

Ida Nudel

The City of Bendery.



25
ELENA FRIDMAN

sister of IDA NUDEL

P.B. 1119

Rehovot 78110

Israel

TL: 08-456943



1 Yisrael Bak/78 Hammerger

Tel-Aviv, Israel

Phone: (03)338267

REFUSENIK PROFILE

NAME: ALEKSEY MAGARIK
NATALIA (RATNER) MAGARIK

ADDRESS: Rusakovskaya 27-88
Moscow 107113
RSFSR, USSR

FAMILY BACKGROUND:

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>First Name</u>	<u>Date of Birth</u>	<u>Occupation/Profession</u>
Wife	Aleksey	November 26, 1958	Cellist
Son	Natalia (Ratner) Chaim	1956 October 9, 1985	Electrical engineer

RELATIVES ABROAD:

Vladimir and Chana Magarik (Father and sister)
Gilo 62/47
Jerusalem, Israel

VISA APPLICATION HISTORY:

Reason for Refusal: "No reason for leaving the USSR"
Date of First Refusal: March 1984

CASE HISTORY/ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

On March 14, 1986, Aleksey Magarik, a 27-year-old refusenik was about to board a plane in Tbilisi for Moscow when an airport official, searching his hand luggage, claimed to have found a cigarette pack containing 4 grams of hashish. Aleksey told the police he had never seen the pack before; nevertheless, he was held at the police station. A medical examination the following morning confirmed that he had not consumed any drugs. His wife, Natalia Ratner, went to Tbilisi and was convinced that the charge was simply an excuse to punish him for his involvement in the Aliyah movement. She told a friend that she had the clear impression that Soviet authorities were not even going through the motions of denying that the allegation was a cover-up.

Both Aleksey and Natalia are Hebrew teachers who began teaching before their refusal. Aleksey, a cellist, has had no permanent position as a musician. Since the late 1970s, he has participated in various Jewish musical groups (which have no official recognition) which specialize in Hassidic and modern Israeli songs.

In response to their applications for exit visas to Israel in 1983, to be reunited with Aleksey's father and sister they were told: "Your emigration from the USSR is not justified at the present time." Both Aleksey and Natalia have signed various petitions. These include: 1981 - to the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; 1984 to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, demanding free repatriation of Jews to Israel; March 1984 to the Head of the All-Union OVIR (Natalia signed this with others).

D4/016 /5/86

SOVIET JEWRY RESEARCH BUREAU

Jewish Emigration From the USSR Statistics

Oct. 1968 - 1970	4,235	1976	14,261
1971	13,022	1977	16,736
1972	31,681	1978	28,864
1973	34,733	1979	51,320
1974	20,628	1980	21,471
1975	13,221	1981	9,447
		1982	2,688

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>
January	81	88	61	79
February	125	90	88	84
March	101	51	98	47
April	114	74	166	72
May	116	109	51	49
June	102	72	36	
July	167	85	174	
August	130	83	29	
September	135	69	93	
October	90	29	124	
November	56	55	128	
December	<u>97</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>92</u>	
	1,314	896	1,140	

From October 1968 - March 1986, 265,867 persons left the Soviet Union with Israeli visas. Approximately 163,602 of them went to Israel.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

National Office: 10 East 40th Street, Suite 907, New York, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 679-6122/Cable Address: AMCONSOV, N.Y. • Telex 237311 NCSJ
Washington Office: 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 265-8114

MARY -

Please call mr
michelson. Tell him
I've reviewed the
petition & it's OK
His #s are inside.

Self
may
return
call

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

May 1986

Dear Mr. President:

We, the undersigned citizens of this great country, together with you, cherish highly our freedom and the sanctity of the family institution.

However, one of our fellow American families is very brutally deprived for 30 long years from freedom, basic human rights and the family unity. For 30 years, the Soviet Government forcibly has kept Mr. Anatoly Michelson's family in the USSR, forbidding his wife Galina, daughter Olga, and grandson to join him in this country.

Recently, Galina Michelson pleaded with the American Nation on public television to help her to join her husband in the United States. The State Department has voluminous files on this family from which you can obtain all additional information.

As newspapers and television reports indicate, Anatoly is a very productive engineer, has 52 patents on industrial inventions and has greatly contributed to the United States economy and freedom loving traditions.

We most respectfully urge you to initiate any effective action that will induce the Soviets to release the Michelson family now.

Being in their upper 60's and of poor health, the Michelson's do not have anymore time to wait much longer.

In 30 years, the State Department proved that it cannot solve this problem without Presidential intervention. Only you have the power and authority to end the absolutely needless and horrible suffering of this one American's family.

May God help you in this noble endeavour.

Most Respectfully:

Lamela B. LaHase	355 Patterson Ave. Osprey, FL 33559
John Sodasse J.	355 PATTERSON AVE OSPREY FL
Barbara B. Winkler	2416 Hopkinson House Philadelphia PA 19104
Herbert L. Winkler	2416 Hopkinson House Philadelphia Pa
Gordon Fourn	1200 BEN FRANKLIN DR. SANASOTA, FLA
Beulah Goldstein	1700 BEN FRANKLIN DR. SANASOTA, FLA

Signatures follow on next page

Florida House

FILE
DIV.
SPOUSES

34

Number One Second Street, Northeast
Washington, D.C. 20002
202-546-1556

5.10.86

Dearest Paula:

According to your advise,
enclosed is a copy of the
petition to the President.

If you think that peti-
tion should be improved,
please, give me a call
at 362-2200 (before May 16)
or 813-388-1252 (after 5.17).

Thanks, again, for your
support in my family
struggle.

Your friend

Anatoly M.

The Hay Adams



Ms. Paula J. Dobriansky
Director, European Affairs
National Security Council
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20506

36

L
1 on
Johnson
late pm
early am

MY ORDEAL

Andrei Sakharov, in smuggled letters, discloses his torment



Inside Gorky hospital: Sakharov unknowingly filmed by KGB. Videotape was released to suggest he was being well treated

MY KGB ORDEAL

Andrei Sakharov, in smuggled letters, discloses his torment

ANDREI SAKHAROV, the Nobel Prize-winning scientist cut off from the world by Soviet authorities, has been enduring physical and mental torment at the hands of the KGB—the Soviet secret police. Sakharov himself gives vivid testimony of his secret ordeal in letters he has had smuggled out of Russia. “What happened to me in a Gorky hospital in the summer of 1984,” he writes in his own hand, “is strikingly reminiscent of [George] Orwell’s famous anti-Utopian novel, even down to the remarkable coincidence of the book’s title—1984.”

In this issue and the next, Sakharov’s letters are being published exclusively in North America by *U.S. News & World Report* by arrangement with Sakharov’s relatives in the U.S. and the *London Observer*. On succeeding pages is a full-text translation of a letter Sakharov wrote to the president of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences on Oct. 15, 1984. For the first time it provides evidence in his own words of what happened to Sakharov when he and his wife Yelena Bonner were isolated in the closed city of Gorky, 400 miles from Moscow, in May, 1984. His version is far different from that of the Soviets. Sakharov’s exile began in 1980, when he was arrested following his denunciation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Until May, 1984, the pain of exile—without charge, trial or sentence—had been relieved by his wife’s freedom to go to Moscow and keep him in touch with fellow scientists and world opinion. But in May she was arrested, and Sakha-

rov, as he puts it, was “seized by KGB men disguised in doctors’ white coats. They . . . tormented me for four months.”

Sakharov’s testimony is contained in packets of documents that were sent to the Newton, Mass., home of Yelena’s daughter, Tatiana, and son-in-law, Yefrem Yankelevich. Mr. Yankelevich said: “The papers arrived here very recently in two batches—in plain envelopes and through the ordinary mail, sent from a Western country. How they were got out of the Soviet Union I cannot say, but I know the source and the source is reliable. They have been carefully examined by the whole family, and we are convinced of their authenticity.”

Part of Sakharov’s letters is a passionate appeal for the Soviets to allow Yelena to visit the West for urgent medical treatment for her eyes and heart. In October, 1985, shortly before the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, she was given a 90-day visa—it expires on February 28—on condition that she not speak to the press. She is in Newton recovering from surgery and has asked the Soviets to let her stay longer. But Sakharov’s testimony has importance beyond the accomplishment of his immediate objective. It documents a KGB “disinformation” campaign, including the forgery of telegrams and the doctoring of postcards, to suggest that Sakharov was well and living without problems. It puts into perspective the recent release of human-rights activist Anatoly Shcharansky and, above all, the recent statement by Gorbachev that Sakharov has been living in Gorky “in normal conditions.” ■

Трагедиям АН СССР акад.
А.П. Александрову
Членам Президиума АН СССР
Глубокоуважаемый Анатолий Петрович!

Я обращаюсь к Вам в самый трагический момент своей жизни и прошу Вас поддержать просьбу о поездке моей жены Елены Георгиевны Боннер за рубежом для встречи с матерью, детьми и внуками и для лечения болезни глаз и сердца. Мне настоятельно необходимо, потому что здесь меня стала для нас абсолютно недоступной. Беспрецедентный характер нашего положения, созданный вокруг меня и вокруг моей жены обстановкой изоляции, лжи и клеветы вынуждают меня обратиться к Вам, и прошу Вас оказать мне и моей жене помощь в этот трудный момент.

An appeal in his wife's behalf

Anatoly Alexandrov, President,
U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences
Members of the Presidium,
U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

Dear Anatoly Petrovich:

I appeal to you at the most tragic moment of my life. I ask you to support my wife Yelena Bonner's request for permission to travel abroad to visit her mother, her children and her grandchildren and to receive medical treatment for her eyes and her heart. I shall explain why this trip has become an absolute necessity for us. Our unprecedented situation, our isolation, the lies and slander regarding us compel me to write in detail. Please forgive me for the length of this letter.

The authorities have been greatly annoyed by my public activities—my defense of prisoners of conscience and my articles and books on peace, the open society and human rights. (My fundamental ideas are contained in *Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom*, 1968; *My Country and the World*, 1975, and "The Danger of Thermonuclear War," 1983.)

