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**May 11, 1982 (1 of 2)**  
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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

**Withdrawer**

JET 4/27/2005

**File Folder** DISSEIDENT LUNCH-WHITE HOUSE MAY 11, 1982 1/2

**FOIA**

F06-114/6

**Box Number** 22

YARHI-MILO

2212

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
9237	MEMO	ALLEN TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE WHITE HOUSE INVITATION FOR SOLZHENITSYN <i>R 3/19/2013 F2006-114/6</i>	1	ND	B1
9238	MEMO	PIPES TO ALLEN RE WHITE HOUSE INVITATION FOR SOLZHENITSYN <i>R 3/19/2013 F2006-114/6</i>	1	10/15/1981	B1
9239	MEMO	CLARK TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE WHITE HOUSE INVITATION FOR SOLZHENITSYN <i>R 3/19/2013 F2006-114/6</i>	1	3/20/1982	B1
9240	MEMO	PIPES TO CLARK RE PROPOSED WHITE HOUSE INVITATION FOR SOLZHENITSYN <i>R 3/19/2013 F2006-114/6</i>	1	3/5/1982	B1
9241	MEMO	PIPES TO ALLEN RE SOLZHENITSYN <i>R 3/19/2013 F2006-114/6</i>	2	6/24/1981	B1
9242	MEMO	PIPES TO TYSON RE PRESIDENTIAL LUNCH, TUESDAY, MAY 11, 1982 <i>PA R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	1	4/16/1982	B1 <i>B6</i>
9243	MEMO	PIPES TO TYSON RE MAY 11 PRESIDENTIAL LUNCH <i>PA R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6</i>	1	4/26/1982	B1 <i>B6</i>

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

September 15, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *RP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

The memorandum to Gregory Newell at Tab I recommends that no meeting be scheduled between the President and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn; you are already familiar with the reasons for this recommendation.

At Tab A is a draft letter for Mr. Newell's use. The incoming memorandum with attachments is at Tab II.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to Gregory Newell at Tab I.

Approve   *(initials)*   Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

- Tab I Memorandum to Gregory Newell
- Tab A Draft response
- Tab II Incoming memorandum and letters

1) I'd like this matter discussed in a small group. - Lord, Sherman, Byrd, Reuschler, Bailey; ~~then~~ then a one-page summary memo.

Janet: 2) This was due for 15 Sept response. I don't understand why it was held. (I discussed w/ Newell by phone)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 5, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR GREGORY J. NEWELL

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN

SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

My recommendation and that of the NSC Staff is that no meeting be scheduled between the President and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

Attached at Tab A is a draft response for your use, if you feel an additional letter to Representative Lott is required.

Dear Mr.

Thank you for your letter of \_\_\_\_\_, in which you suggest that the President issue an invitation to Mr. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn to visit the White House.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn's stature as a great writer and heroic figure in the Russian dissident movement is beyond question. We will give your suggestion careful thought.

Sincerely,

4

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

REQUEST FOR SCHEDULING RECOMMENDATION

11 September 1981

TO: Richard Allen ✓

VIA: GREGORY J. NEWELL

FROM: MICHAEL P. CASTINE MPC

PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR RECOMMENDATION ON THE FOLLOWING  
REQUEST UNDER CONSIDERATION:

EVENT: On behalf of his constituent, Rev. Paul Honomichl, Rep. Trent  
Lott asks that the President meet with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

DATE: open

LOCATION: The White House

BACKGROUND:

RESPONSE DUE: 15 September 1981. Thank You.

YOUR RECOMMENDATION:

Accept \_\_\_ Regret \_\_\_ Surrogate \_\_\_ Message \_\_\_ Other \_\_\_

IF RECOMMENDATION IS TO ACCEPT, PLEASE GIVE REASONS:

5  
August 31, 1981

Dear Trent:

This is just to let you know that I have not forgotten your July 6 letter forwarding Reverend Paul O. Honomichl's request that Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn be extended an invitation to the White House.

Please be assured that I have directed Reverend Honomichl's suggestion to the appropriate White House office for careful consideration. I hope that you will feel free to contact me whenever I can be of further assistance to you.

Thank you for your interest in writing.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf  
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Trent Lott  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

cc: Greg Newell (Scheduling) w/copy of incoming for appropriate act

*sent*  
cc: Richard Allen w/copy of incoming, FYI

MLF:CMP:ASR:vml--

8

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

July 6, 1981

031675

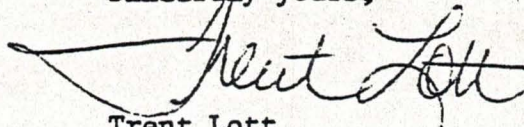
Honorable Ronald W. Reagan  
The President  
The United States of America  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am taking the liberty of contacting you in behalf of Rev. Paul O. Honomichl, pastor of the Houston, Mississippi, Presbyterian Church. As you will note from Rev. Honomichl's correspondence which I have enclosed, he has expressed his belief that Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn be honored by an invitation to the White House. I would greatly appreciate your consideration of Rev. Honomichl's request, and the benefit of your comments thereon.

Thanking you and with highest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Trent Lott

TL/bf

# Houston Presbyterian Church

226 W. WASHINGTON ST.

HOUSTON, MISSISSIPPI 38851

PAUL O. HONOMICHL  
PASTOR

(601) 456-4167

June 23, 1981

Representative Trent Lott  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Lott;

I have been intending to write to thank you for coming to Houston to address to Republican Committee. I especially appreciate the time you gave me personally to speak with you afterwards.

There are many matters which I feel the people at the "grass roots" would like to see the administration do, but it seems that the president and his staff are so busy that a letter from me on these issues might get lost in the shuffle. I would like therefore to present some ideas to you for your conveyance to those who would be in a position to take some real action on them.

First, you will recall that the Democrats REFUSED to have Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn as a guest to the white house to honor him for the expose' in The Gulag Archipelago of the horrid evil perpetrated upon the Russian people. I and many of my friends feel that this was a terrible insult to a man who is dedicated to the humane treatment of all people and justice and freedom.

The Republicans would gain the good will of many Americans all across the Nation by having Mr. Solzhenitsyn to the White House and honoring him in whatever way seemed appropriate. You may want to refer to the Congressional Record of the 94th Congress, Tuesday, July 15, 1975 when Mr. Phil Crane addressed the attention of the body to Mr. Solzhenitsyn's bravery and courage in the face of overmounting opposition by "liberal communist murderers" in Russia.

President Gerald Ford, no doubt under pressure from the left wing in Washington, REFUSED to honor this brave man. I feel that it is time something was done in the name of truth and rightness instead of political favoritism.

Please give this matter your deepest attention.

