

PREM 19/2537

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Confidential Filing

The arrest, and subsequent sending into exile, of  
Andrei Sakharov.

SOVIET  
UNION

January 1980

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5-1-87							

**Series closed**

PREM 19/2537





FROM  
NICHOLAS  
BETHELL

TELEPHONE  
01-402-6877

73 SUSSEX SQUARE  
LONDON W2 2SS

Dear Charles,

Here is the card from the Sakharovs and a short note for the PM. Thank you very much for agreeing to pass it to her.

The Observer might like to reproduce the text on Sunday. Would this be alright with you? It is OK by the Sakharovs.

It is understood that you may want to make your own announcement too.

All the best,

Yours ever,

Richard



UNITED STATES COURT  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

RECEIVED  
JUL 11 1987





FROM  
NICHOLAS  
BETHELL

TELEPHONE  
01-402-6877

Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher, MP  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1

Prime Minister ①  
Lord Bethell wants to  
quote the message in

73 SUSSEX SQUARE  
LONDON W2 2SS

his article & assures me  
that he has the  
Sakharov's permission for  
5th January 1987  
this content?  
CDP Yes no  
6/1

Dear Margaret,

Dr and Mrs Sakharov were thrilled with your Christmas card. I spent two evenings with them at their flat in Moscow last week and I shall be writing about it for The Observer.

They asked me to pass you the enclosed card showing Pushkin Square in Moscow, which has over the years become a symbol of the human rights movement there.

The text reads, "Dear Prime Minister, we are touched by the New Year greeting that you and your husband sent us. We are deeply grateful for your many years of concern for our family. Happy New Year! With hope! Elena Bonner, Andrey Sakharov. December 29th, 1986".

I will be writing to the FCO with a few more thoughts about my visit and, if I may, I will send you a copy.

Yours ever,

Nicholas

PA

PA both informed on 7/1/87.

pa

mt

NO 10 (VIA TUBE)

ADVANCED COPY

GRS 500

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IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

FM MOSCOW

TO PRIORITY F C O

TELNO 009

OF 051430Z JANUARY 87

INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, UKDEL VIENNA, UKDEL NATO

CALL ON SAKHAROV AND MRS BONNER

1. I CALLED PRIVATELY ON DR. SAKHAROV AND MRS BONNER ON 5 JANUARY, AT THEIR MOSCOW FLAT FOR 35 MINUTES. THE PURPOSE OF THE VISIT, FOR WHICH LORD BETHELL HAD KINDLY PAVED THE WAY, WAS SIMPLY TO ESTABLISH INITIAL CONTACT, AND TO OFFER MY PERSONAL GOOD WISHES AND CONGRATULATIONS ON THE SAKHAROV'S RETURN TO MOSCOW: I SAID THAT I WAS SURE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER AND YOU WOULD WISH ME TO DO THE SAME ON HER AND YOUR BEHALF. OUR CONVERSATION NEVERTHELESS RANGED WIDELY: THE FOLLOWING WERE THE MAIN POINTS. (FULL RECORD FOLLOWS BY BAG).
2. NOT SURPRISINGLY, SAKHAROV LOOKED FRAIL AND TIRED, BUT BOTH HE AND MRS BONNER SEEMED IN GOOD SPIRITS. THEY WERE DUE TO LEAVE MOSCOW FOR A HOLIDAY 'SOMEWHERE WARMER!' VERY SHORTLY, FOR ABOUT TWO WEEKS.
3. SAKHAROV TOOK A CAUTIOUSLY POSITIVE VIEW OF THE DECISION TO ALLOW HIM TO RETURN. THINGS WERE BEGINNING TO CHANGE FOR THE BETTER, THOUGH LITTLE HAD SO FAR BEEN ACHIEVED. A MORE OPEN SOCIETY WOULD BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS NOT ONLY OF THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF BUT OF THE WORLD AS A WHOLE. HE AGREED THAT GORBACHEV'S PERSONAL TELEPHONE CALL TO HIM HAD BEEN A BOLD STEP, NOT WITHOUT POLITICAL RISK. IT WAS TOO EARLY TO KNOW HOW MUCH IMPORTANCE TO ATTACH TO THE CURRENT RUMOURS ABOUT AN AMNESTY FOR PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE.
4. THE FACT THAT GORBACHEV TELEPHONED SAKHAROV PERSONALLY HAS NOT SO FAR BEEN REVEALED TO THE SOVIET PUBLIC BY THE MEDIA, BUT SAKHAROV TOLD ME THAT HE HAS GIVEN AN INTERVIEW TO LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, WHICH WILL INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO GORBACHEV'S ROLE. THE INTERVIEW, EVIDENTLY THE ONLY ONE SO FAR SOUGHT BY OR GIVEN TO THE SOVIET MEDIA SINCE SAKHAROV'S RETURN, WAS GIVEN ON THE BASIS OF AN AGREEMENT (ADMITTEDLY ONLY ORAL) THAT SAKHAROV WOULD BE ABLE TO VET THE PROPOSED ARTICLE FOR OMISSIONS OR DISTORTIONS. HE HAD KEPT HIS OWN VERBATIM RECORD. THE INTERVIEW MAY BE PUBLISHED WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. ONCE AGAIN, SAKHAROV INCLINED TO THE POSITIVE VIEW THAT THE INTERVIEW WOULD PROBABLY APPEAR SUBSTANTIALLY AS GIVEN, THOUGH THEY WERE PREPARED FOR A POSSIBLY MORE HOSTILE OUTCOME.

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15.

## CONFIDENTIAL

5. THE SAKHAROV<sup>S</sup> WERE ALREADY AWARE OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S FORTHCOMING VISIT, WHICH I HINTED WAS LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE DURING THE PERIOD END MARCH EARLY APRIL. I SAID THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S PROGRAMME MIGHT POSSIBLY INCLUDE A VISIT TO THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. SAKHAROV WAS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF MEETING HER ON THAT OR SOME OTHER OCCASION. MRS BONNER REMINISCED WITH OBVIOUS PLEASURE ABOUT HER OWN CALL AT 10, DOWNING STREET LAST MAY.

6. THE ALMA ATA RIOTS CAME UP IN THE CONTEXT OF A DISCUSSION OF 'GLASNOST'. MRS BONNER SAID THAT ACCORDING TO HER INFORMATION THE HOSPITALS THERE WERE FULL OF WOUNDED. MOST OF THE CASUALTIES HAD BEEN SUSTAINED BY THE MILITIA WHO (CONTRARY TO OTHER REPORTS - MY TELNO 1551) HAD BEEN FORBIDDEN TO USE FIREARMS: AS A RESULT SEVERAL OF THEM HAD BEEN BEATEN TO DEATH BY THE MOB AND MANY MORE SERIOUSLY INJURED. SAKHAROV CONDEMNED THE DEMONSTRATORS FOR 'MINDLESS NATIONALISM'.

7. AT THE END OF OUR TALK I SAID THAT I HOPED THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE A FURTHER AND MORE SUBSTANTIAL TALK AFTER THE SAKHAROV<sup>S</sup> RETURN FROM HOLIDAY, TO WHICH THEY READILY AGREED.

8. I AM SAYING NOTHING ABOUT THE CALL TO LOCAL UK CORRESPONDENTS HERE AND SHOULD GREATLY PREFER IT TO REMAIN PRIVATE.

CARTLEDGE

YYYY

MXHPAN 7179

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SOV D

PS

PS/MR RENTON

MR THOMAS

MR RATFORD

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Telegram

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*Prime Minister  
CDD  
3/6*

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02 JUN 1986/1229  
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GRXX CO IGDD 043  
MILANO LINATE AEROPORTO 43 02 1300

*(3/6)*

PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER  
10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1

RETURNING TO THE SOVIET UNION UNDER  
THE DEEP IMPRESSION OF YOUR ENCOUNTER  
AND GREATLY TOUCHED BY YOUR ATTENTION  
FOR MY HUSBANDS FATE WITH HOPE THAT  
IT WILL BECOME BETTER AND WITH THANKS

*me*

ELENA BONNER SAKKAROVA

COL  
~~PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER~~  
~~10 DOWNING STREET~~  
LONDON ( GRAN BRETAGNA)

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GRS 150

CONFIDENTIAL  
FM MOSCOW  
TO PRIORITY FCO  
TELNO 688  
OF 031300Z JUNE 86  
INFO PRIORITY UKMIS NEW YORK

MY TELNO 684

MRS BONNER'S ARRIVAL

1. THE AMERICANS TELL US THAT THE PARTY ARRIVED AT MRS BONNER'S FLAT WITH NO INCIDENT. BY PURE COINCIDENCE THE HALL AND THE STAIRWAY OF THE BUILDING HAD BEEN RECENTLY PAINTED AND THE GROUNDS OUTSIDE TIDIED UP. RUSSIAN FRIENDS HAD STOCKED THE FRIDGE AND THE ARRIVAL WAS PERFECTLY NORMAL WITH LITTLE OR NO SURVEILLANCE AND NO HASSLE. AFTER SEEING MRS BONNER SAFELY IN THE CONGRESSMEN RETURNED TO THEIR HOTEL AND ON 3 JUNE LEFT THE SOVIET UNION TO RETURN TO WASHINGTON. THE TWO AMERICAN FRIENDS ARE STAYING AT AN HOTEL AND HAVE APPLIED TO GO ON TO GORKI WITH MRS BONNER IN 2 OR 3 DAYS TIME. NO REPLY HAS BEEN GIVEN SO FAR.

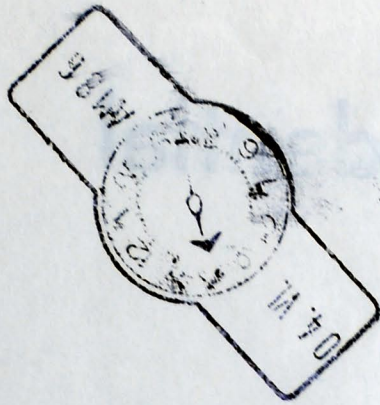
2. THE AMERICANS SAY THEY ARE CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC THAT THE SITUATION WILL IMPROVE BUT THEY CONCEDE THAT THEY HAVE NOTHING MORE TO GO ON THAN THE BEST BEHAVIOUR OF THE AUTHORITIES OVER THE ARRIVAL.

THIS TELEGRAM  
WAS NOT  
ADVANCED

CARTLEDGE

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SOVIET .D  
EED  
UND  
NEWS .D  
INFO .D  
MR DEREK THOMAS  
MR RATFORD

# Confidential



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1958

IDENTIFICATION

NO. 100000

PRIORITY

NO. 100000

NO. 100000

NO. 100000

NO. 100000

NO. 100000

THE AMERICANS TELL US THAT THE PARTY ARRIVED AT MRS. BROWN'S  
PLAT WITH NO INCIDENT. BY PURE COINCIDENCE THE HALL AND THE  
STAIRWAY OF THE BUILDING HAD BEEN RECENTLY PAINTED AND THE  
AROUNDS OUTSIDE TURNED UP. RUSSIAN FRIENDS HAD STOCKED THE  
FRIDGE AND THE ARRIVAL WAS PERFECTLY NORMAL WITH LITTLE OR NO  
SURVEILLANCE AND NO HASSLE. AFTER SEEING MRS. BROWN SAFELY  
OFF THE CONGRESSMEN RETURNED TO THE HOTEL AND ON 2/28  
LEFT THE BOYEVICH FAMILY TO RETURN TO WASHINGTON. THE TWO  
AMERICAN FRIENDS ARE STAYING AT AN HOTEL AND HAVE APPLIED TO  
GO ON TO COOK WITH WAS BORROWED IN 2 OR 3 DAYS TIME. NO  
REPLY HAS BEEN GIVEN BY FBI.

THE AMERICANS SAY THEY ARE CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC THAT  
THE SITUATION WILL IMPROVE BUT THEY CONCEDE THAT THEY HAVE NOTHING  
MORE TO GO ON THAN THE BEST BEHAVIOUR OF THE AUTHORITIES  
OVER THE ARRIVAL.

THIS TELEGRAM  
WAS NOT  
ADVANCED

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FM MOSCOW

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELNO 684

OF 030545Z JUNE 86

AND TO ROUTINE UKMIS NEW YORK

YOUR TELNO 451

ELENA BONNER

1. H OF C MET MRS BONNER AT THE AIRPORT ON 2 JUNE. THE US EMBASSY HAD LAID ON CARS FOR HER, THE TWO CONGRESSMEN TRAVELLING WITH HER, AND THE TWO AMERICAN FAMILY FRIENDS ALSO ACCOMPANYING HER. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FRENCH, BELGIAN, NORWEGIAN AND CANADIAN EMBASSIES ALSO ATTENDED ALBEIT RATHER HESITANTLY, AND A DUTCH REPRESENTATIVE HOVERED VIRTUALLY UNSEEN IN THE BACKGROUND.
2. MRS BONNER'S ARRIVAL WAS AS FAR AS POSSIBLY NORMAL. HEMANS WAS THUS ABLE TO TALK TO HER AT SOME LENGTH IN THE CUSTOMS HALL WHILE SHE WAITED FOR HER LUGGAGE. SHE WAS IN GOOD FORM ALTHOUGH VERY TIRED. SHE WAS VERY GRATEFUL TO MRS THATCHER FOR RECEIVING HER IN LONDON AND FOR THE SUPPORT SHOWN TO HER. SHE SAID THAT SHE FELT MUCH BETTER AS A RESULT OF HER TREATMENT. SHE HOPED TO SPEND THREE OR FOUR DAYS IN THE FAMILY FLAT IN MOSCOW BEFORE GOING ON TO GORKI. THE TWO CONGRESSMEN WERE INTENDING TO SEE HER TO HER FLAT. THE TWO FRIENDS ARE TRYING TO GO ON TO GORKI WITH HER. SHE HAD NOT HAD WORD OF HER HUSBAND SINCE SHE SPOKE TO HIM ON THE TELEPHONE ON 15 MAY. SHE SPOKE VERY POSITIVELY OF HER TREATMENT IN THE WEST AND CONTRASTED IT SHARPLY WITH 'WHAT YOU SEE HERE' (KGB FILM CREWS WERE BUSY FILMING HER ARRIVAL IN THE CUSTOMS AREA). THE WORLDS PRESS GATHERED OUTSIDE AND WHEN SHE EMERGED SHE WAS BESIEGED. SHE SPOKE BRIEFLY AND QUIETLY TO REPORTERS AND EMBRACED RUSSIAN FRIENDS. SHE AND HER PARTY THEN LEFT IN THE AMERICAN CARS.
3. THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES, ALTHOUGH VERY MUCH IN EVIDENCE BOTH OFFICIALLY (HER BAGGAGE WAS GIVEN A VERY THOROUGH GOING OVER AS WAS THAT OF ONE OF THE CONGRESSMEN) AND UNOFFICIALLY (KGB REPRESENTATIVES WERE BUSY IN THE CROWD NOTING FILMING AND PHOTOGRAPHING). THERE WAS NO ACTUAL OBSTRUCTION OR UNPLEASANTNESS. INDEED A UNIFORMED POLICEMAN DID HIS BEST TO KEEP SOME DEGREE OF ORDER IN THE SUPGING MOB OF JOURNALISTS.

CARTLEDGE

LIMITED  
SOVIET D  
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UND  
NEWS D  
NO PAGES

THIS TELEGRAM  
WAS NOT  
ADVANCED.

RESTRICTED

SUBJECT  
cc master



File BM  
cc Sir P Gadsden

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

30 May 1986

Dear Robert,

**PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH MRS. BONNER**

The Prime Minister saw Mrs. Bonner (Dr. Sakharov's wife) for a talk this morning. Mrs. Bonner was accompanied by her son and daughter and by Dr. Alan Wynn.

The Prime Minister said that Dr. Sakharov's bravery was an example the world over. We very much hoped to see him allowed to return to Moscow shortly and to travel outside the Soviet Union if he so wished. He had so much to offer the world, both in terms of scientific ability and because of his tremendous personality. She hoped that Mrs. Bonner would tell her husband how greatly admired he was in Britain. She wondered how Mrs. Bonner rated the chances of her husband being allowed to move back from Gorky to Moscow.