"The KGB adopted a sly and cruel plan"

I do not intend to defend or explain my position here. What I wish to make clear is that I alone am responsible for all my actions, which are the result of convictions formed over a lifetime. As soon as Yelena Bonner married me in 1971, the KGB adopted a sly and cruel plan to solve the "Sakharov problem." They have tried to shift responsibility for my actions onto her, to destroy her morally and physically. They hope to break and bridle me, while portraying me as the innocent victim of the intrigues of my wife—a "CIA agent," a "Zionist," a "mercenary adventuress," etc. Any remaining doubts about this have been dispelled by the mass campaign of slander mounted against my wife in 1983 (attacks against her were printed in publications with a circulation of 11 million copies); by the two 1984 articles about her in *Izvestia*, and especially by the KGB's treatment of us in 1984, which I describe below.

My wife Yelena Bonner was born in 1923. Her parents, who were active participants in the Revolution and the civil war, became victims of repression in 1937. Her father, the first secretary of the Armenian Bolshevik Party's central committee and a member of the Comintern's executive committee, per-

ished. Her mother spent many years in labor camps and in exile as a "relative of a traitor to the motherland."

My wife served in the armed forces from the outbreak of World War II until August, 1945. She began as a first-aid instructor. After she was wounded and suffered a concussion, she became the head nurse on a hospital train. The concussion severely damaged her eyes. My wife is classified as a disabled veteran because of her loss of vision. She has been seriously ill ever since the war, but she has managed to lead a productive life—first studying, then working as a physician and teacher, raising a family, helping friends and strangers in need, sustaining her associates with respect and affection.

Her situation changed drastically after our paths merged. Tatiana and Alexei, my wife's children—whom I consider my own—and our grandchildren were forced to emigrate to the United States in 1977 and 1978 after five years of harassment and death threats. They had in fact become hostages. The pain of this tragic separation has been compounded by the absence of normal mail, cable and phone communications. My wife's 84-year-old mother has been living in the United States since 1980. It is the inalienable right of all human beings to see their families—and that includes my wife!

As long ago as 1974 many events convinced us that no effective medical treatment was possible for my wife in the U.S.S.R. and, moreover, that such treatment would be dan-



Together in 1985: Andrei Sakharov and Yelena Bonner

gerous because of inevitable KGB interference. Now the organized campaign of slander against her is an added complication. These misgivings relate to my wife's medical treatment and not to my own, but they were reinforced by what physicians under KGB command did to me during my four-month confinement in a Gorky hospital. More about this later.

In 1975, with the support of world public opinion (and I assume on Brezhnev's order), my wife was allowed to travel to Italy to receive treatment for her eyes. My wife visited Italy in 1975, 1977 and 1979 for eye care. In Siena, Dr. Frezotti twice operated on her for glaucoma, which could not be controlled by medication. Naturally, the same doctor should continue to treat her. Another visit became necessary in 1982. She submitted her application in September,

ANDREI SAKHAROV

From hero to outcast— milestones along the way

Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov, born in 1921 the son of a physics teacher, became a star of the Soviet scientific elite before emerging as a dissident. Exempted from military duty, he graduated with honors in physics from Moscow University in 1942 and received a doctorate in 1947. Key dates tell the rest:

1982. Such applications are reviewed within five months—and usually within a few weeks. Two years have passed, and my wife is still waiting for a reply.

In April, 1983, my wife Yelena Bonner suffered a massive heart attack, as confirmed by a report of the academy's medical department issued in response to an inquiry from the procurator's office. Her condition has not yet returned to normal. She has had recurrent attacks. (Some of these attacks have been confirmed by academy physicians who have examined her; one examination took place in March, 1984.) Her most recent major attack occurred in August, 1984.

"I began the hunger strike"

In November, 1983, I addressed an appeal to Comrade Yuri Andropov [General Secretary, 1982 to Feb. 9, 1984], and I addressed a similar appeal to Comrade Konstantin Chernenko [General Secretary at the time this letter was written] in February, 1984. I asked them to issue instructions permitting my wife to travel. I wrote: "A trip . . . to see her mother, children and grandchildren and . . . to receive medical treatment has become a matter of life and death for us. The trip has no other purpose. I assure you of that."

By September, 1983, I realized that the question of my wife's trip would be resolved only if I conducted a hunger strike (as in the earlier case of our daughter-in-law Liza Alexeeva's departure to join Alexei). My wife understood how difficult it was for me to do nothing. Nevertheless, she kept putting off the hunger strike. And, in point of fact, I began the hunger strike only in direct response to actions of the authorities.

On March 30, 1984, I was summoned to the Gorky province visa office. A representative there announced: "On behalf of the visa department of the U.S.S.R., I inform you that your statement is under consideration. The reply will be communicated to you after May 1."

My wife was to fly to Moscow on May 2. I watched through the airport window as she was detained by the aircraft and taken away in a police car. I immediately returned to the apartment and took a laxative, thereby beginning my hunger strike for my wife to be allowed to travel.

Two hours later my wife returned, accompanied by the KGB province chief, who delivered a threatening speech in the course of which he called my wife a CIA agent. My wife had been subjected to a body search at the airport and charged under Article 190-1 [of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) Criminal Code]. They also made her sign a promise not to leave the city. So this was my promised reply to my declaration about my wife's trip abroad.

Exile "was camouflaged murder"

During the months that followed, my wife was called in for interrogation three or four times a week. She was tried on August 9-10 and sentenced to five years' exile. On September 7 a picked group from the RSFSR Supreme Court made a special trip to Gorky to hear her appeal. They confirmed the sentence. Gorky was designated her place of exile so that she could remain with me, thereby creating a semblance of humanity. In fact, however, it was camouflaged murder.

The KGB managed the whole enterprise—from the charges to the sentence—in order to block my wife's travel abroad. The indictment and the verdict are typical for Article 190-1 cases, although particularly flagrant examples of the arbitrariness and injustice involved. Article 190-1 makes it a crime to disseminate slanderous fabrications

1948 Joins crash program to build thermonuclear bomb.

1953 With his research supplying the key, the Soviet Union detonates its first hydrogen bomb. Three months later, at 32, he becomes the youngest full member ever of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

1956 Receives second award as Hero of Socialist Labor. Adds second Order of Lenin to earlier Stalin Prize.

1957 Warns in scientific journal that atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons could cause genetic harm.

1958 Criticizes Premier Khrushchev's plan to send students to factories and farms.

1961 Urges Khrushchev to halt nuclear tests. Such decisions, Khrushchev replies, should not concern scientists. "After that," Sakharov later said, "I was a different man."

1965 Shifts research from nuclear physics to theories concerning structure of the universe.

1966 Signs letter with other intellectuals warning against a revival of Stalinism.

1967 Decries the industrial pollution of Siberia's Lake Baikal.

1968 Becomes world famous with U.S. publication of 10,000-word "manifesto," *Progress, Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom*, calling for Moscow to join the West in a campaign against pollution, starvation and war. Kremlin terminates his security clearance.

1970 Organizes Moscow Committee on Human Rights. Calls for democratic rule. Meets Yelena Bonner, pediatrician from Leningrad and fellow dissident.

1971 Marries Bonner.

1973 Steps up criticism of Soviet oppression despite warning from authorities. Fellow academy members denounce him as "tool of enemy propaganda."

1975 Becomes the Soviets' first winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. Kremlin denies him a visa to travel to Oslo. Bonner accepts the award

for him, and at the presentation ceremonies reads his appeal for an open Soviet society.

1980 Sakharov condemns the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, backs boycott of Moscow's Olympics. KGB agents seize him on Moscow street. Without a trial, he is exiled to Gorky.

1981 Joins Bonner in 16-day hunger strike. They win visa for her son's wife to join husband in U.S.

1982 Sakharov is denied treatment

S. ZAL—SYGMA



At 1978 trial of fellow dissident

SIPA—PRESS



Campaigner: Moscow, 1979

for heart ailment at special center for academy members.

1984 Sakharov starts second hunger strike, demanding that Bonner be allowed to receive medical treatment abroad. Five days later Sakharov is removed to hospital, where he suffers a possible stroke while being force-fed.

1985 Leaves hospital, returns to apartment.

1986 Mikhail Gorbachev says that Sakharov knows military secrets and must remain in Soviet Union.

звучит в мой адрес репутация. Когда же я
открылся по поводу взрыва в бомбе, в том
двухэтажном доме на территории Спасской
с проведением моего имени по открытию
успешно, я, востановившему моему
достоинству. Умоверю, что выслушавшие меня
и ее

The false witness

known to be false that defame the Soviet state and social system. (Article 190-1 refers to statements that the defendant knows are false. In my experience, and that includes my wife's case, the defendants believed their statements to be true beyond a doubt. The real issue was their opinions.)

Most of the eight counts in my wife's indictment involve her repetition of statements made by me. (To make matters worse, they have been taken out of context.) All the statements concern secondary issues. For example, in *My Country and the World*, I explain what "certificates" are, noting that two or more types of money exist in the U.S.S.R. My wife repeated this indisputable statement at a press conference in Italy in 1975, and she was charged with slander because of it. I—and not my wife—should be charged with statements made by me. My wife acted as my representative in keeping with her own beliefs.

"They are trying to kill us"

One charge in the indictment exploits an emotional outburst of my wife during the unexpected visit of a French correspondent on May 18, 1983, three days after her massive myocardial infarct had been diagnosed. (As you know, in 1983 we requested, without success, that we be admitted together to the academy's hospital.) The correspondent asked, "What will happen to you?" My wife exclaimed: "I don't know. I think they are trying to kill us." She was clearly not referring to being killed by a pistol or knife. But she had more than enough grounds to speak of indirect murder (at least of herself).

