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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection:** Matlock, Jack F.: Files

**Archivist:** smf

**File Folder:** Matlock Chron April 1984 (4) *Box 90887 H*

**Date:** 5/30/97

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE     | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                                                                                                | DATE               | RESTRICTION   |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| <del>1. memo (2653)</del> | <del>Jack Matlock to Robert McFarlane re Meeting of President with Russian Emigre Writers (1 p.)</del> <i>R 11/17/99 NLSF95-074 #62</i>      | <del>4/2/84</del>  | <del>P1</del> |
| <del>2. memo (2643)</del> | <del>Jack Matlock to Robert McFarlane re Meeting of US-USSR Trade and Economic Council (2 pp.)</del> <i>R 11/17/99 NLSF95-074 #63</i>        | <del>4/2/84</del>  | <del>P1</del> |
| <del>3. memo (0897)</del> | <del>Jack Matlock to Robert McFarlane re Green Pearce "Peace Initiative" (1 p.)</del> <i>R 11/17/99 NLSF95-074 #64</i>                       | <del>4/2/84</del>  | <del>P1</del> |
| <del>4. memo (0897)</del> | <del>Robert McFarlane to the President re "Peace Initiative" by Tom Green and Terry Pearce (2 pp.)</del> <i>R 11/17/99 NLSF95-074 #65</i>    | <del>n.d.</del>    | <del>P1</del> |
| <del>5. memo (0897)</del> | <del>Robert McFarlane to the President re "Peace Initiative" by Tom Green and Terry Pearce (2 pp.)</del> <i>R 11/17/99 NLSF95-074 #66</i>    | <del>2/6/84</del>  | <del>P1</del> |
| <del>6. memo (0897)</del> | <del>Jack Matlock to Robert McFarlane re Green Pearce Initiative (1 p.)</del> <i>R 11/17/99 NLSF95-074 #67</i>                               | <del>2/3/84</del>  | <del>P1</del> |
| <del>7. memo (0897)</del> | <del>Robert McFarlane to Jack Matlock re Green Pearce Initiative (1 p.)</del> <i>R 11/17/99 NLSF95-074 #68</i>                               | <del>2/2/84</del>  | <del>P1</del> |
| <del>8. memo (0897)</del> | <del>Jack Matlock to Robert McFarlane re "Peace Initiative" Idea by Tom Green and Terry Pearce (1 p.)</del> <i>R 11/17/99 NLSF95-074 #69</i> | <del>1/31/84</del> | <del>P1</del> |
| <del>9. memo (2653)</del> | <del>duplicate of document #1 w/o rem initial (1 p.)</del> <i>R 11/17/99 NLSF95-074 #70</i>                                                  | <del>4/2/84</del>  | <del>P1</del> |

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

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

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

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

## MEMORANDUM

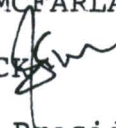
## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 2, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK 

SUBJECT: Meeting of President with Russian Emigre Writers

Mike Deaver has requested your opinion regarding the possibility of the President meeting with three Russian emigre writers living in the United States, Vasili Aksyonov, Sergei Dovlatov and Yuz Aleshkovsky.

I believe that the President would find it very interesting to hear the views of these writers on some of the questions he has been discussing with other recent visitors, particularly those relating to Russian and Soviet psychology and the role of Communist ideology in regime thinking.

If he has a meeting with emigre writers, however, I believe it should include some from genres other than the novel (Josef Brodsky, for example, is one of the finest Russian poets writing today). We should also give some thought to the orientation of members of the group as regards other Russian emigres. It would be unfortunate to be seen favoring one faction over another. Of the three writers mentioned in the Times article, I know only Aksyonov personally. He is a brilliant writer who is an excellent conversationalist.

In sum, if you think the President would be interested, I would recommend that we draw up a list of not more than five Russian emigre writers and invite them to a meeting or a private lunch. Some of them do not speak English well, so an interpreter will probably be necessary.

Walt Raymond concurs.

Recommendation:

That I discreetly consult some persons knowledgeable about the Russian emigre cultural scene (including Suzanne Massie), and develop a list of about five emigre writers to be invited to a meeting or lunch with the President.

Approve 

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment:

Tab I - Memo from Deaver's office and New York Times article~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLS E95-074#62

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 27, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK MATLOCK

FROM: WALT RAYMOND *WR*  
SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with Russian Emigre Writers

I have reflected on this question. If the basic purpose is to give the President a genuine opportunity to have an exchange of views with Russians who have comparatively recently left the Soviet Union I would propose two alternative approaches.