Mrs. Bonner said that she was "extremely afraid" about the effects of a further exile in Gorky on Dr. Sakharov. He was completely in the hands of the KGB and kept in isolation. Although his physical state was reasonable, she was worried about the psychological impact of the restrictions under which he was held. Nonetheless, she still hoped that it would be possible to have him moved from Gorky back to Moscow. The role of Western public opinion and political leaders in achieving this would be central.

The Prime Minister said that we would be willing to do anything which Mrs. Bonner thought was helpful. In some cases, private diplomacy seemed to offer the best prospects of success and we certainly did not want to do anything to upset the chances of securing Dr. Sakharov's return to Moscow. Mrs. Bonner said that, while not denying the need for quiet diplomacy, it was not enough on its own. Indeed, it might be playing into the hands of the Soviet leaders. The sort of threats which had been issued the previous day through Victor Louis were an example of the way in which the Soviet leadership tried to prevent meetings such as her encounter with the Prime Minister. It was essential to continue to draw attention publicly to her husband's plight.

Mrs. Bonner was at pains to say that her husband's case was rather different to that of Anatoly Shcharansky. Shcharansky was a wonderful young man whom she knew well and

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his purpose had been to draw attention to the plight of Soviet Jews who wanted to emigrate. Dr. Sakharov was in a rather different position. He was the only competent and independent voice on the issues of disarmament and nuclear energy. He was not a dissident but an independent scientist.

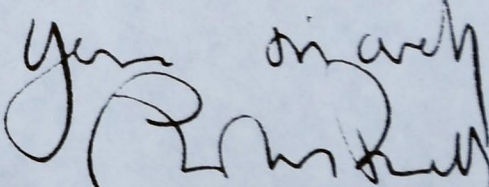
Mrs. Bonner continued that she hoped that the West would take advantage of the Soviet Union's weakness following the Chernobyl disaster to help her husband. The Soviet Union was likely to want technical help as well as foodstuffs. This would give the West some leverage. She also felt that Soviet proposals for collaboration with the West in Fusion research might offer leverage too. The Prime Minister said that we would certainly be ready to consider these points.

The Prime Minister said that she wanted to be quite clear that Dr. Sakharov's priority was to be able to return to Moscow rather than to leave the Soviet Union altogether. Mrs. Bonner said that she and her husband were now both ready and willing to leave the Soviet Union but thought it unrealistic to expect that her husband would ever get permission because of his scientific background. So the immediate priority was to return to Moscow. She believed that his life was in danger in Gorky which was a closed city.

The Prime Minister asked Mrs. Bonner to tell Dr. Sakharov that she would continue to do everything in her power to help him and would raise his case at every opportunity. Mrs. Bonner said that her husband had wanted her to express special gratitude to the Prime Minister for her constant interest in his case. She had been the only Western Head of Government to reply publicly to Dr. Sakharov's letter on Afghanistan and he had heard her response on the radio.

After the meeting, the Prime Minister and Mrs. Bonner spoke to the press and television in Downing Street. I enclose a copy of the transcript. I also enclose copies of two documents which Mrs. Bonner left with the Prime Minister.

I am copying this letter to Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

*Yours sincerely*  
  
(C.D. POWELL)

Robert Culshaw, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH MRS SAKHAROV

FRIDAY, 30 MAY 1986

PM: We are very thrilled to have her. She returns soon, as you know, to the Soviet Union. We are delighted that she has been able to come and have medical treatment here and I have assured her that we will keep faith with Dr Sakharov who is such a distinguished scientist. Of course, all our thoughts are for him.

Q: Did you specifically say that you would be pressing the Soviet Union again on Dr Sakharov.

PM: We always continue to press the Soviet Union on a number of specially well know cases of which Dr Sakharov is one. I think the world needs his talent in science, because it's quite outstanding.

One moment, would Mrs Bonner like to say anything?

S: Yes. I am extremely pleased to have a meeting with Madam Prime Minister. This meeting confirms to me the always very attentive attitude towards my husband of the British Government and I hope that this will continue. I have seen many friends of my husband in your country and I hope that our mutual efforts will be successful and that he will be free.

Q: You have probably seen this morning reports from the Soviet Union that the authorities are saying Dr Sakharov's return to Moscow could be jeopardised by what Mrs Bonner has been doing, coupled with the film

last night. There is an obvious attempt to try discredit upon her.

PM: I think that that would be a reflection on the Soviet Union if they were to suggest that efforts by the free world would jeopardise Dr Sakharov's chances. It would only be a reflection on the Soviet Union and I think you will find that the efforts we have made on behalf of others have helped to enable them, either to leave the Soviet or to be a little bit freer within it.

S: I would like to add to the words of Madam Prime Minister that this statement seems to me, the statement you are referring to, seems to be to be simply blackmail. I hope it will not sound ridiculous but it seems to me that they wanted scare Madam Prime Minister and this Government or other Western political leaders, to scare them into not meeting with me.

PM: Into not making representations. You know we have to continue to make representations and we shall.

Q: Are you in any way scared?

PM: No. Mrs Bonner said it is blackmail and we do not give into that.

S: I did not see the film and I am not interested in the sort of intimidation that comes from the KGB. I have seen a few films in the West when I came. I realised that all of them were a fabrication to discredit us. They are, all of them, a violation of our privacy and I do not want to play the games that are being forced

on the entire world by the KGB. That is why I do not show any interest towards those films.

Q: Mrs Bonner are you looking forward to going back to the Soviet Union, may I ask you?

S: I have a very strange and complex feeling about going back. I want to see my husband very much. It is extremely difficult for me to part with my children and my mother. Very little do I want to see the Soviet Union as such.

Q: Do you accept that you Mrs Bonner are now the main reason that your husband is not able to leave?

PM: No, of course not.

S: I am ready to serve my exile in Gorky to let him be free.

Q: Do you think your visit to the West has achieved much Mrs Bonner?



MR POWELL

PRIME MINISTER

Prime Minister

Agree to photograph  
in the garden?

CDM

You have agreed to meet Mrs Yelena Sakharov tomorrow at 09.30 hours. The press have shown considerable interest in your meeting and we should have a good turnout of photographers and television.

If the weather is nice tomorrow morning, I suggest we arrange the photocall in the garden which will offer a less formal setting for the pictures. If not, we can have the pictures taken in the Blue Room.

Content, weather permitting, to meet Mrs Sakharov in the garden?

Yes mb

Michael Horne.

MICHAEL HORNE  
PRESS OFFICE

29 May 1986



RESTRICTED

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

29 May 1986

CC Blue  
R  
PRESS

Prime Minister

COF  
29/5.

Dear Charles

Call on the Prime Minister by Mrs E Bonner: 30 May

I understand that the meeting between the Prime Minister and Mrs Bonner has now been fixed for 9.30 am on 30 May.

I attach a short background note giving details of recent contacts with members of the Sakharov family and official action taken on Dr Sakharov's behalf.

There are reports that, at her meetings with M. Chirac, Mme Weil and M. Leotard in Paris yesterday, Mrs Bonner expressed "terrible fears" about her husband's well being, and the hope that European governments would press for him to be allowed to return to Moscow.

The Prime Minister will no doubt wish to enquire about the current state of health and situation of both Mrs Bonner and Dr Sakharov and to reassure her that we will continue to voice our concern with the Soviet authorities about Dr Sakharov's plight at every suitable occasion. (One such high level occasion could be the eventual visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Shevardnadze.)

The Prime Minister might like to ask Mrs Bonner whether she believes that the fact of her return could make it more likely that the Soviet authorities will let Dr Sakharov return to Moscow. (We have picked up some rumours in Moscow that the Sakharovs' flat has recently been refurbished in Mrs Bonner's absence; and this could conceivably be a sign that the couple will be allowed to return to Moscow.) Mrs Bonner has said publicly on a number of occasions that her latest visit abroad was personally sanctioned by Gorbachev. It would be interesting to know whether she puts greater hopes on him than on his predecessors.

/The

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The Prime Minister should also be aware that the President of the Royal Society, Sir George Porter, who is calling on her this afternoon will be visiting the Soviet Union on 30 May for talks with the Royal Society's opposite numbers in the Academy of Sciences. He has told us that he will again be asking for permission to see Dr Sakharov though he does not expect this to be granted. He may be talking to Mrs Bonner in the course of today.

*Yours ever*

*R N Culshaw*

(R N Culshaw)

C D Powell Esq  
PS/10 Downing Street

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CALL BY MRE E BONNER

BACKGROUND NOTE

1. Academician Andrei Sakharov is perhaps the best known of all Soviet dissidents. An outstanding nuclear physicist, he has been active in the defence of human rights in the Soviet Union since 1970. He was winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1975. Since March 1980, he has been in exile at Gorky, about 250 miles east of Moscow. In late 1985 Mrs Bonner was allowed to travel once again to the West for medical treatment after repeated hunger-strikes by Dr Sakharov (who has remained in Gorky).
2. Over the years, we and other Western governments have taken a close interest in the Sakharovs' case and have made many demarches to the Soviet authorities. The Prime Minister personally raised Dr Sakharov's case with Mr Gorbachev in December 1984. In January 1984 she met Dr Sakharov's stepdaughter, Tatiana Yankelevich.
3. At Ministerial level, the Sakharovs' case was most recently raised with the Soviet authorities by Mr Rifkind during his Moscow meeting with Mr Kornienko in July 1985, and subsequently by the Secretary of State during his meeting with Mr Shevardnadze in Helsinki in August 1985. The Secretary of State and Mr Rifkind also met Mr and Mrs Yankelevich on 6 June 1984.
4. At Official level, Dr Sakharov's case has been raised many times in the CSCE context. Most recently it was raised by the Head of the UK Delegation to the CSCE Experts Meeting on Human Contacts in Berne in a bilateral session with his Soviet opposite number in early May. The latter did not respond.

R E S T R I C T E D



5. On the occasion of Dr Sakharov's 65th birthday, President Reagan recently proclaimed May 21 1986 Andrei Sakharov Day in the US.

U13AAL

R E S T R I C T E D

~~Don't ask.~~

scpc ✓



With the compliments of  
~~RUSSELL~~ DIXON  
~~THE~~ PRIVATE SECRETARY

This press cutting is  
relevant to ~~ATTACHED~~  
Robert Wishaw's letter  
of 29 May concerning  
Mrs Bonners call on  
The PM.

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE  
SW1A 2AH

28 MAY 1986

Soviet  
WED

# 'Ordeal by camera' awaits Mrs Bonner back in Russia

.....19

cc RUSIA  
LION

By MICHAEL FIELD in Paris

MRS YELENA BONNER, wife of Dr Andrei Sakharov, the dissident Russian scientist, yesterday told friends in Paris of the ordeal she expects to undergo on her return to Russia on Monday.

Mrs Bonner, who flies to Britain today to meet Mrs Thatcher, yesterday saw President Mitterrand and M. Chaban-Delmas, President of the French National Assembly.

She has cut out a planned visit to Oslo. She said she was too tired, but London and Rome remain on her itinerary before the flight to Moscow.

Mrs Bonner underwent multiple by-pass surgery for a heart condition while in America, where surgeons told her she should return for examination within two years.

"When I get out of the train at Gorki and kiss Andrei, my husband, the KGB will be filming us. When we go home, they will still be there. It is an unbearable feeling," Mrs Bonner said.

The shock of seeing so many false films and pictures of herself and her husband since she has been in the West seems to have decided her to sue any organisation using new films or photographs reaching the West after her return to the Soviet Union.

"How is it that Western doctors do not react when they see the way their Soviet colleagues violate medical secrecy and allow the KGB to film Sakharov in hospital?" she asked.

Mrs Bonner said that in 5 years she had only once noticed being filmed. It was when she



Mrs Yelena Bonner

was shopping in the market. She admitted the films were cleverly faked and sometimes found it difficult to see how the montages had been done.

She ironically called the films "anti-Soviet" since they gave away the fact that she and her husband were being constantly bugged and filmed, which was a violation of Soviet law.

Mrs Bonner's immediate, unchanged, aim is for Dr Sakharov to return with her to their Moscow apartment where, in spite of their absence, two militiamen still stand guard day and night.

She said Dr Sakharov's position was "doubly illegal" because he had not been condemned by a court but exiled to Gorki without trial. He had also been there since 1980 and according to the penal code, citizens could not be assigned to residence for more than 5 years.

When she appealed against her own internal exile, the Supreme Court had itself gone to Gorki so as not to attract the attention of foreign journalists and Sakharov's friends in Moscow. This was "unprecedented in the annals of Soviet justice," she said.

## KGB rumours

Mrs Bonner did not know if she would be allowed to stay a few days in Moscow where she wanted to see a few friends and go shopping.

"There's neither butter nor margarine but sometimes cheese. When there is meat or fish, huge queues form. Vegetables at the collective farm market came from the Ukraine. Now, after the Chernobyl accident, what?"

But she was most concerned about her husband's health and the danger of his total isolation at Gorki.

After his bad heart attack, which left him very weak, rumours had circulated in the West that Dr Sakharov had died. "These rumours were doubtless put out by the KGB to test the effect of the news on Western public opinion," she said.

"I undertook not to give press conferences and interviews. I have honoured that promise. But when journalists ask me questions at an airport I can reply to them," she said.

# Back in Russia awaits Mrs Bonner

By MICHAEL FIELD in Paris

MRS YELENA BONNER, wife of Dr. Sakharov, the dissenting Russian scientist, is expected to return to Paris of the ordeal she endured on her return to Russia on Monday.

Mrs Bonner, who dies in Britain today to meet Mrs Thatcher yesterday saw President Mitterrand and Mr Charles De Gaulle, President of the French National Assembly.

She left for her home in the east in 1952 and the war for had but London and Paris to visit on her return before the start of the ordeal.

The Soviet government made her return subject for a harsh examination while in America. Some sources told her she should return for examination.





UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

DEPARTMENT OF  
SLAVONIC LANGUAGES  
AND LITERATURES



THE UNIVERSITY,  
GLASGOW G12 8QQ  
TEL: 041-339 8855  
EXT. 255

24 - 5 - 1986

Mr. Charles Powell,  
10, Downing Street,  
London SW1.

Dear Mr. Powell,

Mrs. Andrei Sakharov (Elena Bonner)

*LCF*  
*cd. ym plux*  
*refuse Dr. Wynn*  
*e say ok. for the son*  
*e daughter to come*  
*CDP 2070*

Now that I am - briefly - back at my base I should like to thank you most warmly for your help and cooperation over Mrs. Sakharova's imminent visit to the Prime Minister on May 30th.

I should add that Mrs. Sakharova intends to come to the U.K. with her son (Aleksey Semyonov), who will interpret at the meeting in Downing Street unless, of course, the Prime Minister prefers to rely on her own Russian interpreter. I have heard that Mrs. Sakharova's daughter (Tatyana Yankelevich) may also be flying into Britain on Thursday. It is almost unnecessary to add that everyone realizes it is for the Prime Minister to decide how many visitors she wishes to receive.

The person to contact about any details of the arrangements is, as hitherto, Dr. Allan Wynn, 1, Doyley Street, London SW1X 9AQ. His telephone number is 730-0923.

Yours faithfully,

*Martin Dewhurst*

(Martin Dewhurst)





VB

10 DOWNING STREET  
London SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

14 May 1986

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 9 May about the proposed visit of Mrs. Sakharov. This is simply to confirm that the Prime Minister will be delighted to see Mrs. Sakharov at 0930 on Friday, 30 May at 10 Downing Street. We shall be in touch nearer the time about press arrangements.

CAROLINE RYDER

Martin Dewhirst, Esq.

dfg

R1215 AB

FIFTH INTERNATIONAL SAKHAROV HEARING

Prime Minister ①  
Agreed to  
see Mr. Sakharov?  
CDP  
12/5

Address for correspondence:  
Dr. A. Wynn, Apartment 5, 1 Doyley Street,  
London SW1X 9AQ,  
Tel: 01-730 0923

9 May, 1986

PATRONS

Rev. Michael Bourdeaux.  
Sir Bernard Braine, DL, MP.  
Sir Samuel Edwards, FRS.  
Lady Antonia Fraser, FRSL.  
Prof. Sheldon Lee Glashow, \*\*  
Prof. John Humphrey, FRS.  
Sir Anthony Kershaw, MC, MP.  
Sir Claus Moser, KCB.  
Lord Rawlinson, PC, QC.  
Mr. Evelyn de Rothschild.  
Mr. Tom Stoppard, CBE.  
Prof. J.M. Ziman, FRS.

