

Preserving American Jewish History

# MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series D. International Relations Activities. 1961-1992.

Box 71, Folder 1, Sakharov, Andrei - HBO film, 1983-1984.

# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date May 22, 1984

to Area Directors

from Marc H. Tanenbaum

subject AJC Efforts to Aid the Andrei Sakharovs

I thought that you would be interested in knowing about a number of efforts that AJC's International Relations Department has undertaken in trying to help Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, in their present trying circumstances.

As soon as we learned about their serious medical problems and Sakharov's hunger strike, we sent a telegram to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. A copy of that telegram, signed by Howard Friedman and Leo Nevas, chairman of AJC's International Relations Commission, is enclosed.

We also spoke several times with key aides in the UN Secretary General's office, urging vigorous interventions with the Soviet authorities in behalf of the Sakharovs. In their effort to discredit the Sakharovs' human rights stands, the Soviets have unleashed a vicious anti-Semitic press campaign against Yelena Bonner, based clearly on her Jewish-Armenian origins (see enclosed Washington Post clipping.)

We have made available copies of the enclosed documents on Soviet anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish hostility to the UN people, but also to our contacts in France, Germany, Spain, and Mexico (during our meeting with Mexican President de la Madrid last week in Washington.) We are planning to get this material to other Western governments, and to Latin American states as well.

On Monday night, May 21, a preview of a TV film on the life of Sakharov took place in New York for the major print media. Through our UN contacts, we have arranged for foreign press people to cover the film. Produced by Titus Productions (who produced the "Holocaust" mini-series and "Skokie," among other TV films), it will be shown in September over HBO channel TV. I am hoping to be able to get prints available to our area offices for showing around the country. As with "Holocaust," we will be able to invite key public opinion molders -press, Christian and Jewish leaders, foreign policy types -- to see the film, and hopefully we will be able to generate public statements of concern for Sakharov and his wife, as well as for other refuseniks who are suffering from Soviet harrassment and denial of the right to leave. As soon as the prints are available, I will rush off a packet to you for local program use.

In the meantime, I would urge you to use our telegram and the WINS script as the basis of issuing your own statements for the press, for Senators and Congressmen, as well as to local consulates asking for their prompt interventions. Please keep me informed of any actions taken.

MHT:RPR

84-550-41

May 13, 1984

# SAVE THE ANDREI SAKHAROVS WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

About a week ago, I had the privilege of previewing a fulllength TV film on the heroic lives of Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner. It is a magnificent, moving film produced by Titus Productions, and will be shown in September over HBO channel television.

At a climactic point in the film, Sakharov discusses with human rights advocates the persecution they suffer under the present Soviet regime comparing it with the ruthlessness of Stalin. Sakharov says, "They are not different from Stalin, only smarter."

Many observers wonder whether the furor that the Soviet authorities have created by their boycott of the Los Angeles Olympics was not a cynical effort to divert world attention and pressure from the tragic plight of Sakharov and his wife.

One of the world's greatest scientists and human rights champions for Christians and Jews alike, Dr. Sahkarov is slowly dying in exile in the remote city of Gorky. Despite the urgent recommendations of physicians for his immediate hospitalization, the Soviet Government does not permit this Nobel peace laureate to enter a hospital.

His wife, who has suffered three heart attacks this past year and desperately needs treatment for a serious eye ailment, is denied the right to travel abroad for medical care. Sakharov has begun a hunger strike to demand permission for his wife to go outside Russia for her treatment. Unless the Soviets relent, and do so quickly, it is expected that Dr. and Mrs. Sakharov will die in a matter of days. Should that happen, and should the world community allow that to happen, all the Helsinki Accords and all the UN declarations will become a mockery of human decency.

\*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is director of the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee, presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

# Soviet Paper Attacks Wife Of Sakharov

By Dusko Doder Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, May 20—The Soviet government newspaper Izvestia tonight published a fierce personal attack on the wife of dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov, charging that she was exploiting her husband in her efforts to escape to the West "even if it meant over her husband's dead body."

The long commentary also suggested that the Nobel Peace Prize winner's wife, Yelena Bonner, 62, may be put on trial for "anti-Soviet activities."

Diplomatic observers, analyzing the obscure language in the commentary titled "Degenerates and Their Supporters," said the government apparently was preparing to try Bonner if Sakharov refuses to reach a compromise with authorities.

Sakharov has been on a hunger strike since May 2 to press demands for medical treatment in the West for his wife. He was reported to have been removed May 7 from his apartment in Gorki, a city 250 miles east of here to which he was banished more than four years ago, and taken to an undisclosed location. He is believed to have been hospitalized.

[French Communist Party leader Georges Marchais said in Paris Sunday that Soviet authorities had told him that Sakharov was undergoing observation "at the hospital-clinic of Semachko in the Gorki region" and

See SAKHAROV, A14, Col. 1

# Izvestia Attacks, Threatens Sakharov's Wife

SAKHAROV, From A1 that his condition was "completely satisfactory," Reuter reported.

