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(Klugmann/ARD)

May 20, 1988

7:00 p.m.

TR
PR

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: UPCOMING MOSCOW SUMMIT
SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1988
TO BE TAPED MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

My fellow Americans, as this pre-taped broadcast reaches you, I am in Helsinki, Finland, on my way to the Soviet Union, where I arrive on Sunday.

When I meet in the coming days with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev, it will be our fourth set of face-to-face talks in 3 years. Through our conversations, U.S.-Soviet relations have moved forward on the basis of frankness and realism. This relationship has not rested on any single issue, but has been built on a sturdy four-part agenda that includes human rights, regional conflicts, arms reduction, and bilateral exchanges.

What has been achieved in this brief span of time offers great hope for a brighter future and a safer world.

Through Western firmness and resolve, we concluded the historic I.N.F. treaty that provides for the global elimination of an entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

Soviet armed forces are now withdrawing from Afghanistan, an historic event that should lead finally to peace, self-determination, and healing for that long-suffering people, and to an independent and undivided Afghan nation.

It is also encouraging to hear General Secretary Gorbachev speak forthrightly about "glasnost" and "perestroika" -- openness and restructuring in the Soviet Union -- words that to Western ears have a particularly welcome sound. And since he began his

campaign, we can list developments that the Free World heartily applauds.

We have seen many well-known prisoners of conscience released from harsh labor camps or strict internal exile, courageous people like Josif Begun and Andrei Sakharov.

Soviet authorities have permitted the publication of books, like Dr. Zhivago, and the distribution of movies, such as Repentance, that are critical of aspects of the Soviet past and present. Greater emigration has been allowed. Greater dissent is being tolerated. And recently, General Secretary Gorbachev has promised to grant a measure of religious freedom to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

All this is new and good. But at the same time, there is another list that the West cannot ignore. While there are improvements, the basic structure of the system has not changed in the Soviet Union or in Eastern Europe, and there remain significant violations of human rights and freedoms.

In Asia, Africa, and Central America, unpopular regimes use Soviet arms to oppress their own people and commit aggression against neighboring states. These regional conflicts extract a terrible toll of suffering and threaten to draw the U.S. and the Soviet Union into direct confrontation.

These and related concerns will be at the top of my agenda in the days ahead. I shall say, among other things, that the Soviet Union should fully honor the Helsinki Accords. In view of that document, signed in Helsinki in 1975, it is difficult to understand why almost 13 years later, cases of divided families

and blocked marriages should remain on the East-West agenda; or why Soviet citizens who wish, by right, to emigrate should not be able to do so. And there are other issues: the recognition of those who wish to practice their religious beliefs, and the release of all prisoners of conscience.

In working for a safer world and a brighter future for all people, we know arms agreements alone will not make the world safer -- we must also reduce the reasons for having arms. As I said to General Secretary Gorbachev when we first met in 1985: We do not mistrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. History has taught us that it is not weapons that cause war, but the nature and conduct of the governments that wield the weapons. So when we encourage Soviet reforms, it is with the knowledge that democracy not only guarantees human rights, but also helps prevent war, and, in truth, is a form of arms control. So, really, our whole agenda has one purpose: to protect peace, freedom, and life itself.

We would like to see positive changes in the U.S.S.R. institutionalized so that they will become lasting features of Soviet society. And I would like to see more Soviet young people come here to experience and learn from our society.

And that is why we are ready to work with the Soviets. To praise and criticize, and work for greater contact, and for change. Because that is the path to lasting peace, greater freedom, and a safer world.

I am grateful for your prayers and support as I embark on this journey.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

3801
[Handwritten signature]

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/19/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON - Friday 05/20

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: UPCOMING MOSCOW SUMMIT (for 05/28/88)
(05/19 4:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KRANOWITZ	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	POWELL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:
Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by Noon on Friday, 05/20, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: May 20, 1988

TO TONY DOLAN:

NSC staff concurs with the changes marked.

Robert H. Panto
Paul Schott Stevens
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Klugmann/ARD)
May 19, 1988
4:00 p.m.

Received
1988 MAY 19 PM 5:04

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: UPCOMING MOSCOW SUMMIT
SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1988
TO BE TAPED MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

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When I meet in the coming days with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev, it will be our fourth set of face-to-face talks in 3 years. Through ^{our conversations,} ~~this dialogue,~~ U.S.-Soviet relations have moved forward on the basis of frankness and realism. This relationship has not rested on any single issue, but has been built on a sturdy four-part agenda that ^{includes} ~~covers~~ human rights, regional conflicts, ~~nuclear~~ arms reduction, and bilateral exchanges.

What has been achieved in this brief span of time offers great hope for a brighter future and a safer world.

Through ^{Western} ~~American~~ firmness and resolve, we concluded the historic I.N.F. treaty that ^{provides for the global elimination of} ~~will eliminate~~ an entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles ~~from Europe.~~

^{armed forces are} ~~The~~ Soviet ~~army~~ is now withdrawing from Afghanistan, ^{an} ~~a~~ historic event that should lead finally to peace, self-determination, and healing for that long-suffering people; ~~process that shall be complete when the heroic Afghan people recover the independent, non-communist, and undivided nation for which they have long struggled.~~

It is also encouraging to hear General Secretary Gorbachev speak forthrightly ^{about} ~~of the problems he sees in the Soviet Union,~~ ~~The new Soviet ruler talks of~~ "glasnost" and "perestroika" -- ^{in the Soviet Union} ~~openness and restructuring,~~ -- words that to Western ears have a

Treaty is global

Not "ruler"

particularly welcome sound. And since he began his campaign, we can list developments that the Free World heartily applauds.

We have seen many well-known prisoners of conscience released from harsh labor camps or strict internal exile, courageous people like Andrei Sakharov and Josif Begun.

Soviet authorities have permitted the publication of books, like Dr. Zhivago, and the distribution of movies, such as Repentance, that are critical of aspects of the Soviet past and present. Greater emigration has been allowed. Greater dissent is being tolerated. And recently, General Secretary Gorbachev has promised to grant a measure of religious freedom to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

All this is new and good. But at the same time, there is another list that the West cannot ignore. There remain

~~systematic human rights violations under the Helsinki Accords; and the Soviet Union continues to obstruct agreement on human rights issues in the Helsinki follow-up meetings. The Baltic nations and most of the Eastern European nations also have~~

significant human rights problems. In Asia, Africa, and Central America, ~~the Soviets continue to support regimes that~~ oppress

their own people and commit aggression against neighboring states. ~~Even when those neighbors are totally neutral in the East-West conflict.~~ *These regional conflicts extract a terrible toll of suffering and threaten to draw the U.S. and Soviet Union into direct confrontation.*

This second list will be at the top of my agenda in the days ahead. I shall say, among other things, that it is time for the Soviet Union to fully honor the Helsinki Accords. ~~AS I said yesterday, speaking in the same hall where the Helsinki Accords~~

Don't need to get into Vienna details, + this is too strong.

"Baltic nations" should be "Baltic republics." Should be dropped anyway

(State fix)

after the Helsinki Accords were signed, ^{almost} 13 years later, cases of divided families and blocked marriages should remain on the East-West agenda; or why Soviet citizens who wish, by right, to emigrate should be subject to artificial quotas and arbitrary rulings. And there are other questions: the continued suppression of those who wish to practice their religious beliefs, and the release of all prisoners of conscience.

In working for a safer world and a brighter future for all people, we know arms agreements alone will not make the world safer -- we must also reduce the reasons for having arms. As I ^{have said previously} said to General Secretary Gorbachev when we first met in 1985: We do not distrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we distrust each other. History has taught us that it is not weapons ~~(themselves)~~ that cause war, but the nature ^{and conduct} of the governments that wield the weapons. So when we encourage Soviet reforms, it is with the knowledge that democracy not only guarantees human rights, but also helps prevent war, and, in truth, is a form of arms control. So, really, our whole agenda has one purpose: to protect peace, freedom, and life itself.