CHAIRMAN

Dr. Allan Wynn, MD, FRACP.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. Martin Dewhurst.  
Mr. Peter Reddaway.  
Mr. Michael Scammell.  
Mr. E. Yankelevich, \*

\* Dr. Andrei Sakharov's  
personal representative.

\*\* President, Andrei Sakharov  
Institute, USA.

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, P.C., F.R.S., M.P.,  
10, Downing Street,  
London, SW1.

0930 - 9412h

Yes no

Dear Prime Minister,

Elena Bonner (Mrs. Andrei Sakharov)

I think it was at the beginning of 1984 that you kindly  
agreed to see Mr. and Mrs. Efrem Yankelevich, the son-in-law  
and daughter of the wife of Academician Sakharov. Mrs. Sakharov  
will shortly be returning to Europe after medical treatment in  
the U.S.A., and I have just been informed in the strictest  
confidence that she would apply for permission to visit the U.K.  
between May 26 and May 29, provided that you were able and  
willing to meet her at some point during that period.

May I ask you to inform the family of your response via Dr.  
Allan Wynn (address and telephone number as above)?

We wish in any event to thank you for your continuing  
interest in the human rights situation in the U.S.S.R.

Yours faithfully,

Martin Dewhurst

(Martin Dewhurst)

939-313



je vk  
cfo

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

24 December 1984

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 28 November about Dr. Sakharov and Mrs Bonner, and for letting her have your latest news about them.

She and the Foreign Secretary both raised their case with Mr. Gorbachev last week. The latter's reply was unsatisfactory; he merely referred to Soviet internal legislation, and avoided making any direct reference to the particular names that were raised. Nevertheless, the British Government's view remains that, however disappointing the Soviet replies, it is important to go on raising cases like that of Dr. Sakharov in order to show that human rights remains a subject of real concern here. The Prime Minister assures you that she and her Ministers will continue to do all they realistically can to drive this point home.

TIM FLESHER

Mr. Efram Yankelevich

ecu



CFPS.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 December, 1984

Dear David,

GM  
PS

Thank you for your letter of 3 December, enclosing one addressed to the Prime Minister from Mr Efrem Yankelevich.

I enclose a draft Private Secretary reply.

Yours Sincerely,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)  
Private Secretary

David Barclay Esq  
10 Downing Street

Revised)

**DRAFT:** minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

**TYPE:** Draft/Final 1+

**FROM:**

Reference

Private Secretary, No 10

**DEPARTMENT:**

**TEL. NO:**

**SECURITY CLASSIFICATION**

**TO:**

Your Reference

Top Secret  
Secret  
Confidential  
Restricted  
Unclassified

Efrem Yankelevich Esq  
54 Maplewood Avenue  
Newton  
Mass 02159  
USA

Copies to:

*SL2 ABM*

**PRIVACY MARKING**

**SUBJECT:**

.....In Confidence

**CAVEAT**.....

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 28 November about Dr Sakharov and Mrs Bonner, and for letting her have your latest news about them.

She and the Foreign Secretary both raised their case with Mr Gorbachev this week. The latter's reply was unsatisfactory; he merely referred to Soviet internal legislation, and avoided making any direct reference to the particular names that were raised. Nevertheless, the British Government's view remains that, however disappointing the Soviet replies, it is important to go on raising cases like that of Dr Sakharov in order to show that human rights remains a subject of real concern here. The Prime Minister assures you that she and her Ministers will continue to do all they realistically can to drive this point home.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

SOVIET UNION

SAKHAROV

Jan 1980

DEPARTMENT

You Request

Copies to

The time has come when we must begin to think for  
 your letter of 23 November about Mr. Sakharov and  
 the Bureau, and for letting her have your latest  
 news about them.

She and the foreign secretary both raised their case  
 with Mr. Gorbachev this week. The latter's reply was  
 unsatisfactory; he merely referred to Soviet  
 internal legislation, and avoided making any direct  
 reference to the particular names that were raised.  
 Nevertheless, the official, somewhat vague reaction  
 that, however disappointing the Soviet reply,  
 it is important to go on raising cases like that of  
 Mr. Sakharov in order to show that human rights remain





FILE 84

Aded  
(3/12)

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

3 December, 1984

I enclose a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister has received from Mr. Efrem Yankelevich of Massachusetts.

~~BF~~  
I should be grateful if you would provide a draft Private Secretary reply which I might send to Mr. Yankelevich by 17 December.

DAVID BARCLAY

Colin Budd, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

ECU

EFREM YANKELEVICH  
54 MAPLEWOOD AVENUE  
NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02159  
(617) 964-8528

CF PP's P

Mr. David Barclay  
10 Downing Str.  
London SW1  
ENGLAND

PP CB (FCO) PS

November 28th, 1984

Dear Mr. Barclay:

I wonder if I may ask you, once again, to convey the enclosed letter to the Prime Minister. As far as I understand, Mr. Gorbachev is expected to be received by the Prime Minister, and, as you can see, I view this meeting as an extremely important opportunity to affect both present and future Soviet position toward the Sakharovs.

I greatly appreciate your assistance.

Sincerely yours

*E. Yankelevich*  
Efrem Yankelevich

EFREM YANKELEVICH  
54 MAPLEWOOD AVENUE  
NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02159  
(617) 964-8528

The Right Honourable  
Margaret Thatcher  
Prime Minister  
10 Downing Str.  
London SW1  
ENGLAND

November 28th, 1984

Madam:

I deeply appreciate efforts of your Government on behalf of Dr. and Mrs. Sakharov. Sir Geoffrey How recently informed me that he had raised, on my request, the issue of the Sakharovs, once again, at his meeting with Mr. Gromyko in New York.

I would not want to bother you again, if not for Mr. Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to London.

Whether or not Mr. Gorbachev will succeed Mr. Chernenko, as many believe, it could be already in his power to influence the Politburo's attitude toward the "Sakharov's problem". If he is to become the next Secretary General, it would be of utmost importance to make Mr. Gorbachev aware what the British Government will be expecting from the new leadership in respect to the Sakharovs.

I wonder if Mr. Gorbachev could be asked whether he, personally, believes that the Sakharovs will be eventually released.

Few words, if I may, on the current situation with the Sakharovs. It appears that Dr. Sakharov has been released from the hospital around September 10th. It is not known when he actually stopped the hungerstrike, but some unconfirmed reports suggest that it could have been the end of June, or early July. While in hospital, he was reportedly force-fed and administered psychotropic drugs. Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov is, apparently, sentenced to exile in Gorky. They are held, virtually incommunicado, in their Gorky apartment. The fact that they are together and, apparently, in satisfactory condition, is the only information contained in a few postcards, which were recently received from Mrs. Sakharov.

Yours respectfully

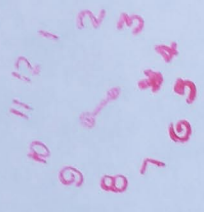
*Efrem Yankelevich*

SOVIET UNION

Sakharov

Jan 80

5 DEC 1984





file 888

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

12 June 1984

The Sakharovs

Thank you for your letter of 8 June reporting on the Foreign Secretary's meeting with Mr and Mrs Yankelevich. The Prime Minister has seen your letter and noted its contents without comment.

David Barclay

Roger Bone Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister (2)

8 June 1984

To be aware.

EMB  
11/6

hnt

Joe David,

The Sakharovs

The Foreign Secretary and Mr Rifkind saw Mr and Mrs Yankelevich on 6 June.

Mr and Mrs Yankelevich had no definite news of the Sakharovs to report and were finding reliable information hard to come by now that both the Sakharovs were isolated in Gorky. While not ruling out completely the possibility that Dr Sakharov might already be dead, they thought it more likely that he was in hospital. They thought rumours of his death in the British press last weekend were the result of Soviet disinformation, possibly to probe Western reactions.

Mr Yankelevich floated two suggestions: that Mrs Gandhi be prevailed on to invite Mrs Bonner to India, and that some Western countries might threaten to withdraw from the CSCE process. We made clear that the second point was very far reaching. On the first point we gave no commitment, but we will be looking into this in consultation with Sir R Wade-Gery.

(R B Bone)  
Private Secretary

D Barclay Esq  
10 Downing Street

FILE  
VC



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

8 May 1984

Dear Mr. Yankelevich.

Thank you for your letter of 7 April. I was glad to hear that Mrs Bonner-Sakharov's condition has somewhat improved since her heart attack in January.

As you know, the British Government has on many occasions made clear its deep concern about the treatment of Dr and Mrs Sakharov by the Soviet authorities. Sir Geoffrey Howe drew Mr. Gromyko's attention to Mrs Bonner-Sakharov's case in January, stating our wish that she should be allowed to go abroad for medical treatment. In February, the Ten members of the European Community made a joint demarche to the Soviet authorities urging them to allow Mrs Bonner-Sakharov to leave the country for humanitarian reasons.

The Soviet authorities are therefore in no doubt about the strength of feeling in Britain and the West generally. I have carefully considered whether personal intervention by me would in any way help, but have come with regret to the conclusion that it would not, at least at present. Such an approach, out of the blue, could even be counter-productive. But there are likely to be opportunities in face to face contact between British and Soviet Ministers during this year to continue to make clear that Mrs Bonner-Sakharov's case remains a matter of real concern.

Yours sincerely

Raymond Storer ds

Mr. Efrem Yankelevich



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

Dear Mr. Yartsevich.

Thank you for your letter of 7 April. I was glad to hear that Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov's condition has somewhat improved since her heart attack in January.

As you know, the British Government has on many occasions made clear its deep concern about the treatment of Dr. and Mrs. Sakharov by the Soviet authorities. Sir Geoffrey Howe drew Mr. Gromyko's attention to Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov's case in January, stating our wish that she should be allowed to go abroad for medical treatment. ~~In March the Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office with responsibility for the Soviet Union (Mr. Malcolm Rifkind) raised the case again with Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Kornienko. Earlier,~~ in February, the Ten members of the European Community made a joint demarche to the Soviet authorities urging them to allow Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov to leave the country for humanitarian reasons.

The Soviet authorities are therefore in no doubt about the strength of feeling in Britain and the West generally. I have carefully considered whether personal intervention by me would in any way help, but have come with regret to the conclusion that it would not, at least at present. Such an approach, out of the blue, could even be counter-productive. But there are likely to

/ be opportunities



be opportunities in face to face contact between British and Soviet Ministers during this year to continue to make clear that Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov's case remains a matter of real concern.

Mr. Efrem Yankelevich

RESTRICTED



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 May 1984

*Type letter pl.*

*M's.*

*for David,*

In your letter of 17 April you asked for advice about the request from Mr Efrem Yankelevich that the Prime Minister should make a personal appeal to Mr Chernenko to allow Mrs Bonner-Sakharov to seek medical help abroad.

We would advise against this. Even if the Russians were disposed to allow her to travel abroad (which seems unlikely in present circumstances) they are unlikely to be persuaded to do so by public pressure from the West. A Prime Ministerial message to Mr Chernenko, whether or not in the public domain, would not, in our judgement, be helpful to Mrs Bonner-Sakharov.

The Foreign Secretary raised Mrs Bonner's case with Mr Gromyko in January; and there will be an opportunity for him to follow this up in Moscow in July. We shall therefore keep this issue alive and maintain some pressure on the Russians at a high level.

*For me*  
*R B Bone*

(R B Bone)  
Private Secretary

David Barclay Esq  
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despach/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM

Reference

Prime Minister

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

Top Secret

Mr Efrem Yankelevich

Secret

54 Maplewood Avenue

Confidential

Newton

Restricted

Massachusetts 02159

Unclassified

USA

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

Thank you for your letter of 7 April.

CAVEAT.....

I was glad to hear that Mrs Bonner-Sakharov's condition has <sup>somewhat</sup> improved ~~in recent weeks.~~ <sup>since her heart attack in January.</sup>

As you know the British Government has on many occasions made clear its deep concern about the treatment of Dr and Mrs Sakharov by the Soviet authorities, ~~and~~ Sir Geoffrey Howe <sup>Mrs Bonner-Sakharov's case</sup> drew Mr Gromyko's attention to / <sup>in January,</sup> making clear our wish that she should be allowed to go abroad for medical treatment. In March the Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office with responsibility for the Soviet Union, <sup>the</sup> (Mr Malcolm Rifkind) raised ~~Mrs Bonner's~~ case again with Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Kornienko. Earlier, in February the Ten members of the European Community made a joint démarche to the Soviet authorities urging them to allow Mrs Bonner-Sakharov to leave the country for humanitarian reasons.

ENCLOSURE  
Enclosures—flag(s).....

Secret Ummi Jan 30

Sakharov.

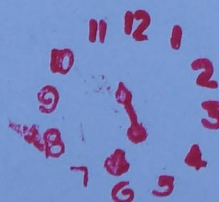


London SW1A 2AH  
Communist Party Office

The Soviet authorities are therefore in no doubt about the strength of feeling in Britain and the West generally. I have <sup>carefully considered</sup> given ~~careful~~ thought as to whether <sup>personal</sup> ~~my~~ intervention <sup>by me</sup> would in any way help, but have come with regret to the conclusion that it would not, <sup>at least at present.</sup> Such an approach, out of the blue, could even be counter-productive. But there are likely to be opportunities in face to face contact between British and Soviet Ministers during this year to <sup>continue to</sup> make clear that Mrs Bonner's case remains a matter of real concern.

*MB* ———→  
5.

1 - MAY 1984





FILE 814

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

26 April, 1984

Many thanks for your letter, which I received on my return from holiday.

I am pleased that you had the opportunity of meeting my colleague, David Barclay, at the Keston College reception. I appreciate only too well how distressing the Sakharov situation is, but I must assure you that everything that can possibly be done is being done by the British Government.

(Mrs. Caroline Ryder)

W. P. Colquhoun, Esq.

A handwritten signature in the bottom right corner of the page.

# Anglo-Nordic Productions Trust

Registered Charity No. 280052

2 THORNTON CLOSE GIRTON CAMBRIDGE CB3 0NQ

Telephone: Cambridge (0223) 276504

18th April, 1984

Mrs. R. Ryder,  
10, Downing Street,  
London SW1.

*Caroline: I've spoken to*

*Mr Colquhoun and explained  
that you are not available  
tomorrow night. I said that I wd show  
it to you on your return (!)*

*Dear Caroline,*

I am sorry I have not yet produced the further material on the Sakharovs' situation from Mrs. Alberti in Paris. However, I have just been speaking to her on the telephone, and she has promised to send it at once. She is one of these very over-worked people.

Things have grown much worse in the last few days. The article in to-day's Daily Telegraph is substantially accurate, but there is much that is not known. But things are now more critical than before. Perhaps the opportunity to do something is also greater.

Might there be any chance of seeing you this coming Wednesday for just a short time? It is one of those rare occasions on which Frances will be with me in London. We are going to be at the Keston College reception at Church House between 6.00 & 8.00pm. Might it be possible to look in after that before we return to children and Cambridge? It would be lovely to see you again, and perhaps meet your husband too.

Mrs. Thatcher is expected to be at this reception. It would be nice to meet her, but no doubt that is what everyone hopes! Do you know whether she valued the time she had with Solzhenitsyn? The Solzhenitsyns certainly appreciated it and believe she is the right person for the job. A sentiment I wholly endorse because there are so few who have both convictions and the courage to stick to them.

I hope it works out to see you at home, but fully appreciate it if nothing does. You must lead an enormously busy life. We would not be able to stay long in any case, so there is no question of food, though I realise it may be bad timing for you.

All best wishes,

*As ever,*

*Patish.*

Management Committee:

The Hon Mrs Juliet Boobyer (Trustee) F E Colquhoun W P Colquhoun (Trustee & Treasurer) J S Craig CA (Trustee) The Marquis of Graham  
Miss A J Hamilton H W Howlett G D Lean (Trustee) N F Ledwith (Trustee) Miss P T Metcalfe OBE (Trustee) R L Pattison F H Wetterfors



*File SM*

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

17 April 1984

*ack 17/4*

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from Mr Efrem Yankelevich about the Sakharovs.

I should be grateful for your advice on this letter and for a draft reply for the Prime Minister's signature. Could this please reach our office by 1 May.

(David Barclay)

Roger Bone Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



*Efrem Yankelevich  
54 Maplewood Avenue  
Newton, Massachusetts 02159  
(617) 964-8528*

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher,  
Prime Minister

April 7th, 1984

Madam:

Thank you for seeing us on such a short notice. I appreciate your personal sympathy with the fate of Dr. and Mrs. Sakharov and the efforts of the Government of Britain on behalf of Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov.