My wife's alleged drafting and circulation of a Moscow Helsinki Group document was a key point in the indictment. It was based on patently false testimony and was completely refuted by defense counsel's examination of the chronology of events. A witness testified at the trial that he had been told by a member of the Helsinki Group that my wife had taken one of the group's documents with her when she left the country in 1977. But the witness had been arrested on Aug. 16, 1977, and my wife left for Italy on September 5. Thus he could not have met anyone "from outside" after my wife's departure. Under questioning, the witness replied that he had learned of the document's being carried out of the country in July or August—that is, before my wife's trip.

Moreover, no proof that the document had been written prior to my wife's departure was presented in the indictment or during the trial. (The document was undated. That alone was enough to deprive it of any juridical significance.)

The only "evidence" corroborating the witness's unsubstantiated allegation was the statement of a person who had emigrated in 1977. In defiance of logic this count was included in the verdict and in the decision of the appellate proceeding. If the appellate court had eliminated that count,

it would have had to annul the verdict—in part because the only directly incriminating testimony would be lost, in part because of the dated and inconsequential nature of the 1975 episode. Most important of all, none of the charges bore the slightest juridical relation to Article 190-1, which presupposes intentional slander.

In practice my wife's exile has led to restrictions much more severe than those stipulated in the law: The loss of all communication with her mother and children; complete isolation from her friends; still less opportunity for medical care; the virtual confiscation of property left in our Moscow apartment—which is now inaccessible to us—and the potential loss of the apartment itself. (The apartment was given to my wife's mother in 1956 after she was rehabilitated and after her husband was rehabilitated posthumously.)

"Simply slander for public consumption"

There was no mention during my wife's trial of the accusations made in the press—her alleged past crimes, her "immoral character," her "links" with foreign intelligence agencies. That is all simply slander for public consumption—for the "sheep" held in such contempt by the KGB directors of the campaign. The most recent article of this sort appeared in *Izvestia* on May 21. The article pushes the idea that my wife has always wanted to leave the U.S.S.R., "even over her husband's dead body." The article claims that as long ago as 1979 she wanted to remain in the United States but had been persuaded to leave. (The context implies that American intelligence agents did the persuading.)

My wife's tragic and heroic life with me, which has brought her so much suffering, refutes this insinuation. Before marrying me, my wife made several trips abroad. She worked for a year in Iraq on a vaccination project. She visited Poland and France. The idea of defecting never entered her mind. It is the KGB that wants my wife to abandon me: It would provide the best demonstration that their slander had been true.

But they were hardly hoping for that. They are "psychologists." They carefully hid the May 21 [*Izvestia*] article from me. They did not want to strengthen my resolve to win my goal before seeing my wife. I wanted to protect her from responsibility for my hunger strike.

For four months—from May 7 to September 8—my wife and I were separated from each other and completely isolated from the outside world. My wife was alone in our apartment. Her "guards" were increased. Apart from the usual policeman at the entrance to our apartment, observation posts operated around the clock, and a van with KGB agents on duty was parked beneath our terrace. Outside the house she was followed by two cars of KGB agents who prevented the most innocent contact with anyone. She was not allowed into the regional hospital when I was confined there.



Sakharov: With family photos

On May 7, while accompanying my wife to the prosecutor's office for her next bout of questioning, I was seized by KGB men disguised in doctors' white coats. They took me by force to Gorky Regional Hospital, kept me there by force and tormented me for four months. My attempts to flee the hospital were always blocked by KGB men, who were on duty round-the-clock to bar all means of escape.

An "excruciating process"

From May 11 to May 27 I was subjected to the excruciating and degrading process of force-feeding. The doctors hypocritically called it "saving my life," but in fact they were acting under orders from the KGB to create conditions in which my demand for my wife to be allowed to travel would not have to be fulfilled. They kept changing the method of force-feeding. They wanted to maximize my distress in order to make me give up the hunger strike.

From May 11 to May 15 intravenous feeding was tried. Orderlies would throw me onto the bed, tie my hands and feet and then hold my shoulders down while the needle was inserted into a vein. On May 11, the first day this was attempted, one of the hospital aides sat on my legs while some substance was injected with a small syringe. I passed out and involuntarily urinated. When I came to, the orderlies had left my bedside. Their bodies seemed strangely distorted as on a television screen affected by strong interference. I found out later that this sort of optical illusion is symptomatic of a spasm in a cerebral hemorrhage or stroke.

I have retained drafts of the letters I wrote to my wife from the hospital. (Hardly any of the letters, apart from those that were quite empty of information, were actually delivered to my wife. The same is true with respect to the notes and books she sent me.)

In my first letter written (May 20) after force-feeding began and in another draft written at that time, my writing wavers and is remarkably deformed. Letters are repeated two or three times in many words (mainly vowels, as in "haaand"). This is another typical symptom of a cerebral spasm or stroke and can be used as objective, documentary evidence in attempting a diagnosis. The repetition of letters does not occur in later drafts, but the symptoms of trembling persist. My letter of May 10 (the ninth day of my hunger strike but prior to force-feeding) is entirely normal. My recollections from the period of force-feeding are confused, in contrast to my memory of events from May 2 to May 10. My letter dated May 20 states: "I can barely walk. I am trying to learn." The spasm or stroke I suffered on May 11 was not an accident; it was a direct result of the medical measures taken in my case on orders from the KGB.

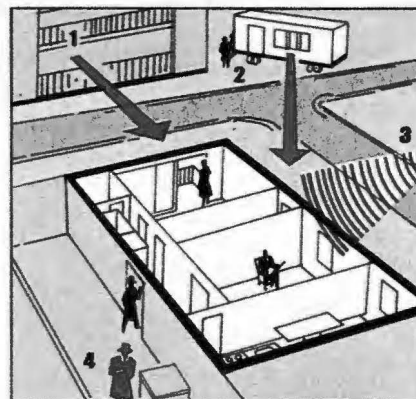
From May 16 to May 24 a new means of force-feeding was employed: A tube was inserted through my nose. This was discontinued on May 25, supposedly because sores were developing along the nasal passages and esophagus. I believe it was stopped because this method is bearable, if painful. In labor camps it is used for months—even years—at a time.

"My jaws were pried open"

From May 25 to May 27 the most excruciating, degrading and barbarous method was used. I was again pushed down onto the bed without a pillow, and my hands and feet were tied. A tight clamp was placed on my nose so that I could breathe only through my mouth. Whenever I opened my mouth to take a breath, a spoonful of nutrient or a broth containing strained meat would be poured

The Isolation of Apartment 3, 214 Gagarin Street, Gorky

- 1 KGB monitors the apartment from building 20 yards away
- 2 Additional observers watch from trailer
- 3 Jamming station blocks radio, TV reception
- 4 Police, in corridor 24 hours a day, turn away visitors



■ This has been the Sakharovs' home for six years—a ground-level flat with a bath, gas stove and no telephone. For the first four years relatives could visit the scientist and his wife. Now only KGB men and government officials are allowed in.

YELENA BONNER

Bolsheviks' daughter

Key events in her life:

- 1923 Born in Moscow. Her father, Gevorg Alikhanov, was a Bolshevik in 1917 Revolution and later a Communist Party leader. Her mother, Ruf Bonner, also was a Communist.
- 1937 Parents are arrested in Stalin's purge—father as a traitor, mother as the wife of a traitor. Her father is executed. Yelena moves to Leningrad to live with her grandmother.
- 1938 Works as janitor and clerk, joins Komsomol—the Young Communist League.
- 1940 Studies Russian literature in night school.
- 1941 Joins Red Army as nurse, suffers concussion on battlefield, leading to loss of vision in one eye and progressive blindness in other.
- 1945 Ends war as lieutenant on hospital train.
- 1947 Begins classes at medical school in Leningrad.
- 1949 Marries medical student Ivan Semenov.
- 1950 Her first child, Tatiana, is born.
- 1954 Completes medical school, begins career as pediatrician, lecturer, medical writer.
- 1956 Her son, Alexei, is born.
- 1964 Joins Communist Party.
- 1965 Marriage breaks up.
- 1970 Meets Sakharov, a widower, at vigil outside a dissident's trial.
- 1971 Marries Sakharov.
- 1972 Quits Communist Party.
- 1975 Helps set up group to monitor Soviet compliance with Helsinki human-rights accord. Her trip to Oslo

to accept her husband's Nobel Peace Prize is also first of several trips to the West to receive medical treatment.

1980 With Sakharov exiled, she travels between Gorky and Moscow relaying his appeals and maintaining their ties with friends and Western journalists. Soviet media accuse her of turning her husband into a traitor.

1983 Suffers first of several heart attacks. Press attacks continue, in-

SIPA PRESS



Yelena Bonner accepting the Nobel Prize in '75 for her husband

cluding charges that she seduced Sakharov for his money.

1984 Is arrested for slandering Soviet state and deprived of traveling privileges.

1985 Gets permission to go abroad for treatment, joins daughter's family near Boston on December 8.

1986 Undergoes heart-bypass surgery on January 13.

в какой-то форме статьи 190-1 УК РСФСР инкриминируется распространение заведомо ложных клеветнических извещений, порочащих советский общественный и государственный строй (по сути статьи — утверждение лживости которой ясна любому человеку, однако в суде судьи мне судили признать в мои лице в деле минор, ред идет об утверждении лживости клеветнических

Gasping for breath

into my mouth. Sometimes my jaws were pried open by a lever. They would hold my mouth shut until I swallowed so that I could not spit out the food. When I managed to do so, it only prolonged the agony. I experienced a continuing feeling of suffocation, aggravated by the position of my body and head. I had to gasp for breath. I could feel the veins bulging on my forehead. They seemed on the verge of bursting.

On May 27 I asked that the clamp be removed. I promised to swallow voluntarily. Unfortunately this meant that my hunger strike was over, although I did not realize it at the time. I intended to resume my hunger strike some time later—in July or August—but kept postponing it. It was psychologically difficult to condemn myself to another indefinite period of torture by suffocation. It is easier to continue the struggle than to resume it.