~~And one of the most important steps toward these goals would be for Soviet reforms to not simply be issued by decree, but for the Soviet leadership to institutionalize fundamental principles of Soviet society. And I would like to see more Soviet young people come here to experience and learn from our society. by permitting an independent judiciary, the freedom to form political parties, and the secret ballot.~~

And that is why we are ready to work with the Soviets. To praise and criticize, ^{for greater contact, and} and work for change. Because that is the path to lasting peace, greater freedom, and a safer world.

State
fix

State
wants
something
on bilateral
issues
too

I am grateful for your prayers and support as I embark on this journey.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.



(Klugmann)
May 19, 1988
8:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: UPCOMING MOSCOW SUMMIT
SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1988
TO BE TAPED MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

My fellow Americans, as this broadcast reaches you, I am in Helsinki, Finland, on my way to the Soviet Union, where I arrive ~~on Sunday~~. ~~Before my departure for the Moscow summit, I pre-taped this radio message to you.~~

schedule

When I meet in the coming days with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev, it will be our fourth set of face-to-face talks in years. Through this dialogue, U.S.-Soviet relations have moved forward on the basis of frankness and realism. This relationship has not rested on any single issue, but has been built on a sturdy four-part agenda that covers human rights, regional conflicts, nuclear arms reduction, and bi-lateral exchanges.

schedule
12/8/87 DC
1/16/85 Geneva
10/12/84 Reikiavik

What has been achieved in this brief span of time offers great hope for a brighter future and a safer world.

Through America's firmness and resolve, we concluded the historic INF treaty which will eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

11/8/84

The Soviet army is now withdrawing from Afghanistan, a triumph which shall be complete when the heroic Afghan people recover the independent, non-communist, and undivided Nation for which they have long struggled.

It is also encouraging to hear General Secretary Gorbachev speak forthrightly of the problems he sees in the Soviet Union. The new Soviet ruler talks of "glasnost" and "perestroika" -- openness and restructuring -- words that to Western ears have a

Perestroika
by Gorbachev
12/1/84
5/17/88

particularly welcome sound. And since he began his campaign, we can list developments which the Free World heartily applauds.

We have seen many well known prisoners of conscience released from harsh labor camps or strict internal exile, courageous people like Andrei Sakharov and Josif Begun.

Soviet authorities have permitted the publication of books like, Dr. Zhivago, and the distribution of movies, such as Repentance, that are critical of aspects of the Soviet past and present. Greater emigration has been allowed. Greater dissent is being tolerated. And recently, General Secretary Gorbachev has promised to grant a measure of religious freedom to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

All this is new and good. But at the same time, there is another list which the West cannot ignore. There remain systematic human rights violations under the Helsinki Accords; and the Soviet Union continues to obstruct agreement on human rights issues in the Helsinki follow-up meetings. The Baltic nations and most of the Eastern European nations also have significant human rights problems. In Asia, Africa, and Central America, the Soviets continue to support brutal communist dictatorships that commit aggression against neighboring states.

This second list will be at the top of my agenda in the days ahead. I shall say, among other things, that it is time for the Soviet Union to fully honor the Helsinki Accords. As I said yesterday, speaking in the same hall where the Helsinki Accords were signed in 1975, it is difficult to understand why, almost 13 years later, cases of divided families and blocked marriages should

Gary
Gureff
USA
485-1541

Cathy
Shuchenko

Gary
Gureff
47-1573

8/1/75

Miss
Gureff
+
Cathy

8-1-75

P. 8.
Helsinki
Speech
5-27-78

Make
call
me

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3
X

remain on the East-West agenda; or why Soviet citizens who wish, by right, to emigrate should be subject to artificial quotas and arbitrary rulings. ^{there is the point of} ~~And what are we to think of~~ ^{selection questions!} the continued suppression of those who wish to practice their religious beliefs? ^{and} ~~We see no reason why~~ the Soviet Union cannot release all prisoners of conscience.

11/21/85
 In working for a safer world and a brighter future for all people, we know arms agreements alone will not make the world safer -- we must also reduce the reasons for having arms. As I said to General Secretary Gorbachev when we first met in 1985: We do not distrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we distrust each other. History has taught us that it is not weapons themselves which cause war, but the nature of the governments that wield the weapons. So when we encourage Soviet reforms, it is with the knowledge that democracy not only guarantees human rights, but also helps prevent war, and, in truth, is a form of arms control. So, really, our whole agenda has one purpose: to protect peace, freedom, and life itself.

And after all it was no less an observer than Friedrich Engels who wrote more than a century-and-a-half ago, and I quote, that "As soon as Russia has... internal party struggles [and] a constitutional form under which these party struggles may be fought without violent convulsions... the traditional Russian policy of conquest is a thing of the past."

That is ~~much~~ the same reason why I have urged the Soviet leadership to provide institutional reforms such as an independent judiciary and the freedom to form political parties.

why

And that is why we are ready to work with the Soviets, ~~to read~~
~~and encourage them.~~ ^{to} praise and criticize. Because that is
the path to lasting peace, greater freedom, and a safer world.

Thank you for listening, and God bless you.

(Klugmann/ARD)

May 19, 1988

4:00 p.m.

TR

SS

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: UPCOMING MOSCOW SUMMIT
SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1988
TO BE TAPED MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

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When I meet in the coming days with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev, it will be our fourth set of face-to-face talks in ³/~~2~~ years. Through this dialogue, U.S.-Soviet relations have moved forward on the basis of frankness and realism. This relationship has not rested on any single issue, but has been built on a sturdy four-part agenda that covers human rights, regional conflicts, ~~nuclear~~ arms reduction, and bilateral exchanges.

What has been achieved in this brief span of time offers great hope for a brighter future and a safer world.

Working in close concert with our allies
Through America's firmness and resolve, we concluded the historic I.N.F. treaty that will ^{provide for the global} eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles ~~from Europe~~.

troops are now beginning their
The Soviet army is now withdrawing from Afghanistan, a ^{first critical step in returning the fate of that troubled} process that shall be complete when the heroic Afghan people ^{country to the} recover the independent, non-communist, and undivided nation for ^{Alghan} which they have long struggled.

It is also encouraging to hear General Secretary Gorbachev speak forthrightly of the problems he sees in the Soviet Union. The new Soviet ^{leader} ruler talks of "glasnost" and "perestroika" -- openness and restructuring -- words that to Western ears have a

this marks the
people who
struggled
long
and
heroically
with
for
this
result.

Cathy
Plerochico
647-1573

St. Dept
notes

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Soviet authorities have permitted the publication of books, like Dr. Zhivago, and the distribution of movies, such as Repentance, that are critical of aspects of the Soviet past and present. Greater emigration has been allowed. Greater dissent is being tolerated. And recently, General Secretary Gorbachev has promised to grant a measure of religious freedom to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

All this is new and good. But at the same time, there is another list that the West cannot ignore. There remain

systematic human rights violations under the Helsinki Accords; *and the Soviet Union continues to obstruct agreement on human rights issues in the Helsinki follow-up meetings. [The Baltic nations and most of the Eastern European nations also have significant human rights problems.]* In Asia, Africa, and Central America, the Soviets continue to support regimes that oppress their own people and commit aggression against neighboring states, even when those neighbors are totally neutral in the East-West conflict.

This second list will be at the top of my agenda in the days ahead. I shall say, among other things, that it is time for the Soviet Union to fully honor the Helsinki Accords. ~~As I said yesterday, speaking in the same hall where the Helsinki Accords~~

Cathy Chernochko

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Cathy

almost

after The Helsinki Accords were signed
 were signed in 1975, it is difficult to understand why, 13 years later, cases of divided families and blocked marriages should remain on the East-West agenda; or why Soviet citizens who wish, by right, to emigrate should be subject to artificial quotas and arbitrary rulings. And there are other questions: the continued suppression of those who wish to practice their religious beliefs, and the release of all prisoners of conscience.

In working for a safer world and a brighter future for all people, we know arms agreements alone will not make the world safer -- we must also reduce the reasons for having arms. As I said to ~~General Secretary Gorbachev when we first met in 1985:~~ *previously, or*
 We do not distrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we distrust each other. History has taught us that it is not weapons themselves that cause war, but the nature of the governments that wield the weapons. So when we encourage Soviet reforms, it is with the knowledge that democracy not only guarantees human rights, but also helps prevent war, and, in truth, is a form of arms control. So, really, our whole agenda has one purpose: to protect peace, freedom, and life itself.