Already after having the privilege of meeting you, we learned of the second heart attack (infarction) that Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov suffered in late January. Although, according to the latest reports, her heart condition has somewhat improved since then, lack of the effective medical help and constant pressures, she is subjected to, make chances for her recovery rather uncertain.

Unfortunately, as I understand, the Soviet Government has failed so far to react in any way to all the diplomatic interventions on Mrs. Sakharov's behalf.

It seems to me that in this circumstances a personal letter from you, Madam, to Mr. Chernenko, appealing on humanitarian grounds to allow Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov to seek medical help abroad, could be the most effective way to intervene on her behalf.

Whether you will find it appropriate to write a personal letter to Mr. Chernenko, or will choose a different form to express your concern, I would suggest, if I may, to bring up the following points.

First, to allow Mrs. Sakharov to travel abroad for medical treatment would be consistent with the policies of Brezhnev's administration, during which Mrs. Sakharov was repeatedly allowed to travel abroad for eye treatment.

Second, in December 1983, Mr. Vitaly Ruben, Chairman of the Chamber of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, publicly stated that Mrs. Sakharov is free "to travel around the country and abroad". Mr. Rubin's statement clearly implies absence of any security or political problems that could prevent the Soviet Government from granting exit visa to Mrs. Sakharov.

Third, to allow Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov to seek medical help abroad is the least the Soviet Government could do to improve Dr. Sakharov's situation and to alleviate somewhat the Western concern over his fate.

I believe that, even by the Soviet standards, we do have a strong case in favor of letting Mrs. Sakharov to travel abroad for medical treatment.

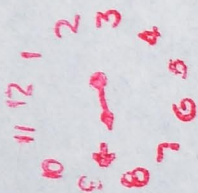
Yours respectfully

E. Yankelevich

Soviet Union Jan 80

Andre Sakharov.

17 APR 1984



*Efrem Yankelevich*  
*54 Maplewood Avenue*  
*Newton, Massachusetts 02159*  
*(617) 964-8528*

Mr. David Barclay  
10 Downing Str.  
White Hall  
London SW1  
ENGLAND

April 7th, 1984

Dear Mr. Barclay:

Thank you for your letter from February 13 concerning Sir Goeffrey Howe's intervention on behalf of Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov in Stockholm.

I am very grateful to Madam Prime Minister for seeing us on such a short notice and to you for your assistance.

I wonder if I may ask you to convey the enclosed letter to Madam Prime Minister.

Sincerely yours

*E. Yankelevich*



10 DOWNING STREET

file  
notis

*From the Private Secretary*

13 February 1984

The Prime Minister has asked me to let you know the outcome of the action taken on behalf of Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary at his meeting with Mr. Gromyko in Stockholm on 19 January.

Sir Geoffrey Howe told Mr. Gromyko that the Soviet Union's fulfilment of its human rights commitments was one of a number of important factors affecting public perceptions and international confidence. Both would be given a considerable boost if the Soviet Union would respond favourably, particularly in cases where the individual's health was in jeopardy. In this context, Sir Geoffrey Howe mentioned the case of Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov. Unfortunately, Mr. Gromyko refused to discuss the subject. However, I can assure you that we will continue to take suitable opportunities to remind the Soviet authorities of the British Government's strong views about this and other similar cases of abuse of human rights in the Soviet Union.

DAVID BARCLAY

Mr. E. Yankelevich.

VC



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 February, 1984

*for David,*

GR  
fms pr. D  
13/2

*Mr. Barclay.*

*A.S.C. 13/2.*

Mrs Bonner-Sakharov

In your letter of 26 January you asked how we could best let Dr Sakharov's family know about the outcome of the Secretary of State's approach to Mr Gromyko about Mrs Bonner. I recommend that you write to Mr Yankelevich (who has now returned to the US) in the terms of the attached letter.

*for on*  
*R B Bone*

(R B Bone)  
Private Secretary

David Barclay Esq  
10 Downing Street

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM

Reference

Private Secretary  
No 10 Downing Street

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

Top Secret

Mr E Yankelevich  
54 Maplewood Avenue  
Newton  
Mass. 02159

Secret

Copies to:

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

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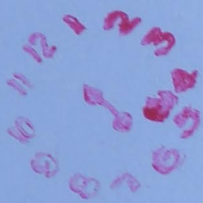
CAVEAT.....

Sir Geoffrey Howe told Mr Gromyko that the Soviet Union's fulfilment of its human rights commitments was one of a number of important factors affecting public perceptions and international confidence. Both would be given a considerable boost if the Soviet Union would respond favourably, particularly in cases where the individual's health was in jeopardy. In this context, Sir Geoffrey Howe mentioned the case of Mrs Bonner-Sakharov. Unfortunately Mr Gromyko refused to discuss the subject. However, I can assure you that we will continue to take suitable opportunities to remind the Soviet authorities of the British Government's strong views about this and other similar cases of abuse of human rights in the Soviet Union.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

Soviet Union Jan 80  
Sakharov

13 FEB 1984







HL

CF papers

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

26 January 1984

Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov

BF | Thank you for your letter of 25 January to John Coles reporting on Sir Geoffrey Howe's conversation with Mr. Gromyko about Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov. The Prime Minister feels that it would be right to let Dr. Sakharov's family know of the outcome. I should be grateful for your advice on how best to do this.

David Barclay

Roger Bone, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



Mr. Barclay.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Would you handle pl.

A.F.C.  $\frac{26}{1}$

25 January 1984

Perhaps we can let Mrs. B-S know. not

Prime Minister.

John Tolan.

A.F.C.  $\frac{25}{1}$

Mrs Bonner-Sakharov

In your letter of 18 January reporting the call on the Prime Minister by Mr and Mrs Yankelevich you said that the Prime Minister would wish to know the result of the action on behalf of Mrs Bonner-Sakharov taken by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary at his meeting with Mr Gromyko in Stockholm on 19 January.

Sir G Howe told Gromyko that the Soviet Union's fulfillment of its human rights commitments was one of a number of important factors affecting public perceptions and international confidence. Both would be given a considerable boost if the Soviet Union would respond favourably, particularly in cases where the individual's health was in jeopardy. Mrs Bonner and Shcharansky were two examples among many of the sort of cases Sir G Howe had in mind. Gromyko responded, typically, that to mention the subject of human rights had lowered the level of the meeting. He refused to discuss it.

*Handwritten signature of R B Bone*

(R B Bone)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

SOVIET UNION : SAKHAROV : JAN 80 :



25 JAN 1984





a MASTER SET

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

18 January 1984

Dear Roger,

CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY MR. AND MRS. YANKELEVICH

The Prime Minister met Mr. and Mrs. Yankelevich this morning, in response to Mr. Yankelevich's letter to her of 8 January about his father-in-law, Dr. Sakharov and Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov.

The Prime Minister invited Mr. and Mrs. Yankelevich to describe the latest position. They explained that the Sakharovs' situation was becoming extremely threatening. Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov had applied a year and a half ago for permission to leave the Soviet Union for medical treatment, but as yet she had received no reply. Dr. Sakharov had said in a private telephone conversation that if matters were not resolved within a month, he was ready to begin another hunger strike. Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov, although reluctant to leave her husband, accepted that there was no other way in which she could receive the medical treatment which she now desperately needed, and she was prepared to go as soon as permission was granted.

Mrs. Yankelevich explained that Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov needed a heart bypass operation, which was not obtainable in the Soviet Union. Her eyesight was also giving cause for concern since she had suffered a massive infraction. She was feeling very low. As the only link between her husband and the outside world, she had to travel at least once a month from Gorky to Moscow. The authorities regarded her as a public enemy, and the press were spreading the rumour that she was being used by the CIA to influence Dr. Sakharov in his public statements.

The Prime Minister commented that, however false, this argument should lead the authorities to the conclusion that it would be a good thing for her to leave the Soviet Union. Mr. and Mrs. Yankelevich thought that their motives may be more simple. They had constantly used those close to Dr. Sakharov to apply pressure on him.

The Prime Minister asked where Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov would go for treatment if she were allowed to leave. Mr. and Mrs. Yankelevich believed that she would go either to the United States or to Italy where she had previously received eye treatment. The Prime Minister wondered whether the Soviet authorities fully recognised the urgency of her need for treatment - it could be very damaging for them if something happened to her which could have been prevented if she had been allowed to leave, since this would provide further evidence of the inhumanity of the Soviet regime.

16

The Prime Minister referred to the British Government's repeated requests to the Soviet Union for better treatment of Dr. Sakharov and his family. She recognised how urgently action was required to help Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov, and she undertook to consider how the British Government might best lend its support. Mr. and Mrs. Yankelevich expressed their gratitude. They said that neither Dr. Sakharov nor his wife were afraid for themselves - their fear was only for each other, and it was this that the Soviet authorities were exploiting.

Following the meeting, the Prime Minister said that she would be grateful if the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary could take a suitable opportunity of raising the plight of Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov with Mr. Gromyko in Stockholm. She would be glad to know the result as soon as possible.

Should you need to contact the Yankelevichs, I understand that they will be staying at the Grosvenor Hotel, Buckingham Palace Road, Victoria, SW1, for the next two days.

MR. D. BARCLAY

Roger Bone, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

RESTRICTED



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

17 January 1984

*Jan Taha,*

Call on Prime Minister by Dr Sakharov's step-daughter:  
1100 on Wednesday 18 January

I enclose, as requested, a brief for the Prime Minister's meeting with Mr and Mrs Yankelevich on 18 January.

I should add that, in the time available, the Secretary of State has not seen the enclosure. I shall show him a copy in tonight's box, and will let you know in the morning if he has any comments.

*Jan Taha*  
*R B Bone*

(R B Bone)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

BRIEF FOR A CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY DR SAKHAROV'S  
STEP DAUGHTER TATIANA YANKELEVICH: 1100 HOURS ON WEDNESDAY  
18 JANUARY 1984

POINTS TO MAKE

1. Longstanding concern for plight of Dr Sakharov and his wife Mrs Bonner.
2. Many British approaches to Soviet authorities on their behalf.
3. Will consider when next most suitable occasion might be for us to raise matter with the Soviet authorities.

ESSENTIAL FACTS

4. Academician Andrei Sakharov is perhaps the best known of all Soviet dissidents. An outstanding nuclear physicist, Doctor Sakharov has been active in the defence of human rights in the Soviet Union since 1970. He was winner of a Nobel Peace Prize in 1975. Since March 1980, he has been in exile at Gorky, about 250 miles east of Moscow.

5. Doctor Sakharov is at present particularly concerned about his wife's (Mrs Bonner) heart condition and is seeking support for Mrs Bonner to be allowed to travel abroad to receive medical treatment. Doctor Sakharov's stepson-in-law, Mr Yankelevich wrote to the Prime Minister on 8 January (copy attached) seeking her help in obtaining permission, and seeking a meeting with her.

6.

6. Over the years, we and other Western Governments have taken a close interest in Doctor Sakharov's case. We have made many demarches to the Soviet authorities both bilaterally and in the CSCE context (7 times), for instance when Doctor Sakharov was exiled to Gorky, and when he and Mrs Bonner went on hunger strike in 1981 in protest at the Soviet authorities refusal to grant an exit visa to Sakharov's daughter-in-law to join her husband in the USA.

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

7. If, at the meeting with the Yankelevichs, the Prime Minister states that we will take a suitable opportunity to raise the subject with the Soviet authorities we should then consider what the next most appropriate occasion might be.

RESTRICTED



*Efrem Yankelevich*  
*54 Maplewood Avenue*  
*Newton, Massachusetts 02159*  
*(617) 964-8528*

The Right Hon. Margaret Thatcher

January 8th, 1984

10 Downing Street  
White Hall  
London SW1

Dear Madam,

Dr. Andrei D. Sakharov, my father-in-law, has asked me to convey to you his letter, which he addressed to the Heads of States of several Western nations.

He is deeply troubled by the failing health of his wife, he believes that no proper medical assistance is available to her in the USSR, due to the circumstances he describes, and he asks for your help in obtaining permission for her to travel abroad for medical treatment.

It seems, there is a relatively good chance for an intervention in Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov's behalf to succeed, since she was previously allowed to travel abroad several times, in somewhat analagous situations, and specifically in light of the statement made recently by Mr. Vitaly Ruben, President of the Chamber of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, who said, as reported by "Washington Post", that Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov, unlike Dr. Sakharov, is "free to move around the country and to travel abroad".

My understanding is that Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov would depart as soon as the permission is granted and would stay abroad not longer that it is necessary for treatment and recuperation.

I enclosed some background material relevant to Dr. Sakharov's letter.

Both, my wife, Tatiana Yankelevich, Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov's daughter, and myself would be most glad to have an opportunity to see you and discuss problems relevant to Dr. Sakharov's request.

We plan to come to London on January 16th and can be contacted through Prof. Martin Dewhirst, 5 Links View Avenue, Brockham, Betchworth, Surrey RH37EP; his telephone number is 939-31-32. From January 12th we will be visiting Bruxelles, Belgium, and can be reached through Mr. Anthony de Meeus, ph. 648-59-47 (home) or 673-33-25 (office).

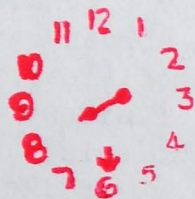
I have the honour to be,

Madam,

Yours faithfully

*E. Yankelevich*

17 JAN 1984



Sakharov file  
DB 17/1



10 DOWNING STREET

Mr. Coley ~~17/1~~ 16/1

1030 on Wednesday  
18 January for half  
an hour or less  
(after FCS). FCO are  
arranging.

DWS  
16/1

Prime Minister.



Agree to see this week Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
the son-in-law (a la wife) London SW1A 2AH  
of Dr. Sakharov?

13 January, 1984

A.S.C. 16/1

Yes no.

John Taylor

In your letter of 11 January you asked for advice on the requests Dr Sakharov's stepson-in-law has put to the Prime Minister.

In view of Dr Sakharov's worldwide standing and the deplorable manner in which he has been treated by the Soviet authorities, as well as the Yankelevichs' close connection with him, we think it would be appropriate for the Prime Minister to see them if this can be arranged. We understand that they will be in London for about a week from 16 January.

If the Yankeleviches call on Mrs Thatcher they can be expected to ask her to take some action to help Dr Sakharov's wife obtain permission to travel abroad for medical treatment. We would suggest that the Prime Minister might refer to the Government's longstanding concern for the plight of Dr Sakharov and his wife, and the many approaches we have made to the Soviet authorities on their behalf, notably when Dr Sakharov was exiled to Gorky in 1980, and when Dr Sakharov and his wife went on hunger strike in 1981 in protest at the Soviet authorities' refusal to grant an exit visa to Dr Sakharov's stepdaughter to join her husband in the US. She might then say that we would take a suitable opportunity to raise this with the Soviet authorities. We could then consider what the next most appropriate occasion might be.

*Handwritten signature*

(R B Bone)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

Soviet Union  
Arrest and exile of Andrei Sakharov  
Jan. 80.





10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

11 January, 1984

Sakharov

I enclose a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister has received from Dr. Sakharov's son-in-law which covers a letter from Dr. Sakharov himself which has been addressed to various Western Heads of State.

This correspondence seeks the Prime Minister's help in obtaining permission for Dr. Sakharov's wife to travel abroad for medical treatment. In addition, Mr. Yankelevich and his wife seek a meeting with the Prime Minister. They will be in London on 16 January.

I should be grateful for advice on both the above points by the end of this week and for a draft reply to Mr. Yankelevich for my signature on behalf of the Prime Minister.

AJC

R. B. Bone, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

R11

*Efrem Yankelevich*  
*54 Maplewood Avenue*  
*Newton, Massachusetts 02159*  
*(617) 964-8528*

The Right Hon. Margaret Thatcher

January 8th, 1984

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White Hall  
London SW1

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It seems, there is a relatively good chance for an intervention in Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov's behalf to succeed, since she was previously allowed to travel abroad several times, in somewhat analogous situations, and specifically in light of the statement made recently by Mr. Vitaly Ruben, President of the Chamber of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, who said, as reported by "Washington Post", that Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov, unlike Dr. Sakharov, is "free to move around the country and to travel abroad".