Much of my strength that summer was dissipated in tedious and futile "discussions" with other patients in the semiprivate room where I was never left alone. This, too, was part of the KGB's elaborate tactics. Different patients occupied the other bed, but each of them tried to convince me what a naïve fool I am—a political ignoramus—although they flattered my scientific ability.

I suffered terrible insomnia from the overstimulation of these conversations, from my realization of our tragic situation, from self-reproach for my mistakes and weakness and from anxiety for my seriously ill wife, who was alone and, by ordinary standards, bedridden or almost bedridden much of the time. In June and July, after the spasm or stroke, I experienced severe headaches.

I could not bring myself to resume the hunger strike, partly from fear that I would be unable to bring it to a victorious conclusion and would only delay seeing my wife again. I never would have believed that our separation would last four months, in any case.

In June I noticed that my hands were trembling severely. A neurologist told me that it was Parkinson's disease. The doctors tried to convince me that if I resumed my hunger

strike there would be a rapid and catastrophic development of Parkinson's disease. A doctor gave me a book containing a clinical description of the disease's final stages. This, too, was a method of exerting psychological pressure on me. The head doctor, O. A. Obukhov, explained: "We won't allow you to die. I'll get the women's team out again to feed you with the clamp. We've got another method up our sleeve as well. However, you will become a helpless invalid." Another doctor added by way of explanation, "You'll be incapable of putting on your own trousers." Obukhov intimated that this would suit the KGB, since it would escape all blame: Parkinson's disease cannot be artificially induced.

What happened to me in a Gorky hospital in the summer of 1984 is strikingly reminiscent of Orwell's famous anti-Utopian novel, even down to the remarkable coincidence of the book's title—1984. In the novel and in real life the torturers sought to make a man betray the woman he loves. The part played by the threat of the cage full of rats in Orwell's book was played for me in real life by Parkinson's disease.

"Her death would be mine as well"

I was able to bring myself to resume the hunger strike only on September 7. On September 8 I was hastily discharged from the hospital. I was faced with a difficult choice: End the hunger strike in order to see my wife after a four-month separation or continue for as long as my strength held out, thereby indefinitely prolonging our separation and our complete ignorance of each other's fate. I could not continue.

Now, however, I am tormented by the thought that I may have lost a chance to save my wife. It was only after our reunion that I first learned about her trial and she learned about my painful force-feeding.

I am very concerned about my wife's health. I believe that a timely trip abroad is the only chance of saving her life. Her death would be mine as well.

I hope for your help, for your appeal to the highest levels seeking permission

for my wife's trip. I am asking for help from the presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and from you personally, as president of the academy and as a man who has known me for many years.

Since my wife has been sentenced to exile, her trip will probably require a decree of the Supreme Soviet's Presidium suspending her sentence for the period of her travel. (Precedents for this exist both in Poland and, quite recently, in the U.S.S.R.) The Supreme Soviet's Presidium or another body could repeal her sentence altogether on the grounds that my wife is a disabled veteran of World War II, that she recently suffered a massive myocardial infarct, that she has no prior convictions and that she has an irreproachable work record of 32 years. Those arguments should suffice for the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. I will add, for your information,



Bonner as photographed by Sakharov in the Gorky apartment

that my wife was unjustly and illegally convicted even from a purely formal point of view. In reality she was convicted for being my wife and to prevent her from traveling abroad.

I repeat my assurance that her trip has no purpose other than to seek medical treatment and to visit her mother, children and grandchildren; it is not intended to effect any change in my situation. My wife can supply the appropriate pledges herself. She may also pledge not to disclose the details of my confinement in the hospital if that is made a condition for her departure.

"My situation is unbearable"

I am the only academician in the history of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and Russia whose wife has been convicted as a criminal, subjected to a malicious, vile campaign of public slander and deprived of all communication with her mother, children and grandchildren. I am the only academician whose responsibility for his actions and opinions has been shifted onto his wife. That is my situation, and it is unbearable for me. I hope you will help.

If you and the academy's presidium do not find it possible to support me in this tragic matter, which is so vital for me, or if your intervention and other efforts do not lead to resolution of the problem before March 1, 1985, I ask that this letter be regarded as my resignation from the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. I will renounce my title of full member of the academy—a proud title for me in other circumstances. I will renounce all my rights and privileges connected with that title, including my salary as an academician—a significant step since I have no savings.

If my wife is not allowed to travel abroad, I cannot remain a member of the Academy of Sciences. I will not and should not participate in a great international deceit in which my academy membership would play a part.

I repeat: I am counting on your help.

Oct. 15, 1984
Gorky

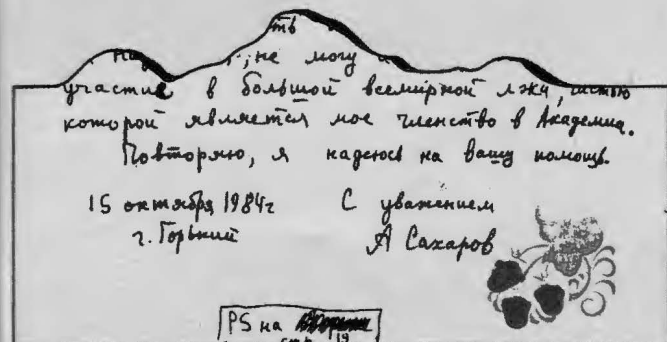
Respectfully,

A. Sakharov

P.S. If this letter is intercepted by the KGB, I will still resign from the academy and the KGB will be responsible. I should mention that I sent you four telegrams and a letter during my hunger strike. [He did not resign.]

P.P.S. This letter is written by hand since my typewriter (together with books, diaries, manuscripts, cameras, a tape recorder and a radio) was seized during a search.

P.P.P.S. I ask you to confirm receipt of this letter.



DRUGS A POTENT POLITICAL WEAPON

Dr. KGB's bedside manner

Andrei Sakharov's harrowing account of a doctor's threatening to turn him into an invalid is a vivid example of the KGB at work.

The Soviets long have used doctors, particularly psychiatrists, to bring dissidents to heel. Amnesty International reports that from 1975 to 1983 almost 200 persons were confined to Soviet psychiatric hospitals for political reasons. When other means of persuasion fail, the KGB often turns to potent—and frequently damaging—drugs.

Kevin Close, former Moscow correspondent of the *Washington Post*, interviewed a dissident coal miner, Alexei Nikitin, who spent four years locked in the Special Hospital for the Criminally Insane. A series of drugs were used to make him more tractable. Among them were sulfazine—a purified sulphur that brings fever, excruciating pain, convulsions and disorientation—and the drugs chlorpromazine and haloperidol, which disrupt

normal body movement. Nikitin's crime was defending workers' rights.

The KGB makes special use of doctors in its ranks, according to Walter Reich of the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars. "They represent a select population," he says. "They are trusted and have no qualms about carrying out KGB orders, particularly if they are not asked to kill a man, but to keep him alive." Instead of the Hippocratic oath, which focuses on individual needs, Soviet doctors swear to be "guided by the principle of Communist morality."

ABC NEWS



Sakharov on television from his hospital bed in Gorky

FORCE-FEEDING

Torture by clamp and spoon

When a hunger strike risks a prisoner's life—whether in the Soviet Union or the West—the next step is often force-feeding. However, a procedure used to save life can also be employed to torture.

In Sakharov's case, the Soviets employed the most punishing of methods, leading critics to suspect that the purpose was torture.

After using an intravenous fluid, they switched to injecting nutrients through a nasal tube—both of which he could tolerate—then resorted to the extreme of clamping Sakharov's nose while food was shoved down his throat.

This method, which induces intermittent suffocation, rarely fails to break the will of a prisoner. However, such treatment can also be fatal, as was

the case with Soviet dissident chemist Juri Kuk, who died in 1981.

Because the legality and ethics of force-feeding patients are controversial, some governments no longer permit it to be employed when prisoners are at issue.

Britain, which banned the practice in 1974, permitted Bobby Sands and nine other Irish Republican Army hunger strikers to perish in 1981. British authorities, who once fed hunger strikers by a tube to the stomach, halted it in the face of public protest over the force-feeding of two IRA sisters.

In the United States, where intravenous feeding prolongs life in hospitals and prisons, the courts have generally upheld it.

Interview with Yefrem Yankelevich, Sakharov's son-in-law



Yankelevich, standing, with his wife Tatiana, right, and Sakharov's daughter-in-law Liza Semenov with husband Alexei

'The world must be told'

Q Mr. Yankelevich, why are you releasing these letters now, when Mrs. Bonner is outside the Soviet Union and could be denied re-entry?

This is entirely my decision. I feel the world must be told what the situation is—what has happened to the Sakharovs, and what might happen to them in the future. We've always released everything, whether good or bad.

Q Might any harm come to Mrs. Bonner or to Sakharov as a result of these letters being published?

No. To the contrary, I think the letters make it clear what the situation is for Dr. Sakharov in Gorky, which provides an incentive for the Soviets, and especially [Soviet leader Mikhail] Gorbachev, to change the situation for the better.

Q Does Mrs. Bonner approve of your releasing this information, and is there a danger that the Soviets won't let her come home?

We told her we were going to do it. The only way to keep her from coming back would be to take away her Soviet citizenship. I don't believe—and she doesn't believe—that the Soviets would go as far as to separate husband and wife.

Q Gorbachev said recently that Sakharov could not leave the Soviet Union because he knows military secrets. Does he?

My view is that 18-year-old secrets are not secret. Dr. Sakharov did write a statement for the KGB acknowledging the state's right not to let him go because he might know things considered military secrets. But this was signed under duress—it was made a condition for his wife to be allowed to go to the West for medical care.

Q How is Sakharov's health now?

From what we've learned from Yelena Bonner, it seems he is recovered from the stroke or whatever he had in '84 and from a hunger strike in '85 with six months of force-feeding. His health is more or less satisfactory.

Q Can the United States do anything to get Sakharov out of the Soviet Union?