And one of the most important steps toward these goals would be for Soviet reforms to not simply be issued by ~~decree~~ *arbitrary decision*, but for the Soviet leadership to institutionalize fundamental principles by permitting an independent judiciary, the freedom to form *associate for their purposes* political parties, and the secret ballot. *realistic to look forward to*

And that is why we are ready to work with the Soviets. To praise and criticize, and work for change. Because that is the path to lasting peace, greater freedom, and a safer world.

We would like to see positive changes in the Soviet Union institutionalized so they can become permanent features of Soviet society.

*State
 Mark
 Parnis
 47-6729*

*5/17/88
 Amb. Schiffer
 State
 Soviet desk
 Tom Simons
 647-1126*

*Jacob
 Wom
 647-9559*

*it is
 not too
 much to
 ask
 over
 time*

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TR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY R. DOLAN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: PHILLIP D. BRADY
DEPUTY COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Radio Talk: Upcoming Moscow Summit

Counsel's office has reviewed the above-referenced radio talk, and we have the following comments:

1. In the opening paragraph, we suggest that the opening clause be revised by substituting the phrase "previously recorded" before the word "broadcast" and deleting the phrase "which I recently pre-taped."
2. At the bottom of page 2 and the top of page 3, we do not believe it is appropriate for the President to quote from a speech which he has not yet given. (Since the President has acknowledged that this broadcast was previously recorded, it is clear that he has not given the speech in Helsinki.)
3. In the next to last paragraph at page 3, we believe it is important to make it clear that political parties in the Soviet Union should be "separate and independent." This will make it clear that the Communist Party only is not sufficient.

We have marked these and other editorial changes on the attached copy of the proposed radio talk. Except as noted above, we have no legal objection to the delivery of this radio talk by the President.

Attachment

cc: Rhett B. Dawson

(Klugmann/ARD)
May 19, 1988
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: UPCOMING MOSCOW SUMMIT
SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1988
TO BE TAPED MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

Received US
1988 MAY 19 PM 5:04

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particularly welcome sound. And since he began his campaign, we can list developments that the Free World heartily applauds.

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This second list will be at the top of my agenda in the days ahead. I shall say, among other things, that it is time for the Soviet Union to fully honor the Helsinki Accords. As I said
~~yesterday, speaking in the same hall where the Helsinki Accords~~

~~were signed in 1975,~~ ^{after the Helsinki Accords were signed} it is difficult to understand why, 13 years [^] later, cases of divided families and blocked marriages should remain on the East-West agenda; or why Soviet citizens who wish, by right, to emigrate should be subject to artificial quotas and arbitrary rulings. And there are other questions: the continued suppression of those who wish to practice their religious beliefs, and the release of all prisoners of conscience.

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And one of the most important steps toward these goals would be for Soviet reforms to not simply be issued by decree, but for the Soviet leadership to institutionalize fundamental principles by permitting an independent judiciary, the freedom to form ^{separate} political parties, and the secret ballot.

^{and independent} And that is why we are ready to work with the Soviets. ^{Union} To praise and criticize, and work for change. Because that is the path to lasting peace, greater freedom, and a safer world.

I am grateful for your prayers and support as I embark on this journey.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

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REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by Noon on Friday, 05/20, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

see comments / TG

(Klugmann/ARD)

May 19, 1988

4:00 p.m.

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SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1988
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1988 MAY 19 PM 5:04

My fellow Americans, as this ^{pre-taped} broadcast reaches you, ~~which I~~
~~recently pre-taped~~, I am in Helsinki, Finland, on my way to the
Soviet Union, where I arrive on Sunday.

When I meet in the coming days with Soviet General Secretary
Gorbachev, it will be our fourth set of face-to-face talks in
3 years. Through this dialogue, U.S.-Soviet relations have moved
forward on the basis of frankness and realism. This relationship
has not rested on any single issue, but has been built on a
sturdy four-part agenda that covers human rights, regional
conflicts, nuclear arms reduction, and bilateral exchanges.

What has been achieved in this brief span of time offers
great hope for a brighter future and a safer world.

Through America's firmness and resolve, we concluded the
historic I.N.F. treaty that will eliminate an entire class of
U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

The Soviet army is now withdrawing from Afghanistan, a
process that shall be complete when the heroic Afghan people
recover the independent, non-communist, and undivided nation for
which they have long struggled.

It is also encouraging to hear General Secretary Gorbachev
speak forthrightly of the problems he sees in the Soviet Union.
The new Soviet ruler talks of "glasnost" and "perestroika" --
openness and restructuring -- words that to Western ears have a

particularly welcome sound. And since he began his campaign, we can list developments that the Free World heartily applauds.

We have seen many well-known prisoners of conscience released from harsh labor camps or strict internal exile, courageous people like Andrei Sakharov and Josif Begun.

Soviet authorities have permitted the publication of books, like Dr. Zhivago, and the distribution of movies, such as Repentance, that are critical of aspects of the Soviet past and present. Greater emigration has been allowed. Greater dissent is being tolerated. And recently, General Secretary Gorbachev has promised to grant a measure of religious freedom to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

All this is new and good. But at the same time, there is another list that the West cannot ignore. There remain systematic human rights violations under the Helsinki Accords; and the Soviet Union continues to obstruct agreement on human rights issues in the Helsinki follow-up meetings. The Baltic nations and most of the Eastern European nations also have significant human rights problems. In Asia, Africa, and Central America, the Soviets continue to support regimes that oppress their own people and commit aggression against neighboring states, even when those neighbors are totally neutral in the East-West conflict.

This second list will be at the top of my agenda in the days ahead. I shall say, among other things, that ~~it is time for the~~ Soviet Union ^{should} fully honor the Helsinki Accords. ~~In a speech I~~ ~~As I said~~ ~~delivered~~ ^{speaking} ~~yesterday,~~ in the same hall where the Helsinki Accords

I noted the difficulty in understanding
were signed in 1975, ~~it is difficult to understand~~ why, 13 years
later, cases of divided families and blocked marriages should
remain on the East-West agenda; or why Soviet citizens who wish,
by right, to emigrate ~~should be subject to artificial quotas and~~
~~arbitrary rulings~~. ^{Should not be able to do so} And there are other ^{issues} ~~questions~~: the ^{recognized} ~~continued~~
~~suppression~~ of those who wish to practice their religious
beliefs, and the release of all prisoners of conscience.

In working for a safer world and a brighter future for all
people, we know arms agreements alone will not make the world
safer -- we must also reduce the reasons for having arms. As I
said to General Secretary Gorbachev when we first met in 1985:
We do not distrust each other because we are armed; we are armed
because we distrust each other. History has taught us that it is
not weapons themselves that cause war, but the nature of the
governments that wield the weapons. So when we encourage Soviet
reforms, it is with the knowledge that democracy not only
guarantees human rights, but also helps prevent war, and, in
truth, is a form of arms control. So, really, our whole agenda
has one purpose: to protect peace, freedom, and life itself.

And one of the most important steps toward these goals would
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by permitting an independent judiciary, the freedom to form
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praise and criticize, and work for change. Because that is the
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I am grateful for your prayers and support as I embark on this journey.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

TR

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 05/19/88 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON - Friday 05/20

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: UPCOMING MOSCOW SUMMIT (for 05/28/88)
(05/19 4:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOOLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KRANOWITZ	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	POWELL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RANGE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan by Noon on Friday, 05/20, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.
Page 3: Why not add line re "Berlin Walls"? (see edit)

RESPONSE:

Page 1: I would be more explicit than "frances and resolve" - Rebuilding our defenses generally and deploying Intermediate Range missiles in Europe specifically caused Russians to sign.
Page 2: "Save human rights problems" is no way to characterize encirclement of Eastern Europe: should be much stronger. TRC

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Klugmann/ARD)
May 19, 1988
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: UPCOMING MOSCOW SUMMIT
SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1988
TO BE TAPED MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

Received U.S.
1988 MAY 19 PM 5:04

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No!
Two
weird

were signed in 1975, it is difficult to understand why, 13 years later, cases of divided families and blocked marriages should remain on the East-West agenda; or why Soviet citizens who wish, by right, to emigrate should be subject to artificial quotas and arbitrary rulings. And there are other questions: the continued suppression of those who wish to practice their religious

beliefs, and the release of all prisoners of conscience. *and tearing*

down the Berlin Walls of Eastern Europe
In working for a safer world and a brighter future for all

people, we know arms agreements alone will not make the world safer -- we must also reduce the reasons for having arms. As I said to General Secretary Gorbachev when we first met in 1985: We do not distrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we distrust each other. History has taught us that it is not weapons themselves that cause war, but the nature of the governments that wield the weapons. So when we encourage Soviet reforms, it is with the knowledge that democracy not only guarantees human rights, but also helps prevent war, and, in truth, is a form of arms control. So, really, our whole agenda has one purpose: to protect peace, freedom, and life itself.