-- A lunch with Mr. & Mrs. Solzhenitzn. As you know there was some bruised feelings when the earlier White House invitation aborted. Judgement may be made that no further invitation should be extended. Nevertheless, Solzhenitzn is the best writer and possibly the most insightful person. He will not come to a group meeting but his qualities are such that he does indeed stand alone. The only other person who could participate is Mstislav Rostropovich. ✓

-- A group of exiled writers/intellectuals that I would recommend include the following:

Aksyonov  
Neivestny  
Brodsky  
Lev Kopelev  
Rostropovich  
Nekrich  
Alex Godunov  
Pavel Litvinov

A brief comment about this group. I think the first five would give you good balance. Kopelev is ✕ more liberal, Rostropovich is a Russian nationalist, the others are centrists. If you wanted to substitute one of the above Nekrich is a good historian who divides his time between Paris and Cambridge. Godunov is an articulate ballet dancer and Pavel Litvinov is a very impressive representative of the democratic movement. The problem with Litvinov is that he also came to the first luncheon. He is the only one who did, but that probably disqualifies him. ✓

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 2, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

JACK MATLOCK *JW*

SUBJECT:

Meeting of U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council

Bill Verity, Co-Chairman of the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council, has written you with five requests in connection with the meeting of the Council in New York, which is scheduled for May 21-25. His specific requests are the following:

1. That the President send a message to the Council;
2. That the President receive Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Sushkov, the Soviet co-chairman;
3. That Deputy Prime Minister Baibakov (Chairman of the State Planning Commission) be received at the White House if Verity's group should invite him to visit the United States;
4. That Aeroflot flights be resumed before May 20; and
5. That the President receive Verity before the meeting.

Discussion:

1. Presidential message: I see no objection to this, provided it is carefully worded. (We can coordinate language with State and Commerce, if it is decided to send one.)
2. Sushkov call on President: I believe that this would be inappropriate, given Sushkov's relatively low rank and my feeling that we should not be emphasizing the trade relationship at a time when the Soviets are resisting our overtures to negotiate matters of greater importance. In the past, when the President has received Soviet participants in the meeting of the council, relations were better and the Soviet group was headed by Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev.

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3. Baibakov call at White House: It would be more appropriate for the President to receive Baibakov than Sushkov, but even here I suspect that the gesture could be misinterpreted. I would see no problem in the Vice President receiving him, however, and would suggest that Verity be told that if Baibakov comes, we would attempt to arrange an appointment with either the President or the Vice President.

4. Aeroflot Service: This, I believe, is out of the question. The sanction was initially applied because of Poland, and reaffirmed after the KAL shoot-down. The balance of benefits favors the Soviets, and the privilege should be restored only when some progress is manifest in the areas which stimulated the sanction, or until the Soviets are willing to make a concession in an area of interest to us.

5. Verity meeting with President: I have no objection to such a meeting, but given the constraints on the President's time, would recommend a non-committal reply at this point.

I have drafted a reply for you to send Verity (Tab I), which incorporates these recommendations on the five points.

DM  
Doug McMinn concurs.

Recommendation:

That you sign the letter at TAB I.

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

Attachments:

Tab I - Letter to Verity for signature  
Tab II - Verity-McFarlane Letter of March 27, 1984

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bill:

Thank you very much for filling me in on your recent trip and sharing with me your plans for the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council.

I also appreciate your letter of March 27, which sought guidance on several questions related to your meeting in New York in May. I believe that the President will be pleased to send a message to the Council, and will recommend that he do so. I do not believe his schedule at that time will permit him to receive Deputy Minister Sushkov, however. As for Deputy Prime Minister Baibakov, it is difficult to make a commitment without knowing when he might come, but I would try to arrange a meeting either with the President or with the Vice President if Mr. Baibakov should accept your invitation to visit the United States.

Regarding Aeroflot flights, I doubt that it will be possible to lift the sanction on regular service before your meeting May 20. Sanctions were imposed following the declaration of martial law in Poland, and reaffirmed after the Soviets shot down the Korean airliner and refused to accept responsibility or to pay compensation. In the absence of progress in changing the conditions which caused us to apply the sanctions, and of a general improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations -- which the Soviet Government seems to be resisting at this time -- a reversal of the sanctions on Aeroflot service does not seem realistic.

I know the President would like to make time to see you sometime in the near future, but, with his trip to China coming up, his calendar is extremely tight. We will certainly bear your interest in mind, and if a possibility should arise, I'll let you know.

You have my best wishes for a successful meeting in New York, and I hope that my thoughts on the topics you raised will assist you in making plans for the meeting.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Mr. C. William Verity, Jr.  
Chairman, Executive Committee  
Armco Corporate Offices  
703 Curtis Street  
Middletown, Ohio 45043

March 30, 1984

**URGENT**

RCM:

Bill Verity called with the following questions

1. Will you prepare a letter from the President to the Trade Council in which the President will say the work of the Council has been very helpful in restoring trade between our two countries?
2. Will the President receive Vice Minister Sushkov, who is co-chairman of the trade council in US on May 21-25?
3. Could we invite Deputy Prime Minister Baibikhov to the United States? If we did, it would mean he would have to be received at the White House.
4. What is the possibility of Aeroflot flights between New York and Moscow being resumed before May 20?

Kay

3/29

Do you want Amb Matlock to prepare  
a response for your signature to  
Bill Verity?

☒ Yes

☐ No

Wilma

2643  
897  
Beane  
initialed



MAR 29 1984

ARMCO CORPORATE OFFICES

C. WILLIAM VERITY, JR.  
Chairman, Executive Committee  
Board of Directors

March 27, 1984

The Honorable Robert C. McFarlane  
National Security Advisor to the President  
The White House  
Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Mr. McFarlane:

I thoroughly enjoyed our visit last Thursday and appreciate so much you taking the time to visit with me and to bring me up-to-date on our present positions vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

I talked to Tom Green and Terry Pearce over the weekend and we are making arrangements to see Ambassador Dobrynin during the first week of April. We shall keep you advised of the results of that meeting.