[Marchais said he was also told that Bonner's condition was "quite satisfactory" and that her heart and eye disorders could easily be treated in local hospitals. Marchais said he had asked Soviet authorities "at the highest level" for details on their state of health.]

"In her anti-Soviet activities," Izvestia said, Bonner had "gone too far. Crossing the limits that nobody is permitted to cross under Soviet laws, she should have known the consequences that follow. As is known, Sakharov has been punished for his antisocial activities. At the present time, law enforcement agencies, proceeding from the law, are taking measures with respect to Bonner."

Much of the commentary was devoted to discrediting Bonner. She was described as "a shallow, resentful and greedy person, ready to sell and betray everybody and everything, for her own profit."

"Her basic goal was to escape to the West even if it meant over her husband's dead body," Izvestia said.

It said Soviet security agencies were in possession of a number of Sakharov's letters and documents. These would presumably serve as the basis for "charges" against Bonner.

The documents had "fallen into the hands" of security police who foiled an attempt by Bonner to seek asylum in the U.S. Embassy here, Izvestia said.

It reiterated charges that Bonner, in cooperation with U.S. diplomats in Moscow, had organized a "provocative operation" that called for Sakharov to go on a hunger strike while she was to take refuge in the U.S. Embassy. A senior U.S. official here said last week that Bonner had left Sakharov's appeal to Hartman in a U.S. diplomatic vehicle on April 12. The embassy has denied that she had been sending any material through its diplomatic pouch.

The government news agency Tass, on its English-language service Friday, gave a detailed account of Bonner's health in an effort to prove that she did not need medical help in the West. Tass quoted well known Soviet physicians who had treated her.

Izvestia said tonight that the couple "are being provided with qualified medical aid and that there is no lack of the medical preparation they need." Sakharov also suffers from heart problems.

Izvestia said that among the documents was a Sakharov letter to the embassy in which he allegedly said that "in reality my health condition is fully satisfactory. The authorities in Gorki are actively seeking to provide the best medical care for me."

The authorities also apparently have a copy of Sakharov's letter to Arthur Hartman, the U.S. ambassador here, in which Sakharov was quoted as "appealing to the State Department to grant asylum" to his wife.

Izvestia also accused Bonner of frequent contacts with U.S. diplomats who allegedly helped her use the diplomatic pouch for sending "slanderous anti-Soviet material" to the West. Some western diplomats here interpreted Izvestia's commentary as an effort to shift attention in the West away from the human rights activist onto his wife in a strategy to reduce western interest in their case.

Izvestia made it clear that Bonner was seen as manipulating her husband, who was one of the developers of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, in her own effort to serve the interests of anticommunists in the West.

"On her orders, he [Sakharov] provided instructions for the Americans," Izvestia said. It said Bonner was needed by the Americans "as a cause for a bigger game—the game of political and ideological diversion egainst socialism."

# Scanlon & Menken, Ltd. Public Relations and Marketing

330 West Forty-Second St., New York 10036 212-947-9544 - Telex 971680

The attention of the world is focused on Gorky and the renowned Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov. His announced hunger strike in protest of the Soviet government's refusal to allow his wife, Elena Bonner, passage to the West for medical treatment has lasted 15 days. His condition is grave.

We ask that you attend a special screening of an HBO PREMIERE FILMS presentation of the movie <u>Sakharov</u> starring Jason Robards and Glenda Jackson. The screening is a small gesture in support of one of the most brave and courageous men of our time.

The attention of the world may be all that is left to save his life. Please come.

	DATE:	Monday, May 21, 1984	
	TIME	7:00 p.m.	
1	PLACE	Time Inc. Auditorium 1271 Avenue of the Americas 8th Floor	
-	RSVP:	Mr. Richard Plepler (212) 947-9544	

Thank you.

Premiere Films

For Immediate Release

# JASON ROBARDS AND GLENDA JACKSON STAR IN 'SAKHAROV,' HBO PREMIERE FILMS' PRESENTATION OF A TRUE STORY OF HEROISM

September Debut Slated For Real-Life Drama That Traces Famed Soviet Scientist's Struggle For Human Rights

What is the price of a man's conscience? For Andrei Sakharov, the Soviet Union's top nuclear physicist and father of his country's hydrogen bomb, it has meant constant danger to himself and his loved ones, heartrending separation from his family, and a fall from a position of privilege and prestige to internal exile and disgrace. The true story of this man's courageous battle against oppression of human rights in his homeland is portrayed in SAKHAROV, an HBO PREMIERE FILMS presentation starring Jason Robards as the famed Soviet scientist and Glenda Jackson as his dedicated wife, Elena Bonner. The exclusive real-life drama is slated to debut in September on the HBO service.