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World Notes



Belgium: injured fan at Heysel Stadium, 1985



The gulf: tanker hit last week by Iran



Soviet Union: Begun and wife after hearing the news

THE GULF

Mission Improbable

United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar arrived in Tehran on the first leg of a difficult mission: to negotiate a cease-fire in the seven-year war between Iran and Iraq. The two sides had been expected to stop fighting at least until the Secretary-General's visit ends this week. But after only a three-day lull, Iraqi warplanes attacked Iranian cities and industrial sites in what Iraqi President Saddam Hussein called a "day of revenge" for Iranian missile attacks on Kuwaiti targets the week before. Iran, meanwhile, said it could not "take the risk" of observing an unconditional cease-fire, as called for by a U.N. Security Council resolution two months ago. If Pérez de Cuéllar's mission fails, the next step will be a U.S. campaign for an international arms embargo against Iran.

UNITED NATIONS

Fingering the Forgotten

They are probably the most extensive and carefully documented files on Nazi war crimes in existence. Yet for decades the 40,000 dossiers, compiled by the 17-country War Crimes Commission at

the end of World War II, have been gathering dust on the eighth floor of a United Nations office building in New York City. Next week Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar will decide whether researchers and historians will be given access to the confidential records, which were "discovered" by Israeli officials last year. The documents sparked the controversy over the alleged participation in Nazi war crimes of Kurt Waldheim, the former U.N. Secretary-General who is now President of Austria. Opponents of increased access argue that the archives contain unsubstantiated charges that could harm innocent people. Counters an Israeli diplomat at the U.N.: "Secrecy will hurt, not help, those who might be innocent."

SOVIET UNION

Freedom Now, 16 Years Late

Soviet Dissident Iosif Begun has had a tumultuous year. Last February, after a series of public protests, the Soviet Union's best-known refusenik was abruptly released from labor camp after serving 3½ years on charges stemming from his activities as a Hebrew teacher. Last week Begun, 55, again got some good news. Soviet authorities announced that they were approving his 16-year-old request to emigrate to Israel.

Begun's elderly mother and his wife Inna will also be allowed to leave, along with more than a dozen other Soviet Jews who have been campaigning for exit permits for years. Moscow's move is evidently intended to gain favor with the West in anticipation of a summit this fall between President Reagan and Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

ARGENTINA

Surprise at the Ballot Box

It was the sort of electoral verdict that sitting Presidents dread. In balloting that is certain to complicate the life of Argentine President Raúl Alfonsín between now and the end of his six-year term in 1989, the opposition Peronists captured 16 of the 21 governorships at stake and swept away the ruling Radical Civic Union's absolute majority in the 254-seat lower house of Congress. The Radicals now hold 117 seats, the Peronists an unnerving 105.

The Radicals tried to downplay the resurgence of the blue collar-based Peronist movement. "We knew it was coming," said Edgardo Catterberg, a party pollster. "There was a national sense of unfulfilled expectations." At issue was the government's handling of the economy. Inflation, which was running in the single digits two years ago, is

now nearly 14%. Alfonsín's determination to make regular interest payments on Argentina's \$54 billion foreign debt also continues to stir controversy. Addressing a business group late in the week, he cautioned, "We have lost the elections, but the tree has not fallen. No one should try to take wood before its time."

BELGIUM

Awaiting Trial In Style

While the new wing of Louvain Prison near Brussels is hardly luxurious, its color television sets, recreation rooms and large cells with attached bathrooms make it a relatively comfortable place to await trial. But the situation of the 26 English soccer fans now housed there is anything but comfortable. After being extradited from Britain, they face manslaughter charges arising from riots during the 1985 European Cup championships in Brussels' Heysel Stadium. Thirty-nine spectators died as they fled rabid English fans. Most of the victims were crushed to death.

The decision to put the suspects in Louvain outraged convicts at other Belgian prisons. Hundreds of inmates hurled stones and set fires at the overcrowded Forest and St. Gilles jails in Brussels. If convicted, the English fans could each be sentenced to ten years in prison.



Begun: 'a great event in the history of this country and also in the world'

Q&A: BEGUN

Freedom for a refusenik

Fifty-four-year old mathematician Josef Begun is the most famous of the more than 140 political prisoners pardoned by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev last February. He emerged gaunt after serving 3½ years of a 12-year sentence in Chistopol Prison, 800 km east of Moscow. His alleged crime had been to distribute anti-Soviet literature. Now trying to piece together his life again, he lives in a sparsely furnished two-room apartment in North Moscow. Wearing a blue woolen yarmulke, grey pleated wool slacks, paisley shirt, suspenders and a blue tie with Hebrew letters spelling out "Harvard"—a gift from a visiting U.S. Jewish professor—he recently spoke to a Maclean's correspondent:

Maclean's: How did you feel when you learned that you were about to be released?

Begun: I and my friends were waiting for such a moment, but of course it was a great surprise. We knew about the changes taking place in our country—about glasnost, openness—but we did not know how it would touch our lives.

Maclean's: Do you believe Gorbachev is sincere when he says he wants a more open society?

Begun: Yes. It is a great event in the history of this country and maybe also in the world. Whenever you have a closed society and oppression in one country it generates hostility and tension from other countries, even wars. So when a country like the U.S.S.R. becomes more open, more free, it helps to

create more trust in the world.

Maclean's: Have conditions for Jews improved under Gorbachev?

Begun: Most Jews in this country are no different from other citizens. They have lost all aspects of their Jewish culture and so of course when changes like glasnost occur, they benefit along with everyone else. But for the rest of us there are still great problems. To be a Jew, to teach Hebrew, to worship, to have any cultural contact with Jewish society in other countries is still impossible. We have nothing—no books, no schools, no possibility to learn about our history. We Jewish activists are always demanding our national rights but up to now we have received nothing.

Maclean's: Dissident Andrei Sakharov has said that he agrees wholeheartedly with Gorbachev's glasnost campaign. Do you share that view?

Begun: Yes, of course. We Jews are like other people and our situation depends on the development of this country. We survived hard times under [Josef] Stalin and more recently in the 1970s when many Jewish activists were arrested. Only since March, 1986, have we seen things start to improve. And we hope that eventually we will benefit along with everyone else.

Maclean's: Growing up in the Soviet Union, were you aware of your Jewishness?

Begun: Unfortunately not. I can say that it was only when I was in my 30s that I began to study my native language, Hebrew. It was around the time of the

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HILTON INTERNATIONAL CANADA

[1967 Arab-Israeli] Six-Day War. I was lucky enough to make the acquaintance of some people who were active in Jewish life. They opened my eyes and I began for the first time to be a Jew. When the Six-Day War broke out I was working in a scientific institute here in Moscow—I was not thinking about my religion, my culture. But from that moment on I began to feel inside like a Jew. I lost all of my privileges and my good salary, but I gained my identity.

