

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 SAJ-01 DHA-02 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1685

INFO USMISSION NATO

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AMEMBASSY BERN

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 3099

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR DA UR

SUBJECT: SAKHAROV HEARING COMPLETED

REF: COPENHAGEN 3020 AND PREVIOUS

SUMMARY: (THIS IS THE FIRST OF TWO TELEGRAMS ON THE OCTOBER 17-19 SAKHAROV HEARING.) THE SAKHAROV HEARING WAS BADLY ORGANIZED, EMOTIONAL AND HARSHLY CRITICIZED BY SOME PARTICIPANTS, BUT

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THE STORIES OF SOME OF THE WITNESSES WERE SERIOUS INDICTMENTS

OF PRESENT CONDITIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION. A QUESTION PANEL OF DISTINGUISHED PERSONS AGREED ON A RESOLUTION WHICH EXPRESSED DOUBT WHETHER THE SOVIET UNION OBSERVES THE HUMAN RIGHTS TO WHICH IT SUBSCRIBED AT HELSINKI. TWO OTHER RESOLUTIONS WERE ISSUED BY OTHERS CONNECTED WITH THE HEARING. THE PRESS HAS TENDED TO CONCENTRATE ON THE EMOTIONALISM AND THE INAPPROPRIATENESS OF SOME OF THE WITNESSES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE PRESENT TELEGRAM DESCRIBES THE HEARING THE TRANS- MITS EARLY PRESS REACTION. A SECOND TELEGRAM WILL FORWARD FURTHER PRESS REACTION, THE VIEWS OF A DIPLOMATIC OBSERVER AND EMBASSY COMMENT.

2. THE "SAKHAROV HEARING", HELD IN COPENHAGEN OCTOBER 17-19, HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY MOST OF THE DANISH PRESS AS "CHAOTIC AND EMOTIONAL". ON THE OTHER HAND, THE TRAGIC AND MOVING ACCOUNTS RELATED BY SOME OF THE WITNESSES STRUCK HOME AND HAVE BEEN RECOGNIZED AS AN INDICTMENT OF PRESENT CONDITIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION. SOME OBSERVERS AND MEMBERS OF THE "PANEL OF QUESTIONERS" WALKED OUT BEFORE THE HEARING WAS CONCLUDED AND ONE OF THE WITNESSES HAD TO BE PHYSICALLY ESCORTED OUT OF THE ROOM IN PARLIAMENT (FO KETING) WHERE THE HEARING WAS HELD.

3. THE QUESTIONING PANEL WAS, HOWEVER, ABLE TO AGREE ON A FINAL RESOLUTION WHICH WAS SIGNED BY THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS OF THE PANEL: PROFESSOR ERLING BJOL, EUGENE IONESCO, ZINAIDA SCHAKOVSKOY, MICHAEL BOURDEAUX, FRANTISEK JANOUC, A. SHTROMAS, S. SWIANIEWICS, CORNELIA GERSTENMAIER, HAAKON LIE, VICTOR SPARRE AND SIMON WIESENTHAL.

4. THE RESOLUTION STATED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE HEARING WAS TO DETERMINE CONDITIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION OVER THE LAST TEN YEARS. BASED ON THE TESTIMONY OF 24 WITNESSES, THE PANEL AGREED THAT:

A) FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION IS LIMITED;

B) PERSONS WHO "DEVIATE" ARE PERSECUTED AND DISCRIMINATED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AGAINST IN SUCH VITAL AREAS AS EMPLOYMENT, HOUSING AND EDUCATION;

C) THE POSSIBILITY OF TRAVEL, INCWUDING EMIGRATION, IS LIMITED;

D) RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IS DECIDEDLY LIMITED;

E) NATIONAL MINORITIES, INCLUDING JEWS, ARE SUPPRESSED;

F) THERE WERE PERSONS IN PRISON, IN CAMPS AND IN PSYCHIATRIC WARDENS WHO HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF THEIR FREEDOM, FREQUENTLY LIVING UNDER INHUMAN CONDITIONS AND CAN ONLY BE CHARACTERIZED AS POLITICAL PRISONERS.