I am also happy that I had a chance to share with you some of the high points of my meeting in Moscow with Prime Minister Tikhonov, as well as meetings with Deputy Prime Minister Nikolai Baibakov and Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev. There is no question in my mind that the Soviets are anxious to move forward in the normalization of relationships, but they want President Reagan to provide some signals that he is desirous of moving forward and that he does understand the Soviets' reluctance to make the first move.

I do believe that the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council meeting in New York on May 22-24 might provide a good vehicle for communication with the Soviets.

As I explained to you, the Trade Council is considered by high Soviet officials to be a very important organization. At the meeting in May, we will have not only a meeting of members but, also, the Directors and the Executive Committee, which is composed of Soviet Ministers, including Alkhimov, Chairman of Gosbank.

As agreed, I will check with you early this week on specific questions I asked of you -- namely, would the President send a message of support for the work of the Council and a message for our May meeting which would indicate that he hopes progress is made in ways to facilitate trade between our two countries?



The Honorable Robert C. McFarlane

Page 2

March 27, 1984

Also, would the President receive Vladimir Sushkov, Chairman of the Soviet side of the Council? Mr. Sushkov and I are Co-Chairmen -- one from the American side and one from the Soviet side. Mr. Sushkov would be available on May 21, 22, 23 or 24.

Is it possible for us to invite Nicholai Baibakov, Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union and Chairman of Gosplan, to the United States? We would make all the necessary arrangements for his visit, but it would not be appropriate to invite him unless we knew that he would be received at the White House.

Nicholai Baibakov is one of the most revered men in the Soviet Union because of the important position he has held for many years as Chairman of Gosplan.

And, lastly, if it is possible to reestablish the Aeroflot flights between New York and Moscow by May 22, this would be most helpful in making a significant signal to the Soviet Union.

If you were to let me know that this might be possible, I would communicate with Vladimir Sushkov and tell him that this is being done because of his request and, as a means of facilitating attendance by the Soviets at the meeting May 22-24. I can assure you this would be a most significant signal to the Soviets.

I am most anxious to be of help to you and to the President in any matter regarding our relationships with the Soviet Union. I do believe our Council might be helpful in creating a dialogue.

Also, I am hopeful that I will have a chance to spend about ten minutes with the President at which time I could give him my feelings about the current situation with the Soviet Union, and some other suggestions on possible signals to them.

Sincerely,

CWV:cee



## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 2, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *JS*  
SUBJECT: Green-Pearce "Peace Initiative"

Tom Green and Terry Pearce have sent the President another letter asking whether the President would be interested in pursuing the idea, as a private initiative, another step if the others (Deng and Chernenko) are interested.

I recommend that the President reply to the letter making it clear that he could not consider the initiative until we have made some progress on concrete issues.

Recommendation:

That you sign the memorandum to the President at TAB I, which includes the wording you suggested in your note of March 29.

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

## Attachments:

- Tab I - Memorandum to the President
- Tab A - Letter from the President
- Tab B - Letter from the President to Green and Pearce of February 7
- Tab II - Previous memoranda on the subject

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NLS F95-074 #64BY Smf NARA, DATE 11/17/99

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SUBJECT: "Peace Initiative" by Tom Green and Terry Pearce

Issue

Whether to give encouragement to a "peace initiative" by businessmen Tom Green and Terry Pearce.

Facts

Friends of Albert Schwabacher, Tom Green and Terry Pearce, sent you a proposal in January for a private appeal to Deng Xiaoping, Andropov and yourself to issue a statement that you commit your countries to the elimination of war within ten years. You replied to their letter on February 8 applauding their commitment to peace but explaining that such an initiative could be interpreted at this time as an empty political gesture. Green and Pearce have written again (TAB B) asking whether you could endorse the step if Deng and Chernenko show responsiveness to their private efforts.

Discussion

I continue to believe that we should not encourage this well-meaning but misguided effort. We need to concentrate both public and Soviet attention on the need for concrete steps to lower tensions, rather than adding to grand-sounding but impractical proposals of the sort the Soviets are fond of floating in order to deflect attention from their intransigence in solving real problems.

Recommendation

That you sign the letter at TAB A, which explains why you are unable to endorse their idea at this time and provides guidance for any future contacts they may make with other governments.

OKNo~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NLS F95-074 #65

BY Amf NARA, DATE 11/17/99

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

Attachments:

Tab A - Letter to Tom Green and Terry Pearce for signature  
Tab B - Letter of February 7 to Green and Pearce

Prepared by:  
Jack Matlock

cc: Vice President

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Tom and Terry:

Thank you for your letter of February 29, recounting your recent efforts in regard to your peace initiative.

As I wrote you on February 7, you are certainly to be commended for your tireless and imaginative work on the problem of eliminating war between nations.

I have been attempting for some time to put our relations on a more positive track with the Soviet Union by discussing a wide range of concrete steps which we both could take to diminish the threat of war. As I wrote you before, I believe that some of these steps must be achieved before a proposal such as yours could be realistically considered.

Up to now, unfortunately, the Soviets have not been cooperative in addressing most of the problems between us. Therefore, we must persevere in our efforts to concentrate attention on these concrete issues.