The U.S. did find a price equivalent for Shcharansky. Why don't they find something to trade for Sakharov?

PROBING MOSCOW'S MOTIVES

Does Sakharov really know any secrets?

■ As Mikhail Gorbachev tells it, Andrei Sakharov cannot be permitted to leave the Soviet Union because he "has knowledge of secrets of special importance to the state." Does he? Or is what Gorbachev says a mere pretext to keep the dissident scientist in exile in Gorky?

The answer could be neither. One theory in the West is that Moscow is acting out of a national paranoia. Soviet society is obsessed with secrecy. Medical statistics are considered classified information. Telephone books are distributed only among a select few, even in Moscow, and local newspapers must not be transported from one district to another.

Soviet officials pulled Sakharov's security clearance in 1968. Since then, assert many American scientists, strides in nuclear physics and bomb design have dated his technical knowledge beyond usefulness. "It's hard to imagine any contemporary military relevance to Sakharov's knowledge of early bomb design," declares physicist John Holdren of the University of California, Berkeley, who meets regularly with Soviet scientists on prospects for arms control. "I doubt even the Soviets believe that."

Failing to convince most U.S. nuclear scientists that they could benefit from Sakharov's knowledge, the Kremlin has tried a new tack. In July Anatoly Petrovich Alexandrov, chairman of the Soviet Union Academy of Sciences—the man to whom Sakharov addressed the 1984 appeal printed here—told a visiting lawmaker that Sakharov's release would violate the 1970 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty signed by the U.S., U.S.S.R. and 122 other nations.

Alexandrov argued that if Sakharov were allowed to emigrate, he could relay to other countries or groups—even terrorists—his knowledge of nuclear-weapons design. In a cabled report of the meeting, one U.S. diplomat called the argument "ludicrous" and "bizarre." Stanford University physicist Wolfgang Panofsky said Sakharov's writings reveal a man deeply committed to keeping nuclear know-how out of unsafe hands. "This has become a thoroughly political matter," scoffed Panofsky.

The Kremlin's unwillingness to release Sakharov seems to have deep emotional roots. "Sakharov was a prominent member of the elite and a hero of the Soviet nation, and he wants to leave," declares Mark Epstein, executive director of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews. "The notion that that is a betrayal is very deep in their psyche. They will not let go." ■

STEVE BENLOW FOR USNEWS



Kremlin boss stands firm

NEXT WEEK: The KGB's "disinformation" campaign and more Andrei Sakharov letters from Gorky.

A rebuke from Nikita Khrushchev sped Sakharov down the road of rebellion

■ The life of Andrei Sakharov is the most Russian of stories—the tale of a young man of promise and intellect brought low by the mighty.

The 64-year-old scientist is in the great tradition of Russian dissent. Like Sakharov, the 19th-century poet Pushkin won favor for youthful achievement. But Pushkin, too, trespassed in the realm of social criticism and was punished with exile.

Sakharov's life, like much of the grandest literature, turns on a single wrenching moment—the time in 1961 when he learned Moscow was about to break the U.S.-Soviet ban on nuclear tests. His protest to Nikita Khrushchev brought a stinging rebuke. Sakharov recalls the Kremlin leader's angry words: "Leave it to us who are specialists in this tricky business to make foreign policy. I would be a slob and not chairman of the Council of Ministers if I listened to the likes of Sakharov."

Sakharov once explained: "The feeling of impotence and fright seized me that day and has remained in my memory ever since. . . . After that, I felt myself another man. I broke with my surroundings. . . . After that, I understood there was no point in arguing."

A Moscow friend believes Sakharov spoke out of guilt over his role in developing the Soviet H-bomb—work that secured his reputation as a genius. "You

The making of a dissident

must remember Sakharov was born into a sensitive, kindly Moscow intellectual family," says this friend. "Like Western scientists who worked on the A-bomb, Sakharov was appalled by what he had wrought. He suffered a guilt complex."

Sakharov was motivated as a patriot and a scientist when working on the H-bomb program, says Edward Lozan-

sky, executive director of the Sakharov Institute in Washington, D.C. "He was too busy working on the project to think about the party," he says. "As a patriot, he wanted the country protected. As a scientist, his mind was engaged. . . . Only after he finished did he have time to think and analyze the consequences. Eventually, he came to realize how dangerous it is to have a totalitarian society with a nuclear arsenal."

For whatever reason, Sakharov began publicly faulting the Kremlin at every turn. In 1964, for instance, he assailed as quackery Trofim Lysenko's botanical theories, which held that acquired characteristics of plants might be inherited. Stalin and Khrushchev believed the theory would revolutionize Soviet farming.

Another turn of events reinforced his resolve—his 1971 marriage to Yelena Bonner, whose life had also turned toward radicalism. "When you can be a dissident with someone else," observes Susan Osnos, an American who knows both of them, "it makes you braver."

The Soviets tolerated him, if uneasily, until early 1980. But after criticizing the invasion of Afghanistan, Sakharov was arrested, then summarily exiled to Gorky. There would be no more freedom for the man who wrote: "My ideal is an open, pluralistic society, with an unconditional observance of the fundamental civil and political rights of man." ■

View from a window in Sakharov's Gorky flat, where the couple lives in isolation



© EPHRAIM WAKSELBLOOM

The next move belongs to Moscow

What's next for Andrei Sakharov and Yelena Bonner? The answer seems to be there will be no immediate change in their situation. The Kremlin remains silent about his letters. Mikhail Gorbachev is preoccupied with the party congress in late February. Perhaps to buy time to decide what to do about the couple, Moscow in mid-February renewed Yelena Bonner's visa for 90 days—an extension sought by her so she can recuperate from her January 13 heart-bypass surgery and perhaps have an eye operation. He remains alone in the Gorky flat.

Whatever the future holds for them, it is not likely to include a new life in the West. To win permission for Bonner to get medical treatment, Sakharov signed a statement conceding that the military "secrets" he knows may be grounds for holding him. Because the Kremlin has insisted a person with such secrets can't emigrate, it cannot easily make an exception for Sakharov—especially now that his letters have caused more embarrassment.

The Soviets could attempt to discredit Sakharov by "finding" incriminating items in his apartment, such as narcotics. Such crudeness, however, would be bound to stoke global furor. A more likely prospect: Publication of demeaning articles about him in the Soviet press.

The Soviets might strip Bonner of citizenship, preventing her return. This would be a severe blow to Sakharov, who could stage a new hunger strike. Also possible: Bonner will come home, and she and her husband will be kept isolated in Gorky for the rest of their lives.

Sakharov does seem resigned to never leaving the Soviet Union. But he has consistently voiced the hope that he will be permitted to return to Moscow. His statement in his letter to Gorbachev that he now wants "to cease completely my public activities" and get back to scientific work may form the basis for a negotiated end to his exile. If this happens, Sakharov would doubtless remain under surveillance. His contacts with the scientific establishment, other dissidents and the foreign press would be sharply curbed. The Kremlin will never again permit the kind of open house he used to run in Moscow for human-rights activists and other dissidents.

Sakharov's letters have focused attention once more on Soviet human-rights abuses. But Gorbachev isn't likely to cave in under pressure and risk a loss of face at home at a time when he is trying to build support for his programs. A Gorbachev comment made in another context now seems, sadly, to apply to Sakharov: "The wind blows, and the dogs howl, but the caravan moves on." ■

Tells Gorbachev: 'I desire to cease completely my public activities'

SAKHAROV'S PAINFUL TRIUMPH

■ Dr. Andrei Sakharov, the Nobel Prize-winning physicist banished to exile in Gorky since 1980, signed away late last year his right to leave the country. This was a condition set by Soviet officials for allowing his wife Yelena Bonner to visit the U.S. for urgent medical care.

Earlier in 1985, the dissident wrote Kremlin chief Mikhail Gorbachev that he desired "to cease completely my public activities (apart, of course, from exceptional cases)." These and other disclosures are included in a number of Sakharov letters smuggled to the West, which *U.S. News & World Report* and the *London Observer* are publishing by arrangement with Sakharov's relatives in the United States.

In last week's magazine, a letter written by Sakharov to the president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences described events up to Oct. 15, 1984—including his wife's arrest, his hunger strike in her behalf and four months of hospital detention during which he was "tormented" and force-fed by the KGB, the Soviet secret police.

This week, more letters and the reporting of Nicholas Bethell, a British journalist with extensive contacts among Soviet dissidents, complete the story of how Sakharov finally won his wife's release for medical care from a Kremlin bent on placating world opinion before the summit. Before that, however, Sakharov had to endure more force-feedings—while the Soviets waged a disinformation campaign designed to show that he was being treated humanely.



Sakharov writing at home in Moscow before exile to Gorky in 1980. Paper on desk says, "In a friendly surrounding"

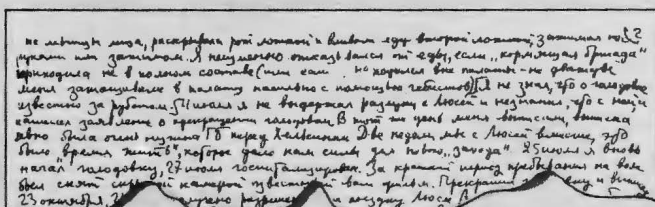
Anatoly Alexandrov, the academician who received Sakharov's Oct. 15, 1984, plea, did not reply. But he let it be known that Sakharov's resignation from the Academy of Sciences was not acceptable.

"A serious violation"

Sakharov's next letter was an appeal to the public prosecutor against his wife's conviction for distributing anti-Soviet material. The sentence of five years' exile in Gorky meant she could no longer visit Moscow. Their flat in Moscow was sealed and kept under constant guard.

In the Nov. 9, 1984, letter, Sakharov pointed to a "serious procedural violation." His plea to appear at the August 10 trial had been ignored. As the accused's closest relative, he was entitled to be there, but had been held in a hospital and not even told it was to take place. Also, he said, the trial's main witness, Feliks Serebrov, a former dissident induced to turn state's evidence, had given false testimony against Bonner.