SAKHAROV begins with the quiet, introspective physicist leading a privileged existence in Moscow with his frail first wife, Klavdia (Anna Massey). But when he is approached by activist Pavel Leontiev (Paul Freeman), who asks Sakharov to add his prestigious name to a petition protesting the hard labor sentence of a Soviet dissident, his conscience compels him to sign despite the misgivings of Klavdia and a warning by his superior, Kravtsov (Frank Finlay). Unfortunately, the ever-vigilant KGB witnesses the event.

(more)

Contact: Richard Licata or John Kelley (212) 484-1103 or 1250

# JASON ROBARDS AND -- 2

Sakharov also begins collecting his thoughts on intellectual freedom and world peace in written form, and consents to a request by Leontiev and fellow activist Roy Medvedev (Jim Norton) to distribute his notes within the Soviet Union -- and possibly abroad as well. When he asks his trusted secretary of 15 years to type and copy the notes for him, she betrays him to Kravtsov. Soon Sakharov finds himself barred from his classified working area.

Despite the illness and subsequent death of Klavdia, Sakharov intervenes in the case of Medvedev's brother, a dissident who has been sent to an insane asylum, and succeeds in having him freed, marking the first time the authorities have backed down. He also attends the trials of other dissidents, and at the urging of activist Valery Chalidze (Anton Lesser), agrees to help head a Human Rights Committee. In the process he meets energetic activist Elena Bonner (Jackson), a widowed physician, and a gentle love grows between them. Sakharov also scores a victory when he uses his prestige to have the death sentences of certain dissidents arrested for treason commuted to 15 years at hard labor. Soon after, Sakharov and Elena are married in a ceremony that is not only heavily attended by Elena's family, but by the KGB as well.

Though heedless of his own safety, Sakharov begins to fear for his loved ones when Elena's daughter Tanya (Catherine Hall) is expelled from the university on a trumped-up charge. Nonetheless, he allows himself to be interviewed by Western journalists, after which he receives an ominous personal warning from Malyarov (Nicol Williamson), a high-level government prosecutor. Sakharov also receives a warning of a friendlier sort from Elena's mother, Ruf Grigorievna (Eileen Way), who tells him that his colleagues will abandon him. Soon enough, her prediction comes true.

(more)

Sakharov becomes alarmed when Elena's eyesight, damaged in World War II, begins to fail her. At the same time, she is ordered to appear repeatedly before KGB interrogator Syshchikov (Michael Bryant), whose questions she steadfastly refuses to answer. Elena needs a delicate operation to save her sight, but her physician is forbidden by the KGB to perform it -- and hints that any other Soviet doctor might let his scalpel "slip."

Elena applies for a visa to go to Italy for the operation, and though she is refused at first, the authorities eventually succumb to pressure from the West and allow her to leave -- although Sakharov must stay behind. During Elena's absence, he learns that he has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. On her return route from Italy, Elena makes a stirring acceptance speech in Sweden on Sakharov's behalf. Meanwhile, her husband leads a protest in front of a courthouse where his colleague Sergei Kovalov (Joe Melia) is being railroaded into prison.

Reunited in the Soviet Union, Sakharov and Elena face renewed persecution from the authorities, this time directed at Elena's children. Together the couple make a heartbreaking decision -- their families must flee the country.

As the film ends, we are informed that Sakharov was arrested in 1980, stripped of all honors, and sent into internal exile in the closed city of Gorky, where Elena voluntarily joined him. They are still living there today, in poor health and under constant KGB surveillance.

On May 4, 1984, the Soviet authorities announced that they had opened an investigation against Elena Bonner, and barred her from leaving Gorky. Sakharov responded by going on a life-threatening hunger strike, which he vows not to end until his wife is allowed to go abroad to get needed medical treatment and to visit her family.

(more)

SAKHAROV is a co-production of HBO and Titus Productions Ltd. in association with Tom Bernstein and Gregory Wallance. Herbert Brodkin and Robert Berger are executive producer and producer, respectively; their credits include both the Emmy and Peabody awards for such productions as "Holocaust," "The Missiles of October," "Pueblo" and "Skokie." The director is Jack Gold, who won an Emmy for his direction of "The Naked Civil Servant" and has also directed such theatrical features as "Aces High" and "The Medusa Touch." The screenplay is by David W. Rintels, who wrote "Fear on Trial" and "Washington: Behind Closed Doors" for television and "Clarence Darrow" for the stage. The director of photography is Tony Imi, B.S.C.; music, Carl Davis; editor, Keith Palmer; production designer, Herbert Westbrook; costume designer, Evangeline Harrison.