5. THE PANEL CONCLUDED THAT IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF OBSERVES THE HUMAN RIGHTS TO WHICH IT SUBSCRIBED AT HELSINKI AND IT BACKED ANDRE SAKHAROV'S APPEAL TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT FOR A GENERAL AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AS THE FIRST STEP TO LIVE UP TO THE HELSINKI DECLARATION. THE PANEL ALSO RECOMMENDED THE CONCLUSION OF A SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION PROVIDING FOR THE PROTECTION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

6. TWO OTHER RESOLUTIONS ALSO CAME OUT OF THE HEARING. ONE WAS ISSUED BY THE DANISH GROUP WHICH ORGANIZED THE HEARING, "THE COMMON COMMITTEE OF EAST EXILES IN DENMARK", AND WAS CONSIDERABLY TOUGHER ON THE SOVIET UNION THAN THE PANEL RESOLUTION. THE OTHER RESOLUTION WAS ISSUED BY FIVE WITNESSES WHO CLAIMED SPECIAL TIES WITH SAKHAROV AND DEPLORED THE EMOTIONALISM OF SOME OF THE WITNESSES.

7. THESE FIVE WERE: A. GRIGORENKI, V. BALASHOV, L. KWATCHEVSKY, V. FAJNBERG AND B. SHAGRIN. THEY STATED THAT SOME OF THE WITNESSES WERE JUST AS INTOLERANT AND TOTALITARIAN AS THE SYSTEM THEY ATTACKED. THE FIGHT, THE FIVE SAID, MUST BE "HUMANITARIAN" AND NOT "ANTI-MARXIST".

8. THE STATEMENT OF THE FIVE DID NOT IDENTIFY THE WITNESSES REFERRED TO BUT SEVERAL NEWSPAPERS CLAIMED THEY WERE: LUBA MARKISJ AND PROFESSOR DAVID ASBEL, CLAIMING THAT SOVIET SCIENTISTS USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PEOPLE AS GUINEA PIGS IN THE ARMS INDUSTRY; ABRAHAM SHIFRIN, WHO CLAIMED THAT AMERICAN TIMBER IMPORTERS HIDE THE FACT THAT SOVIET CAMP PRISONERS CUT OFF HANDS AND FINGERS AND SEND THEM WITH THE EXPORTED TIMBER TO THE US; ALEKSANDER VARDYJ, WHO GAVE A VERY EMOTIONAL TALK ON SOVIET IDEOLOGY; AND DMITRI PANINE, WHO SAID THERE WERE 20 MILLION POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE SOVIET UNION.

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9. AFTER AN APPARENT RAMPLING AND HIGHLY-STRUNG STATEMENT LASTING ONE AND A HALF HOURS, RUMANIAN-AMERICAN REVEREND MICHAEL WURMBRAND WAS ESCORTED OUT OF THE ROOM. MEMBERS OF THE QUESTIONING PANEL THREATENED TO LEAVE IF WURMBRAND WAS NOT EXPELLED. IONESCO LEFT OCTOBER 19, AFTER CASTIGATING THE HEARING AS BEING "WITHOUT VALUE WHEN SUCH PEOPLE ARE AMONG THE WITNESSES; THEY ARE NO BETTER THAN THOSE THEY ACCUSE." HE DID, HOWEVER, SUPPORT THE PANEL'S RESOLUTION SET OUT ABOVE.

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10. THE REVEREND HANS CHRISTIAN NEERSKOV, WHO REPRESENTED THE "EUROPEAN MISSION TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES" ALSO WALKED OUT IN PROTEST. THE ONLY DANISH MEMBER OF THE QUESTIONING PANEL,

PROFESSOR ERLING BOJL, CHARACTERIZED THE HEARING AS "SCANDALOUS" AND "AMATEURISH" AND "BADLY ORGANIZED". HE SAID THE HEARING WAS "RQNNGOY A FAILURE". (IN A TV INTERVIEW, BOJL ADDED THAT FOR HIM, BY FAR THE MOST INTERESTING PART HAD BEEN TESTIMONY CONCERNING THE COMMITMENT OF POLITICAL DEVIATORS TO PSYCHIATRIC INSTITUTIONS.)