Sakharov noted that the law only barred dissemination of "knowingly false" anti-Soviet statements. Thus, if the facts were true, or if the accused thought them to be true, there was no violation. Yelena, he said, had done no more than repeat his beliefs: "Obviously, it is quite unlawful to convict her for these statements while bringing no charges against me and not even summoning me as a witness. I am prepared to answer for the statements according to my convictions. My wife should not be held responsible for them."



My face was 'badly bruised'

Below are excerpts from a letter by Sakharov to his family in November, 1985:

... I started a new hunger strike on April 16, 1985, and was forcibly hospitalized—again taken to the Semashko hospital—on April 21. From that day (April 21) right up to July 11, I was subjected to forcible feeding. During this period and the one that followed, my resistance was sometimes, though not always, of a merely symbolic type.

The feeding was sometimes extremely painful. I was tied up and held down against the bed so violently that my face became badly bruised. A spoon was used to open my mouth and another spoon to pour in the food. My nose was held

tight by hand or with a clamp. I resigned myself to eating only when the "feeding team" was present in full strength and only when I was actually in the ward. Twice, they dragged me into the ward with the help of KGB men.

I had no idea whether or not anyone outside Russia knew about my hunger strike.

"The KGB wanted me discharged"

On July 11, not being able to bear my separation from Yelena any longer and not knowing anything about her, I wrote a statement that my hunger strike was canceled. The same day, I was discharged from the hospital. The KGB, clearly, badly wanted me discharged before the Helsinki [conference] started.

Lyusya [Yelena] and I were together for two weeks. It was a good time to be alive, and it gave us strength to endure another hunger strike. On July 25, I resumed my hunger strike and was hospitalized on July 27. During our short period of freedom, the film known to you was taken by a hidden camera. I ceased my hunger strike and was discharged on October 23. On October 24, the permission for Yelena's travel was received.

... My weight declined constantly during the period of forcible feeding. My normal weight is 170 to 176 pounds. When I was discharged on July 11, it was 145 pounds. My

It was to no avail. On Jan. 31, 1985, state prosecutor V. M. Yakovlev rejected Sakharov's complaint and upheld Yelena's conviction. His letter seemed to end any chance of her going abroad. Yet Sakharov would not submit. He prepared himself for another hunger strike.

The Sakharovs spent the winter in their Gorky flat, which has two good-sized rooms and two small rooms, with kitchen and bath. It reportedly was once a KGB "secret hotel," used for interrogations and accommodating visitors. Day and night, a policeman sat at a table by the Sakharovs' front door. Their bedroom window and terrace were watched from a police post 20 yards away. The four windows facing Gagarin Street were viewed from a house trailer. Only the KGB and those approved by them were allowed through the ring. If the Sakharovs went into the street, an ostentatious group of KGB men followed, ready to grab anyone who tried to make contact.

There was little to do but stay at home with their books, Sakharov working as best he could but longing for the stimulation of talk with fellow scientists. There is a television set, but it works badly because of jamming to keep the Sakharovs from listening to foreign broadcasts. The jamming is so strong that it blots out Radio Moscow and other domestic stations as well. To hear a broadcast, they had to take their radio to an open space a mile from the apartment. Winter in Gorky, however, is bitterly cold, and this added to the feeling of total isolation.

"Save us!"

In the early weeks of 1985, Sakharov made his decision. He drafted an open letter:

"Dear friends, I am renewing my hunger strike in pursuit

lowest weight during the second round was 138 pounds on August 13.

Beginning that day, they administered subcutaneous (into both thighs) and intravenous drips containing glucose and protein preparations—15 subcutaneous and 10 intravenous. The sheer quantity of the drip was enormous. My legs blew up like pillows and were painful.

The most cruel measure used against us was a 10-month separation— isolation from each other. It was especially difficult for Yelena in her solitary confinement. In 1985, she did not go on any hunger strike but lost more weight than I did.

These 10 months were as though they had never existed, a period of time deleted from our lives.

"I must disavow certain statements"

Twice [May 31, 1985, and Sept. 5, 1985] I was visited in the hospital by a representative of the KGB of the U.S.S.R., S. I. Sokolov, evidently a big chief. In May, he also talked to Yelena.

He conversed with me in a harsh manner. He stressed the reasons why my request for Yelena's travel—and also for the children's travel to the U.S.S.R.—could not be granted. He also led me to understand that I must disavow certain previous statements. . . . I was on a full hunger strike—there



Soviet dissident's wife Yelena hugs her grandson, Matvei Yankelevich, after she arrives in the U.S. Dec. 7, 1985

of my wife Yelena Bonner's right to travel abroad for medical treatment of her heart and eyes. This must be done away from KGB control, away from any trauma or accompanying hatred. My hunger strike also supports her right to see her mother, children and grandchildren after many years of tragic separation.

"The KGB has done everything possible to avoid the only possible solution of this matter. . . . They have used obedient judges and prosecutors and equally obedient doctors. I was forced under pressure of the torture of forcible feeding . . . to end my previous hunger strike on the 26th day in May, 1984, then to end a second hunger strike in September, 1984, to see my wife after four months of separation. My health has been seriously damaged. . . .

"My wife has been subjected to a farce of trial. . . . Today her state [of health] is a great deal worse than it was a year ago. . . . I see no other way out than to begin another hunger strike, in spite of the danger that it will impose on me and, in even greater degree, on my wife. In declaring a hunger strike, I am relying on your help.

"Ask for her conviction to be laid aside, or at least temporarily suspended. Ask for my wife to be allowed to go abroad for the time necessary for treatment . . . and so she can meet her mother, children and grandchildren. I ask all efforts to be concentrated on one aim—my wife's travel. The question of my own situation need not be raised. Save us!"

The letter, meant to be distributed immediately, remained secret until now. Sakharov duly began his hunger strike on April 16, and five days later he was taken to Semashko clinic by force. In a letter to his family reprinted in fuller

was no feeding. Thus, they "prepared" me for the conversation [with Sokolov in May].

In September, Sokolov informed me that Gorbachev had familiarized himself with my letter and had assigned a group of people to prepare an answer. Sokolov asked me to write a statement on the question of my knowledge of secrets and to convey to my wife a request that she write a statement obliging her not to meet representatives of the mass media while abroad or to take part in any press conference.

"We carried out Sokolov's requests"

I was then allowed 3 hours with Lyusya, and we carried out Sokolov's requests. I wrote that I accept the Soviet authorities' right to refuse me permission to travel beyond the country's borders, since I did in the past have access to especially important secret material of a military nature, some of which might still be of significance even now.

These expressions I used with Sokolov, and similar expressions in my letter to Gorbachev, have nothing to do with my accepting my deportation to Gorky and my isolation. After Sokolov's second visit, 48 exhausting days and nights of waiting went by. . . . The rest you know.

November, 1985.

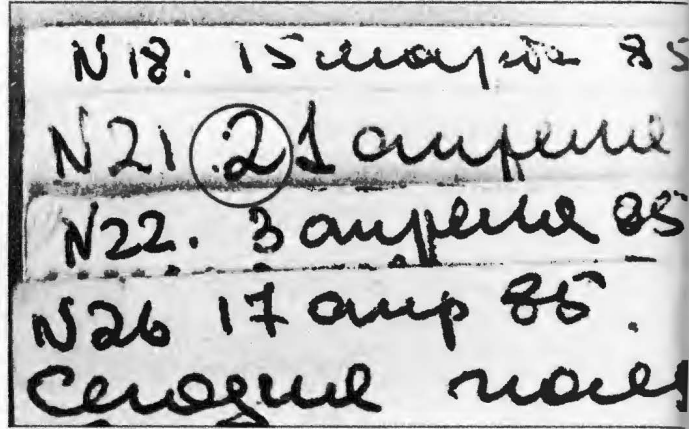
EXPOSING THE KGB'S FORGERY

Yelena Bonner sent a series of postcards to her family in the United States during 1985. She numbered them to let relatives know if any cards did not arrive. One card, supposedly dated April 21, was really sent on April 1. The digit 2 was inserted—apparently by the KGB—to

change 1 to 21. This alteration, seen below, was exposed by Bonner's numbering system, as an expert, at left, points out to family members. Card 21 was obviously sent before card 22, yet it carried a later date. The later date made it appear that Sakharov was still at home when, in fact, he had been returned to the hospital.



SOBOL—SIPA/SPECIAL FEATURES



text on pages 34 and 35, he describes the “extremely painful” force-feeding he underwent from the day he entered until July 11, when he left. He wrote: “I was tied up and held down against the bed so violently that my face became badly bruised. A spoon was used to open my mouth and another spoon to pour in the food. My nose was held tight by hand or with a clamp. I resigned myself to eating only when the ‘feeding team’ was present in full strength and only when I was actually in the ward. Twice, they dragged me into the ward with the help of KGB men. I had no idea whether or not anyone outside Russia knew about my hunger strike.”

Flurries of fakery

The Sakharov family in Boston knew nothing of this. They knew only that the occasional postcards from Gorky, each one numbered to show how many were being confiscated, no longer arrived.

In December, 1984, just before Gorbachev’s visit to London, the KGB had released photos of the couple looking well. But there were no recent photos. Once again, it seemed, Sakharov and his wife had disappeared, and the family feared the worst.

Then came marvelous news. Irina Kristi, the last friend to see Yelena at the beginning of their isolation in May, 1984, arrived in the U.S. as an émigré. She had with her a telegram sent to Moscow a few days earlier by the “fax” method. It ended, “We kiss you,” and it was signed “Lyusya,” the name by which Yelena is known to her friends. The next day, Yelena’s daughter Tatiana received a postcard in Newton, Mass. It was dated April 21, and read in part: “. . . So now April is passed. . . . The snow has melted and the sun is shining.” It was not the sort of card Yelena would write if her husband were in the hospital on hunger strike.