Maclean's: *As you know, many Soviet Jews who do receive permission to emigrate eventually settle in the United States rather than in Israel. That has led some Soviet officials to complain that most refuseniks are motivated not by religious and cultural aspirations but by economic considerations. How do you respond to that criticism?*

Begun: It is a very difficult problem. But I am surprised that the Soviet authorities are so concerned about this. If people are allowed to leave, why should they care about their destination? My own grandfather was born at the beginning of this century in a small *shtetl* [town] in Byelorussia. They were poor but they lived a Jewish life. Then one day his daughter—my mother—announced that she wanted to emigrate to America, but my grandfather would not let her go to such a rich country. He explained, "Here we are Jews, but in America there is a danger that we will no longer be Jews." And he was right. And because of that I was born in this country. So it is not true that Jews want to go to the West only to live a better life.

Maclean's: *Can you describe the conditions in Chistopol Prison?*

Begun: It was terrible. They deprived us of practically all rights, even those given to regular criminals. I was not allowed any visitors and I could not correspond with my family. I lived in a small, dark cell and my food consisted mainly of sour black bread, boiled potatoes and cabbage. Sometimes the authorities put me on a strict regimen—no sugar, no fat, only water and bread. We used to hear the authorities talk about the problem of hunger in Africa, but here in the Soviet Union we were being treated the same way.

Maclean's: *As a refusenik, what sort of treatment do you receive from other Soviet citizens?*

Begun: Actually many of our neighbors do not know about us. We look like common people. And when I go outside on the street I remove my yarmulke and wear a hat, even in summer. I do not want to attract attention to myself. We have a tradition: be a Jew at home, but be an ordinary citizen on the street. Unfortunately, the authorities have made it so difficult that many Soviet Jews do not want to be Jews even in their own homes. □

SOVIET UNION

A Day in the Depths of the Gulag

The place where rain falls, but sun never shines

Of some 140 political prisoners pardoned last month by Soviet Party Leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the best known was Mathematician Iosif Begun, a 54-year-old refusenik. He was freed after serving 3½ years of a seven-year term for anti-Soviet activity that consisted mainly of teaching Hebrew and campaigning for Jewish cultural rights. After being reunited with his family and friends on a Moscow train platform last week, Begun relaxed in his apartment and spoke with TIME Moscow Bureau Chief James O. Jackson of how he passed his time in prison. A compact man with cheerful blue eyes and a velvet yarmulke covering the stubble of a recently shaved head, Begun described his regimen during a typical day at Chistopol prison, 500 miles east of Moscow. Jackson's report:

Feb. 2, 5 a.m. A guard bangs on iron doors, rousing Begun and some 25 others in the prison's political wing. They must rise or risk punishment.

"I was already being punished, but I didn't know why," remembered Begun. "Just before the beginning of February they put me on a 'strict regime.' I felt that liberation was near, so I did not know why they changed me from the ordinary regime." If he did not know what was happening, he knew what strict regime meant: half-rations of about 1,000 calories a day, most of them in the form of coarse black bread, boiled potatoes and cabbage. No sugar. No fat. No meat. No visitors. No mail.

Whether on ordinary regime or strict regime, Begun lived in a cell measuring about 10 ft. long and 5 ft. wide. It contained two narrow wooden cots and an open toilet. At one end was a small window that let in narrow strips of light. "It had metal jalousies to keep out the sun and block the view to the prison yard," Begun said. At the other end was an iron door fitted with multiple locks and a closed rectangular slot called a *kormushka*, or feeding door.

Sometimes a cellmate shared the tiny space, but that was not always a good thing. "Once they put in a tough young man who said he was convicted of spying for China," Begun said. "He threatened me and then beat me up." Begun pulled up a leg of his trousers to display a scar left from the beating. The guards, he said, ruled it a fight and punished both men.

6 a.m. Breakfast is passed through the kormushka in a shallow bowl. Bread, a thin gruel called kasha, and hot water.

"Our only permanent property was a spoon and a cup," said Begun. "In four years I never saw a fork or a knife. Too dangerous." Light came mainly from two bulbs, one in the ceiling and a "night-light" near the door. Both were dim, but the one near the door was kept burning round the clock. "The light didn't bother our sleeping," Begun said. "Our struggle was always for a brighter bulb so we could see to read."



Free at last: an exultant Iosif Begun in Moscow after his release
"They forbid everything because they fear everything."

7 a.m. Exercise. Strict-regime prisoners are allowed half an hour in the prison yard.

"The yard is divided into small rectangles about the size of the cells, and prisoners are allowed to exercise only with cellmates. Each yard is seven steps long, three steps wide. There is a concrete floor and rough concrete walls four meters [12 ft.] high, covered with wire mesh. It is like being at the bottom of a well. Prisoners call it 'seeing the sky through a screen.' The walls were so high that the sun was never visible: "We don't see the sun for years, but it can rain on you."

8 a.m. The working day begins. Guards push a pile of hempen fiber through the kormushka.

Work for Begun consisted of knotting the rope into cargo nets, a job chosen

mainly for its monotony. "The norm was eight nets a day, and those who met the norm might get one or two rubles a month to spend on sugar or fat from the prison store." Begun says he never made more than one net a day. "To do no work at all is extremely provocative, and punishment is severe. To do a single net is another matter. I did only one a day as a matter of principle."

11 a.m. Lunch: bread, a couple of small boiled potatoes, hot water.

"In general, the guards were rather polite to political prisoners, but they punished us severely. With criminals it was the other way around. They spoke rudely to them, but they treated them gently." Because of his defiance, Begun was often sent to the punishment cells, where conditions were even worse. "There is nothing in the cell except a toilet or a bucket. There is a plank for a bed, but no pad and no blanket, and it must be folded up against the wall in the daytime. There is a half-ration of food every other day." The cells were bitterly cold in winter. Begun estimated that he spent 200 days in punishment cells. "They punished political very severely. Wearing a yarmulke or an unbuttoned collar could get 15 days in punishment cells. They forbid everything because they fear everything."

5 p.m. Supper: bread, more kasha, pickled cabbage.

"The daily norm for meat in prison is officially 40 grams [1.4 oz.]," Begun said. "But if there is a shortage of meat in Moscow, you can imagine what it is like in Chistopol prison. I never saw any meat." He guffawed when asked if he ever got fruit or cheese. "I never saw an apple. I never saw an egg. I never saw cheese. They gave milk only to very sick prisoners, one glass a day." Begun occasionally got milk, following hunger strikes that he had started to support demands for better treatment. "I went on a hunger strike near the end of 1986 to get books in Hebrew. They finally gave them to me in December."

After supper Begun was able to read by the dim light, but he was allowed no more than five books at a time. "This was difficult for me because I read books in English and Hebrew, and I needed dictionaries. I also needed mathematics textbooks, but they refused. They said I was not a student."

9 p.m. Bedtime. The overhead bulb is turned off, but the night-light allows the guards to check through the judas-hole in the door. They monitor him frequently, sliding the cover aside and peering in at the sleeping prisoner.