Sincerely in Christ Jesus,



Paul O. Honomichl

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

10am  
10/9/81

Team:

Please contact

Lord -	}	William	Tue - OK	10am	
Steaman -			Tue		
Reutcher					
Barley					

to set up meet'g for this

30 minutes at most  
needed.

Friday Oct. 9th AM?

Wed. Oct. 7th AM?

or 2 PM - 2:30

5 PM

RECEIVED

81 SEP 16 A 7: 39

*Residents*  
*Solrhenby*

*mtg held*  
*10/9/81*  
*10am*

JANET COLSON

*JC*

BUD NANCE

DICK ALLEN

*low 3*

IRENE DERUS

*id 57*

JANET COLSON

*JC*

BUD NANCE

PETER

CY TO VP

SHOW CC

CY TO MEESE

SHOW CC

CY TO BAKER

SHOW CC

CY TO DEAVER

SHOW CC

CY TO BRADY

SHOW CC

Comments: 1) "I'd like this matter discussed in a small group - Lord, Stearman, Pipes, Rentschle Bailey; then a one-page summary memo.

Janet, 2) This was due for 15 Sept response. I don't understand why it was held.

(I discussed w/Newell by phone.) J. Colson

*mtg held 10/9/81*  
*10am*

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

*Dissidents*CONFIDENTIAL

October 30, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

THROUGH: CHARLES P. TYSON

FROM: RICHARD PIPES

SUBJECT: White House Invitation for Solzhenitsyn

In response to your note on my memorandum of October 15 (Tab II), at Tab I is a memorandum to the President requesting approval to schedule a dinner inviting Soviet emigre dissidents to the White House, including Alexander Solzhenitsyn. (c)

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I, forwarding a list of suggested guests (Tab A).

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

## Attachments:

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
- Tab A List of suggested dinner guests.
- Tab II Memorandum to Mr. Allen dated October 15.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review October 30, 1987.

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By smf NARA, Date 6/26/02

## MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN

SUBJECT: White House Invitation for Solzhenitsyn

Over the past several months, a number of influential persons have been urging that you invite Aleksander Solzhenitsyn for a private meeting at the White House. I have been reluctant to recommend such a course because from the time he had settled in the United States, Solzhenitsyn has become increasingly active in Russian emigre politics, assuming leadership of the more conservative and nationalistic elements which are often anti-Western and anti-democratic. For you to receive him privately would suggest to Russians in the Soviet Union and abroad that you are endorsing his very controversial views and associations. (C)

At the same time, powerful arguments can be made in favor of honoring Solzhenitsyn's great achievements in fighting Communism and exposing it as an inhuman ideology that threatens all countries. (C)

A way out of the difficulty may be for you to invite Solzhenitsyn together with several other leading Soviet emigres, including individuals who represent more moderate, pro-Western tendencies as well as the ethnic minorities of the Soviet Union. A suggested list of those is attached at Tab A. All of them have given proof of their courage and most have spent long years in Soviet prisons and psychiatric wards. A dinner at the White House in their honor would demonstrate your sympathy for the cause of dissent in the USSR without identifying you with any particular current in it. (C)

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the scheduling of a dinner inviting Soviet emigre dissidents listed at Tab A.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

## Attachments:

Tab A List of Soviet emigres.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review October 30, 1987.

DECLASSIFIED  
 NLRR F06-114/6 #9237  
 BY RW NARA DATE 3/19/13

LIST OF PROPOSED GUESTS FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DINNER FOR SOVIET DISSIDENTS

Ludmilla ALEXEEVA (293 Benedict Avenue, Tarrytown, New York 10591). A founding member of the Russian Helsinki Watch Group, who had travelled widely around the USSR to investigate abuses of human rights until expelled in 1977.

Valerii CHALIDZE (145 East 92nd Street, New York, New York 10028). A scientist, he was one of the earliest to get in trouble with the authorities in the struggle for human rights. Left in 1972. Presently publishes Russian political literature in New York.

General Peter GRIGORENKO (4330 - 48th Street, Apt. 4F, Long Island, New York, New York 11104). A distinguished Soviet Army general and once an ardent Communist, he took up in the 1960s the cause of the Crimean Tatars whom Stalin had expelled from their homeland in 1944; cashiered from the service, he was committed to psychiatric wards. An Ukrainian by origin.

Pavel LITVINOV (293 Benedict Avenue, Tarrytown, New York 10591). The grandson of Stalin's Minister of Foreign Affairs, he was arrested and tried for organizing in 1968 a demonstration in Red Square protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Andrei SINIAVSKII (c/o Sorbonne, Paris, France). An eminent writer and editor, he published for years in the Soviet Union under the pen-name "Abram Tertz". Caught in 1965 he was given a prominent trial, spent a long sentence in camp.

Alexander SOLZHENITSYN (Cavendish, Vermont). The prominent writer and author of Gulag Archipelago, was expelled in 1975.

Valentin TURCHIN (7534 - 113th Street, Forest Hills, New York 11375). A physician, he headed the Moscow Chapter of Amnesty International. Friend of A. Sakharov. Forced to leave USSR in 1977.

Father Georgii VINS (38 Stanton Road, P.O. Box 1188, Elkhart, Indiana 49515). A Baptist minister, spent many years in camps.

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 15, 1981

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR Folio-114/6 #9238

BY RW NARA DATE 3/9/13

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *RP*

SUBJECT: White House Invitation for Solzhenitsyn

Cary Lord, Norm Bailey and I discussed the perennial question of a White House invitation for Solzhenitsyn. The three of us agreed that a personal invitation to Solzhenitsyn would not be advisable because Alexander Isaevich would be likely to use the opportunity to deliver a political sermon that might prove embarrassing to the President and send all the wrong signals to pro-Western elements in Soviet society and emigration. At the same time, a blanket refusal may prove awkward because it could suggest that we are afraid of annoying Moscow with an invitation to him. (C)

Option 1. We came up with the idea of inviting Solzhenitsyn not individually but as a member of a small group of prominent Freedom Fighters. One possibility would be to invite half a dozen world famous figures distinguished for their contributions on behalf of liberty: e.g., H. Matos, Frederick Hayek, Raymond Aaron, etc. (C)

Option 2. Another possibility -- which I personally prefer -- would be to gather several Soviet dissidents in emigration who represent diverse trends in the Soviet political spectrum: in addition to Solzhenitsyn, who speaks for the Russian nationalist right, Siniavsky, a representative of the pro-Western center, Pavel Litvinov (arrested in 1968 for his Red Square protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia), Ludmilla Alexeeva (charter founder of the Moscow Helsinki Group), Alexander Ginzburg (a much-persecuted dissident and friend of Solzhenitsyn), and Father Vins (a Baltic priest with a splendid record of resistance). (C)

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve one of the two options set forth above.