It took only a few days and an examination by experts to reveal that the postcard was a KGB forgery, and the fax message also appeared suspect. The discovery threw the family into despair. “We do not know whether the Sakharovs are alive or dead,” Tatiana said

publicly. Her husband Yefrem Yankelevich said, “This forgery is particularly frightening because it might have been committed on the assumption the Sakharovs will never be able to tell the truth. We cannot preclude the possibility that they are not alive.”

A month later another piece of disinformation surfaced—something far more sophisticated—a film of Sakharov apparently made in the hospital that same month. It showed the physicist reading foreign journals, watching TV, using an exercise bicycle, eating and relaxing. The family says this was a careful compilation of film shot with a hidden camera over more than a year, edited to give the impression that in June, 1985, Sakharov was well and eating normally.

Sakharov confirms in his November, 1985, letter that on July 11, after nearly three months of hunger strike and forcible feeding, he signed a paper agreeing to eat. He did this, he says, because he could no longer stand being separated from Yelena and not knowing how she was. He was released from the hospital the same day. The Politburo, with Gorbachev as its new leader, was eager, he believes, to get him out of the clinic before the international meeting celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki agreement on human rights. “Lyusya [Yelena] and I were together for two weeks. It was a good time to be alive, and it gave us strength to endure another hunger strike,” he writes.

On July 25, he resumed his hunger strike—the fourth since 1981—and two days later he was back in the clinic. His normal weight of 170 to 176 pounds had fallen by August 13 to 138 pounds. “Beginning that day,” he wrote, “they administered subcutaneous (into both thighs) and intravenous drips containing glucose and protein preparations—15 subcutaneous and 10 intravenous. The sheer quantity of the drip was enormous. My legs blew up like pillows and were painful.”

On May 31, Sakharov had been visited in the hospital by a senior KGB officer, S. I. Sokolov. In the letter, he records the “harsh manner” in which Sokolov told him that Yelena would never be allowed abroad, nor could her



JEAN-CLAUDE BERTELS—APR

Yelena Bonner in Rome in December, 1985. She promised Kremlin not to talk to the media while in the West



Soviets tried to show Sakharov was not on a hunger strike by releasing in June, 1985, a videotape of him eating in a hospital.

children come to the Soviet Union. He also asked Sakharov to renounce certain past statements, especially an article on nuclear disarmament and a statement in 1977 that an explosion in the Moscow metro may have been a KGB provocation.

On September 5, Sokolov came back to the hospital in a more conciliatory mood. Faced with the East-West thaw and Sakharov's almost superhuman perseverance in his wife's defense, the Politburo had begun to contemplate the unthinkable—letting Bonner make a trip to the West.

S. I. Sokolov said that a letter Sakharov had written to Gorbachev on June 29 had been brought to the Soviet leader's attention, and officials were preparing a reply. Sakharov, after 18 years of public involvement, the last of them in increasing isolation, felt no desire to return to the public scene. In his June letter, Sakharov apparently felt he could help reassure Gorbachev on this score: "I desire to cease completely my political activities (apart, of course, from exceptional cases) and to concentrate on my scientific work. . . ."

Next, Sokolov sought an admission of the authorities' right not to let the physicist go abroad. In response, Sakharov, as he explained in the November letter to his family, "wrote that I accept the Soviet authorities' right to refuse me permission to travel beyond the country's borders, since I did in the past have access to especially important secret material of a military nature, some of which might still be of significance even now. . . ."

Sokolov also demanded another concession, which was "to convey to my wife a request that she sign a statement obliging her not to meet . . . the mass media while abroad or take part in any press conference." Sakharov agreed to pass the message on. "I was then allowed 3 hours with Lyusya, and we carried out Sokolov's requests."

At last, victory

Sakharov remembers "48 exhausting days and nights of waiting" after the second Sokolov meeting. Then, on October 21, he achieved his goal. Yelena was summoned to the visa office and told she would receive her passport. Two days later, Sakharov was home. They had just over a month together to prepare for Yelena's trip to the United States and another period of separation.

On November 10, Yelena was able to speak to the family in Boston by telephone for the first time since April, 1984. The happy news was announced to the world—just in time for the Reagan-Gorbachev summit a week later. On November 27, Yelena flew to Moscow and, on December 2, to Rome. By mid-December, she was with her family in the U.S. ■

OPERATION SAKHAROV

The KGB weaves a tangled web

A polite word for the practice is *disinformation*; a blunter word is *lying*. In Andrei Sakharov's case, the Kremlin has tried to convince the world that, despite reports the dissident was on a hunger strike, he was actually in robust health and happy. Main target: The Western media. A sampler of the disinformation—

● **May, 1984:** Sakharov begins his hunger strike. A Tass report denies that the strike is happening. The Soviet press accuses his wife of plotting with the U.S. Embassy.

● **August, 1984:** While the KGB continues to hold Sakharov in the hospital, Radio Moscow insists he is alive and well. ABC News—with a warning to viewers—shows a doctored KGB videotape purchased from the West German newsweekly *Bild*. It contains scenes shot in 1980 and 1984 and still photos from the 1970s spliced together to look as if the contents were all current footage.

● **December, 1984:** As Gorbachev arrives in London to meet Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, hidden-camera photos are released in the West. They show the Sakharovs in apparent good health.

● **May 16, 1985:** AP accurately reports from Moscow that a

signed by Bonner implying the two are together and things are improving. The family later determines message is a fake.

● **May 25, 1985:** Tatiana, Bonner's daughter, gets a postcard dated April 21. It reads in part: "So now April is passed. . . . The snow has melted, and the sun is shining." Handwriting analysis reveals that the card has been tampered with: The date has been changed from April 1 to 21, and verb tenses have been altered.

● **June, 1985:** *Bild* gets two videotapes shot in the Gorky hospital, parts of which are shown by ABC News. The film is narrated by a staff doctor, who says that Sakharov has never been on a hunger strike but has been in the hospital since April 21 for treatment of various ailments.

● **July 29, 1985:** On the eve of a Helsinki meeting at which Soviet human-rights abuses



Gorbachev visits Thatcher in London

handwritten note from Sakharov smuggled from a Gorky hospital says he has begun a hunger strike.

● **May 24, 1985:** The KGB gears up again. Irina Kristi, a friend of Bonner's who broke the news of the '84 hunger strike, emigrates to the U.S. Before leaving, she receives a telegram dated May 12 and

are at issue, French TV and ABC-TV air excerpts of a film showing Sakharov reunited with Bonner and going to a movie theater, where a wall poster is dated July 11. The KGB secretly shot the film during a two-week respite in the hunger strike. By the time the film is shown, Sakharov is again refusing to eat.

FRANSA—AP/WIDEWORLD FEATURES

FILE DISSIDENTS 36
Paula

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 20, 1986

ANDREI SAKHAROV DAY

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

May 21, 1986, is the 65th birthday of Andrei Sakharov. At this time, let us recall and acclaim the courage and dedication of this giant of the twentieth century. Let us rededicate ourselves to the values of peace and justice and human dignity he has come to symbolize for all who love freedom throughout the world.

Since we last honored this brave man, we are pleased that Dr. Sakharov's wife, Yelena Bonner, has been allowed to travel here to see her family and to obtain needed medical care. We welcome the fact that several separated husbands and wives were at last given permission to join their spouses in the United States. We welcome the release of Anatoly Shcharansky.

Unfortunately, these positive developments only serve to underscore the overall grim human rights situation that continues to prevail in the Soviet Union. For his efforts on behalf of human rights and world peace, Dr. Sakharov himself remains isolated in Gorky, deprived of contact with friends and family, and barred from carrying out scientific research. The Soviet authorities have succeeded in eliminating the main vehicle for human rights activism, the Helsinki Monitors. Yury Orlov and many other monitors are now serving long terms of imprisonment or exile. Religious groups continue to be major targets of persecution: Orthodox believers, Baptists, Roman Catholics, Ukrainian rite Catholics, Uniates, Pentecostals, and other groups have been subjected to arrest and harassment. The crackdown on Hebrew teachers and cultural activists continues. Emigration remains at low levels. Many more families remain separated. The basic freedoms of speech, assembly, and press are systematically denied, yet, as Sakharov has recognized, these are the essential means by which people can ensure that their own governments act peacefully and in the people's interests.

In October 1977, in an appeal to the Parliaments of all Helsinki-signatory states, Dr. Sakharov wrote:

"We are living through a period of history in which decisive support of the principles of freedom of conscience, an open society and the rights of man is an absolute necessity. The alternative is surrender to totalitarianism, the loss of all precious freedom and political, economic and moral degradation. The West, its political and moral leaders, its free and decent peoples, must not allow this."

I believe we can best honor Dr. Sakharov on his 65th birthday by taking his message to heart and by continuing our own vigorous efforts in pursuit of a just peace, including respect for human rights. We must act on his behalf to ensure that his message of hope, freedom, justice, and the inviolability of the human conscience will not be silenced.

more

(OVER)

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 323, has designated May 21, 1986, as "Andrei Sakharov Day" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim May 21, 1986, as Andrei Sakharov Day. I call upon the people of the United States and Federal, State, and local government officials to observe this day with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities designed to honor this hero of humanity.

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

RONALD REAGAN

#

CREED

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Capsule Biography



IRINA RATUSHINSKAYA, AGE 32

Physics teacher, poet
Orthodox Christian

- + Arrested September 1982, sentenced March 1983 to 7 years in labor camp plus 5 years internal exile for five poems she wrote. She is the first woman to receive the maximum sentence for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."
- + During her first two years in labor camp, she was placed in an isolation cell for a total of 138 days because of her hunger strikes and letters to prison authorities protesting the brutal treatment of her fellow prisoners.
- + September 1983 was the last time her husband or anyone has been allowed to see her. Irina has not been allowed any written communications in or out of camp.
- + Alarming news has reached the West that Irina received severe head injuries, either through a deliberate "accident" or a beating. In addition, other serious medical problems indicate her past instances of forced feedings by prison authorities may have included debilitating drugs.