For this reason, I believe it is still premature to consider a general initiative of the sort you are proposing. Since it is important that other governments not misunderstand our position, you should make it clear in any future activities that the United States Government did not solicit your proposal and does not sponsor it. The United States Government is of course sympathetic to the purposes of the plan and its content.

I hope that, if our current efforts bear fruit, conditions will change sufficiently to make your plan a practical possibility.

Sincerely,

Mr. B. Tom Green  
Mr. N. Terry Pearce  
2349 Spanish Trail  
Tiburon, California 94920

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 7, 1984

Dear Tom and Terry:

Thank you for calling to my attention your proposal entitled "Taking the Essential Step Now to End War between Nations in Our Lifetime."

I think you are to be commended for the imagination and hard work which went into developing this proposal. I know that it required considerable personal sacrifice on your part and I admire your faith in the possibility of reaching out to the humane instincts which God has given every human being.

But in considering your proposal, I must give careful thought to how Chairman Andropov is likely to interpret it. The fact is that when I called for an expansion of our dialogue in an effort to solve problems between us, the Soviets charged me with political grandstanding and ill intentions. Now, I'm not going to give up on my effort to engage the Soviets in an intensive problem-solving dialogue. That effort is going forward, and I hope it will bring some concrete results soon. I fear that if I endorse your proposal at this time, the Soviets would interpret it as a ruse, to get off our problem-solving agenda. I know that this is not your intent, but feel that the Soviets are likely to view it that way.

Tom and Terry, your selfless efforts to promote peace provide another wonderful example of what I have always said makes America great: the dedication of our people to contribute their time and talents to making the world a better place. I

hope that the time will soon come when proposals such as yours can be accepted by our adversaries in the true spirit in which they are offered. It is my goal to bring us to that point.

Thank you again for sharing your idea with me.

Sincerely,

*Ronald Reagan*

Mr. B. Tom Green  
Mr. N. Terry Pearce  
2349 Spanish Trail  
Tiburon, California 94920

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REF ID: A6897  
Add-on

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 6, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE *RCM*  
SUBJECT: "Peace Initiative" by Tom Green and Terry Pearce

Issue

Whether to give encouragement to a "peace initiative" by businessmen Tom Green and Terry Pearce.

Facts

Friends of Albert Schwabacher, Tom Green and Terry Pearce, have sent you a proposal (TAB B) for a private appeal to Deng Xiaoping, Yuri Andropov and yourself to issue a statement simultaneously that you commit your respective countries to the elimination of war between countries within ten years. They have sent the suggestion to Deng by a private emissary and would like your approval to send it to Andropov with your backing.

Discussion

This is an innocent, well-meaning, but unfortunately misguided effort. The Soviets have already accused you of making general suggestions for peace purely for political effect. They would interpret a proposal such as this in that light, and it could undermine our efforts to get them on a concrete negotiating track which deals with the hard specifics necessary to reduce tensions. Furthermore, it would tend to legitimate their practice of floating grand-sounding proposals such as non-use-of-force pacts, nuclear freezes and the like which are dangerous because they would constrain our deterrent while the Soviets ignore them in practice.

RECOMMENDATION:

I recommend that you sign the letter at TAB A, which explains to Messrs. Green and Pearce why the overture they suggest could be misunderstood by the Soviets at this time and thus have the opposite effect of that intended.

OK                      No

—                              —

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BY AMJ NARA, DATE 11/17/89

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Attachments:

|       |                                        |
|-------|----------------------------------------|
| Tab A | Letter to Tom Green and Terry Pearce   |
| Tab B | Proposal by Tom Green and Terry Pearce |

Prepared by:  
Jack Matlock

cc: Vice President

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DRAFT

TAKING THE ESSENTIAL STEP NOW TO END WAR BETWEEN NATIONS IN OUR LIFETIME

JANUARY 1984

TO: President Yuri Andropov  
Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping  
President Ronald Reagan

This message is being privately presented to each of you by individuals you know and trust, who represent only themselves. The idea carried is merely a new form of one which is already yours. It is to take an essential step, now, which will make possible, in our lifetime, a shared goal: the end of war between nations. It is the power of history, and the contributions of millions before you, which have created the unique conditions which now allow you to play this significant role in human history. This week, the idea is being offered to all three of you through similar informal channels:

- To Deng Xiaoping -
- To Ronald Reagan - (names deleted for the Progress Report)
- To Yuri Andropov -

PROLOGUE

Throughout history and in virtually every country of the world, shifts have occurred in the attitude of the populace which appear to have been sudden, and which precipitated the taking of action to bring about a fundamental and monumental change in the direction of cultures. These sudden shifts were brought about by some dramatic, catalytic action which merely confirmed that which was already wanted could be. These dramatic actions changed what appeared to be a "dream" into an attainable, practical goal to be achieved. The many problems were then addressed and solved to bring about the previously only dreamed-about results. This is a plan to evoke such a shift in attitude on a global scale.

GOAL

To create a global political climate in early 1984 which, for the first time in history, actually supports and facilitates achieving the monumental challenge of ending war between nations in our lifetime.

This climate of possibility will be created through an effectively implemented dramatic, catalytic action which focuses the worlds' commitment on this goal. A measurement of the goal's achievement will be a working, non-violent process of conflict resolution.