My understanding is that Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov would depart as soon as the permission is granted and would stay abroad not longer than it is necessary for treatment and recuperation.

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Both, my wife, Tatiana Yankelevich, Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov's daughter, and myself would be most glad to have an opportunity to see you and discuss problems relevant to Dr. Sakharov's request.

We plan to come to London on January 16th and can be contacted through Prof. Martin Dewhurst, 5 Links View Avenue, Brockham, Betchworth, Surrey RH37EP; his telephone number is 939-31-32. From January 12th we will be visiting Bruxelles, Belgium, and can be reached through Mr. Anthony de Meeus, ph. 648-59-47 (home) or 673-33-25 (office).

I have the honour to be,  
Madam,

Yours faithfully

*E. Yankelevich*

I appeal to you with a request which is purely personal in character, but is of grave importance to me.

I ask you to help my wife obtain permission to travel abroad. The purpose of the trip is, first of all, to be treated for heart disease, which directly threatens her life, and for an eye operation and treatment, and also to visit her children and grandchildren, and to take her mother back to the USSR.

It seems to us dangerous to seek medical treatment for my wife in the USSR. She is the person portrayed by Soviet propaganda as the instigator of my public activity. Only this year these allegations (laced with the most vicious and refined slander) were repeated in three publications with a total circulation of more than 10 million copies. The responsibility for my public statements, in particular for my writings on the problems of war and peace, is placed, against any common sense, upon my wife. A hate campaign has been provoked against her. In thousands of letters, on the streets, in the train she is accosted and accused of being a Zionist, a traitor to the Motherland, who may bring a thermonuclear death upon the Soviet people and the world, of being a murderer. We have reasons to fear that a plan for her physical elimination exists, and has already been set in motion. But even if it is not so, it is nevertheless impossible to obtain effective medical treatment for her in the USSR considering the current hate campaign and the constant interference of nonmedical forces in her treatment.

Some details. In 1974, my wife has experienced a flare-up of eye disease, which had been caused by a concussion she suffered at the front during World War 2. After the long struggle, with help from world public opinion, and at the cost of a partial but permanent loss of her vision, she obtained permission to travel abroad for eye treatment in 1975, 1977, and 1979. In 1981-1982, the need arose for another trip abroad for eye treatment. In September 1982, my wife applied for the trip. The usual term to consider such an application is not more than 2 months, but up to now she has not receive a reply. In 1983, my wife's health sharply deteriorated. She still requires treatment for her eyes, but now more urgent problem has developed. On April 25, she suffered a massive myocardial infarct. Her condition is still not stable and remains dangerous. Our attempts, in May and June of this year, to gain admission to the hospital of the Academy of Sciences for both of us, which would have alleviated to some degree the apprehensions I have mentioned, proved to be unsuccessful, despite the conclusion of a medical commission who visited me in Gorky and has confirmed that I, too, require hospitalization. My wife is practically left without medical assistance. Our Moscow apartment is guarded by police (just as in Gorky, only there are six policemen on duty). There is no telephone in the Moscow apartment, and no public phone on the street, so she cannot call an ambulance in case of a sudden heart attack. Doctors hesitate to visit her for fear of the consequences. Now, the only acceptable solution for her is to travel abroad for medical treatment. Only this can save her life!



Our children and grandchildren became hostages of my public activity and were forced to emigrate, in 1977-1978. A tragic separation of our family occurred. They live in the United States. Since 1980, my 83-years-old mother-in-law, Ruth G. Bonner, has been visiting them. In 1981, the hungerstrike held by my wife and myself has secured the possibility for my daughter-in-law, Liza Alekseeva, to join her husband in the United States. The tragedy of separation is made worse by the almost complete lack of communications. On November 10 1983, I asked the Head of Soviet State, Yuri V. Andropov to allow my wife to travel abroad. I ask you to support my request in the form you find appropriate.

Save my wife!

November 1983

Respectfully

Andrei Sakharov

Я обращаюсь к Вам с просьбой чисто личного харак-  
тера, имеющей для меня огромное значение. С Д про-

шу Вас способствовать поездке моей жены Елены Голлер за рубежом  
(сначала очередь лечения болезнью сердца, непосредственно угрожающей  
ее жизни, а также лечению и оперированию глаз) и для моего чужды  
увидеть детей и внуков и привезти в СССР маму. Лечение моей жены  
в СССР представляется нам опасным. Советская пропаганда именно  
ее выставила главной подстрекательницей моей общественной  
деятельности. Только в этом году это утверждение (содержимое самой поездки  
и циничной клеветой) повторено в трех публикациях общим тиражом  
более 10 млн экземпляров. Ответственность за мои выступления, в осо-  
бенности — вопреки здравому смыслу — за выступления по проб-  
лемам войны и мира — перекладывается на жену, провоцируется  
всеобщим ненавистью и травлей. В тысячах писем, при встречах на  
улице, в поезде ее обвиняют в том, что

тасмичной невосполнимой потерей зрения, с помощью  
Лорровой. Общественностью удалось добиться разрешения на  
поездку для лечения глаз в 1975, 1977 и 1979 годах. В 1981-82  
годах возникла настоятельная необходимость в новой поездке.

В сентябре 1982 года моя жена подала заявление на поездку в обя-  
зательный срок рассматривали такие заявления не более 2-х месяцев, но до сих  
пор нет никакого ответа. За последний год состояние здоровья моей  
жены резко ухудшилось, и наряду с необходимостью лечения зрения, еще  
более сложными стали другие проблемы. За время у нее произошли  
обширный инфаркт, состояние ее до сих пор не нормализовалось,  
является весьма опасным. Наши попытки в мае и июне добиться  
совместной госпитализации в больницу АН СССР, г. Ташкент, упираются  
до вышеупомянутых опасений, оказались безрезультатными. Комиссия  
на то, что проводилась в Горьком комиссией консульств медиков под-  
твердила, что я, по моему состоянию здоровья нуждаюсь в госпи-  
тализации. Моя жена осталась фактически без медицинской  
помощи. У друзей в Варшаве в Москве (так же как в Горьком, только  
в компании везовек) застряли минимоторы, нет телефона в  
Варшаве и авиалайны ни улицы около дома, так что в случае внезапной  
прибыва она не сможет вызвать скорую; врачи, опасаясь за свое пово-  
шение, боялись ее посетить. ~~Моя жена и я~~ Считаю един-  
ственным приемлемым решением является поездка моей жены  
~~за рубль для лечения за рубежом~~ - только это может ее спасти!

Наши дети и внуки ставшие заложниками моей общес-  
твенной деятельности, были вынуждены эмигрировать в 1977-78  
годах. Произошел трагический разрыв связей детей и внуков живущих в  
США. С 1980 года у нас находится в тюрьме мать жены Р.Г. Боннар, 1909 года  
рождения. В 1981 году после годоводки жены и мои удалось добиться вы-  
езда к матери невестки Е. Алексеевой. Трагедия разрывая удушья  
попытки полновластного отцу с нами связи. Всего 10 ноября 1983 года

я обратился к главе Советского государства Ю.В. Андропову  
с просьбой дать указание о разрешении на поездку моей  
жены. Я прошу Вас поддержать мою просьбу в той мере  
которую Вы сочтете возможным. Спасите мою жену!

Май 1983  
Горький.

С глубочайшим уважением  
И/п Андрей Сахаров

*Efrem Yankelevich*  
*54 Maplewood Avenue*  
*Newton, Massachusetts 02159*  
*(617) 964-8528*

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN SAKHAROV CASE (PART II)

These brief notes are a continuation of the previous report on Dr. and Mrs. Sakharov's current situation, and are addressed mostly to friends and supporters of Dr. Sakharov in the West.

o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o

The first part of "Latest developments..." described in some detail the eventful (for the Sakharovs and their friends) period of spring-summer 1983. It began in April with Soviet inspired rumors that Sakharov might be allowed to leave the country if he wished to. These rumors were reinforced in late April by the invitation to Dr. Sakharov from Vienna University, which was reportedly encouraged by the Soviets through the Austrian government. What followed was a sharp repudiation of these rumors by the Soviet press-agency TASS.

Shortly thereafter the Norwegian government made public Dr. Sakharov's acceptance of its offer to take residence in Norway. The Norwegian foreign minister indicated that he is still awaiting Soviet reply.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov had suffered a miocardial infarction and has been trying to persuade the Academy of Science to hospitalize both her and her husband in the Academy's own hospital in Moscow. Finally, on June 2, two Academy physicians did visit Sakharov in Gorky and recommended his admittance to a hospital for observation and treatment of his cardiac and prostate problems. So far, Dr. Sakharov has not been admitted to the Academy hospital, while, for a number of reasons, he is not likely to accept any medical help in Gorky, if offered.

*Some new trends* in the development of the Sakharovs' situation, not yet apparent at the time of the previous report, have become visible now.

First of all, *the police blockade of the Sakharovs' apartment in Moscow has*

become permanent. The blockade began in late May on the eve of Dr. Sakharov's 62nd birthday, proclaimed earlier by President Reagan "National Andrei Sakharov Day." Mrs. Sakharov was at that time in Moscow, mostly bedridden because of the infarct she suffered in late April. Middle and high ranking police officers were at that time (and are now, during Mrs. Sakharov's stays in Moscow) stationed near the elevator door and sometimes augmented by police downstairs and plainclothes men outside the building. Police check the IDs of Mrs. Sakharov's visitors and prevent foreigners from entering her apartment.

Another, and very unpleasant, trend seems to be emerging in the official attitude toward the "Sakharov problem." In the interview given to *Newsweek* in June, President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences Anatoly P. Alexandrov remarked that "...in the latter period of his [Sakharov's] life, the fault lay more than anything else with a rather serious psychic shift in him." Now it seems that this statement reflects not just Alexandrov's personal opinion: in August, Chairman Andropov told American senators that Sakharov is a "mentally sick man" who has written an article "calling for war."\*

*The latest anti-Sakharovs campaign*

The article that Mr. Andropov was referring to, "The Danger of Thermonuclear War" published in early July by *Foreign Affairs*, was a contributing factor in yet another development, one whose potential significance is still hard to estimate, but which might have the broadest implications.

The Soviet response to Dr. Sakharov's article appeared in *Izvestia* on July 3, even before the summer issue of *Foreign Affairs* was off the press. The *Investia* article, entitled "When Honor and Conscience are Lost," was signed by four members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Anatoly Dorodnitsyn, Alexander Prokhorov, Gyorgy Skryabin, and Andrei Tikhonov. It began:

---

\* "A Report of a Delegation of Eight Senatore to the Soviet Union to the United States Senate." U.S. Senate, September 1983, S.Doc. 98-16.

"After opening an issue of the American magazine *Foreign Affairs* and seeing a long article by Academician Andrei Sakharov in it, we began reading it prepared for anything. We know well that Sakharov tries to besmirch all we hold dear, that he slanders his own nation, presenting it to the external world as some sort of gray, completely uncivilized mass.

"Sakharov's creation in *Foreign Affairs* amazed us nevertheless..."

Then the authors went on with their interpretation of Dr. Sakharov's article, which essentially was that Sakharov is calling for nuclear blackmail, if not war, against his own country:

"...Sakharov urges the US and the West under no circumstances to agree to any limitations on the arms race in general and on nuclear weapons in particular. He directly importunes the leaders in Washington to stick to their militarist course, their course toward confrontation with the Soviet Union and toward military supremacy, arguing that the United States and NATO should not slacken the arms race for another ten to fifteen years at least... Sakharov today is really suggesting the use of the monstrous force of nuclear weapons to intimidate the Soviet people again, to compel our country to capitulate before an American ultimatum. And to what country and "civilization" does he belong and what does he want in the end? Can he really not understand that the build-up of weapons which he advocates threatens not just our country which lost 20,000,000 people in the last war, but every nation without exception and human civilization itself?..."

Sakharov's position is identified in the article with that of the U.S. administration. In this context the authors made the following reference to Sakharov's own situation:

"...We know that Sakharov is very popular with those Americans who would like to wipe our country and socialism off the face of the earth. Such

friends are always raising a hullabaloo about the 'tragic fate of Sakharov.' We do not wish to discuss this boundless hypocrisy right now. No, our government, our people have been more than tolerant towards this man who is living peacefully in Gorky from whence he issues his misanthropic creations..."

The authors concluded with a far-reaching, if remote, comparison:

"...Exactly thirty years ago this summer...(T)he American authorities executed the scientists Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Their execution was based on absurd and foul charges. The 'evidence' was fabricated by American secret services. And by the way, in distinction to *Sakharov who calls for nuclear blackmail directed against his own country and for making possible a nuclear first-strike against us* [emph. added], the Rosenbergs were not simply innocent persons.... They had spoken out for the destruction of lethal weapons..."

The *Izvestia* article did not add much to the accusations already leveled at Dr. Sakharov in the Soviet press, nor was it the first time that Dr. Sakharov was attacked in the press by his Soviet colleagues. (In fact, the Soviet Academy of Sciences participated in the anti-Sakharov press campaigns in 1973 and 1975 and, as recently as May 1983, issued a widely-published statement in which it professed to be "outraged by President Reagan's decision to mark officially the 'Sakharov Day.'") However, *never before was Sakharov portrayed with such persistence and vigor as "a man (who) actually calls for a war against his own country," and never before were such accusations backed by the authority of full members of the Academy of Sciences.*

Nevertheless, hardly anyone had expected the unprecedented outburst of the "people's wrath" provoked by the *Izvestia* article.

During the following two months, July and August, Sakharov received more than 2,300 angry and threatening letters from about ten thousand of his outraged

...patriots (many letters bearing several signatures). At the same time the Sakharovs had begun to be almost routinely accosted on the streets of Gorky, where Dr. Sakharov is usually recognized by the public, and where the local authorities have not missed a chance for the last three years to instigate anti-Sakharov feelings. The assaults were frequently anti-Semitic and directed against Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov. On one occasion, at the beginning of September, Mrs. Sakharov was even forced by the other passengers to leave her sleeping compartment, when travelling from Gorky to Moscow by train. The letters and assaults still continue, although they have become much less frequent.

Assuming, as the Sakharovs do, that most of the letters and assaults were not provoked by the KGB, one cannot help but ask why the anti-Sakharov campaign, which has been going on for more than ten years, is now suddenly showing some signs of success, or why the *Izvestia* article appeared convincing to an apparently significant part of the Soviet population. Although what the "average" Soviet citizen thinks or feels remains a mystery, and a much debated one, I will risk offering some more-or-less self-evident factors for consideration.

First, Soviet propaganda is much more convincing than is usually perceived by a person who considers himself free from its influence. The most interesting example was set recently by *The New York Times*, which reported, following an *Izvestia* article, that Dr. Sakharov "has advocated that Washington maintain armed forces 'two or three times more powerful than Moscow.'"\*

It is rather clear that fierce anti-American (and generally anti-Western) propaganda fueled by such "post-detente" developments as the plans for the deployment of neutron bombs, the grain embargo, the Olympic boycott, new American defense efforts, including plans for MX and Euro-missiles deployment, has strengthened the "siege mentality" of the Soviet population. A half-million strong "peace march" conducted near the American Embassy in Moscow on October 2 could be an indication

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\* *The New York Times*, December 4, 1981. A correction ran on February 27, 1982.



of the intensity of this continuous propaganda campaign.

Although Dr. Sakharov's article "The Danger of Thermonuclear War" had been repeatedly broadcast by the Russian service of the Voice of American and by Radio Liberty, it had reached, apparently, only a very small audience. The total jamming of foreign broadcasts, renewed in August 1980, and, reportedly, constantly increasing since that time, have rendered Western broadcasts almost inaudible in the USSR. The renewed jamming efforts, the new border laws, designed to prevent uncensored materials from crossing the Soviet borders, the resolute measures to suppress dissent - all these contribute greatly to the potential effectiveness of any present or future propaganda campaigns.

Probably the most important factor here is the development of the anti-Sakharov campaign itself. The attempts to discredit Dr. Sakharov and his views go back at least ten years and were never limited to the media attacks. The "oral propaganda," delivered at closed party meetings ("for members only") and at public "political education" lectures, has been more vicious and insulting, and sometimes more sincere, but not much is known about it. The history of the anti-Sakharov and the general anti-dissident campaigns is a fascinating subject, though, it seems, one not yet discovered by sovietologists.