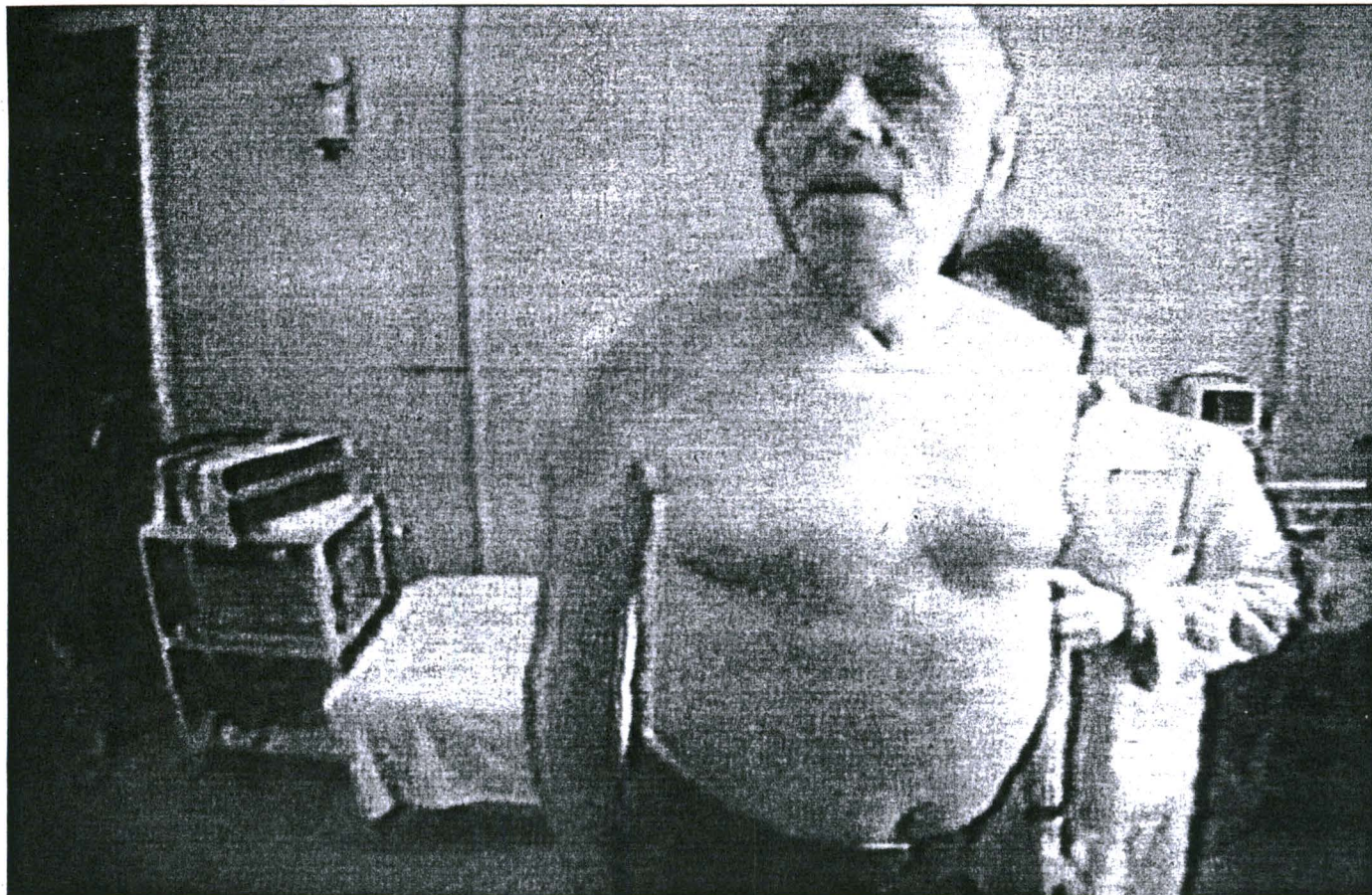
Iosif Begun spent more than 1,300 days like that. Some were better. Many were worse. ■

HIBON—STAMA

see esp

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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.” ■

Президенту АН СССР акад.
А.П. Александрову
Члену Президиума АН СССР
Глубокоуважаемый Анатолий Петрович!

Я обращаюсь к Вам в самый трагический момент
своей жизни. Я прошу Вас поддержать просьбу о поездке
моей жены Елены Георгиевны Боннер за рубеж для встречи с
матерью, детьми и внуками и для лечения болезни глаз и
сердца. Мне необходимо объяснить, почему поездка minha
стала для нас абсолютно необходимой. Безусловно
характер нашего положения, созданный вокруг меня и
доктор моей жены обстоятельно изложил, мне и
любимой вынуждают так изложить, насколько могу —
честно и открыто.

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.

государство и мой матушка уезду пот. Когда же я
открывал пот, чтобы вздохнуть воздуха, в пот
выбрасывал лоскут нитчатой смеси или бумажки
с нитчатой смеси. Иногда пот открывался
спонтанно, рывком, вставленным между
двух пальцев. Иногда он выстреливал нит-
чатой смесью.

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.

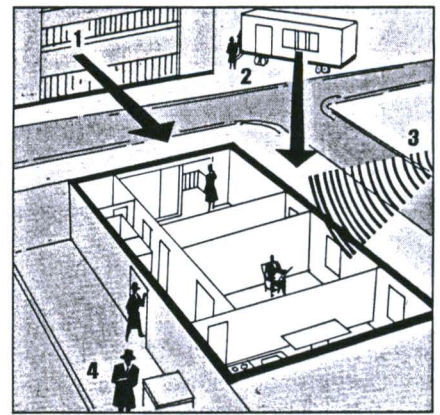
From May 16 to May 24 a new means of force-feeding was employed: A tube was inserted through my nose. This was discontinued on May 25, supposedly because sores were developing along the nasal passages and esophagus. I believe it was stopped because this method is bearable, if painful. In labor camps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

одна из форм. Статьи 190-1 УК РСФСР истребляют
распространение заведомо ложных клеветнических из-
вещаний, порочащих советский общественный и госу-
дарственный строй (по смыслу статьи - уверенность
ложность которых ясна обвиняемому, однако в судебной
или судебной практике в моем деле дело шло, ред
идет от утверждения статьи которых

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

English translation by Nicholas Bethell and Richard Lourie

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

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.

не могу
участие в большой всемирной акции, целью
которой является мое членство в Академии.
Повторю, я надеюсь на вашу помощь.
15 октября 1984г С уважением
А. Сахаров
г. Горький

PS на [illegible]

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 Kukuk, 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 BENBOW FOR US&WR



Gorbachev Will Not Let Sakharov Go
Soviet Leader Says He Possesses Secrets

By Coletine Bohin
Moscow Post Foreign Service
MOSCOW, Feb. 8—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev today put an

Kremlin boss stands firm

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

Shcharansky's release an exception as dissident voices are silenced

One free, many left behind

■ Anatoly Shcharansky's passage from captivity across Berlin's Glienicke Bridge and on to a hero's welcome in Israel was a bittersweet victory for Soviet dissidents.

They could rejoice at his freedom. But there was no sign that the release of the 38-year-old activist signaled general relaxation of Soviet policy toward those who defy the system or toward Jewish emigration. In fact, Shcharansky was one of a dwindling few who still openly challenge the system.

Soviet authorities set their own terms for Shcharansky's release by including him in an East-West exchange of spies—though they did allow him to cross the bridge separately from the other prisoners. They have claimed consistently that he spent nine years in labor camps for espionage, not for his political beliefs or his desire to emigrate. By handling him this way, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev found a face-saving way both to appease Western human-rights concerns and remove him as a symbol of oppression.

Nonetheless, freedom for Shcharansky resulted at least partly from recent improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations: The Reagan administration's exploration with Moscow since late 1984 has emphasized arms control, trade and cultural exchanges. But U.S. officials have rarely missed an opportunity to raise the plight of Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov, the most famous dissident, and others in meetings with their Soviet counterparts.

There has been no sign of yielding on Sakharov, once the premier Soviet nuclear physicist. His prospects may be even bleaker now that documents detailing his treatment have been smuggled to the West. But Shcharansky's case was more of a nuisance, less of a supreme test of wills. On balance, Gorbachev could reckon that holding him would be more costly to the Soviet image than granting him freedom.

Such hard-eyed calculation reflects policies that have slowly crushed open dissent. Little remains of the widespread agitation for human rights, religious freedom and causes such as free



Glienicke Bridge: Waiting for Shcharansky

ALBERTO VEZZANO—MAGNINI



Arrival in West, with U.S. diplomat Richard Burt

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

trade unionism that marked the 1970s era of détente. The Kremlin has used a variety of means—criminal trials, exile and harassment—to drive underground what activity it has not extinguished.

Yet some opposition persists. In Leningrad, young intellectuals dissatisfied with official censorship have started lim-

After 12 years, Anatoly and Avital



MOSHE MILNER—SYGMA FOR US&WR

ited-circulation literary journals. Small numbers of underground *samizdat* publications, such as the *Chronicles of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, circulate to carefully selected readers.

But organized pressure elements such as the Helsinki watch groups in Moscow and the Ukraine have all disbanded. They founded despite Soviet commitments to human rights—with 34 other European governments—in the Helsinki Accords of 1975. With time, the Soviet activists learned that their government had its own, tightly restricted, interpretation of the accords. The only well-known dissident still at large in Moscow is Marxist historian Roy Medvedev. Though he continues his work, he is not involved in organized political activity.