SCOPE

The plan is to create the necessary climate of commitment to the goal. Implementation will not require you or any leader or any country to change a position, nor does this plan address solutions to the many complex problems which will need resolution before the end of war and the threat of war as an instrument of national policy can be accomplished. The plan will be effective in focusing all such efforts, for the first time, so the result will be accomplished - the establishment of a continuing process of practical peace - in our lifetime.

## BASIS

For all things done, at least three elements are present in sequence:

- The result is wanted. (Will)
- The result is seen as really possible. (Commitment is made.)
- Actions are taken to produce it.

If will is assumed, then the achievement of a goal depends on it being seen as possible in a way that spurs action to accomplish the result. The difference between dreams that are merely dreamt and goals that are actually realized is the commitment, expressed strongly enough to evoke possibility, which brings reality to the result.

Much of the world population now wants to end war as an instrument of national policy, and much action is being taken to bring it about. The goal is not reached because the world does not see the whole, the result of the end of war between nations, as a real possibility. Accordingly, nations are working on the parts: disarmament, the Middle East, Central America, containment, detente trade, cultural and scientific exchanges, - as one would work on a jigsaw puzzle with one critical element missing: the boxtop. The boxtop for this puzzle is the whole: the goal of finding a way to end war and the threat of war as instruments of national policy. It is a goal shared by much of the world and one we can now commit to achieving by some time in the foreseeable future.

Possibility can be evoked by someone with the perceived power to produce the result declaring the possibility, stating the commitment, and thereby enrolling others totally in the result. In a family, such goals are often set by parents, in business by the chairman, and for nations by the body or individual with the power in the proper domain. Various bodies in each of your countries literally declare social change, and Heads of State literally declare war. In these examples, such declaration evokes possibility in a way that spurs action. Agreement by everyone isn't necessary, and in fact action opposing the result is often brought forth by such declaration. The result is seen as possible by all, whether they agree with the result or not.

## HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS

- The Reformation
- The end of slavery in the United States
- India's independence from Great Britain
- Egypt - Israeli "peace"
- America's Man-on-the-Moon
- American/Chinese normalization

In all of these cases, the declarer, the one who recognized and stated the real possibility, changed the "dream" to a goal, expressed a commitment to achieve it, and is recognized as the significant participant, even though all of the complex problems remained to be solved. Those credited with the cited events are clearly Luther, Lincoln, Ghandi, Sadat, Kennedy and Nixon/Mao. Others who followed did the work inside of the commitment and brought about the result.

We assert that the primary distinction between these examples and the end of war between nations is one of scale. There has not been a worldwide goal in the history of the planet, yet the basis for accomplishment, the principles, are the same. What catalytic action now could create a similar climate of real possibility for the ending of war as an instrument of national policy?

#### THE PLAN

A new global climate can be established by a joint televised declaration by the three of you: President Reagan, President Andropov and Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping stating your commitment, and your countries' commitment, to the goal of ending war between nations by a definite time. This commitment will be to have in place, and working, a non-violent process of conflict resolution between nations, by a specific time in the foreseeable future, perhaps within ten years.

The commitment will be dramatically stated, simultaneously, to the people of your individual countries, and then directly by you to each other's countries and to the world, via international media. Such a joint declaration by you, who have the perceived power to make it so, will be the catalytic action which will create the necessary climate to allow the work going on to actually bring about the result.

The declaration will not require you or any leader to change his position on the method of bringing about the result and will create the atmosphere, overnight, for constructive discussion and re-evaluation of those positions in light of the fresh, time-specific commitment to the now-transcendent common interest: finding a way to end war between nations in our lifetime.

The declaration will include an invitation by you to the rest of the world to join in the commitment, and will be immediately followed that same day by announcements by each leader of a package of feasible unilateral actions, no matter how small. These actions will be initiated to demonstrate each nation's commitment to the goal, and to accelerate the process of bringing about the desired result. The actions will grow in number and significance until the result, a process of real peace, is achieved.

## RISKS

If the time is not right, the shift in global attitude will not occur, and the world will continue on its present course. You will only receive credit for trying. If the time is right, and the shift occurs, your nations, and all nations, now supported by the world's commitment, will not just address but will solve the real and complicated challenges to achieving the goal. You and your three nations will have facilitated a magnificent step in human history. The risk of the present course is great. The risk of the declaration is minimal.

## DISTINCTIONS

Other "agreements" regarding ending war have been made in the past, all have served and all have been insufficient, including the commitment in the U.N. Charter. There are differences in this idea:

1. THE-TIME-IN-HISTORY. The result is truly wanted by a critical mass of the world's people. This result is now deeply desired, and is greatly strengthened by the awareness of the real and growing threat of human extinction.
2. THOSE COMMITTING. You, the leaders of the three most powerful countries, collectively, have the perceived power to take the actions necessary to realize this first formal global goal.
3. THE FORMAT Making for the first time a joint, time-specific commitment directly to the others' countries, and to the world, is dramatic and evoking. The first-time use of this form of world-wide television makes attention of the world possible.
4. THE CONTENT Past declarations of commitment to end war have all had provisions of exception. This one commits only to achieving the goal, the end of war as an instrument of national policy by a definite date. The umbrella of common interest is broad, with the end being measurable: an effective, non-violent process of conflict resolution, in place and working by a specific time.