Approve Option 1 \_\_\_\_\_ Approve Option 2  \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

cc: Norman Bailey  
Cary Lord  
James Rentschler  
William Stearman

*Let's see how this can be done. Perhaps a small dinner. PPs get up a memo for P which guests - ?*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review October 15, 1987.

LIST OF PROPOSED GUESTS FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DINNER FOR SOVIET DISSIDENTS

✓ Ludmilla ALEXEEVA (293 Benedict Avenue, Tarrytown, New York 10591).  
A founding member of the Russian Helsinki Watch Group, who had travelled widely around the USSR to investigate abuses of human rights until expelled in 1977.

(Paula)

Valerii CHALIDZE (145 East 92nd Street, New York, New York 10028).  
A scientist, he was one of the earliest to get in trouble with the authorities in the struggle for human rights. Left in 1972. Presently publishes Russian political literature in New York. → (512) 860-8823

called - call again Monday

General Peter GRIGORENKO (4330 - 48th Street, Apt. 4F, Long Island, New York, New York 11104). A distinguished Soviet Army general and once an ardent Communist, he took up in the 1960s the cause of the Crimean Tatars whom Stalin had expelled from their homeland in 1944; cashiered from the service, he was committed to psychiatric wards. An Ukrainian by origin.

(Paula)

Pavel LITVINOV (293 Benedict Avenue, Tarrytown, New York 10591).  
The grandson of Stalin's Minister of Foreign Affairs, he was arrested and tried for organizing in 1968 a demonstration in Red Square protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

(OK)

✓ Andrei SINIAVSKII (c/o Sorbonne, Paris, France). An eminent writer and editor, he published for years in the Soviet Union under the pen-name "Abram Tertz". Caught in 1965 he was given a prominent trial, spent a long sentence in camp.

NO

Alexander SOLZHENITSYN (Cavendish, Vermont). The prominent writer and author of Gulag Archipelago, was expelled in 1975.

~~Valentin TURCHIN (7534 - 113th Street, Forest Hills, New York 11375).  
A physician, he headed the Moscow Chapter of Amnesty International. Friend of A. Sakharov. Forced to leave USSR in 1977.~~

(OK)

✓ Father Georgii VINS (38 Stanton Road, P.O. Box 1188, Elkhart, Indiana 49515). A Baptist minister, spent many years in camps.

tel. (219) 522-3486

8 me Boris Vilde  
Passes  
Fortaway - aux - Roses (?)  
92260

Ayshe Seitmuratova, 303 - 99th St., Brooklyn, N.Y., 11209. (212) 238-1621.

~~Bishop Basil Rodnanko, 2040 Ave St., San Francisco, Calif. 94118.  
off: 415/751-1500 home: 415/751-1258~~

Dissidents add to → 1176 15

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

3/15

Dick Pipes,  
Please get State's  
reaction to your  
proposal.

JL

3/18/82

John Poindexter,  
State concurs.

Talked to Eagleburger  
& Scamman  
VP

Richard Pipes

National Security Council  
The White House

Package # 1176

02 APR 1982 10:57

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	1	<i>[Signature]</i>	
Bud McFarlane		<i>[Signature]</i>	
Jacque Hill	2	<i>[Signature]</i>	
Judge Clark	3	<i>[Signature]</i>	A
John Poindexter	4		
Staff Secretary	5		
Sit Room			
I-Information	A-Action	R-Retain	D-Dispatch

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

DISTRIBUTION

CY To VP		Show CC	
CY To Meese		Show CC	
CY To Baker		Show CC	
CY To Deaver		Show CC	

7:30  
*[Handwritten signature]*

*mg*

*Kipes* ~~Handwritten notes~~ *16*

*May 11th  
Lunch*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

4/6/82

TO: Chuck Tyson

FR: Jacque Hill *JH*

Chuck, here is the paper work  
for the record.

# National Security Council The White House

Package # 1176

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>JP</u>	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Jacque Hill	<u>2</u>	<u>JH</u>	<u>I</u>
Judge Clark	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Staff Secretary	<u>3</u>	_____	<u>A-7</u>
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____
I-Information	A-Action	B-Retain	D-Dispatch
DISTRIBUTION			
CY To VP	_____	Show CC	_____
CY To Meese	_____	Show CC	_____
CY To Baker	_____	Show CC	_____
CY To Deaver	_____	Show CC	_____
Other	_____		

### COMMENTS

*Jacque, Tell the Judge.  
done 3/31/82*

*also discussed  
w/ Tyson. JP*

*Chuck Tyson,  
Work out details.  
Inform Jayson.  
John*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NLRR FD6-114/6 #9239

ACTION

March 20, 1982

BY RW NARA DATE 3/19/13

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK *wp*

SUBJECT: White House Invitation for Solzhenitsyn

Issue

Over the past year, a number of influential persons have been urging that you invite Aleksander Solzhenitsyn for a private meeting at the White House. However, there are strong objections to inviting Solzhenitsyn alone. (C)

Facts

From the time he settled in the United States, Solzhenitsyn has become increasingly active in Russian emigre politics, assuming leadership of the more conservative and nationalistic elements which are often anti-Western and anti-democratic. For you to receive him privately would suggest to Russians in the Soviet Union and abroad that you are endorsing his very controversial views and associations. At the same time, powerful arguments can be made in favor of honoring Solzhenitsyn's great achievements in fighting Communism and exposing it as an inhuman ideology that threatens all countries. (C)

Discussion

A way out of the difficulty may be for you to invite Solzhenitsyn together with several other leading Soviet emigres, including individuals who represent more moderate, pro-Western tendencies as well as the ethnic minorities of the Soviet Union. A suggested list of those is attached at Tab A. All of them have given proof of their courage and most have spent long years in Soviet prisons and psychiatric wards. A lunch or dinner at the White House in their honor would demonstrate your sympathy for the cause of dissent in the USSR -- a very worthy cause -- without identifying you with any particular current in it. (C)

RECOMMENDATION

O.K. NO

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. That you approve the scheduling of a lunch or dinner inviting Soviet emigre dissidents listed at Tab A.