THE CAST:

Andrei Sakharov: Malyarov: Pavel Leontiev: Syshchikov: Ruf Grigorievna: Alyosha: Lisa: Matvei (age 10): Ludmilla Kovalov: Sergei Kovalov: Jason Robards Nicol Williamson Paul Freeman Michael Bryant Eileen Way John McAndrew Debbie Farrington David Midwinter Marion Bailey Joe Melia Elena Bonner: Kravtsov: Roy Medvedev: Valery Chalidze: Tanya: Efrem: Anya: Matvei (age 5): Klavdia: Slavsky: Glenda Jackson Frank Finlay Jim Norton Anton Lesser Catherine Hall Valentine Pelka Toni Warwick Craig Dickerson Anna Massey Lee Montague

# PROGRAM HIGHLIGHT

SAKHAROV — Jason Robards stars as courageous Soviet scientist Andrei Sakharov and Glenda Jackson plays his dedicated wife Elena Bonner in HBO PREMIERE FILMS' dramatization of the true story of the modern-day hero's valiant struggle against oppression of human rights in his homeland.

# [start]

# AMERICAN JEWISH Original documents faded and/or illegible

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C THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, May 17,..The American Jewish Committee today urged the U.N. Secretary General to appeal to the Soviet Union on humanitarian grounds to allow Andrei Sakharov and his wife to receive medical care.

The text of the telegram by Howard I. Friedman, AJC president, and Leo Nevas, chairman of AJC's International Relations Commission, to U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar is;

"Reports of the seriously declining health of Nobel Peace Prize laureate Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelene Bonner, deeply distress us and undoubtedly all people of good will.

"We respectfully urge you to appeal to Soviet government authorities to allow for immediate and adequate medical care for Sakharov and his wife in order to avert a great tragedy. Prompt humanitarian action by Soviets would be viewed by people everywhere as a commitment to upholding human dignity enshrined in the United Nations Charter to which the U.S.S.R. has committed itself."

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combals bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

# 84-960-221 EJP, Z-----

RTV-N, JL-L, R,

T015-PEI/ed: 5/17/84

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chairman, Board of Trustees,

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

# [end]

# Original documents faded and/or illegible



**ERIKA HOLZER** Old Wagon Road Mt. Kisco, New York 10549 (914) 666-3799 April 13, 1984 Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum: As you can see from the enclosed, the Andrei Sakharov Institute is presenting a series of fundraising concerts in major cities throughout the free world which will run through the month of May and into the first week of June, 1984. I'm writing you in connection with the concert to be held in New York City's Carnegie Hall on Monday evening, May 21, in the hopes that you and Georgette may be able to attend. The Organizing Committee has asked me to mention that those who choose to become Sponsors (\$25), Patrons (\$50) and Benefactors (\$100) of this tax-deductible cultural event will have their names listed in the concert Program. In addition, Patrons and Benefactors will be invited to an after-concert reception. Benefactors will receive a poster by a prominent Soviet emigree artist. And for those unable to attend the concert, contributions to the worldwide campaign to liberate Dr. Sakharov and his wife are tax deductible. The Committee would deeply appreciate your letting interested friends and acquaintances know about this event. Cordially,

Invitation to concerts for ANDREI SAKHAROV AND PEACE which will be performed by the best musicians from Moscow, Leningrad and New York.

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Alian - June 2, Vienna - June 4, London - June 5. Amsterdam – May, 24, Brussels – May 25, Bonn – May 26, Paris – May 28, Bern – May 30, Geneva – May 31, Zurich – June 1, Andrei Sakharov Institute, It will then move to Toronto - May 10, Boston - May 13, Washington - May 17, New York City - May S1, The campaign for Andrei Sakharov and Peace will start on May 9, 1984 in the city of Rochester, NY which is the hometown of the

The Andrei Sakharov Institute in cooperation with many scientific, religious, cultural and human rights organizations

invites you to attend

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-The New York Times

Wednesday, May 9, 1984: Rochester, NY Eastman Theatre at 8:00 pm Tickets - RPO, 14 Gibbs St., 14604 Tel. (716) 454-7091 or Ticketron

Thursday, May 10: Toronto, Canada, Univ. of Toronto Convocation Hall at 8:00 pm Tickets - BASS Agency Tel. (416) 698-2277

Sunday, May 13: Boston, MA, Temple Mishkan Tefila at 2:30 pm 300 Hammond Pond Pkwy., Chestnut Hill Tel. (617) 332-7770

Monday, May 21: New York City, Carnegie Hall at 8:00 pm 881 7th Ave., New York, NY Tel. (212) 247-7459

### Rochester, May 9

Boston, May 13

Gradinger & Associates Suite 1215, Midtown Tower Rochester, NY 14604 (716) 546-1656

Sakharov Concert 374 Bloor St. W. Toronto, Canada M5S-1X2 (416) 922-5141

Toronto, May 10

Women's American ORT 990 Washington St. Dedham, MA 02026 (617) 329-6693

# New York City, May 21

**Public Relations** Long Island University University Plaza Brooklyn, NY 11201 (212) 403-1015

Tickets may be purchased at the concert locations or by completing the attached coupon and mailing it with your, check, payable to one of the appropriate locations.