11. BOJL'S DESCRIPTION OF THE HEARING WAS ECHOED BY THE OFFICIAL OBSERVER OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OLE ESPERSEN, FROM THE PARTY'S LEFT WING, WHO DROPPED OUT OF THE HEARING ON OCTOBER 18 STATING THAT HE HAD HEARD "NO TRUSTWORTHY STATEMENTS WHICH COULD BE USED AS EVIDENCE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION".

12. THE RADICALS, CHRISTIANS, CENTER DEMOCRATS, AND CONSERVATIVES ALSO SENT OBSERVERS. THE LIBERALS REPORTEDLY PROMISED TO, BUT DID NOT. THE PROGRESSIVES AND THE THREE PARTIES OF THE FAR LEFT HAD EARLIER TURNED DOWN INVITATIONS.

13. THE ONLY DIPLOMATIC CORPS OBSERVER WAS THE SECOND SECRETARY OF THE SWEDISH EMBASSY.

14. ON A DANISH TV PROGRAM THE EVENING OF OCTOBER 16, AN INTERVIEW FILMED IN COPENHAGEN A WEEK OR SO EARLIER WITH THE SOVIET SINJAVSKY AND HIS WIFE WAS SHOWN. THEY STRESSED THE ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE OF THE CONTINUED EFFORTS OF THE WEST TO CALL ATTENTION TO SPECIAL CASES OF PERSECUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION. THEY ASSERTED THAT IF A PERSON'S NAME IS SUFFICIENTLY WELL-KNOWN IN THE WEST, THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES WILL NOT HARM HIM.

15. TWO MEMBERS OF THE "ANTI-SAKHAROV HEARING" DELEGATION SENT HERE BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WERE ALSO INTERVIEWED ON THE SAME PROGRAM. THE PSYCHIATRIST RUBEN A. NADJAROV AND THE PHYSICIST BENSON WULL, ANSWERED QUESTIONS ON LABOR CAMPS, PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, ETC., GIVING THE EXPECTED ANSWERS BUT PROJECTING AN IMAGE OF QUIET SINCERITY. WULL ACHIEVED A NICE TOUCH AT THE PROGRAM'S END BY SAYING THAT AS A NUCLEAR PHYSICIST, HE FELT LIKE A MOSLEM VISITING MECCA IN COMING TO THE HOMELAND OF THE NOBEL PRIZE-WINNING PHYSICIST

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16. EDITORIAL COMM

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BERLINGSKE TIDENDE (INDEPENDENT CONSERVATIVE), OCTOBER 20:
"THE CHAOTIC INCIDENTS WHICH OCCURRED WERE UNAVOIDABLE WHEN SO MANY DIFFERENT PERSECUTED GROUPS WERE UNDER ONE ROOF".

POLITIKEN (LEFT OF CENTER), OCTOBER 19: "ANDRE SAKHAROV'S APPEAL (WHICH WAS MADE DURING THE COURSE OF THE HEARING) FOR GENERAL AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD

BE SUPPORTED. IT IS NOT ONLY THE FREEDOM OF SOVIET CITIZENS
WHICH IS AT STAKE BUT EQUALLY OUR OWN."

ON OCTOBER 20, POLITIKEN EDITORIALIZED THAT UT WAS "DOUBLY
IRONIC THAT THE SOVIET COUNTER-HEARING IN COPENHAGEN DISCLOSED
MORE ABOUT THE SUPPRESSION AND LIES OF THE SYSTEM THAN THE
SAKHAROV HEARING ITSELF." ABOUT THE SAKHAROV HEARING, POLITIKEN
SAID "PEOPLE WERE CALLED IN WHO SHOULD NOT HAVE TESTIFIED. THERE
IS NOT DOUBT THAT THE HEARING WAS BADLY PLANNED".

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