## FORMAT-DETAILS

No summit meeting is required. Each of you will first address your nation, stating your commitment, and then directly address, via media, the other two countries, stating the same commitment. Each declaration contains common elements:

- The commitment of you and your country to the goal: to end war between nations by a specific time agreed to in advance, perhaps within ten years, and to have in place and working, a non-violent process of conflict resolution between nations by that specific time.
- An invitation to the rest of the world to join in the commitment.
- A statement that within the next 24 hours, at a specific time, actions will be announced by each of you to demonstrate your commitment to finding a way to achieve this historic goal. These will be unilateral, and as substantive as possible; however, the presence of action is more significant than the substance.

## CONCLUSION

The declaration is simple, safe and serves your personal interest. No positions need be changed by this dramatic statement.

The statement of the goal by you, who have the perceived power to accomplish it will create the necessary climate by making the goal real and achievable to the world, and the specific date set for its achievement will allow for safe transition to the now-realizable condition of a world in which war between nations is unacceptable.

The emissaries bringing this thought support you in playing a pivotal role as one of three who can actually state this commitment for the world. History has brought you this opportunity. The world will commit to the goal sometime. If you wish, you can take this initiative now to create the historical turning point which will allow the goal's achievement in your family's lifetime.

The substance of The Declaration of Commitment will be your joint statement:

"I hereby commit (my country) to the goal of ending war between nations within ten years, and invite the world to join in this commitment. I will announce (within 24 hours) unilateral actions to demonstrate our intention."

#### NEXT STEPS

Within one week, your initial reactions, delivered to the individual presenting this will be exchanged with the private emissaries to the other leaders. You will each be informed of the others' responses. Your response to your emissary should include:

- Your willingness to pursue the plan another step if the others are.
- Your general concurrence with the procedures delineated below, unless modified by consensus.

#### General Procedures:

1. The substantive message of the declaration made by all of you will be identical. Any refinements necessary in the language of the declaration or in the date by which a means for a safe transition will be achieved, will be mutually agreed. The specific date stated as the goal in the declaration will be before the year 2000.
2. The date for making the declaration will be mutually agreed and will be before April 1984.
3. There will be no public acknowledgement of these discussions prior to the declaration. Any inquiries will be responded to in the same way; we suggest: "We are always looking for ways of opening discussions on subjects of mutual interest, and we continue to do so."
4. Any consultation with allies will be done in strict privacy at the highest levels.
5. Each leader will address his nation first. The sequence of speaking to other nations will be determined by lot. A copy of your and the other leaders' remarks to the other two nations will be exchanged three days before the declaration.
6. One week prior to the declaration, each party will deliver to the others concurrently, the list of minimum intended unilateral actions each plans for announcement within 24 hours of the declaration. Three days before the declaration, the list will again be exchanged, with any modifications.
7. The working language for these exchanges will be English. A possible text for a United States version of the declaration of commitment by President Reagan is included with this document only to provide a general sense of content, not to suggest specifics.

The initial response of the other two leaders and protocol for the next exchange will be communicated through these same private emissaries within two weeks of your initial response.

History has given you the unique privilege of being one of the first three spokesmen for the whole world. It is an honor to be part of bringing this history shaping opportunity to you.

TAKING THE ESSENTIAL STEP NOW  
TO END WAR BETWEEN NATIONS

BACKGROUND OF PRINCIPALS

In the spring of 1983 Tom Green and Terry Pearce chose to take one year sabbaticals from their careers as business executives. This choice was made out of their shared commitment to a specific, pragmatic goal, and out of their conviction that the time is right - now - for its achievement. This goal is to take the essential step, between now and June of 1984, which will allow the abolishing of war between nations to be realized in our lifetime - perhaps in this decade. The initial ideas for a plan emerged between March and May, and since June, Tom and Terry have been working full-time on this project. Significant progress has been made to date. What follows are brief highlights of their careers prior to this time. Detailed resumes are available on request.

B. TOM GREEN

Since graduating from Stanford in 1966 with a B.S. in Civil Engineering and a Masters in Business Administration, Tom has held positions of increasing management responsibility with organizations such as General Mills and Transamerica, as well as five years as a partner in a privately held corporation. Specifically, he has held positions in the finance and marketing areas, and has been General Manager of divisions for both General Mills and Transamerica. In May of 1982 he left the corporate environment and initiated, with G.G. Jampolsky, M. D., a series of projects with the theme Children As Teachers of Peace. These projects were based on the idea that the shared experience of childhood can be a powerful bridge to peace, and included connections with world citizens such as Mrs. Anwar Sadat, Mother Teresa, and the Dalai Lama. A book, a television special, and several other on-going international activities resulted over a period of several months. Tom is known for getting results by focusing on the few factors essential to that end, and for enabling people to tap into their own strength and to act on it.

S.S.# 558-44-3716 2849 SPANISH TRAIL, TIBURON CA 94920 415-435-9663

TERRY PEARCE

Terry earned a B.S. degree from Linfield College, Oregon in 1965. He completed 16 years of experience with IBM in November of 1982, having acted on Divisional staff and in middle and senior line management. Through his work in a rapidly changing market of computer and office supplies, he has developed strengths in recognizing the need for adaptability to produce results. Accordingly, he is skilled in organizational dynamics, channels of delivering products to markets, and in the development and productivity of people through recognizing individual differences. His final position with IBM was Northwest District Manager, Systems Supplies Division, and carried responsibility for \$40 million in sales, \$8 million in expense and 100 people in 10 states. From January to March of 1983, Terry acted as a consultant to assemble management for a start-up medical operation, and then jointly developed the focus and plan for the initial phase of this project.