Irina's fellow prisoners smuggled out an urgent letter asking the free world to help her. They write, "She is a person of clear and precise intellect, a courageous human rights activist. Intellect, talent, fearlessness . . . this combination was seen by the KGB as most dangerous." It is clear that Irina Ratushinskaya is a marked woman, that the darkness of evil tries to extinguish the brightest lights.

The best way to know Irina is to read what she herself has written.

- At the age of 24, after stumbling upon books of history, culture and religion forbidden by the communist government, Irina was profoundly shaken. *"Clearly, I had not been looking for what*

now seemed to have found me. 'It' had found me, as if a long-forgotten God had all along been buoying me up and guarding my soul when no one had been allowed to do this in all my years of childhood and youth."

- From prison April 1983, concerning her husband:

"Lord, how is life for him? Keep a watchful eye,
Lest that cubby-hole apartment drive him to madness.
Make his pain a dark secret and lend to his face a light
Meant for two, so the world shall perceive adversity mastered.
With a lifted cup I salute the force of Your will
(See the ease of that gesture - my hands held high without trembling.)
But with Being's radiant armor, protect his soul
From the jeers of the rabble.
Unlike him in obscurity, I have a road so plain,
Polished smooth by the multitudes, memorizing each pebble.
I can manage this task - just watch me! But please keep him safe.
From the nooks of insane asylums with spider webbing.
Do not dispossess him, depriving him of Your strength,
Do not let Your hand fall carelessly from his shoulder.
From eternity's alloy of spirit and truth
Let him fashion a chain and manacles for our sorrow.
When we stand in your presence in the next life,
Asking nothing - except a companionship past all fractures,
Past the power of angelic trumpets or rending knives,
We will look at You, ready to give You our answers.

(trans. by Susan Layton)

- Excerpt from another of Irina's poems:

"At my interrogation what will I say
If forced to speak, to face the country's way -
Deaf, mute, in the body's rags, bruised
nearly dead -
Oh Lord, my God!" (trans. by Pamela W. Hadas, Ilya Nykin)

For Irina Ratushinskaya Poems

Write: Hermitage, 2269 Shadowood Drive, Ann Arbor, MI 48104

Please write to Irina. Even if she does not receive every letter, prison officials are impressed with mail from the West.

Irina's prison address: Irina Ratushinskaya
431200 Mordovskaya ASSR
Tengushevsky raion
pos. Yavas
uchr. ZhKh-385-2
Soviet Union

CREED needs your help to continue its mission of freedom. Thank you for your concern and support.

June 1986



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DISSIDENTS

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
SECRETARIAT

PAGE 01 SECSTATE WASHDC 6345 DTG: 050128Z JUN 86 PSN: 002607
EOB484 AN006550 TOR: 156/0317Z CSN: HCE305

FIGURES FOR JEWISH EMIGRATION, ARE AROUSING NEW CONCERN
IN THE U.S. ABOUT THE SITUATION OF SOVIET JEWS.

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WE BELIEVE IT IS
APPROPRIATE TO RAISE OUR CONCERN AT WHAT APPEARS TO BE AN
ARREST BASED ON MAGARIK'S HEBREW TEACHING.

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 9198

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1447

6. ON A RELATED MATTER, WE HAVE RECEIVED REPORTS HERE
THAT BETSALEL SHALOLASHVILI'S SENTENCE WAS SUSPENDED.
CAN EMBASSY CONFIRM? SHULTZ
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 176345

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: UR, PHUM
SUBJECT: JUNE 6 TRIAL OF ALEKSEY MAGARIK

REF: (A) MOSCOW 5539; (B) MOSCOW 5816; (C) MOSCOW 4717

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

REF: F06-114/7 #9534

BY: C/S NARA DATE 7/7/08

1. VLADIMIR MAGARIK, FATHER OF ARRESTED HEBREW TEACHER
ALEKSEY MAGARIK (REFTELS), MET WITH HA DEPUTY ASSISTANT
SECRETARY JIM MONTGOMERY AND EUR/SOV DIRECTOR MARK PARRIS
JUNE 4 TO DISCUSS HIS SON'S CASE. ALEKSEY'S TRIAL IS
SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE ON JUNE 6, AND HIS FATHER ASKED
FOR AN OFFICIAL U.S. EXPRESSION OF CONCERN BEFORE THE
TRIAL.

2. NOTING OUR LONGSTANDING CONCERN OVER THE SOVIET
CAMPAIGN AGAINST JEWISH CULTURAL ACTIVISTS, PARRIS TOLD
MAGARIK THAT WE WOULD LOOK FOR AN APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY
TO CONVEY U.S. CONCERN ABOUT MAGARIK'S SITUATION TO THE
SOVIETS, ALTHOUGH THE SHORT LEAD-TIME BEFORE THE TRIAL
MADE IT DIFFICULT.

3. ACTION REQUEST: EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO LOOK FOR AN
APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE U.S. CONCERN ABOUT

MAGARIK'S ARREST AND UPCOMING TRIAL WITH THE USA
DEPARTMENT, PREFERABLY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A PREVIOUSLY
SCHEDULED MEETING. WE WILL ALSO LOOK FOR AN APPROPRIATE
OPPORTUNITY HERE IN WASHINGTON, ALTHOUGH AT THIS TIME WE
HAVE NO MEETINGS SCHEDULED.

4. EMBASSY CAN DRAW ON FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS:

-- THE ARREST OF ALEKSEY MAGARIK ON DRUG CHARGES HAS
CAUSED CONCERN IN BOTH PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENT CIRCLES IN
THE U.S.

-- IT APPEARS THAT MAGARIK WAS ACTUALLY ARRESTED FOR HIS
ACTIVITIES AS A HEBREW TEACHER. AS YOU KNOW, THE U.S.
GOVERNMENT WAS PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY EXPRESSED CONCERN
ABOUT THE NUMEROUS ARRESTS OF SOVIET HEBREW TEACHERS AND
JEWISH CULTURAL ACTIVISTS DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS.

-- MAGARIK'S UPCOMING TRIAL, COMBINED WITH RECENT LOW

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
SECRETARIAT

USSR/Dissidents

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 1283 DTG: 021432Z JUL 86 PSN: 063623
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3. IN RECENT YEARS SHATRAVKA BECAME ACTIVE IN THE INDEPENDENT PRO-PEACE "GROUP TO ESTABLISH TRUST BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA," WHICH HAS EXPERIENCED HARASSMENT, ARRESTS, AND DEPORTATIONS BECAUSE OF ITS ADVOCACY OF PEACE MEASURES WHICH DIFFER FROM THE OFFICIAL SOVIET LINE. SHATRAVKA WAS REPORTED THIS WEEK TO BE IN MOSCOW, PREPARING TO DEPART FOR THE WEST.

ROUTINE
STU9954
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PARIS FOR RL REP GENE PARDA

DEPT PASS CSCE COMMISSION

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, UR, PREF
SUBJECT: SOVIET DISSIDENT ALEKSANDR SHATRAVKA:
POTENTIAL REFUGEE APPLICANT

REF: (A) VIENNA 9648, (B) MOSCOW 11067 (BOTH NOTAL)

SUMMARY

1. ALEKSANDR SHATRAVKA IS A DISSIDENT WHO WAS RECENTLY RELEASED FROM A LABOR CAMP AND THEN A PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL AND REPORTEDLY GIVEN PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE. EMBASSY PERCEIVES NO OBJECTION TO HIS ADMISSION TO U.S. IN REFUGEE STATUS. END SUMMARY

2. ALEKSANDR SHATRAVKA IS A SOVIET DISSIDENT WHO WAS SENTENCED IN 1982 TO THREE YEARS IN LABOR CAMPS FOR "ANTI-SOVIET SLANDER" AFTER WRITING A BOOK ENTITLED "IF YOU ARE INFECTED WITH FREEDOM." BEFORE HIS TERM EXPIRED, HE WAS SENTENCED IN 1984 TO TWO YEARS FOR ALLEGED POSSESSION OF NARCOTICS. IN 1986 HE WAS TRANSFERRED TO A PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL. ACCORDING TO A RELIABLE DISSIDENT SOURCE, AFTER INTERVENTION BY A SUPERVISORY PROSECUTOR, A LOCAL COURT IN KAZAKHSTAN RECENTLY REVIEWED SHATRAVKA'S SENTENCE, DETERMINED IT OUT OF PROPORTION TO THE "CRIME," AND REDUCED IT TO TIME SERVED.

4. SHATRAVKA'S REDUCTION OF SENTENCE, RELEASE FROM THE PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL LAST MONTH, AND RECEIPT OF PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE FOLLOWED A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IN THE WEST IN MAY BY DR. YEVGENIY CHAZOV, DEPUTY HEALTH MINISTER AND SOVIET CO-CHAIRMAN OF INTERNATIONAL PHYSICIANS FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, THAT SHATRAVKA AND ANOTHER "TRUST GROUP" MEMBER HAD BEEN RELEASED AFTER AN APPEAL FROM THE INTERNATIONAL PHYSICIANS' GROUP. (THE OTHER "TRUST GROUP" MEMBER WAS RECENTLY REPORTED TO REMAIN A PRISONER.)

COMMENT

5. SHATRAVKA'S RELEASE, AND/OR CHAZOV'S TAKING CREDIT FOR IT, MAY BE ONE OF A SERIES OF RECENT GESTURES AIMED AT IMPROVING WESTERN PERCEPTION OF THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES. CHARGES SUCH AS "ANTI-SOVIET SLANDER" AND POSSESSION OF NARCOTICS, AS WELL AS CONFINEMENT TO PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS, HAVE BEEN

REPORTED IN A NUMBER OF OTHER CASES OF POLITICAL DISSIDENTS IN THE USSR. EMBASSY PERCEIVES NO OBJECTION TO U.S. REFUGEE STATUS FOR SHATRAVKA. HARTMAN
BT

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BY CJ NARADATE 7/7/08