Attachment:

Tab A List of Soviet emigres.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review March 5, 1988.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Prepared by:  
Richard Pipes

LIST OF PROPOSED GUESTS FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN'S DINNER FOR SOVIET DISSIDENTS

- ✓ Ludmilla ALEXEEVA (293 Benedict Avenue, Tarrytown, New York 10591). A founding member of the Russian Helsinki Watch Group, who had travelled widely around the USSR to investigate abuses of human rights until expelled in 1977. 914/332-1578
- ✓ Valerii CHALIDZE (145 East 92nd Street, New York, New York 10028). A scientist, he was one of the earliest to get in trouble with the authorities in the struggle for human rights. Left in 1972. Presently publishes Russian political literature in New York. 212/860-8823
- ✓ General Peter GRIGORENKO (4330 - 48th Street, Apt. 4F, Long Island, New York, New York 11104). A distinguished Soviet Army general and once an ardent Communist, he took up in the 1960s the cause of the Crimean Tatars whom Stalin had expelled from their homeland in 1944; cashiered from the service, he was committed to psychiatric wards. An Ukrainian by origin. 212/784-3676
- ✓ Pavel LITVINOV (293 Benedict Avenue, Tarrytown, New York 10591). The grandson of Stalin's Minister of Foreign Affairs, he was arrested and tried for organizing in 1968 a demonstration in Red Square protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. 914/631-4861
- ✓ Andrei SINIAVSKII (c/o Sorbonne, Paris, France). An eminent writer and editor, he published for years in the Soviet Union under the pen-name "Abram Tertz". Caught in 1965 he was given a prominent trial, spent a long sentence in camp. (Paris)
- ✓ Alexander SOLZHENITSYN (Cavendish, Vermont). The prominent writer and author of Gulag Archipelago, was expelled in 1975.
- X Valentin TURCHIN (7534 - 113th Street, Forest Hills, New York 11375). A physician, he headed the Moscow Chapter of Amnesty International. Friend of A. Sakharov. Forced to leave USSR in 1977.
- ✓ Father Georgii VINS (38 Stanton Road, P.O. Box 1188, Elkhart, Indiana 49515). A Baptist minister, spent many years in camps.

ZINAIYA

Ms. Ayshe SEITMURATOVA

303-99<sup>th</sup> St.  
Brooklyn, NY 11209  
212/238-1621

3/10

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

3/20

Mike Deaver,

Bill wanted you to  
see this before it goes  
to the President

*Bill work out  
with gary*

After review, please  
return to BT Merchant  
in the Situation Room,  
ext 2585.

75

### National Security Council The White House

Package # 1176

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>_____</u>
Bud McFarlane	<u>2</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>_____</u>
Jacque Hill	<u>3</u>	<u>_____</u>	<u>_____</u>
Judge Clark	<u>4</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>A</u>
John Poindexter	<u>5</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>_____</u>
Staff Secretary	<u>6</u>	<u>_____</u>	<u>D</u>
Sit Room	<u>_____</u>	<u>_____</u>	<u>_____</u>

I-Information   A-Action   R-Retain   D-Dispatch

**DISTRIBUTION**

CY To VP	<u>_____</u>	Show CC	<u>_____</u>
CY To Meese	<u>_____</u>	Show CC	<u>_____</u>
CY To Baker	<u>_____</u>	Show CC	<u>_____</u>
CY To Deaver	<u>_____</u>	Show CC	<u>_____</u>
Other	<u>_____</u>		

#### COMMENTS

*Ripes talked to Eagleburger and  
Scanda. They concur. [unclear]  
John: Have Deaver go over this  
since it goes to Pres -  
[unclear]*

# National Security Council The White House

Package # 1176

34 81 88: 57

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	_____	<u>[Signature]</u>	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Jacque Hill	<u>2</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	_____
Judge Clark	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>A</u>
John Poindexter	<u>4</u>	_____	_____
Staff Secretary	_____	_____	_____
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____
I-Information	A-Action	R-Retain	D-Dispatch
	DISTRIBUTION		
CY To VP	_____	<u>7.30</u>	Show CC
CY To Meese	_____	_____	Show CC
CY To Baker	_____	_____	Show CC
CY To Deaver	_____	_____	Show CC
Other	_____		

*[Handwritten notes and signatures]*

*Set up*

*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*

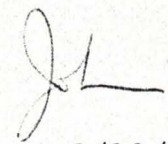
*[Signature]*

1176

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

3/15

Dick Pipes,  
Please get State's  
reaction to your  
proposal.



3/18/82

John Poindexter,  
State concurs.

Talked to Eagleburger  
& Scamman  
VP

Richard Pipes



## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

EVA HAS SEEN

*Disidents 25*SECRET

June 24, 1981

ACTION*Pipes 9/9*

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *RP*

SUBJECT: Solzhenitsyn

I understand that you are meeting this afternoon with Senator Jepson to discuss Sozhenitsyn and that you would like a memorandum from me on this subject. (C)

There are really two Solzhenitsyns.

One is the heroic fighter against Communist oppression and the author of Gulag Archipelago, a work that has had a profoundly salutary effect on Western perceptions of the Soviet Union. This Solzhenitsyn is a heroic figure and a symbol of resistance to Communist oppression. The people who wish the President to receive him in the White House usually are aware only of this side of him: it was only this side of him that was known in 1974 when Solzhenitsyn came to the United States, which is why President Ford's refusal to meet with him rightly evoked such a storm of protests. (C)

The other Solzhenitsyn is a cunning politician who has gradually revealed himself since 1974, a man who sees himself as a future leader of Russia. In this capacity he identifies himself with the most reactionary and nationalistic Russian elements in the Soviet Union and abroad. His followers in emigration, consisting heavily of Nazi collaborators in World War II, glorify the old Russian monarchy. extol General Vlasov, the leader of the pro-Nazi Russian army in World War II, sympathize with Petain and Franco, and, following Solzhenitsyn's lead, on every occasion assail Western values because they hold the West directly responsible for Communism and the suffering it has inflicted on Russia. (S)

Thus, while a meeting with Solzhenitsyn might signal to the world at large a reaffirmation of our anti-Communism (which is hardly necessary in any event), to the Russians it would symbolize U.S. identification with the most conservative, nationalist strain in the Russian opposition at the expense of the pro-Western, liberal, human rights opposition, headed by Sakharov and Orlov. Do we want to make such a commitment? (S)

I have no doubt of the good intentions of Americans who promote a Reagan-Solzhenitsyn meeting. I believe, however, that they are innocent victims of a political ploy initiated by Solzhenitsyn

SECRET

Review June 24, 1987.

DECLASSIFIED  
 NLRR Feb-11/16 #9241  
 BY RW NARA DATE 3/19/13

for his own political purposes, which are not necessarily ours. Not all anti-Communism is good. We should support only that anti-Communism which is carried out in the name of democratic and liberal principles, and it so happens that Solzhenitsyn does not share those in the least -- indeed, he scorns them as much as does any Soviet leader. (S)

RECOMMENDATION

My recommendation would be that the President not meet with Solzhenitsyn but instead, on some suitable occasion, such as a birthday, send him a congratulatory message similar to the one he had recently sent to Sakharov. (S)

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

ROGER W. JEPSEN  
IOWA

February 22, 1982

Mr. William P. Clark  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
The White House Office  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bill:

We had worked with Vice President George Bush and others to bring President Reagan together with Alexandr Solzhenitsyn during CREED's (see enclosure) last Washington meeting on October 28 and 29, 1981. Unfortunately we weren't able to arrange a meeting at that time.