Organizing Committee Vladimir Bukovsky, Stanford, USA Alex Epstein, Toronto, Canada Eric Fawcett, Toronto, Canada Sanford Gradinger, Rochester, USA Howard King, Boston, USA Edward Kuznetsov, Munich, Germany Robert Lalfont, Paris, France Edward Lozansky, Washington, USA Valentina Makohon, Rochester, USA Vladimir Maximov, Paris, France Louis Michel, Paris, France Louis Michel, Paris, France Judea Miller, Rochester, USA Sergio Rapetti, Milan, Italy Aitce Rapkin, Boston, USA Anthur Schnek, Brussels, Belgium Hans Stuckelberger, Zurich, Switzerland Charles Sutherland, Washington, USA Robert Van Vorer, Ansterdam, Netherland Allan Wyn, London, Great Britain Simon Wiesenthal, Vienna, Austria Richard Yellin, Boston, USA

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I cannot attend, but enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_

All contributions and tickets for \$25, \$50, and \$100 are tax-deductible.

Contributions payable to the Andrei Sakharov Institute should be mailed to: Andrei Sakharov Institute, 3001 Veazey Terrace, NW Suite 332 Washington, DC 20008.

For further information please call (202) 364-0200.

# INVITATION TO PATICIPATE IN THE PROJECT ANDREI SAKHAKOV AND PEACE

Flace: Rochester, Toronto, Boston, Washington, New York, Amsterdam, Brussels, Bonn, Paris, Geneva, Zurich, Milan, Bern, London. Time: May 9 - June 5, 1984

# Dear Friends:

We respectfully invite you to join us in our efforts to save the life of one of the world's greatest scientists and human rights advocates, Peace Nobel Laureate Dr. Andrei Sakharov who is slowly dying in the exile in the remote city of Gorky. Despite the urgent recommendation of physicians for his immediate hospitalization, the Soviet government does not permit Sakharov to enter the Academy of Sciences hospital in Moscow. The Soviets are also saying that they will not allow Sakharov to travel to the West on the basis of state security. This means only one thing: the authorities are hoping to end Sakharov affair by allowing him to die in Gorky.

The Andrei Sakharov Institute is coordinating a campaign "Andrei Sakharov and Peace" in the hope that strong public pressure on the Soviet authorities will force them to liberate Sakharov and his wife. We plan to organize a series of scientific conferences, public demonstrations, and gala performances to attract world's attention to Sakharov case and to promote his views on world's peace and freedom.

The campaign will start in May 1984. First major event will take place in Rochester, NY - the hometown of the Andrei Sakharov Institute. Then, campaign will move to Toronto, Boston, Washington, New York City, and to 9 European cities. We plan to rent a bus in Europe, decorate it with posters and pictures of Andrei Sakharov and go from town to town collecting petitions and organizing scientific seminars and gala performances in honor of Sakharov. Travelling in the bus will be the Soviet Emigre Orchestra - an excellent chamber group composed of best former Soviet musicians. We hope that this campaign will generate enough publicity to force the Soviet government into liberation of Andrei Sakharov and his wife.

The estimated budget of this project is around \$130,000. We plan to raise this amount of money through ticket sales and private contributions. We hope that there are enough organizations and individuals in the world which will help us to make this project a success.

1. 10

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MAX M. KAMPELMAN, P.C. 202-342-3520

September 7, 1983

Mrs. Zena Padva 102-25, 67 Road Forest Hills, New York 11375

Dear Mrs. Padva:

Thank you very much for your recent letter. Although it saddens me to read the kind of tragedy represented by your cousin's experience, it is regrettable that this experience is multiplied by the thousands in the Soviet Union.

Your letter indicates that I and our delegation have "considerable influence with Soviet authorities." I wish that were the case. The fact is that we are in constant confrontation with that delegation as we highlight for the world to see the brutalities of the Soviet regime.

The Madrid meeting is a continued effort by us and the West to raise the standards by which to judge responsible international behavior. The Soviet Union continually defies those standards. We will continue to condemn them for it in the hope that in time they will understand the need to begin acting positively to our concerns. The situation with respect to Professor Gilbo is a good illustration of what we are urging be changed within the Soviet decision-making process. They undertook an obligation in Helsinki and again in Madrid to live up to certain standards, and they are violating those obligations.

