Apre to see the real Foreign and Commonwealth Office the son-in-law (eli-ile) London SW1A 2AH ?
A. V. C. 16.
You of dr. Sakharon?

13 January, 1984

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.

(R B Bone)

Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq 10 Downing Street Soviet Umon Arrest and crile of Andrei Satharov Jan 80.

Jokhwar file DE 121.



10 DOWNING STREET

M. Gles Mr. 15.

18 January for half an hour or less (after FCS). FCO are awanging.

Drus 16/1



Foreign and Commonwealth Office London SW1A 2AH

17 January 1984

Jun John

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.

(R B Bone)

Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq 10 Downing Street 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. 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.

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.

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 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 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,

Madam, Yours faithfully

E. Yankelerish

17 JAN 1984



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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.

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The first part of "Latest developments..." described in some detail the event-ful (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. Sakharo 62nd birthday, proclaimed earlier by President Reagan "National Andrei Sakharo 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:

^{* &}quot;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 nown 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

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

^{*} 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 anto-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 prominant 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.

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."

^{*} 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:

[&]quot;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

It seems that both themes - Sakharov as a warmonger who invites nuclear ackmail against his own country, and Sakharov influenced by his scornful Jewish wi
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

AN UPDATE as **o**✓ 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.

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 appreared 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:

[&]quot;... 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 servises. 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.

On November 18, Mrs.Sakharov informed the Western correspondents in Moscow of the arrest of the Sakharovs closest friend, a matematician 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.

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 possesion 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 sald, 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 ununbalanced 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 pyschiatric 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

Washington Post December 9,1983

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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 Ito Gorkil so that he would not be bothered by emissaries, correspondents of what ever 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.