CREED will next meet in Washington on May 26 and 27. Once again there is an opportunity to bring Solzhenitsyn to Washington and arrange a meeting between him and the President.

Solzhenitsyn's public appearances are rare. An appearance with President Reagan is guaranteed worldwide publicity. This publicity, in turn, would help:

- 1) demonstrate to the Soviets and the rest of the world that this Administration has an unfaltering commitment to speak out against human rights violations behind the Iron Curtain. The inevitable contrast between such a meeting and President Ford's refusal to meet Solzenitsyn will prove that things are different under President Reagan.
- 2) emphasize that repression and persecution are an integral part of the Soviet system -- and an integral threat to the values and security of our nation. This is an important message as the Administration seeks to enact a program for stronger defense and renewed commitment to countering Communist aggression.

*files 27*  
*1176*

*no enclosure*

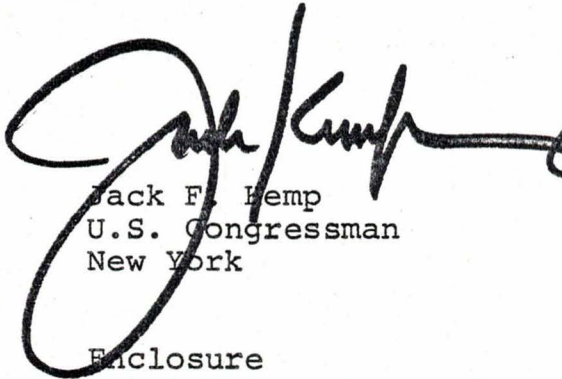
28  
Mr. William P. Clark  
February 22, 1982  
Page 2

Can you help us arrange such a meeting?

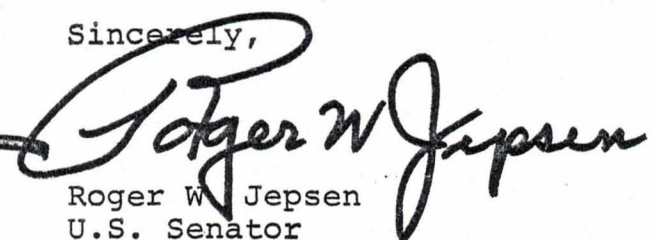
If the President agrees to meet with Solzhenitsyn, or if your staff should want more information, please contact Herman Pirchner of Senator Jepsen's staff at 224-0046.

Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,



Jack F. Kemp  
U.S. Congressman  
New York



Roger W. Jepsen  
U.S. Senator  
Iowa

Enclosure

National Security Council  
The White House

*file Dissident*

Package #

*543*

*21*

SEQUENCE TO      HAS SEEN      ACTION

John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Jacque Hill	_____	_____	_____
Judge Clark	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	<i>1</i>	<i>[Signature]</i>	_____
Staff Secretary	<i>2</i>	_____	<i>A</i>
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____

I-Information    A-Action    R-Retain    D-Dispatch

DISTRIBUTION

cc:    VP      Meese      Baker      Deaver

Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

*Jerry,*  
 There is no word for Sol.  
 Are aware of feeling about him.  
 He is balanced by a large group  
 of other Russian emigres for  
 lunch.    John

April 6, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: JEREMIAH O'LEARY *JOJ*

SUBJECT: Aleksandr Solzenitsyn

NOTED

This is an early warning note for what sounds like a potential flap.

Today I received a call from Alfred Friendly, a former Staff member at the NSC and a Russian expert. He said the word is out that the White House has invited Solzenitsyn to come here on May 11th, possibly to receive some kind of award from the President, perhaps the Freedom Medal.

I know nothing of this, but Friendly says that he is in frequent contact with other Russian dissidents, many of them in this country. These people do not love Mr. Solzenitsyn, according to Friendly, and consider him pro-Soviet and anti-Western.

He suggests that such a ceremony for Solzenitsyn might lead to protests and demonstrations by the other Russian emigrés.

cc: Richard Pipes

RECEIVED 08 APR 82 17

TO CLARK FROM TYSON DOCDATE 07 APR 82  
 PIPES 07 APR 82  
 PIPES 16 APR 82

DECLASSIFIED  
 White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
 By smf NARA, Date 6/27/02

KEYWORDS: AP USSR SOLZHENITSYN, A  
 IMMIGRATION ZARECHNAK, DIMITRI  
 MUROMCEW, CYRIL

SUBJECT: PROPOSED GUEST LIST FOR PRES LUNCHEON 11 MAY W/ ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN  
 & SOVIET IMMIGRANTS & REQUEST FOR INTERPRETERS

lunch

ACTION: FOR DECISION DUE: 28 APR 82 STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION  
 CLARK

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO  
*Pipes*

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID ( N / C )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	- 4/30	Recd. State memo re interpreters		CT, RP

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH FILE \_\_\_\_\_ (C)

2344  
32

8211758



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Washington, D.C. 20520

April 29, 1982

**UNCLASSIFIED**

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Russian Interpreters

The names of the two Russian interpreters who will be present at the President's May 11 luncheon for Soviet emigres at 12:00 noon on Tuesday, May 11 are:

Dimitri Zarechnak  
Cyril Muromcew.

Details concerning where and when they should report would be appreciated, and should be communicated to Thomas W. Simons, Jr. (632-3738) or Richard E. Combs, Jr. (632-1452), EUR/SOV, Room 4217, Department of State 20520.

*L. Paul Bremer, III*  
L. Paul Bremer, III  
Executive Secretary

**UNCLASSIFIED**

RECEIVED 08 APR 82 17

*Disidents*

33

TO CLARK

FROM TYSON

DOCDATE 07 APR 82

PIPES

07 APR 82

PIPES

16 APR 82

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

By smf NARA, Date 6/27/02

KEYWORDS: AP

USSR

SOLZHENITSYN, A

IMMIGRATION

ZARECHNAK, DIMITRI

MUROMCEW, CYRIL

SUBJECT: PROPOSED GUEST LIST FOR PRES LUNCHEON 11 MAY W/ ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN  
& SOVIET IMMIGRANTS & REQUEST FOR INTERPRETERS

ACTION: FOR DECISION

DUE: 06 MAY 82 STATUS X FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CLARK

*Taken care of*

COMMENTS

REF#                      •      LOG 8202942      8203089      NSCIFID                      ( N / )

ACTION OFFICER (S)      ASSIGNED                      ACTION REQUIRED                      DUE                      COPIES TO

*Tyson*      X      *5/3*      *add-on preparation Clark*

*Pipes*                      *4 May*

*NSC/S*      C      *6 May*      *taken care of by #318 per RP*

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH FILE \_\_\_\_\_ (C)

2374 add-on  
MT  
34

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

4/30/82

TO: MUFFIE BRANDON/WILLIAM P. CLARK  
FROM: <sup>FR for</sup> GREGORY J. NEWELL  
SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

PLEASE IMPLEMENT THE FOLLOWING AND NOTIFY AND CLEAR ALL PARTICIPANTS. THE BRIEFING PAPER AND REMARKS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO RICHARD DARMAN BY 3 P.M. OF THE PRECEDING DAY.