Interestingly enough, the anti-Sakharov and the anti-dissident campaign has become more intense and elaborate now that vocal dissent has been silenced to a considerable degree by arrests, emigration, and threats. Today's anti-dissident propaganda can even be said to have some positive characteristics. While before it spoke of Sakharov and the dissidents as one would speak of a forbidden subject, it has now become much more uninhibited and freer from stereotypes. Today's propaganda "unmasks" specific people, draws "psychological portraits," quotes personal letters (seized by the KGB). It refers to real facts and events, quotes foreign sources, even quotes dissident authors (mostly Sakharov), although often presenting severely distorted or invented "quotations." The two most prominent authors among

ose writing about dissidents and "ideological warfare" are Samuel L. Zivs, a professor at Moscow University and vice-president of the Association of Soviet Jurists, who lately became well known as the first deputy chairman of the recently formed official anti-Zionist committee, and the historian N.N. Yakovlev.\*

The third edition (rewritten and supplemented) of Yakovlev's book *The CIA against the USSR*, published in 1983 in 200,000 copies, is, reportedly, a bestseller. The book devotes about 30 pages to Sakharov, the same number to Solzhenitsyn, and about 70 pages to other dissidents. Although Yakovlev did not spare Sakharov from the standard, if lengthy accusations, a second, parallel, theme is very prominent in the book. The theme, not entirely absent in other such publications, was that Sakharov, a good scientist, but mentally unstable and suffering from abnormal vanity, is influenced by his mercenary and immoral Jewish wife, Elena Bonner. A separate piece was devoted to "exposing" Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov past and present, attributing to her, in colorful detail, contemptuous, if not criminal, conduct.

In July, the "Sakharov chapter" from Yakovlev's book, considerably shortened and rewritten, was published by the popular bi-weekly *Smena*. (*Smena* - 'Successors' - has a circulation of about 2 million.)\*\*

In September, Mrs. Sakharov filed a defamation suit against Yakovlev.

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\* Samuel Zivs' book *An Anatomy of Lie* reviewed by Dr. Sakharov in *The New York Review of Books*, July 21, 1983.

The first edition of Nikolai Yakovlev's book *The CIA against the USSR* published in English by Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982, under the title *CIA Target - the USSR* is available from Imported Publications, Inc., Chicago, Ill.

\*\* Yakovlev's book had been already serialized in *Smena* prior to the publication of the chapter on Sakharov. Interestingly enough, this chapter had not been included in the serialization, but appeared separately, along with the following editorial introduction:

"The publication by *Smena* of the series of essays *The CIA against us* by a well known Soviet historian N.N. Yakovlev produced a lively response from our readers...

"Some of our readers ask: which role in the subversive activity against our country, which is conducted by the West, is assigned to Academician Sakharov, formerly a well known physicist, who had broken with science to devote himself to a 'crusade' against his own Motherland.

"We asked Professor N.N. Yakovlev to answer this question."

It seems that both themes - Sakharov as a warmonger who invites nuclear blackmail against his own country, and Sakharov influenced by his scornful Jewish wife and especially the combination of these themes, have been the key factors that provoked the recent manifestations of the "people's wrath" and are largely responsible for the apparent and unparalleled success of the campaign.

Unfortunately, it seems that not much can be done to counter this campaign, to prevent its further development, or to alleviate its results, since, as noted above, Western broadcasts now fail to reach a Soviet audience.

Many specifics of the popular response to the latest campaign against the Sakharovs are still unknown, and it is difficult to foresee whether the authorities will be encouraged by this response enough to continue with the campaign, or whether they will consider these manifestations of the "people's wrath" as sufficient evidence of the erosion of popular support for Dr. Sakharov and as an encouragement for further actions against him and his wife.

October 4, 1983

Efrem Yankelevich

AN UPDATE  
as of November 28, 1983

Mrs. Sakharov returned to Moscow on November 13.

While Dr. Sakharov now appears to be in relatively good health, Mrs. Sakharov's condition is precarious.

The infarction she suffered in April (a massive anterolateral and basal miocardial infarction) is not healing properly. She has developed some rather severe complications including coronary circulation insufficiency. In mid-October Mrs. Sakharov suffered another heart attack in Gorky.

Meanwhile, Dr. Sakharov has petitioned Chairman Andropov to allow Mrs. Sakharov to receive medical help abroad. (Between 1975 and 1979 Mrs. Sakharov had been allowed to travel to Italy three times for eye operations and treatment. For more than a year now she has been waiting for a reply to her visa application to travel to Italy for yet another eye operation.)

Mrs. Sakharov plans to stay in Moscow for about three weeks for medical observation in regard to her heart problems.

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The hate mail and insults, provoked by the "Izvestia" article, have practically stopped, though the Sakharovs are still receiving a few letters a week.

Meanwhile, yet another "serialization" of Yakovlev's book has appeared in the soviet press. A popular monthly "Man and the Law" ("Chelovek i Zakon", circulation 8,700,000) has published in its October issue, under the heading "The CIA against the Land of the Soviets", the excerpts from Yakovlev's book "The CIA against the USSR". Among these excerpts is a revised version of the part of the "Sakharov chapter" that "unmasks" Mrs. Bonner-Sakharov.

This new revision is distinguished by extremely insulting language, but its most prominent feature is that it forthrightly alleges, for the first time ever, that Dr. Sakharov has been influenced by the CIA via "world Zionism" and Mrs. Elena Bonner-Sakharov.

Beside establishing the link between the CIA and "Jewish big business", the World Jewish Congress, etc., and "exposing" Mrs. Sakharov, the author offers the following insight into the origins of Dr. Sakharov's public activity:

"... Academician A.D. Sakharov has become one of the victims of the CIA's Zionist agents.

Whatever angry words have been addressed to Sakharov (and he fully deserves them), one feels sorry for him as a human being. He has caused and is still causing harm to our people and to our state. But not everything should be ascribed to his malevolence, though his malevolence is fully apparent. That aside, Sakharov may first and foremost be a victim of the intrigues that have been and still are woven around his name by the Western secret services. By exploiting the peculiarities of his personal life in the last ten and a half years or so (which will be explained later), the provocateurs from the subversive agencies have and continue to push this mentally unbalanced man to acts that run counter to the image of Sakharov the scientist..."

Mrs.Sakharov has still not been informed as to the status of the defamation suit she had filed, in September, against Yakovlev, although, according to Soviet law, the court, has either to justify its rejection of the suit, or begin proceedings within a month.

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On November 18, Mrs.Sakharov informed the Western correspondents in Moscow of the arrest of the Sakharovs' closest friend, a mathematician Yuri Shikhanovich. Dr.Shichanovich is charged with "anti-soviet agitation and propaganda". (His previous arrest, in September 1972, was made on the same charges. Then he spent 13 month under investigation in Lefortovo prison and was committed, by a Moscow court, to a psychiatric hospital. Released in July 1974.)

That same day the KGB searched the apartments of two other friends of Dr. and Mrs.Sakharov - Maria Podyapolskaya, a geologist, and Boris Altshuler, a physicist, formerly Dr.Sakharov's student.

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The French "Comite des XY" and a number of other human rights organizations are conducting, mainly in Europe, a "SAVE Sakharov" campaign - a series of public events on behalf of Dr.Sakharov. The activities started on November 14 and are scheduled to continue for a month. In the course of the campaign a number of delegations consisting of prominent French citizens have visited the Soviet Embassy in Paris.

On November 21, Alexandr Melnick, chief of protocol of the Soviet Embassy, reportedly told a group of French intellectuals that every Soviet citizen, including Dr.Sakharov, has the right to leave the country. On the following day a representative of the Embassy repudiated this statement in a telephone interview with French TV. He claimed that Sakharov is in possession of important military secrets and that he never applied for emigration.

# Soviet Portrays Nobel Prize Winner Sakharov as Unstable

By Dusko Doder

Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Dec. 8—A prominent Soviet official suggested at a news conference today that Andrei Sakharov, the country's foremost civil rights activist and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, was mentally unbalanced.

Vitaly Ruben, president of one of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet (parliament), indicated that the 62-year-old nuclear physicist is "cuckoo," basing the claim on an inaccurate account of an article written by Sakharov and published in the West last July.

Ruben, in an extraordinary charge, accused Sakharov of urging the United States to carry out a

nuclear strike against the Soviet Union. "Only someone who is cuckoo could suggest such a thing," Ruben said, tapping his head for emphasis.

[Ruben was apparently referring to an article published by Sakharov in Foreign Affairs magazine last summer, in which he said the West should bolster its military strength to balance Soviet power so that neither side would feel safe in taking the first aggressive step.]

An account of today's press conference published by the official news agency Tass rephrased Ruben's remarks to say, "A healthy person will not do such things. Soviet medics are taking all necessary measures to restore his health. They are treating him at home."

Sakharov's wife told journalists last summer that she was afraid the authorities were planning to portray her husband as mentally unbalanced and possibly place him in a psychiatric clinic. Ruben's assertion at the press conference that Sakharov was receiving medical attention at his home in Gorki seemed to refer to the physicist's heart condition, not to any psychiatric problem.

Ruben said Sakharov was banished from Moscow in 1980 to Gorki, about 250 miles east of here, in part for health reasons. Sakharov, he said, is a "talented but sick man."

Sakharov's exile, said Ruben, "was necessary, first of all, for his own peace of mind."

See SAKHAROV, A44, Col. 4

## Journalist Unsubdued, Soviet Official Hints

SAKHAROV, From A37

During the news conference, called to mark U.N. Human Rights Day, Ruben said that Sakharov enjoyed all civil rights except the fact that he was not allowed to leave the city of Gorki.

"We sent him there [to Gorki] so that he would not be bothered by emissaries, correspondents of whatever disguise they [western intelligence agents] may come in," Ruben said. He said that western nations were interested "in gaining the state secrets he knows about and will use any means to get them."

Ruben said Sakharov's wife, Yelena Bonner, was free to move around the country and to travel abroad. He referred to her as "madame," a pejorative term when applied by an official to Soviet citizens.

Ruben said three of Sakharov's articles have been published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences, an elite group of which the nuclear physicist remains a member.

Washington Post

December 9, 1983

CONFIDENTIAL

JWP

Sar Vira

8 December 1981

Dr. Andrei Sakharov

The Prime Minister has seen your letter of 7 December and takes the view that it would be best for any message from the Ten to the Soviet Government to be conveyed by the FCO Minister to the Soviet Ambassador.

A. J. COLES

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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CONFIDENTIAL

(2)



10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

Sakharov

Agree that the Tsar's views  
should be conveyed by an F./C.O.  
Minister to the Soviet Ambassador?

Yes  
A.S.C. 7.  
12



RESTRICTED



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 December 1981

*Dear John,*

Dr Andrei Sakharov

As you know Dr Sakharov and his wife began a hunger strike two weeks ago to protest at the Soviet authorities' refusal to allow Lisa Alexeyeva, who was married by proxy in June under United States law to Mrs Sakharov's son by a previous marriage, to emigrate to the United States to join her husband. The Soviet press carried a lengthy attack on Dr Sakharov and his family on 5 December, together with a statement that they have been hospitalised for what was described as 'prophylactic medical assistance'. This has been interpreted by the press as forced feeding, but may be less severe.

We have made our views on the Soviet treatment of Dr Sakharov plain since his exile to Gorky in January 1980. Mr Luce called in the then Soviet Ambassador on 22 January 1980 to protest at the Soviet action, and the Italian Presidency made a demarche in Moscow. We, and other Western Governments, have repeatedly drawn attention to Dr Sakharov's confinement in Gorky, for example at the Madrid CSCE Review Meeting, where the Dutch Presidency made a statement on behalf of the Nine on the occasion of Dr Sakharov's 60th birthday in May of this year. Lord Trefgarne raised the general question of the Soviet human rights record at a meeting with the Soviet Ambassador on 23 November, referring in passing to Dr Sakharov, whose hunger strike had just begun. The following day Lord Trefgarne saw Mrs Dina Beilin, a former refusenik and friend of the Sakharovs, and pledged the Government's continued support for Dr Sakharov and his family.

We have taken further action since the reports over the weekend of the Sakharovs' hospitalisation and the Soviet refusal to allow Lisa Alexeyeva to visit them in Gorky. The FCO News Department made the enclosed statement on the record on 7 December. Lord Trefgarne gave an interview to the BBC's 'World at One' on 7 December in which he expressed the Government's concern at recent developments, with particular reference to the Soviet authorities failure to honour their commitments under the Helsinki Final Act.

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/  
Recent developments in Dr Sakharov's case may be raised during Prime Minister's Question Time tomorrow afternoon. I enclose a Line to Take and Notes for Supplementaries, together with a Background Note.

/  
The Eastern European Working Group of the Ten today discussed a possible statement to be issued at the close of the Foreign Affairs Council in Brussels tomorrow. I enclose a COREU telegram reporting their conclusions. You will see that certain delegations suggested that the text of any statement should be conveyed formally to the Russians by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Presidency, in a letter to President Brezhnev. The British delegation reserved our position on this, and the COREU telegram therefore refers only to transmission "at a suitably high level". Subject to the views of the Prime Minister and of the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary (whom we are consulting in Brussels), FCO officials consider that the most appropriate level would be for the message to be conveyed in Lord Carrington's name, probably by means of inviting the Soviet Ambassador to call on another FCO Minister later this week.

*Yours ever*  
*Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

ON THE RECORD STATEMENT BY FCO NEWS DEPARTMENT, 7 DECEMBER 1981

Dr Sakharov and his wife began a hunger strike two weeks ago intended to persuade the Soviet authorities to allow his step-daughter-in-law, Miss Lisa Alexeyeva, to join her husband (whom she had married by proxy) in the United States. We deplore the circumstances which drove Dr and Mrs Sakharov to this action. The treatment of Dr Sakharov demonstrates the callous disregard of the Soviet Government for the commitments which they undertook in signing the Helsinki Final Act. It also undermines confidence in the CSCE process.

The Government have been deeply disturbed by the news that the Soviet authorities have placed Dr and Mrs Sakharov under compulsory medical care and that Miss Alexeyeva has been prevented from visiting them.

We urge the Soviet authorities to allow Miss Alexeyeva to join her husband and to restore to Dr Sakharov and his wife the freedoms to which they and all their fellow citizens have a right.

ANDREI SAKHAROV

1. Born 1921. Outstanding nuclear physicist, member of the USSR Academy of Science, winner of 1975 Nobel Peace Prize. Increasingly active in defence of human rights from 1970, when he helped to found a Human Rights Committee. Subjected to increasing harassment and vilification; in January 1980 stripped of his Soviet awards and illegally banished to the closed city of Gorky following his criticism of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

2. Lives in virtual isolation in Gorky. His flat is under constant surveillance by the KGB; he is not allowed contact with foreigners or representatives of the foreign press; his mail has also been interfered with.

3. On 22 November, Dr Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, began a hunger strike in protest at the refusal of the Soviet authorities to grant an exit visa to Lisa Alexeyeva, his step daughter-in-law, to join her husband in the United States. Miss Alexeyeva's husband is Mrs Bonner's son by a previous marriage and the couple were married by proxy in June under US law.

4. Dr and Mrs Sakharov were taken to hospital in Gorky on 5 December for compulsory medical care. Dr Sakharov has a heart condition. Miss Alexeyeva has been prevented from visiting the Sakharovs in hospital.

PRIME MINISTER'S QUESTION TIME: TUESDAY, 8 DECEMBER

DR ANDREI SAKHAROV

Line to Take

1. I deplore the circumstances which drove Dr and Mrs Sakharov to go on hunger strike. I am disturbed by the recent reports that the Sakharovs have been placed under compulsory medical care and that Miss Alexeyeva has been prevented from visiting them in Gorky.
2. The actions of the Soviet authorities demonstrate a blatant disregard for their commitments under the Helsinki Final Act. This can only undermine confidence in the CSCE process. I urge the Soviet authorities to allow Miss Alexeyeva to join her husband in the United States and to restore to Dr Sakharov and his wife the freedoms of which they have been deprived.



NOTES FOR SUPPLEMENTARIES

WHAT CAN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DO?

1. We have made our views on Dr Sakharov's case quite plain, and, together with our partners, will continue to do so. Human rights such as the freedom of movement and of political conscience and expression are inextinguishable. The sooner the Soviet government realises this and starts to live up to its international commitments, the more likely it is that the international confidence on which East/West relations depends might be restored.