S.S.# 543-42-5431 400 SAN RAFAEL AVE., BELVEDERE, CA 94920 415-435-0510

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

February 3, 1984

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *[Signature]*  
SUBJECT: Green-Pearce Initiative

Attached at TAB I is a Memorandum to the President explaining the problems with giving support to the Green-Pearce suggestion, and at TAB A a letter from the President to them.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the Memorandum to the President at TAB I.

Approve *[Signature]*

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

|       |                                        |
|-------|----------------------------------------|
| Tab I | Memorandum to the President            |
| Tab A | Letter to Messrs. Green and Pearce     |
| Tab B | Proposal by Tom Green and Terry Pearce |

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F95-074-67

BY *[Signature]* NARA, DATE 11/11/99

# 812  
7 February 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: System Actions from Poindexter

897 - Green-Pearce Initiative --- Florence said the President has approved subject item to be signed as "Ronald Reagan" - and to send this through Darman.

Phyllis

cc: Brian ✓  
Bill Martin

*cc: [unclear] [unclear]*

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 2, 1984

## MEMORANDUM FOR JACK MATLOCK

FROM: ROBERT C. McFARLANE  
SUBJECT: Green-Pearce Initiative

Jack, I agree entirely with your analysis. Please prepare a memo for the President explaining this "innocent, well-meaning but misguided" effort and the counterproductive effect it would undoubtedly have on what are currently tentative but promising opportunities for progress. Please enclose a letter for him to send to them. It should be very warm in commending their motives, their sacrifice and their faith in the universality of basic human goodness. The letter should go on, however, to point out that we must consider carefully the real effect such a proposal would have. In this context, noting recent Soviet charges that the President's overtures represent political grandstanding, point out that the Soviets would surely see an American-sponsored initiative as inspired by the President and exemplary of the kind of propaganda they charge us with. The letter should close by expressing the hope that the day will come when such well-meaning efforts can be accepted in the true spirit with which they are offered. We should seek to have this signed no later than next Monday (February 6).

Many thanks.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F95-074 #68BY amf NARA, DATE 11/17/99

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 31, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

JACK MATLOCK *JM*

SUBJECT:

"Peace Initiative" Idea by Tom Green and Terry Pearce

With all due respect to the sincerity and energy of Messrs. Green and Pearce, this is a fatuous idea, and one with considerable downside potential if we give it any semblance of Administration support.

If someone of Verrity's stature delivers the message to the Soviets and claims the President's support, it would at best muddy the waters in our attempt to get the dialogue onto practical, do-able measures. If the Soviets thought we were really interested in a step of this type, they would either interpret it as pure election-year grandstanding, to get the President off the hook of negotiating real issues, or else as an opportunity to push some of their favorite themes (non-use of force, no first use, nuclear freezes and nuclear free zones)--all of which would be totally consistent with the style of declaratory diplomacy that the proposal embodies.

Gaston Sigur is in the best position to estimate the Chinese reaction, but I doubt very much that they would be attracted to it--and for many of the same reasons that should make us dubious.

I realize that the proposal is unlikely to go away. But I believe that we should make sure that it does not have Administration blessing. If you don't have time, I would be glad to explain the pitfalls to Messrs. Green and Pearce. They are unlikely to stop with me, however, and it may be necessary for you to talk to them eventually.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you authorize me to call Green or Pearce and explain why we have serious reservations with their idea.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Or, alternatively:

That you call them yourself.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

Tab I Proposal and previous notes

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F95-074 #69BY Smf NARA, DATE 11/17/99~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

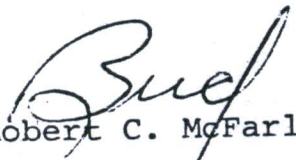
January 30, 1984

TO: JACK MATLOCK

Jack:

Could you please look through these papers, particularly those clipped together at back. The two gentlemen involved have significant sponsorship with the President. Do you think that their going through with it would have any serious downside consequences? Please advise. I am afraid it is not going to go away.

Many thanks.

  
Robert C. McFarlane

Attachment

12:40 p.m.  
January 30, 1984

*Do you  
have  
original  
paper?  
(attached)*

RCM:

Tom Green and Terry Pearce called --

Progress continues. They want to bring you up-to-date and make two requests.

Where the plan is now is that the document has been delivered to Deng Xiaoping. Our emissary has requested a tentative response by February 10.

We have identified the appropriate emissary to take the document to the Soviets: Bill Verity. They believe that you are familiar with him in that he has carried a few documents for President Carter and one as well for President Reagan. He is with USA-USSR Trade Council and is the former Chairman of ARMCO. Their first request: they want to arrange an appointment for Mr. Verity to meet with you either Wednesday afternoon or Thursday of this week. He is coming to Washington and will be meeting with Amb. Dobrynin.