MEETING: Lunch with Soviet Immigrants

DATE: May 11, 1982

TIME: 12:15 pm (changed from 12:00 as previously notified)

DURATION: 75 minutes

LOCATION: Residence

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY  
PARTICIPATION:

**REMARKS REQUIRED**

- |                 |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| cc: A. Bakshian | C. Romero         |
| M. Brandon      | B. Shaddix        |
| R. Darman       | L. Speakes        |
| R. DeProspero   | S. Studdert       |
| K. Duberstein   | WHCA Audio/Visual |
| D. Fischer      | WHCA Operations   |
| C. Fuller       | R. Williamson     |
| E. Hickey       | N. Wormser        |
| M. McManus      | A. Wrobleski      |
| E. Rollins      |                   |

2377 200-87  
all  
over  
35

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

4/30/82

TO: WILLIAM P. CLARK  
FROM: <sup>FJR for</sup> GREGORY J. NEWELL  
SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

PLEASE IMPLEMENT THE FOLLOWING AND NOTIFY AND CLEAR ALL PARTICIPANTS. THE BRIEFING PAPER AND REMARKS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO RICHARD DARMAN BY 3 P.M. OF THE PRECEDING DAY.

MEETING: with Alexander Solzhenitsyn

DATE: May 11, 1982

TIME: 12:00 Noon

DURATION: 10 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

REMARKS REQUIRED: To be covered in briefing paper

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY  
PARTICIPATION: No

cc: A. Bakshian  
M. Brandon  
R. Darman  
R. DeProspero  
K. Duberstein  
D. Fischer  
C. Fuller  
E. Hickey  
M. McManus  
E. Rollins  
C. Tyson  
C. Romero  
B. Shaddix  
L. Speakes  
S. Studdert  
WHCA Audio/Visual  
WHCA Operations  
R. Williamson  
N. Wormser  
A. Wrobleski  
M. Wheeler

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 7, 1982

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES P. TYSON

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *R*

SUBJECT: Presidential Lunch, May 11, 1982

Here is the progress report:

I am still waiting to get Solzhenitsyn's telephone number.

As concerns potential additional guests, I would like to suggest the following:

1. Professor Lev Dobriansky of Georgetown University, the head of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.
2. Ed Klein, a New York businessman who has been extremely helpful in assisting Russian dissidents in this country.
3. Robert Bernstein, President, Random House, another American who has been unusually helpful in assisting Soviet intellectuals.
4. M. Rostropovich, Director of the National Symphony.
5. Ambassador Max Kampelman.

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

By *smf* NARA, Date *6/27/02*~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review April 7, 1988.

National Security Council  
The White House

Package # 2344

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	<u>1</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	_____
Bud McFarlane	<u>2</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	_____
Jacque Hill	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	_____
Judge Clark	<u>4</u>	_____	<u>A</u>
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Staff Secretary	_____	_____	_____
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____

I-Information A-Action R-Retain D-Dispatch

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver

Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

[Large Signature]

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 7, 1982

UNCLASSIFIED WITH  
CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: CHARLES P. TYSON *aw*

SUBJECT: The President's Luncheon with Soviet  
Immigrants -- Tuesday, May 11

The President's luncheon with Aleksander Solzhenitsyn and other Soviet immigrants has been approved and is scheduled for Tuesday, May 11, at 12:00 noon.

Jacque has indicated to me that you have an interest in discussing the list of invitees with Maestro Rostropovich of the National Symphony. Attached at Tab A is an approved list of invitees and also a suggested list of invitees who Dick Pipes feels would add substantially to the luncheon.

Because news of this event has leaked to the press, it is important that you review and approve the list as soon as possible. Dick Pipes will then issue the invitations verbally -- to be followed by a formal invitation from Muffie Brandon's office.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the luncheon guest list.

- Approve
- Approve, as amended
- Disapprove

Attachment  
Tab A - Guest List

UNCLASSIFIED WITH  
CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)  
*2/18/05*

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 16, 1982

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES P. TYSON

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *RP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Lunch, Tuesday, May 11, 1982

I would like to suggest a small change in the list of persons invited to the May 11 lunch. I would drop Turchin, because he basically represents the same cause (Helsinki movement) as Chalidze and Alexeeva, and replace him with Ms. Ayshe Seitmuratova. This lady is a Crimean Tatar. She has fought bravely for her people, whom Stalin had deported and who have not been allowed to return to their homeland. Because she is a woman and a Muslim she would add a certain "affirmative action" balance to the list. Her address is [REDACTED]

FOIA(b) (6)

The Helsinki Committee of Congress also called me and urged that Congressman Fascell and Senator Dole be invited inasmuch as they chair the Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe which is directly concerned with the violations of human rights provision of the Helsinki accords. (C)

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
NLS *F06-114/6 #9242*  
By *LS*, NARA, Date *12/3/07*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Review April 16, 1988.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 22, 1982

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES P. TYSON

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *RP*

SUBJECT: Invitees to May 11 Luncheon

Here are seven of the invitees, all notified by phone (see attached). They now should receive formal invitations.

There are three more to await decision on Monday:

1. Mrs. Shcharansky: I talked to someone in her Jerusalem apartment and passed on the message but she has not yet called back: I suppose she needs some kind of an O.K. If she calls on Friday, Fran will let you know.
2. Ms. Seitmuratova and the Orthodox priest: I would feel better if I got more information on both of them which I will do on Monday morning, when I return from Vienna.