ACTION BY THE TEN

2. We are obviously in close touch with our Partners in the Ten on the latest developments in Dr Sakharov's case and shall be considering where there is any more we can do. The position of the Ten on this case and on the many other cases of Soviet human rights violations is quite clear.

HAVE WE CALLED IN THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR ?

3. My noble Friend the Parliamentary Under-Secretary in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office saw the Soviet Ambassador on 23 November, shortly after the Sakharov's hunger strike began. He made clear the British Government's continued concern over the Soviet human rights performance.

OUT COREU TELEGRAM

Classification  
DIFFUSION RESTREINTE

Precedence  
IMMEDIAT

ZCZC 1 ZCZC  
FM LDN C 2 FROM LONDON COREU  
TO\*C Pre 3 TO ALL COREU IMMEDIAT  
INFO\*Pre 4  
CPE\*ETR 5 CPE/MUL/ETR  
DATETIME 6  
CLASS 7 DIFFUSION RESTREINTE  
DISTN 8 DISTRIBUTION GENERALE

9 ACADEMICIAN ANDREI SAKHAROV

10 1. The Eastern European Working Group discussed recent develop-  
11 ments concerning Dr Sakharov this afternoon. The Presidency  
12 proposed that there should be a common expression of the views  
13 of the Ten concerning Dr Sakharov's hunger strike and his  
14 hospitalisation by the Soviet authorities. In the Presidency's  
15 view, the most convenient way of implementing this would be for  
16 a joint statement to issue following the Foreign Affairs Council  
17 in Brussels tomorrow, 8 December. Other delegations also  
18 proposed that the text should be conveyed by the British Prime  
19 Minister on behalf of the Presidency in a letter to President  
20 Brezhnev, and that the text <sup>sh</sup> would ~~also~~ be referred to by the  
21 Presidency at the Madrid CSCE Review Meeting. Each delegation,  
22 speaking personally and ad referendum, agreed to recommend the  
23 following to their authorities:

24 a) that there should be a common expression of the Ten's  
25 views, if possible in the form of a declaration to issue

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword following
File number	Dept EESD	Distribution
Drafted by (Block capitals) N SHEINWALD		
Telephone number		
Authorised for despatch		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	
		EEC Embassies

OUT COREU TELEGRAM (CONT)

Classification  
DIFFUSION RESTREINTE

Page  
2

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1 <<<<  
 2 following the Foreign Affairs Council SEMI COLON  
 3 b) that this statement should be used by the Presidency as  
 4 appropriate in Madrid,  
 5 AND  
 6 c) that the Presidency should convey the statement at a  
 7 suitably high level to the Soviet authorities, bearing in mind  
 8 comments received from partners.  
 9 2. The text recommended by the Eastern European Working Group  
 10 is as follows:  
 11 "DR SAKHAROV  
 12 The Foreign Ministers of the ten member states of the European  
 13 Community have been profoundly concerned by the circumstances in  
 14 which Dr and Mrs Sakharov were driven to go on hunger strike in  
 15 an attempt to persuade the Soviet authorities to allow Lisa  
 16 Alexeyeva to join her husband in the United States SEMI COLON  
 17 that subsequently Dr and Mrs Sakharov have been taken into  
 18 hospital SEMI COLON and that Lisa Alexeyeva has been prevented  
 19 from visiting them there.  
 20 "The Foreign Ministers urge the Soviet Government, in accordance  
 21 with the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, to  
 22 take a humanitarian approach to this problem. The continued  
 23 refusal to grant Lisa Alexeyeva permission to travel to the  
 24 United States, on top of the refusal to permit Dr and Mrs  
 25 Sakharov to return to a normal life, further impairs the climate  
 26 of confidence on which an improvement in East/West relations  
 27 depends."  
 28 3. The Presidency would be grateful for comments by 1100 hours  
 29 London time tomorrow, 8 December. The Presidency will also be  
 30 circulating this draft text to Foreign Ministers' parties in  
 31 Brussels.  
 32  
 33 FIN DE TEXTE  
 34 NNNN

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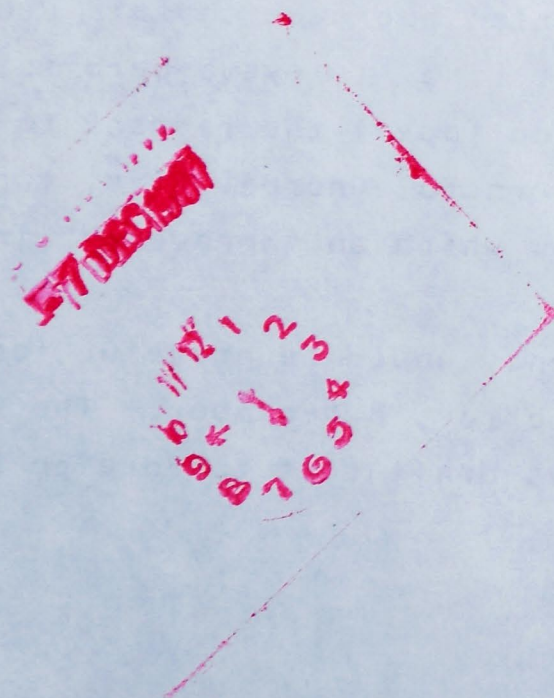
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Catchword

XY 50 A





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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 September 1980

ms

Prime Minister

MAF 23/ix

Dear Mike,

Open letter from Dr Sakharov

Following your letter to me of 13 August, your Press Office commented on the record on 14 August in response to Dr Sakharov's open letter to President Brezhnev of 27 July about Afghanistan.

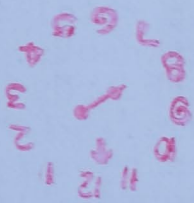
The Prime Minister may be interested to know that a member of our Embassy in Moscow has since met Dr Sakharov's wife, Mrs Elena Bonner, when both were trying (without success) to gain admittance to the recent trial in Moscow of the human rights activist Tatiana Velikanova. Mrs Bonner told the member of our Embassy that Dr Sakharov had noted the Prime Minister's comment with pleasure. She added that Dr Sakharov had also noted that none of the other Western leaders to have received copies of his letter had made any response, and had been surprised that the Western press had not picked up this fact.

Yours etc

Paul

(P Lever)  
(Private Secretary)

Mike Pattison Esq  
10 Downing Street  
London



23 SEP 1980

**CONFIDENTIAL**

*Sonit Vira* HS  
*Express*

13 August 1980

Thank you for your letter of 13 August, about our response to Dr. Sakharov's open letter.

The Prime Minister is content that our ~~office~~ <sup>press</sup> should comment on the record on her behalf. She is entirely happy with the text which you enclosed with your letter, and our Press Office will be releasing this comment in due course.

If there is any sensitivity about the timing of release of these comments, perhaps you could telephone me with your views in the course of the afternoon.

M.A. PATTISON

Paul Lever, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

**CONFIDENTIAL**

*pa*  
*TLR*

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 August 1980

Dear Mike,

Open Letter from Dr Sakharov

/ You will have seen reports in the press of an open letter which Dr Sakharov addressed to President Brezhnev on 27 July. The letter was copied to the Secretary General of the United Nations and to the Heads of State or Government of the other permanent members of the Security Council. I now enclose the signed copy which the Embassy in Moscow have received, together with their translation.

Lord Carrington has considered whether the Prime Minister should be advised to send an answer to Dr Sakharov. The publication of his letter in the world's press may well bring a tighter surveillance of Dr Sakharov and of his wife, who earlier this year was warned against acting as messenger between her husband the Western correspondents in Moscow. A letter from the Prime Minister in reply would be difficult to convey to Dr Sakharov in Gorky and conceivably might add to the risk that the restrictions under which the Sakharovs live would be tightened. At the same time there is something to be said for a public comment by the Prime Minister even at this stage which would show that she has received the letter and would stimulate further publicity for it.

/ Since the Prime Minister has not been questioned about the letter in Parliament, we believe that the best way to proceed would be for the Prime Minister's Press Office to comment on the record. I attach a draft.

Our Embassy in Paris has not yet been able to discover what, if anything, the French President intends to do by way of acknowledging the letter: there are no plans for President Carter to acknowledge it.

Yours etc

Paul

(P Lever)

M A Pattison Esq  
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM SAKHAROV

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet USSR

To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet,  
USSR, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev

OPEN LETTER

I am addressing copies of this letter to the Secretary General of the UN and to the Heads of State of countries which are permanent members of the Security Council

I am approaching you about a question of extreme importance - Afghanistan. As a citizen of the USSR and in virtue of my position in the world, I feel responsibility for the tragic events which are taking place. I realise that your point of view has already been formed on the basis of information which is available to you (which must be incomparably broader than my information), and in accordance with your position. The question is nevertheless of such seriousness that I ask you to pay attention to this letter and to the opinions expressed in it.

Military activity in Afghanistan has already continued for seven months. Thousands of Soviet citizens have been killed and maimed, and also tens of thousands of Afghans - not only partisans, but for the most part peaceful citizens - old men, women and children - peasants and town dwellers. More than a million Afghans have become refugees. News has been particularly ominous about the bombing of villages which have given support to partisans, and about the placing of mines on mountain roads, an action which is threatening famine for whole regions. There has also been news about the use of Napalm, booby-traps and of new types of weaponry. Extreme alarm has been caused by (unconfirmed) news of instances of the use of paralysing nerve gases. It is possible that part of this information is not

/authentic

authentic, but the generally gloomy picture is not subject to doubt. The bitterness of the struggle and of cruelty on both sides is increasing, and no end to this escalation is visible.

There is also no doubt that events in Afghanistan have made a cardinal change to the political situation in the world. Events have struck at detente, have created a direct threat to peace everywhere - not only in this region. They have complicated (and may have made generally impossible) ratification of the SALT II Agreement, which is vitally important for the whole world, in particular as a pre-condition of further steps in the process of disarmament. Soviet actions have assisted (and how could they not assist) the enlargement of military budgets and the adoption of new military-technical programmes in all the most important countries; this will have an effect for many long years and will strengthen the dangers of the arms race. At the UN General Assembly Soviet actions in Afghanistan were condemned by 104 states, including many countries which formerly gave unconditional support to any action by the USSR.

Within the USSR wasteful super-militarisation of the country is gaining strength (this is particularly pernicious in conditions of economic difficulty); vitally important reforms in economic and social fields are not being carried out, and strength is being given to the dangerous role of the organs of repression, which may even run out of control. I shall not in this letter analyse the reasons for sending Soviet troops into Afghanistan - whether this was caused by legitimate defence interests, or whether it was part of some other plans; whether it was a manifestation of disinterested help for land reform and other social changes, or whether it was interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. It is possible that there is a portion of truth in each of these assumptions. I personally consider that the Soviet actions were undoubtedly an expansion and a violation of the sovereignty of Afghanistan. But it seems to me that even those who take a different

/position

position must agree that these actions were a terrible mistake, which must be corrected as quickly as possible - all the more because it is becoming daily more difficult to do this. In my opinion it is necessary to find a political settlement, including the following steps:

- (1) The USSR and partisans to cease military activity - a truce to be established.
- (2) The USSR to declare that it is willing to make a complete withdrawal of its troops and for them to be replaced by troops of the UN. This would be the most important action by the UN; it would correspond to its aims which were announced at the time of its formation, and also to the resolution of the 104 member states.
- (3) The neutrality, peace and independence of Afghanistan to be guaranteed by the Security Council of the UN in the persons of its permanent members, and possibly also in the persons of the countries which border on Afghanistan.
- (4) The member countries of the UN, including the USSR, to offer political asylum to all Afghan citizens wishing to leave the country. Freedom to depart for all those who wish to do so will be one of the conditions of the settlement.
- (5) Afghanistan to be offered economic help on an international basis which would exclude dependence on any particular country; The USSR to take upon itself the provision of a defined share of this help.
- (6) Until the holding of elections the Government of Babrak Karmal to hand over its authority to a Provisional Council, formed on a neutral basis with the participation of representatives of the partisans and of representatives of the Karmal Government.



- (7) Elections to be held under international control; members of the Karmal Government and partisans to take part in these elections on a common basis.

My thoughts are of course no more than a possible basis for discussion. I understand the difficulties of carrying out this or an analogous programme. However, some sort of political way forward must be found out of the dead end which has occurred. A continuation, and even more so a further strengthening of military activity will lead, in my opinion, to catastrophic consequences. It may be that the world is at this moment at a cross-road, and the whole course of events over following years and even following tens of years depends on how the Afghan crisis will be resolved.

I also consider that it is necessary to approach you concerning another vexed question for our country. In the Soviet Union over a period of slightly less than 63 years there has never been a political amnesty. Free the prisoners of conscience, who have been condemned and arrested for their convictions and non-violent actions, for the attempt to exercise their right to receive and distribute information, their right to freedom of religion, to a free choice of the country where they will live and their dwelling place within that country, the right to free association. Among their number are those who have taken part in information, human rights and discussion journals, members of the Helsinki Groups, members of religious and emigration movements. A humane act of this sort by the authorities of the USSR would help the authority of the country, would make the internal situation more healthy, would be conducive to international trust, and would return happiness to many deprived families.

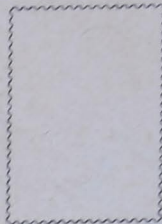
I ask you to confirm to me that you have received and considered this letter by writing to the following address: Gorky 137, Gagarina 214, Flat 3. I was forcibly banished to Gorky in January 1980, and I consider that this was absolutely illegal. Even now I still do not know what instance or who personally took the decision about this. Already for many years every public

/statement

statement that I have made has led to repression against my relatives who have thus become hostages. Elizaveta Alekseeva, the fiancée of my son (who was compelled to emigrate two and a half years ago) is now in this position. She is not allowed to leave the country to join her fiancé, and is subject to threats and blackmail and to libel in the press. The personal drama of two young people is being used with the purpose of putting pressure on me. I alone should carry responsibility for my actions and utterances (including this letter). The practice of taking a hostage is impermissible for any group or individual persons, and is all the more impermissible and unworthy for a state. I repeat here my request that you should allow Elizaveta Alekseeva to depart.

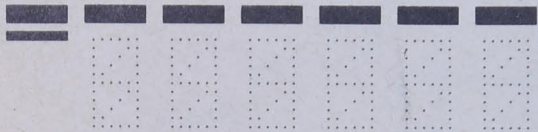
27 July 1980 Signed A Sakharov

Andrei Sakharov  
Academician  
Laureate of the Nobel Peace Prize



Куда Послу Великобритании в СССР

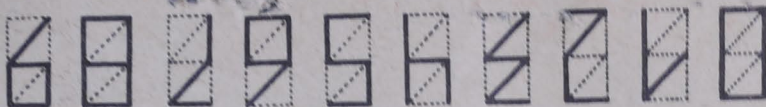
Кому \_\_\_\_\_



Индекс предприятия связи места назначения

Индекс предприятия связи и адрес  
отправителя

академик А.Д.Сахаров



Внимание!  
Образцы написания цифр индекса:



Артикул 3203

ГОСТ 34—73

Цена двух немаркированных конвертов 1 коп.

Президиуму Верховного Совета СССР

Председателю Президиума Верховного Совета СССР Леониду Ильичу Брежневу

ОТКРЫТОЕ ПИСЬМО

Копии этого письма я адресую  
Генеральному Секретарю ООН и  
Главам Государств - постоянных  
членов Совета Безопасности

Я обращаюсь к Вам по вопросу чрезвычайной важности - об Афганистане. Как гражданин СССР, и в силу своего положения в мире, я чувствую ответственность за происходящие трагические события. Я отдаю себе отчет в том, что Ваша точка зрения уже сложилась на основании имеющейся у Вас информации/которая должна быть несравненно более широкой, чем у меня/, и в соответствии с Вашим положением. И тем не менее, вопрос настолько серьезен, что я прошу Вас внимательно отнестись к этому письму и выраженному в нем мнению.

Военные действия в Афганистане продолжаются уже семь месяцев. Погибли и искалечены тысячи советских людей и десятки тысяч афганцев - не только партизан, но главным образом мирных жителей - стариков, женщин, детей - крестьян и горожан. Более миллиона афганцев стали беженцами. Особенно злобещи сообщения о бомбежках деревень, оказывающих помощь партизанам, о минировании горных дорог, что создает угрозу голода для целых районов. Есть сведения о применении напалма, мин-ловушек и новых типов оружия. Крайнюю тревогу вызывает/непроверенные/ сообщения о случаях применения нервно-паралитических газов. Некоторые из этих сообщений, возможно, недостоверны, но общая мрачная картина не подлежит сомнению. Ожесточение борьбы, жестокости с обеих сторон возрастают, и конца этой эскалации не видно.