Soviet policy on the emigration of Jews reflects Moscow's attitude toward all dissidents. Jewish emigration has slowed to a trickle since the peak in 1979, when 51,320 were allowed to leave. Last year, only 1,139 were allowed out, a slight rise from 1984. American Jewish activists report that 400,000 of some 2 million Soviet Jews have tried to get permission to leave.

Jewish activists expect only a small fraction to succeed. Mark Azbel, a physicist who emigrated to Israel in 1977, speculates that a key reason for the Soviet attitude is the decision of so many Jewish emigrants, nearly 20 percent, to settle in the United States instead of Israel.

But the release of Shcharansky has raised hopes in some quarters. Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who greeted the tiny dissident at Ben Gurion Airport near Tel Aviv, recalled that President Reagan had promised to keep the issue on the superpower agenda.

For Anatoly Shcharansky, who rejoined his wife Avital after 12 years of separation, there was yet another reason to continue his campaign. Moscow has promised to allow his mother and brother to join him soon, disposing finally of at least one more case. ■

by Robert A. Manning with Nicholas Daniloff in Moscow

SOVIET UNION

A Hero's Return

For Andrei Sakharov, the long banishment in Gorky is finally over

For weeks the rumors had swirled. After seven years of "internal exile" in the closed city of Gorky, Andrei Sakharov, the distinguished nuclear physicist who had become the Soviet Union's leading human-rights activist, would soon be released. Even so, when the official announcement finally came last week, it caught journalists by surprise. They had gathered in the main hall of Moscow's international press center to be briefed on an entirely different subject, the Kremlin's decision to resume nuclear testing after a self-imposed 16-month moratorium. During the question-and-answer session, Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky was asked about reports that Sakharov and his wife Elena Bonner, who was also being detained in Gorky, were about to be freed.

Petrovsky's answer stunned everyone present. In fact, he said, he had an announcement to make on that very subject. Sakharov had asked the Soviet leadership for permission to move to Moscow, Petrovsky related, and the request had been considered by the appropriate organizations. As a result, said Petrovsky, Sakharov's wish had been granted and Bonner had been pardoned for "slandering" the Soviet state. He continued, "Academician Sakharov and Mrs. Bonner may return to Moscow, and Academician Sakharov may actively join the scientific life of the Academy of Sciences."

The Sakharovs had heard the good news four days earlier from an impeccable source. At 10 o'clock one evening, workmen had unexpectedly installed a telephone in their Gorky apartment. The next day at 3 p.m. Sakharov received a call from none other than the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet leader said the Sakharovs would be permitted to return to Moscow and that Andrei could go back to his "patriotic work."

For the Sakharovs, who were expected to leave Gorky this week, the long exile of deprivation, hunger strikes, illness and ever present loneliness was apparently over. In Newton, Mass., Bonner's daughter Tatyana Yankelevich was exultant. "We are happy to hear the news," she said. "It is overwhelming."

Exactly why the Kremlin had chosen to free the Sakharovs at this time is not



Scenes of a shadow life: Bonner in a park near apartment; the physicist writing at his desk

known. But it was obviously a carefully orchestrated move bearing the earmarks of Gorbachev's style. Ever since he took power in March 1985, the Soviet leader has encouraged frankness in public attitudes toward domestic Soviet problems by mounting a campaign of *glasnost*, or openness. Last week, for example, foreign diplomats were taken aback by the unprecedented Soviet coverage of ethnic rioting in Alma-Ata, capital of the Central Asian republic of Kazakhstan. Despite such newfound candor, however, Gorbachev has been unable to shake the opprobrium created in the West by human-rights violations in general and the Sakharov case in particular.

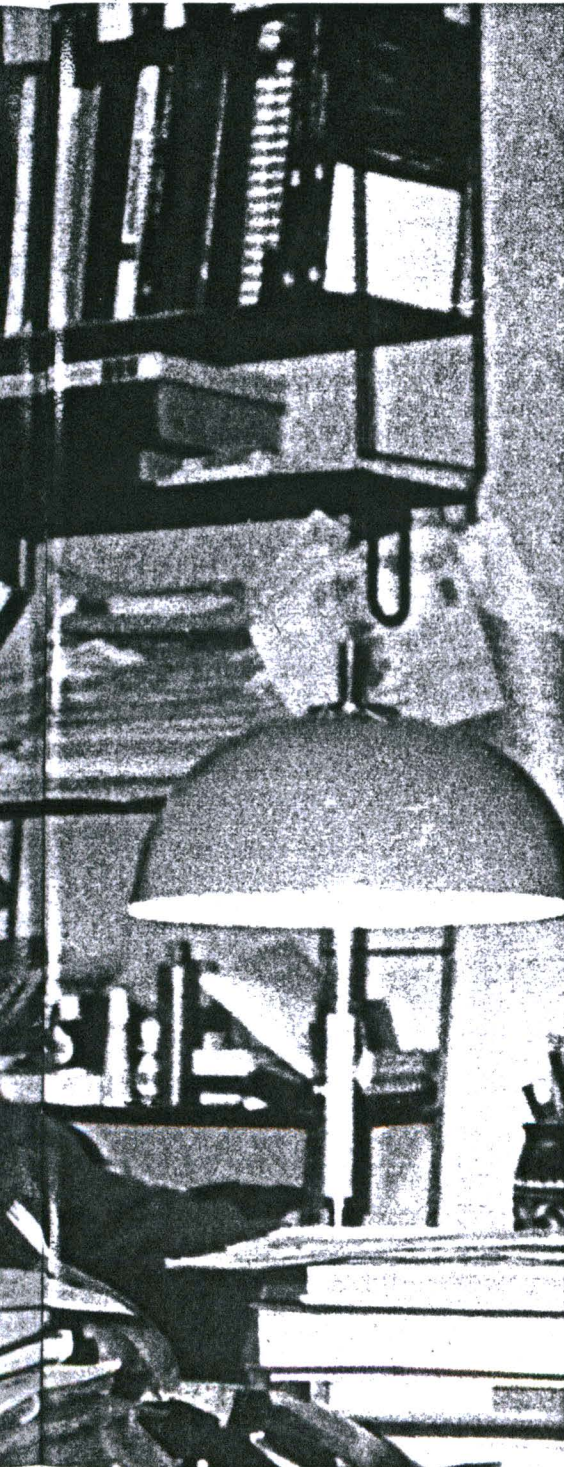
During the past 20 years the soft-spoken physicist has undergone a remarkable transformation in the eyes of his countrymen. Once he was a highly decorated scientist who in the 1950s helped develop the first Soviet hydrogen bomb; by the early 1970s he had become an outcast among his own people as a result of his relentless campaign for human rights and disarmament. In 1975 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize but was not allowed to go to Oslo to receive it. In January 1980 he was arrested by the KGB after criticizing the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He was then flown to exile in Gorky, where, despite a steady flow of criticism from the West, he has remained ever since.

The protests have continued. Western officials have harped on the plight of the Sakharovs as an example of the Soviets' failures in the area of human rights. Many



other activists and dissidents remain in prison, internal exile or psychiatric hospitals, to be sure, but none as famous as Sakharov and Bonner. Over the past year, Gorbachev has tried to reverse the Soviet Union's negative human-rights image by releasing two well-known activists, Anatoli Shcharansky and Yuri Orlov. Another, Anatoli Marchenko, 48, died in prison in early December, the victim of a brain hemorrhage following a hunger strike. His death may have induced the Kremlin to make a gesture of reconciliation and at the same time rid itself of the burden of the Sakharovs' incarceration.

The first sign of a new policy toward the famous dissidents came a year ago.



BONNER—SOLZ

Following a 30-day hunger strike by Sakharov to force Moscow to allow his wife to seek medical treatment abroad, Bonner was permitted to go to the U.S. for a coronary-bypass operation. At the beginning of her six-month visit to the West, Bonner adhered to a pledge she had been obliged to sign in order to obtain her visa: she would hold no press conferences and give no interviews while abroad. Later, however, she was outraged at seeing secretly recorded videotapes of herself and her husband that portrayed them as living in comfort in Gorky. She was also upset when Gorbachev declared last February that Sakharov would never be allowed to leave the Soviet Union because of his knowledge of state secrets. After that she spoke openly about the hardships her husband had endured and campaigned passionately for his release. When she returned to Gorky in June, Soviet authorities did not try to punish her.