Attachment

Partial

List of Persons Invited to Presidential Luncheon - May 11, 1982

Ludmilla ALEXEEVA	293 Benedict Avenue Tarrytown, New York 10591
Valerii CHALIDZE	145 East 92nd Street New York, New York 10028
General Peter GRIGORENKO	4330 - 48th Street, Apartment 4F Long Island New York, New York 11104
Pavel LITVINOV	293 Benedict Avenue Tarrytown, New York 10591
Andrei SINIAVSKII	8, rue Boris Vilde Fontanay-aux-Roses 92260 France
Alexander SOLZHENITSYN	Cavendish, Vermont 05142
Father Georgii VINS	38 Stanton Road P.O. Box 1188 Elkhart, Indiana 49515

*Dissident*  
42

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 26, 1982

INFORMATION

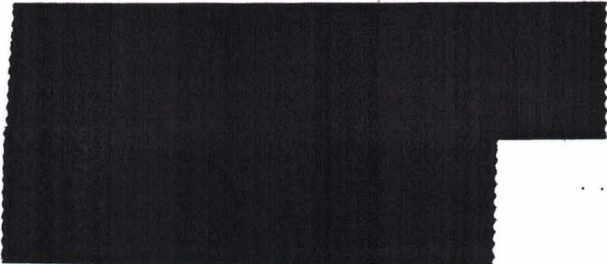
MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES P. TYSON

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *RP*

SUBJECT: May 11 Presidential Lunch

Here are the additional (and final) persons to be invited:

1. Ms Ayshe SEITMURATOVA:



2. Mrs. Avital SHCHARANSKY:

FOIA(b) (6)

I have given up on the Orthodox priest because, in view of the split in the Orthodox Church in this country, to invite the representative of one faction would only infuriate the other. (c)

Thus, we will have nine guests. (c)

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
NLS F06-114/6 #9243  
By LST, NARA, Date 12/13/07

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Review April 26, 1988.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

filed 4/28/42

Paula

Chaliche (212) 860-8823

Litvinov (914) 631-4861

May 11th

12 noon.

Q: Is the President going to meet with Alexander Solzhenitsyn, as recommended by Senator Jepsen and Congressman Kemp?

A: The President has already met with emigre~~s~~s from the Soviet Union, including Mrs. Avital Shcharansky, whose husband is currently the object of Soviet persecution. He is actively considering <sup>an</sup> additional meetings with a wide range of the courageous Soviet <sup>(emigres)</sup> citizens who have defied their government's repression, suffered at the hands of Soviet authorities, and have finally left their homeland.

Background: The President will be hosting a lunch on May 11 for a number of prominent Soviet emigrants. Alexander Solzhenitsyn will be among those invited. The President has decided against an individual meeting with Solzhenitsyn to avoid showing favoritism in the factional disputes among Soviet emigrants in which Solzhenitsyn is heavily involved. The invitations to the guests for the May 11 lunch will be issued in the next few weeks, and when they are issued the lunch will be announced publicly.

34

47

> George Thompson

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Chickie

> 8 Dissidents

- Ed Klein
- Dobricansky

Reagan

✓ May 11

Wade

Pres

Nationalities

- Time -
- Where -

> George Humphrey

Chalidze

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

> 8 District

- For Klein

- Doctor's

London

Griq. - (212) 9784-3676

Si - 661 - 2838

Vins -

Indiana

1957  
1958  
1959

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

4/28

Original 4/28  
returned  
to Mr. Russo  
WH

4/29/82

Spoke to  
her 29 IV 82

RP

file  
Dissidents

April 26, 1982

FOR: RICHARD PIPES  
FROM: PAUL RUSSO *P.R.*  
RE: SOVIET DISSIDENTS LUNCHEON

---

Leslie Dutton from Los Angeles, is interested in the May 11 Soviet Dissidents Event and would very much like to discuss that with you. A copy of her letter is attached. I would appreciate it if you could take the time to talk to her. Her number is 213 477-8231.

Thank you for your assistance.

The Hannaford Company, Inc.  
10960 Wilshire Boulevard  
Suite 422  
Los Angeles, California 90024  
213/477-8231

Public Relations & Public Affairs

49  
April 19, 1982

Mr. Paul Russo  
Special Assistant to the  
President for Political Affairs  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Paul,

It has come to my attention that there will be a dinner at the White House on May 11, 1982 for Soviet dissidents who are now living in the United States. However, it is my understanding that three of the most prominent dissidents from the Baltic countries of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have not yet received an invitation.

I thought perhaps that you would be most interested to know that all three of these gentlemen vigorously supported President Reagan for election in 1980. Their names and addresses with a brief description are below:

SIMAS KUDIRKA - Lithuanian sailor who jumped off a Soviet trawler off the coast of Martha's Vineyard asking for asylum in 1972. A television movie on his life featured Alan Arkin as Simas. (341 Highland Boulevard, Brooklyn, New York 11207).

VLADAS SAKALYS - A copy of a Christian Science Monitor article about Vladas' escape from Soviet-occupied Lithuania in 1980 is attached herewith. (341 Highland Boulevard, New York, 11207).

PAUL BRUVERS - Living in the United States with his wife on a student visa while studying for the Baptist Theological School. Paul was convicted and sentenced to prison and hard labor camps for conducting a public opinion survey in Riga, Latvia. (See article "Flight to Freedom", BALTIC BULLETIN, February-March 1981 attached. His address is 275 N Oakland Avenue #8, Pasadena, California). He is thirty years old.

These three dynamic young men have told quite a story about life behind the Iron Curtain and why they chose to leave their homelands. Certainly, they should be included in a group of distinguished Soviet dissidents.

Very best regards,

*Leslie*

Leslie Dutton  
Account Executive

Enclosures  
LD/mg

Thirty-four-year-old Olafs Brūvers has never known a free and independent Latvia because his homeland was forcibly invaded and occupied by the Soviet Union eight years before his birth. Yet Olafs Brūvers and his brother Pavil had the audacity to openly question the Soviet system, attempting to conduct the Baltic nation's first public opinion poll. As a result, Brūvers spent six-and-a-half months in a labor camp for "slandering the Soviet Union."

The public opinion poll was one page long, each copy individually typed. Brūvers said that since private printing equipment is not permitted by the Communist government, he and his brother had to spend nearly three-and-a-half months preparing the forms before they could start the opinion poll.

In Riga, where the poll was conducted, a majority of the population is Russian because of Soviet mass deportations of Latvians to Siberia. The Brūvers brothers asked Russians and Latvians alike to answer the questions. Where did the workers like to spend

their holidays? How did they like their work? What radio programs did they appreciate most?

Seventy-five percent of the 236 people polled, Russian as well as Latvian opposed unpaid overtime work required by the government on Saturdays, indicated that they played the state-required lottery in order to *win* and not to support the state, also, if given the chance would vacation in western countries.

Brūvers and his brother were arrested and the opinion polls were confiscated by the KGB in 1977. After completing a six-and-a-half month sentence in a labor camp, the entire Brūvers family was harrassed until eventually a one-month hunger strike by family members prompted Soviet authorities to allow them to leave the country for West Germany.