Также не подлежит сомнению, что афганские события кардинально изменили политическое положение в мире. Они поставили под удар разрядку, создали прямую угрозу миру не только в этом районе, но и везде. Они затруднили/а может сделали вообще невозможной/ ратификацию договора ОСВ-2, жизненно-важного для всего мира, в особенности как предпосылка дальнейших этапов процесса разоружения. Советские действия способствовали/и не могли не способствовать!/увеличению военных бюджетов и принятию новых военно-технических программ во всех крупнейших странах, что будет сказываться еще долгие годы, усиливая опасности гонки вооружений. На Генеральной Ассамблее ООН советские действия в Афганистане осудили 104 государства, в том числе многие ранее безоговорочно поддерживавшие любые действия СССР.

Внутри СССР усиливается разорительная ~~швейцарии~~ сверх-милитаризация страны /особенно губительная в условиях экономических трудностей /, ~~финансирование~~ не осуществляются жизненно важные реформы в хозяйственно-экономических и социальных областях, усиливается опасная роль репрессивных органов, которые могут выйти из-под контроля. Я не буду в этом письме анализировать причины ввода советских войск в Афганистан - вызван ли он законными оборонительными интересами, или это часть каких-то других планов; было ли это проявлением бескорыстной помощи земельной реформе и другим социальным преобразованиям, или это вмешательство во внутренние дела суверенной страны. Быть может, доля истины есть в каждом из этих предположений. Я лично считаю советские действия несомненной экспансией и нарушением суверенитета Афганистана. Но и стоящие на другой позиции, как мне кажется, должны согласиться, что эти действия - ужасная ошибка, которую необходимо исправить как можно быстрее, тем более, что сделать это с каждым днем все трудней. По моему убеждению необходимо политическое урегулирование, включающее следующие действия:

1. СССР и партизаны прекращают военные действия - заключается перемирие.
2. СССР заявляет, что готов полностью вывести свои войска по мере замены их войсками ООН. Это будет важнейшим действием ООН, соответствующим ее целям, провозглашенным при ее создании, и резолюции 104-х ее членов.
3. Нейтралитет, мир и независимость Афганистана гарантируются Советом Безопасности ООН в лице его постоянных членов, а также, возможно, соседних с Афганистаном стран.
4. Страны - члены ООН, в том числе СССР, предоставляют политическое убежище всем гражданам Афганистана, желающим покинуть страну. Свобода выезда всем желающим - одно из условий урегулирования.
5. Афганистану предоставляется экономическая помощь на международной основе, исключая ~~его~~ его зависимость от какой-либо страны; СССР принимает на себя определенную долю этой помощи.
6. Правительство Бабрака Кармаля до проведения выборов передает свои

полномочия Временному Совету, сформированному на нейтральной основе с участием представителей партизан и представителей правительства Кармаля.

7. Проводятся выборы под международным контролем; члены правительства Кармаля и партизаны принимают участие в них на общих основаниях.

Мои мысли, конечно, не более чем возможная основа для обсуждения. Я понимаю трудности проведения этой или аналогичной программы. Однако какой-то политический выход из возникшего тупика должен быть найден. Продолжение, и тем более, дальнейшее усиление военных действий приведут, по моему убеждению, к катастрофическим последствиям. Быть может, мир именно сейчас находится на перепутье, и оттого, как будет разрешен Афганский кризис, зависит весь ход событий ближайших лет и даже десятилетий.

Я также считаю необходимым обратиться к Вам по другому наболевшему для страны вопросу. ~~В СССР за без малого 63 года никогда не было политической амнистии.~~ Освободите узников совести, осужденных и арестованных за убеждения и ненасильственные действия, за попытку осуществить свое право получать и распространять информацию, право на свободу религии, на свободный выбор страны проживания и место проживания внутри страны. В их числе - участники информационных правозащитных и дискуссионных журналов, члены Хельсинских групп, участники религиозных и эмиграционных движений. Такой гуманный акт властей СССР способствовал бы авторитету страны, оздоровил внутреннюю обстановку, способствовал международному доверию и вернул счастье во многие обездоленные семьи.

Я прошу Вас известить меня о получении и рассмотрении этого письма по адресу Горький 137 Гагарина 214, кв. 3. Я силой вывезен в Горький в январе 1980 г. и считаю это абсолютно незаконным, Я до сих пор не знаю даже, какая инстанция или кто персонально приняли решение об этом. Вот уже много лет каждое мое общественное выступление приводит к репрессиям против моих близких, оказывающихся таким образом заложниками. Сейчас в этом положении Елизавета Алексеева - невеста сына, вынужденного эмигрировать два с половиной года назад. Она не получает разрешение на выезд к любимому, подвергается угрозам и шантажу, клевете в прессе. Личная драма двух молодых людей используется с целью давления на меня. За мои действия и выступления ответственность должен нести только я /в том числе и за это письмо/. Практика заложничества - недопустимая для любой группировки или отдельных лиц, тем более недопустима и недостойна для государства. Я повторяю здесь свою просьбу помочь выезду Елизаветы Алексеевой.

27 июля 1980 года

*А Сахаров*

Андрей Сахаров, академик,  
лауреат Нобелевской Премии Мира.

В право на ассоциацию

86

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27 июля 1980 года

*А Сахаров*

Андрей Сахаров, академик,  
лауреат Нобелевской Премии Мира.

У право на ассоциацию

a Boss

## DRAFT PRESS COMMENT

The Prime Minister has received a copy of the open letter which Academician Andrei Sakharov addressed on 27 July to President Brezhnev.

The letter condemns the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and calls for a political settlement which would include the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces. There is also an appeal for a political amnesty in the Soviet Union.

The Prime Minister is strongly in sympathy with the views expressed in the letter. Many of Dr Sakharov's proposals for a political settlement in Afghanistan are similar to British thinking.

The Prime Minister's great respect for the exceptional courage of Dr Sakharov and his wife, particularly in their deplorable banishment from Moscow, has been further reinforced by this letter.



Weekend Box



(2)

10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister -



These are some background papers on Soviet wines (including the arrest of Dr Sakharov) at which you may care to glance.

Phunt  
25/1

COVERING CONFIDENTIAL

170



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

25 January 1980

Dear Michael,

*Handwritten notes:*  
F.A.  
R.H.S.  
18/2

SOVIET UNION: ARREST OF DR SAKHAROV

/ The Prime Minister, and other members of OD, may be interested in the attached note.

(G G H Walden)

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
10 Downing Street

COVERING CONFIDENTIAL



## ARREST OF DR SAKHAROV

1. With Solzhenitsyn, who was expelled from the Soviet Union in 1974, Sakharov has been the most authoritative of the dissident leaders and the best known in the USSR and the world. He had made a meteoric scientific career and played a key role in the development of the Soviet hydrogen bomb. His services had been recognised by membership of the highly prestigious Academy of Sciences and by numerous state awards. As a dissident leader, he advocated liberalisation of the Communist system and greater respect for human rights and took up particular cases of repression. He also criticised Soviet foreign policy, notably expansionism and the military build-up. It was he who led in developing the most effective tool of the dissidents: the maintenance of close contacts with Western media correspondents in Moscow, so that material passed to them appeared not only in the world media but also in Western broadcasts in Russian to the USSR. He received the Nobel Peace prize for his human rights work in 1975, but was prevented from accepting it in person.

2. The deportation of Sakharov to a city barred to foreigners will be a major setback to the dissident movement, already greatly weakened by the imprisonment and expulsion abroad of its leading figures. The Soviet leaders have no doubt been anxious to move against Sakharov for a long time but have been constrained by his unique stature in the world. They will have been particularly keen to have him out of the way before the Olympics. The choice of the present time will also have been influenced by the poor state of East-West relations after Afghanistan, which meant that the Soviet leaders had much less to lose internationally than at many other times. Although this is a more speculative point, the Soviet leaders may also have wanted to snub President Carter after his firm reactions to the invasion of Afghanistan; the President

.2.

had an exchange of letters with Sakharov in 1977, which greatly antagonised the Kremlin. Sakharov has also been a frequent visitor to the US Embassy. The soviet leaders probably thought that deportation would attract less international condemnation than would imprisonment. Expulsion abroad may be considered impossible in the case of a nuclear weapons scientist, although Sakharov has long ceased to be active in that field. So far the action has been purely administrative. Soviet press allegations that Sakharov gave nuclear secrets to the West might point towards a trial. But that would intensify the international reactions and may on balance be unlikely.

3. The timing of the arrest is nevertheless surprising in two respects. It came just when Western opinion was veering towards relocation or boycott of the Olympic Games and will probably strengthen that trend. Moreover, it will antagonise opinion in France and West Germany and thus may tend to reduce the differences among Western countries about policy towards the Soviet Union after Afghanistan - differences which the Russians had been trying to exploit. M. Chaban-Delmas, President of the French Assembly, has cut short a visit to the USSR in which he had persisted, to evident Soviet satisfaction, despite events in Afghanistan.

4. It is very possible that the resignation of Deputy Prime Minister Kirillin, head of the government department covering science policy and scientific relations with foreign countries, is connected, as well as simultaneous, with Sakharov's arrest. Kirillin is relatively broadminded for a senior Russian. We know that he maintained his friendship with Rostropovich, when the cellist 10 years ago was unpopular with the authorities because

.2.

.3.

Solshenitsyn was living in his Dacha. Kirillin probably knew Solzhenitsyn and will have known Sakharov at least before he became a dissident. Kirillin might well have thought that his department's job of fostering East-West scientific exchanges would be badly set back by Western reactions to Sakharov's arrest.

5. The arrest of Sakharov, following events in Afghanistan, shows that the Soviet leaders, while professing interest in continued detente, are in a mood to give much less weight than usual to their interests in East-West relations and are willing to disregard Western opinion. The contradictions in the present line may possibly reflect uncertainty and disagreement among the leaders. The present truculent mood is not likely to lead to early invasion of another country (although intelligence indicators are of course being watched with especial care). Apart from pursuing their general drive for influence in other countries, the Russians may take further steps to get rid of elements in East-West relations which they dislike. They will probably consider reintroducing jamming of Western broadcasts in Russian, on the full but not 100% effective scale they operated before 1973. There could well be a reduction in the recent record rate of Jewish emigration. Cancellation of some kinds of cultural events such as book exhibitions (there is a British one in the Soviet Union in April) is possible. The clamp-down on the already much weakened human rights movement within the USSR will probably continue with further arrests.

Eastern European & Soviet Department

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

24 January 1980

GRS 760

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SOVIET UNION

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FM MOSCOW 231221Z

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 69 OF 23 JAN

AND RPTD INFO TO UKDEL NATO, WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN AND ROME

Read in full

mt

YOUR TELNO 45 AND TELECON OF 22 JANUARY (WOOD/BAND): SAKHAROV.

1. SAKHAROV'S EXILE TO GORKY WAS NOT SO FAR AS I CAN TELL PROVOKED BY ANY NEW RECENT ACTION ON HIS PART, FOR INSTANCE OVER AFGHANISTAN. THE CLOSEST THE RUSSIANS HAVE COME TO A PUBLIC EXPLANATION IS THE TASS ANNOUNCEMENT THAT SAKHAROV WAS STRIPPED OF HIS SOVIET HONOURS AND AWARDS FOR FAILING TO HEED WARNINGS TO DESIST FROM SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY AND, MORE RECENTLY, CALLING FOR IMPERIALIST INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL SOVIET AFFAIRS. HE HAS AS YET NOT LOST HIS STATUS AS AN ACADEMICIAN, A MOVE WHICH CAN ONLY BE MADE BY THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES IN A SECRET VOTE.

2. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT KIRILLIN'S DEPARTURE (MY TELNO 68) MAY BE RELEVANT. KIRILLIN COULD WELL HAVE PROTECTED SAKHAROV AND GIVEN THE UNWELCOME ADVICE THAT ACTION AGAINST HIM WOULD PREJUDICE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL CONTACTS WITH THE WEST. IF THIS ADVICE FORMERLY CARRIED WEIGHT, MUCH OF IT HAS NOW BEEN LOST BY WESTERN RESTRICTIONS ON SUCH CONTACTS SINCE THE AFGHANISTAN INVASION.

3. THE OBVIOUS PURPOSE OF THE KGB'S ACTION IS TO SILENCE THE BEST KNOWN FIGURE OF THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT STILL LIVING IN THE USSR AND TO CUT AN IMPORTANT LINK BETWEEN THE MOVEMENT AND THE WEST. THEY DOUBTLESS FELT FREER TO ACT NOW BECAUSE RELATIONS WITH THE WEST ARE ALREADY SO POOR. THE TIMING NONETHELESS IS ODD. THEY COULD HAVE EXILED SAKHAROV AT ANY TIME OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS. IT IS ALL VERY WELL TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENT CLIMATE OF EAST WEST RELATIONS TO DO SO NOW, BUT BREZHNEV'S ANSWERS TO PRAVDA (MY TELNO 43) WERE COUCHED IN LANGUAGE CLEARLY INTENDED TO STRIKE A CONCILIATORY NOTE AS FAR AS WESTERN EUROPE IS CONCERNED, AND THIS GRATUITOUSLY PROVOCATIVE ACTION WILL HAVE MADE SUCH TACTICS MORE DIFFICULT TO PURSUE. ONE IMMEDIATE AND INDICATIVE RESULT HAS BEEN THE DECISION BY CHABAN-DELMAS TO CURTAIL HIS CURRENT VISIT.

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4. WE CAN TAKE IS AS CERTAIN, I THINK, THAT THE DECISION TO EXILE SAKHAROV WAS NOT TAKEN WITHOUT CLEARANCE AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. THE LEADERSHIP MAY CORRECTLY HAVE JUDGED THAT THERE MAY NOT BE A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE OF PUBLIC SYMPATHY IN THE SOVIET UNION FOR SAKHAROV, BUT PERHAPS FAILED OBJECTIVELY TO ANALYSE THE FULL EFFECT OF THEIR DECISION. EVEN SO, THEY CANNOT HAVE IGNORED THE IMPACT ON THE OLYMPIC DEBATE. THE FACT THAT THEY PROCEEDED AGAINST SAKHAROV DESPITE THAT PROVIDED FRESH EVIDENCE OF THE TOUGH MOOD PREVAILING IN THE POLITBURO (MY TELNO 28) AND OF A CONTINUING INCLINATION IN MOSCOW ALMOST BRAZENLY TO DEFY WESTERN OPINION.

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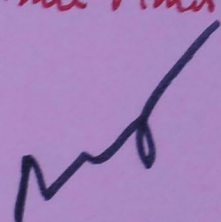
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TO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW

TELEGRAM NUMBER 45 OF 22 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE ROME (FOR BULLARD),

INFO PRIORITY UKDEL NATO, ALL OTHER NATO POSTS.

*Ami Amati*  


SAKHAROV

1. MR LUCE SUMMONED THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR THIS EVENING TO EXPRESS, ON BEHALF OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND MYSELF, THE GOVERNMENT'S ANXIETY AND DISTRESS AT REPORTS THAT SAKHAROV HAD BEEN ARRESTED. SAKHAROV WAS A RESPECTED INTERNATIONAL FIGURE AND A NOBEL PRIZE WINNER. THE GOVERNMENT WOULD DEEPLY DEPLORE ANY ACTION CONCERNING SAKHAROV WHICH DID NOT ACCORD WITH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND ITS PROVISIONS CONCERNING FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. MR LUCE CONTINUED THAT, IN ASKING LUNKOV TO REPORT WHAT HE HAD SAID TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, HE HAD IN MIND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST IN BRITISH/SOVIET SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES, AND ALSO THAT A CSCE SCIENTIFIC FORUM WAS DUE TO START IN HAMBURG IN A MONTH'S TIME. MR LUCE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE ARREST OF SAKHAROV, FOLLOWING THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, WAS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF SOVIET DISREGARD FOR GENUINE DETENTE.

2. NEWS DEPARTMENT ARE ANNOUNCING THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS CONVERSATION.

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