Thank you for bringing this whole matter to my attention. I have talked to Congressman Kemp who shares our intense interest in helping to improve the situation.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:pg

JACK KEMP

COMMITTEES:

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Congress of the United States house of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

September 20, 1983

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D 484 S. MAIN STREET GENEVA. NEW YORK 14458 (315) 789-3360

Mr. & Mrs. Edgar Padya 102-25 67th Road Apt. 4-A Forrest Hills, NY 11375

Dear Edgar and Zena,

The Soviet attack on KAL Flight 007, in violation of the elementary considerations of humanity, has focuses world attention on Soviet indifference to the most basic questions of human rights. I found it bitterly ironic that the Soviet Foreign Minister should use the occasion of the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe last week to assert his government's purported right to continue to shoot down civilian aircraft that may innocently stray from their intended course.

Frankly, I find it even more disturbing that the Soviets are so indifferent to the obligations they assumed under the Helsinki Accords. Continued Soviet oppression of dissidents, Christians and Jews, and Soviet denial of emigration requests give little reason for confidence that follow-on CSCE accords will better advance the cause of human rights.

Knowing of your keen interest in human rights issues, my wife Joanne and I thought you might be interested in a report of our trip to the Soviet Union this summer, which I am enclosing along with a copy of my letter to Secretary of State Shultz setting forth my serious concerns about the Madrid conference.

Very best regards, Jac emp Member of Congress

JK:sf

JACK KEMP

COMMITTEESI

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7 September 1983

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The Honorable George Shultz Secretary of State Department of State 2201 C Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

On the eve of your meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko at Madrid, I am forwarding for your consideration a report of my observations and concerns regarding human rights violations in the Soviet Union.

My wife and I spent a week this summer in the Soviet Union, where we saw firsthand the severe crackdown on dissidents, Jews and Christians, that the Soviet government is conducting at the very moment that the new human rights agreement is being finalized. We met with Christians who are constantly harassed simply for daring to practice their faith. We also witnessed a growing campaign of <u>state-sanctioned anti-Semitism</u>, including the appointment of the "An<u>ti-Zionist Commission</u>". Ambassador Max Kampelman has cited the shockingly low levels of Jewish emigration as a blatant violation of the Helsinki Accords. Fifty-one Russian citizens who tried to monitor Soviet compliance with Helsinki have been sent to jails, "psychiatric hospitals', or have been put in internal exile. Since the Madrid meeting first began, 500 Soviet citizens have been convicted for political and religious "crimes".

Mr. Secretary, in light of this shocking record of Helsinki - violations, and in the wake of the Soviets' reprehensible attack on the Korean airliner, I must question the wisdom of proceeding with a new agreement on human rights. Absent some significant change in Soviet behavior, and some tangible demonstration of good faith observance of their international agreements, I believe we should revoke the Helsinki Accords as meaningless. As Avital Shcharansky recently wrote, "If the USSR sees that the West is willing to reach agreement without requiring actual and concrete concessions, the Soviets will feel still more free to suppress human rights. The results will be not to protect human rights but to destroy them." The Honorable George Shultz 7 September 1983 page 2

I know that few leaders understand the nature of the Soviet regime better than you, Ambassador Kampelman, and President Reagan, and that this Administration's efforts to improve the Soviet rights record have been unceasing. I want you to know that I applaud and support those efforts fully; and in that spirit, I raise these concerns for your review.

> JACK KEMP Member of Congress

egards,

JK/mkv Enclosure (as stated)

# Soviet Human Rights Violations

# Report of Congressman and Mrs. Jack Kemp

Over the Fourth of July holiday, my wife Joanne and I had the opportunity to travel to the Soviet Union, along with Senator and Mrs. Bill Armstrong and 20 of my House colleagues, at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet. Our Soviet hosts spoke ritualistically of arms control; the people we met and the scenes we saw spoke passionately of human rights. The memory of those people and scenes prompts me to write to you.

As you know, we share your concerns about human rights issues. Now having visited the Soviet Union personally, having met with refuseniks, prisoners of conscience, both Christians and Jews, I have come away with a greater sense of urgency than ever before. And so I want to share my impressions with you, to urge us all to strengthen our efforts, for they are so very, very critical at this moment in history.

The many meetings I had with Soviet officials were highly instructive for the insights they gave me into Soviet propaganda efforts and negotiating tactics. But my most vivid insights came from the lack of spontaneity, the sparsely-stocked markets and the seemingly endless queues; from crumbling plaster walls of new and older apartment buildings; from unkempt landscaping and overgrown public parks; from public drunkenness and apathy; and the pervasive presence of militia, party slogans, and listening devices. Life in the Soviet Union gives little reason for pride, happiness or optimism.

We came away with a tremendous sense of the courage and indomitable spirit of people whose only voice in the free world is the human rights activists who stand up and speak out.

To seek justice and freedom in the U.S.S.R. is to take on the whole machinery of a totalitarian police state, courting reprisals from authorities unfettered by law or principle. We were overcome by the wholly different psychological environment in which people there are born, grow up, and die.