Brūvers and his wife have been granted political asylum in West Germany but are living temporarily in Los Angeles, California while he is attending a theological seminary on a student visa.



*Olaf Brūvers, a well-known Latvian dissident, is urging support for the Baltic-American Freedom League program.*

In June 1982, Brūvers' visa will expire. Until then, however, he is available to show a 25-minute 8mm sound film of labor camps in Latvia. He helped to smuggle the film out of his country in 1975, while active in the Latvian independence movement. Brūvers wants Americans to see this rare glimpse of life behind the Iron Curtain. ▲

*For information regarding an interview with Olafs Brūvers or for viewing the film, please contact: The Hannaford Company, Suite 422, 10960 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90024, Mrs. Leslie C. Dutton (telephone 213/477-8231).*

# We talked back to the KGB

By Daniel Southerland

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

You have to wonder which demanded the most courage from this tough Lithuanian patriot.

Living through the 15 years in forced labor camps?

Standing up to his secret police interrogators?

Or making his final escape?

Walking, running, crawling, swimming — it took Vladas Sakalya 20 days to cover the 373 miles to freedom. The most dangerous part was crossing the heavily patrolled Soviet border, with its guards, dogs, electrified fence, barbed wire, and a lake.

In some ways, the men of the KGB, the Soviet State Security Committee, must be happy to be rid of Vladas Sakalya. Resistance is written all over his Nordic features. Don't push me around. Don't try to be nice to me. Either way, there will be no compromise. That is what the piercing blue eyes, the compact body, and the no-nonsense look seem to say.

When he decided to escape from the Soviet Union, Sakalya was with his family. It was in May of this year, and he was enjoying a respite from prisons and forced-labor camps. But when the authorities threatened to throw him — for the fourth time — into such a camp, he decided that it would be too much of a burden, not just for himself but also for his wife and two young children.

He had been interrogated by the KGB about the signing and dissemination of petitions protesting the Soviet occupation of Lithuania, and suspected the secret police were following him. He dodged the policemen, went underground, and a month later left Lithuania on his journey to freedom.

Sakalya was carrying a map from an atlas which didn't even warn him that he would have to cross a lake. All it really told him was that he would have to head north toward the northwestern tip of the Soviet Union and then west. If the guards, and the dogs, and the fence didn't get him, he would reach Finland.

Vladas Sakalya (it is pronounced "Shahkahlees") looks a bit out of place in Washington, D.C. It has been more than four months since he crossed the Soviet border into Finland, leaving behind him his family and a life of interrogations and labor camps. But he looks as though someone had just fished him out of one of those cold northern lakes, dried him off, and given him the first suit they could find.

It is a dark blue suit with white pinstripes which Sakalya is wearing, and the trousers appear to be about a size too small. The collar of his white shirt is crooked. He knows that to talk to people in the West, these are the clothes he must wear. But you can tell from the way he wears them that he is not used to such things and doesn't much care about them. Of overriding importance to him are the comrades he left behind to carry

Sakalya is impressed with the affluence which he has seen in the two months which he has spent in the United States. He had expected the standard of living to be high, but the reality surpasses his expectations.

He is to be granted political asylum here and one day may seek citizenship. But he looks like a man searching for Americans who are as tough as he is and not finding them. He does not think that the West has the good sense or the will to resist Soviet aggression. He thinks the Soviets will invade Poland.

"The Soviets will come to Poland," he says matter-of-factly, arguing that no matter how limited the independence which the Polish workers have achieved, the Soviets see that independence as undermining their system.

"In Lithuania, everyone is waiting to see how it will end in Poland," he says.

He predicts that the Polish workers will resist the invasion but that the Soviets will crush them.

And what will the West do?

"The West will not move even a little finger," he says.

To many people in the West, Lithuania is nothing more than a vague memory — one of those small lands which the Russians swallowed after World War II. But to Vladas Sakalya, Lithuania lives. It is a culture, a language, a religion — and a will to resist.

Located on the western side of the Soviet Union with borders on Poland and the Baltic Sea, Lithuania is about the size of Belgium and Holland combined. More than three-quarters of its population of 3.4 million is estimated to be Roman Catholic.

The church says that virtually no religious literature has been openly published since 1945. But Lithuania is rich in underground literature of all sorts.

In 1960, people in the seaport city of Klaipeda built a church with their own hands and at their own expense. But despite the official permission originally granted for building this church, the local authorities later began to raise objections and impose requirements. They seized the church, tore down the steeple, and converted the church into a concert hall.

Soon the people were fighting to get it back. Over the years a remarkable thing happened. The protesters prepared a petition and in 1979 sent it to Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev. It was signed by an extraordinary number of people — 143,000 of them — a number unheard of for protest petitions submitted to the Soviet leadership.

Given such widespread resistance, men and women like Vladas Sakalya do not consider themselves "dissidents," as they are known in the West. They consider themselves Lithuanian patriots trying to get the Soviet authorities to live up to the rights supposedly guaranteed by the Soviet constitution and legal codes.

Vladas Sakalya does not have an advanced education in the usual sense. After completing primary and secondary school, he spent so much time in jails and labor camps that there was little opportunity for formal training. But through home study and on-the-job training he did learn about the fabrication and repair of eyeglass lenses and became a licensed optician. In addition to speaking Lithuanian, he has learned to speak Russian, Polish, and Latvian, and has a rudimentary knowledge of English and German.

Most important for his work in the human rights field, he has learned the Soviet laws. You might call him a labor camp lawyer.

Sakalya has never known anything but resistance. He was born during the war and Nazi occupation. He grew up witnessing a guerrilla movement against the Soviets. To crush the resistance, the Soviets deported several hundred thousand Lithuanians. Sakalya's wife was born of deportee parents in Siberia; his uncle was a guerrilla whom the Soviets executed.

But his was a divided family. Sakalya's father — he never speaks of his father — was a Communist official. His father abandoned his mother, and he has disowned his father.

Sakalya's first encounter with the secret police came in 1955, when, at the age of 13, he was arrested for putting up a poster demanding "Russians, get out of Lithuania!" The police beat him, questioned him for three days, and finally turned him over to school authorities for further punishment.

His first imprisonment did not come until six years later. In 1961, he was sentenced to six years in jails and forced-labor camp for "disseminating slander" against the Soviet government and for membership in anti-Soviet underground organizations. That was followed in 1971 by four more years in jails and labor camps. His last sentence was for five years, and he was released from his last labor camp term on May 1, 1978.

On May 30 of this year, Sakalya was arrested for interrogation about the signing of petitions against the Soviet occupation of Lithuania, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and Soviet violations of human rights.