Even as the Sakharov case came to its surprising conclusion, Gorbachev was absorbed, at least temporarily, by other political matters. Last week, for the first time, the Soviet press explicitly pinned the blame for the country's economic trouble on former Soviet Leader Leonid Brezhnev. In fact, the rioting in Kazakhstan was largely a result of Gorbachev's efforts to get rid of a Brezhnev crony, Dinmukhamed Kunaev, a Politburo member and local party chieftain who was noted for championing local autonomy against Moscow. Gorbachev replaced Kunaev with an ethnic Russian, a move widely interpreted as part of a drive to consolidate Moscow's control. Another Politburo member whose job is said to be in jeopardy is Vladimir Shcherbitsky, party chief in the Ukraine and a longtime Brezhnev ally.

Gorbachev was also busy sending messages to a crisis-plagued Washington. In Moscow he told visiting Senator Gary Hart that the Soviet Union wants to resume serious disarmament negotiations during the final two years of the Reagan Administration. Gorbachev went so far as to say that Moscow was prepared to be flexible on research and testing for the American space-based missile-defense system known as the Strategic Defense Initiative, or Star Wars.

The State Department dismissed Gorbachev's comments, noting that no such Soviet flexibility has been forthcoming at the negotiating table in Geneva. Some Soviet experts argued, however, that because Gorbachev is eager for progress on arms control in order to devote more attention to the Soviet economy, he may be looking for ways to get around the Star Wars deadlock with the U.S.

On another arms-related issue, the Kremlin said it would end its 16-month suspension of nuclear testing as soon as the U.S. conducts its first nuclear test in 1987. The U.S. said again last week that it was not ready to agree to a new ban on testing. The Reagan Administration, for its part, announced two decisions re-

lated to the future of the U.S. strategic nuclear force. The President gave the go-ahead to a plan for basing MX Peacekeeper missiles on railroad tracks, and he approved the full-scale development of the mobile Midgetman intercontinental ballistic missile.

On the diplomatic front, the State Department abruptly announced that the U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, Arthur Hartman, was retiring after five years on the job. Although initially described as a "personal decision" on the Ambassador's part, officials hinted that Hartman was let go because he had displeased President Reagan. A staunch advocate of arms control and backer of a Reagan-Gorbachev



RUDI FREY

Gorbachev: a shrewd gesture of conciliation

summit in the U.S., he had strenuously opposed the recent round of U.S.-Soviet diplomatic expulsions, which ended when 260 Soviet employees of the U.S. embassy were ordered to quit by the Kremlin. Hartman's likely successor: Jack Matlock, a career diplomat who recently served on the National Security Council staff.

If the Kremlin is concerned about the political activities of the Sakharovs once they return to their tiny apartment on Chkalova Street near the Yauza spur of the Moscow River, it is not showing it. Soviet leaders may calculate that any statements the Sakharovs make will simply get lost in the current atmosphere of self-critical *glasnost*. To be sure, the political climate in Moscow has changed since Sakharov was whisked away to Gorky. The Helsinki Watch Committee, of which Sakharov became a symbol in the 1970s, has all but disappeared as members have been imprisoned, sent off to labor camps or forced into exile, and no organization has arisen to replace it. Even so, if his health holds, the brave and stubborn Sakharov can hardly be expected to remain silent indefinitely on matters of conscience. —By William E. Smith. Reported by David Aikman/Washington and Ken Olsen/Moscow

ters and purged 40 percent of the Central Committee. But if the Sakharov scenario works, pressure on the human-rights front will never entirely let up short of the general amnesty he has demanded. Even barring such a move, continuing dissident turmoil could expose Gorbachev to retrospective trouble at the top over Sakharov's release. Soviet leaders "always agree at the time," says Michael Voslensky, director of the Institute of Contemporary Soviet Studies in Munich, "but they reserve judgment."

And Gorbachev has plenty of immediate problems to plague him. The invasion of Afghanistan, passing its seventh anniversary last week, looked no more winnable

than ever; Soviet officials have recently hinted that a pullout is possible even if truce talks fail. Domestically, his most dramatic moves so far have sometimes seemed more like improvisations than grand strategies, exposing him to backlash. His crusade against alcoholism, for instance, succeeded in cutting consumption of vodka dramatically. But it also boosted the drinking of cologne and bootleg *samogon* and triggered so much resentment that the restrictions are quietly being eased. Similarly, an attempt to crack down on the "unearned income" from moonlighting threatened to bite heavily into the economy, since literally millions of Soviet citizens work on the

side. A new law permitting "individual labor" was passed in part to repair the damage, but there are so many restrictions on such private work that economists doubt the law's effectiveness.

Perhaps the worst recent problem at Gorbachev's door came when he fired the old-line party boss of Kazakhstan and replaced him with an ethnic Russian, triggering minority riots in the capital of Alma-Ata. True to the principles of glasnost, the riots were promptly reported, but recent word from Alma-Ata is that they were minimized. And even when glasnost is pursued with full candor and openness, it means that problems that used to go unreported, from earth-

Sakharov's Compelling Voice of Conscience

Andrei Sakharov is more than just a symbol of courage; he is the man who almost single-handedly changed the image of the Soviet dissident movement from a collection of misfits to a force that could not be ignored. As a developer of the Soviet H-bomb, Sakharov rose to the pinnacle of Moscow society. But his conscience set him apart from the elite. His calls for intellectual freedom, his criticism of his government's policies and his outspoken backing of other Soviet activists commanded attention and respect throughout the world—and earned him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1975. But the Kremlin wanted him silenced, and in 1980 Sakharov was sent to internal exile in Gorky. When Sakharov, with his wife, Yelena Bonner, returned to Moscow last week, seven years of exile and ill health had weakened him only physically. Spiritually he remained as strong as ever.

Another Soviet dissident, Vladimir Bukovsky, once explained why Sakharov was so important to the movement. "What can writers do?" he pointed out. "Nothing. The government doesn't need them, so they must do what they are told. Scientists—they can do something because they are needed." Born on May 21, 1921, in Moscow, Sakharov became the

boy wonder of Soviet science. With his mentor, Igor Tamm, he was credited with establishing theoretical laws governing nuclear fusion—the basis for the hydrogen bomb. A grateful Kremlin set his salary at 2,000 rubles per month—more than 10 times the average national wage. Sakharov's perks included a dacha, a chauffeur-driven car and (three times) the nation's highest civilian decoration: Hero of Socialist Labor.

But the applications of his nuclear research converted Sakharov to dissidence. He

believed the H-bomb would help preserve a military balance of power. But in the late 1950s Nikita Khrushchev began setting off multimegaton blasts—a crude display of power that disgusted Sakharov. Feeling helpless to stop something he knew was wrong, he privately protested to Khrushchev.

Heart trouble: It wasn't until 1968, however, that Sakharov crossed the line into public dissent. He wrote an essay that advocated blending the best attributes of capitalism and communism, and the es-

say's publication in the West cost Sakharov his position in military-related research. Sakharov's course was set. By 1973 he was pressing his causes with foreign journalists and speaking out against Soviet policies. He started to call on the West to exert political pressure on the Soviet government. The scientist's outspokenness made him a widely recognized name abroad—and brought him trouble at home. Using the official Soviet press, the Kremlin mounted a campaign to discredit Sakharov, implying that he was mentally ill or misled by his wife. The authorities refused to allow him to travel abroad, saying he knew too much classified information. Soviet leaders couldn't put a Nobel Prize winner in jail. Instead, they dumped him in Gorky.

In exile, Sakharov could no longer give interviews or even make phone calls. Hunger strikes and heart trouble undermined his health. But his triumphant return to Moscow shows that his moral appeal is still powerful. Throughout the Soviet Union—and the world—people knew what it meant to have Sakharov's Moscow apartment filled again with human-rights activists. One of the first telegrams Sakharov received said it all: "Welcome back, kitchen."

High profile: Showing a grandson his Nobel citation in 1975

UPI