As parents of four children, we know that when our phone rings or there is a knock at our door at midnight, the reason is likely nothing more serious than a child locked out or perhaps a passerby with a flat tire, and we can get out of bed with confidence that we can handle the problem. But in the Soviet Union, knocks on the door and rings in the night are the source of deep fear, for they are far more likely to be from the state security K.B.G., who monitor all movements and rule by fear and arbitrariness. Courage comes in many forms but we were struck by that shown by those who have faced that midnight summons time and again: Jews who have lost their jobs, their mail and their modicum of freedom by virtue of simply practicing their faith or applying for a visa; Christians who dare official disapproval by attending services at one of the few old churches still "working" in the country; men and women who have applied for emigration visas every six months for the past many years, seeking to rejoin their families and spouses abroad. I want to tell you about some of these people.

Joanne and I had the opportunity to meet with some Christians who have been struggling to practice their religion under the Soviet regime. Their poignant stories I will never forget. I remember in particular one quiet reserved young woman who had been taken from her family at seven years of age and placed in a State orphanage because her parents were Biblical Christians and had not registered with the State. Today, two members of her immediate family are yet in prison for teaching Christianity. Even so, as a young bride, she reflects a warmth and love that are striking testimony to the buoyancy of the human spirit and to her belief in God as the ultimate source of love.

We were invited to the Moscow apartment of the Jewish refusenik, Vladimir Feltsman, to hear his piano recital of Bach, Beethoven and Debussy. The Soviet government has decreed that this internationally acclaimed concert pianist is forbidden to perform outside of small towns in Siberia. Why? Because he has asked to take his wife Anna and their child to Israel.

Later that week we were also privileged to meet in the home of a leading academician, Valery Soyfer, and his wife. There we met Vladimir and Maria Slepak, as well as Boris Begun, the teenage son of Iosef Begun, whose trial is coming up very soon. We listened to Boris tell of his father's upcoming trial, and how his father was put in solitary confinement for doing exercises in the prison yard. Boris told us that his father stands accused of the "crime" of teaching Jewish culture, for which the Soviets have charged him with anti-Soviet agitation, and have denied him the chance to organize his defense.

We also had the opportunity to meet and talk with Lev Blitshtein, Vladimir Cherkassky, Boris Franzelvitsch, Aleksander Ioffee, Yuli Kosharovsky, Mark Lvovsky, Arkady Mai, his wife Helen Seidel and his daughter Naomi, Abe Stollar (a U.S. citizen who wants to return to America), and Inna Wilemova.

Their courage is matched by a sense of humor that transcends the human condition. Helen Seidel, who has relatives in Beersheva and the Negev Desert, was particularly humorous when we were leaving with a handshake and a hug and words of Shalom. "Shalom," I told her. "Next near in Jerusalem." And she looked at me,

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shrugged her shoulders, and said, "Next year in the Negev would be enough."

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Elie Wiesel had given us a dozen of his books autographed in Hebrew to give out, which we believe were deliberately detained at the airport by Soviet authorities. Happily, the American Embassy officials, ably led by Ambassador Hartman and Henry Clarke, were able to retrieve them the night before we left Moscow for Rome. As Joanne and I passed out Elie Wiesel's books, I saw tears in the eyes of these people who appreciate so much the thoughts, prayers and efforts of those in the West who care and work in their behalf.

In Leningrad earlier in the week, we gathered with new friends in the modest apartment of an accomplished Jewish mathematician, Abram Kagan, now banned from his profession and forced to hold a menial job to keep from being labeled a "parasite of the State". We crowded around a little table and a double bed, listening to story after story of imprisonment and persecution and harassment of Jews who have asked nothing more than permission to leave. Abram Kagan. Roald Zelichonok. Jacov Rabinovich. Grigory Genusov. Lev Shapiro. Yuri Speizman. Evgeny Lein. <u>Evgeny Gilbo</u>. Fyodor Makhovitsky. Several of their children have been "expelled" from schools for trumped-up reasons. Knowing the risks to their personal safety, these brave people came to meet with us in the hopes that we could share the story of their plight with others, and so that we might assure them they are not forgotten.

Leningrad Jews and Christians are harassed beyond belief. When I brought their plight to Soviet authorities in Leningrad, I was told that I must not mix the soup with the flies. The "soup", of course, to the Soviets is the technology and trade and international agreements they seek from the U.S., and the "flies" are the people who desire to emigrate to join their families.

Our arrivals and departures were carefully monitored by KGB agents, who surely noted the names of those who dared meet with us. We can only pray that they are not punished for their courage. This report is offered in part as a small tribute to that courage and in the hope that it will encourage Jews and Christians alike to redouble their efforts on behalf of this human rights struggle.

One of the most disturbing new developments in the Soviet Union is the growth of State-sanctioned anti-Semitism. As one Soviet official casually confessed, there is widespread "unofficial" anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union; but now, ominously, "official" anti-Semitism is appearing. The appointment of the "Anti-Zionist Commission" (the Chairman of which we declined to meet) is but the latest in this campaign, which includes prosecution of individuals caught studying or teaching Hebrew, and the publication of extreme anti-Semitic articles in the Soviet press. How are we to understand a government that regards the practice of Judaism a threat to its internal control on the one hand, and on the other persists in denying applications from Jews who want to emigrate?

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Our Ambassador to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Max Kampelman, has cited the shockingly low levels of Jewish emigration as a blatant violation of the Helsinki Accords. Now with the conclusion of a new CSCE agreement comes a potential danger. As Avital Shcharansky wrote recently, "If the U.S.S.R. sees that the West is willing to reach agreement without requiring actual and concrete concessions, the Soviets will feel still more free to suppress human rights. The result will be not to protect human rights but to destroy them." I agree.

Soviet sincerity at Madrid and Helsinki will be tested in the days to come, as the West waits to see improvements in emigration, a lessening of internal oppression, the end of governmentdirected anti-Semitism and the release of political prisoners whose only "crime" has been to assert their inalienable freedom of thought.

When I raised this point with a senior U.S. specialist in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he admonished me that "human rights should not be overpressed because it doesn't help; it becomes an interference in domestic affairs." He quickly added, "We understand the pressures on Congressmen because of public opinion in the U.S. But if human rights issues are always raised as the number one concern, that leads to the apprehension that the objective is to worsen our relations."

With some indignation, I responded that he knew Americans too well to believe that our concern with human rights was just a facade. The Soviets must understand that their actions in the area of human rights will unerringly affect Western perceptions of Soviet good faith across the spectrum of East-West relations, for it is actions and behavior, not words and promises, that speak loudest about the nature of the Soviet regime and its relationship with the West.

I presented a list of names of many whom we met and others who have been refused permission to leave to Mr. Bessmertnyky, Head of the U.S.A. Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He promised to look into these cases and to give me a status report. I am still waiting to hear back from him, and I hope for good news, but my purpose was to let the Soviets know officially that the U.S. Congress was interested in the welfare, human rights and emigration status of these sincere seekers of justice and dignity.

Yet it isn't just the celebrated cases that count. We hear of these, but the "silent majority" takes on a somber depth of meaning in this police state. None enjoy the freedom, justice

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and dignity so taken for granted in Western Democracies. The scale of oppression is beyond our comprehension as free people; and perhaps only imaginable to those and their families who suffered in the Holocaust.

Those individuals in the Soviet Union who have openly rebelled, who have sought to leave, have in that act reasserted their God-given right to freedom and dignity. Even though they know how difficult is their situation, still they derive hope and a sense of life from their vision of what could be. I admire their courage more than I can say, and I am proud to have had the chance to meet some of the bravest people in the world.

I am equally proud of my colleagues, the members of Congress from both parties, who spoke so eloquently in support of human rights, and in support of America, in front of a disapproving Supreme Soviet. There are no partisan divisions over our belief, as Americans, in human rights.

Similarly, there should be no divisions in our understanding of the dimensions of the oppression in the Soviet Union. It is not just Jews, or just Christians, or just any one group that is the object of Soviet persecution. It is anyone who dares assert his or her individuality and defy the state. So when we speak out on behalf of the human rights of some, let us not forget the suffering of others caught within the Soviet system.

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I truly believe that when Thomas Jefferson said in 1771, "the God who gave us life gave us freedom at the same time," he was not just speaking to Americans, but to <u>all people</u>. He was speaking about Fr. Gleb Yohunin, Andrei Sakharov, Ida Nudel, Anatole Shcharansky, and all people everywhere.

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MODERN-DAY HEROES: Jason Robards stars in the title role of SAKHAROV, the upcoming HBO PREMIERE FILMS presentation about the Soviet Union's most renowned nuclear physicist, who risked his privileged existence to speak out against oppression of human rights in his homeland. Glenda Jackson portrays his dedicated activist wife, Dr. Elena Bonner. The real-life drama will debut on the HBO service in September.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

# FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, May 17...The American Jewish Committee today urged the U.N. Secretary General to appeal to the Soviet Union on humanitarian grounds to allow Andrei Sakharov and his wife to receive medical care.

The text of the telegram by Howard I, Friedman, AJC president, and Leo Nevas, chairman of AJC's International Relations Commission, to U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar is:

"Reports of the seriously declining health of Nobel Peace Prize laureate Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelene Bonner, deeply distress us and undoubtedly all people of good will,

"We respectfully urge you to appeal to Soviet government authorities to allow for immediate and adequate medical care for Sakharov and his wife in order to avert a great tragedy. Prompt humanitarian action by Soviets would be viewed by people everywhere as a commitment to upholding human dignity enshrined in the United Nations Charter to which the U.S.S.R. has committed itself."

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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