They have talked to George Kennan and a number of people who felt his counsel and his possible participation going with Mr. Verity might be useful. He is two weeks short of being 80 years old and feels very strongly about not doing many activities that require a lot of energy but is very intrigued by the plan. He wants confirmation that it truly is supported by the government before taking the next step; wants to be sure that this isn't just some private effort without the blessing of the government. Could you or someone from your office call George Kennan and indicate knowledge and support of the plan and request that he look at it seriously with regard to giving his counsel and participation.

How do you wish to handle?

1) Appt with Bill Verity:

☐ Squeeze him in

☒ Unable to do this week;  
willing to do later

Other: \_\_\_\_\_

2) Call to George Kennan:

☐ Yes

☒ No

Do you wish to brief an NSC staff person and turn this project over to them for handling?

☒ Yes: Matlack

☐ No, I will handle

*I have  
been  
told  
that  
this  
will  
be  
done  
for  
a  
week*

January 27, 1984

RCM:

Terry Pearce called --

He wanted to report to you that progress continues. He and Tom Green are currently focussing on quickly finalizing the American emissary. They will keep you informed as things move along.

Wilma

[You met with them on January 12 after referral from Cathy Osborne for the President.]

January 6, 1984

RCM:

Cathy Osborne called --

Albert Schwabacher, a very, old, old, old friend of the President's who is from the San Francisco Bay area -- corresponds regularly with the President and they talk on the telephone regularly called on December 26.

For background, Cathy offered that Mr. Schwabacher is with Dean Witter Reynolds; very wealthy; very smart. He and a couple of friends are very concerned and very involved about a "peace plan." Cathy doesn't know whether they are putting a report together or what, but they called the President and asked him who they should talk with in Washington. The President told them to come in and talk with "Bud."

Cathy advises that Mr. Schwabacher will call on Monday afternoon to try to arrange an appointment to get together with you for himself along with two reputable friends:

Tom Green 415/435-9663

Terry <sup>Pierce</sup> ~~Pierce~~ (sp?) 415/435-0510

They have talked with Vance, Carter and have Nixon's new book (private printing) "The Real Peace".

Cathy just wanted to alert you that they would be calling and allow you to decide whether you would meet with them personally or ask someone else to do.

Given fact that Mr. Schwabacher is a very, very good friend of President's, do you want me to schedule when he calls?

☒ Yes

☐ Refer to JMP

Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Wilma

Cathy Osborne

1/9 in D.C. at 292-2120 X 1017

1/11 scheduled  
11:00 AM Jones, 1/12

1934 -  
 I am writing to see how often  
 contact is made from your department  
 Thank you and believe you are

The investigation referred to in the  
 report is rather late. It is in many  
 an attempt to get it together, but  
 rather as only an example to make  
 the experience of the shift in  
 climate resulting from artificial  
 the three chosen to pay.

Let me proceed to explain and  
 illustrate the movement of delivery  
 and to justify arrangements with  
 the insurance. The last call early  
 next week and I hope you will  
 contact us with any thoughts  
 that would serve to assist us in  
 working matters  
 I am  
 Yours

TAKING THE ESSENTIAL STEP NOW

TO END WAR BETWEEN NATIONS IN OUR LIFETIME

Note: This fictional dramatization is only an example, and the President of the United States might say something like this. He would say only what is true for him, and we are not writing his speech. This draft is only a form of support for him to express whatever is truly his vision of peace between nations.

The President of the United States of America's Speech, Early 1984

As announced earlier, our regularly scheduled program has been rescheduled to permit a special address by the President, the topic of which has not been announced. No one here knows what the President will be speaking about, or why he has chosen 10:00 in the morning to do so. We have just learned that with him in the Oval Office are his wife Nancy, their children and closest friends, Vice President Bush, former Presidents Carter, Ford, and Nixon, all of the Democratic Presidential candidates, House Speaker O'Neill, and Senator Baker - obviously a remarkable and historic gathering. The President is about to speak.

Ladies and gentlemen, from the Oval Office in the White House, The President of the United States...

(over, please...)

TAKING THE ESSENTIAL STEP NOWTO END WAR BETWEEN NATIONS WITHIN TEN YEARS

## A Dramatization

"My fellow Americans, today it is my privilege to report to you on the most significant turning point in human history: the time when the world has chosen to move to end war between nations...to move beyond the use or threat of mass destruction as an acceptable means of resolving our conflicts as nations. I am speaking to you at this time of day and with these other representatives of our nation because right now, simultaneously, President Andropov and representatives of the Soviet government are addressing the people of the Soviet Union, and Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping and representatives of the government of the People's Republic of China are addressing their people.

Our three nations, and in fact all nations, have vast differences. We do not embrace their forms of government; they do not embrace ours. Without being blind to the real differences between people, we know the people of all nations have common human interests. We all inhabit the planet, breathe the same air and cherish our children's future.

This growing interdependence, combined with the real and increasing threat of mutual extinction, and the contributions by millions today and throughout history toward this goal of peace, create the conditions in which the time is right, NOW, to bring forth peace between all nations. No nation, no leader alone, can produce world peace. Many have tried and it has not been achieved. For the first time in human history it is now time for the world to focus on and commit to ending war between nations.

Accordingly, in concert with President Andropov for the Soviet Union, and Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping for the People's Republic of China, and using the power heretofore used by our Presidents to declare war, I hereby declare and commit the United States of America to achieving the end of war between nations within ten years, and we invite everyone in the world to join in this commitment.

Fellow Americans, peace between nations is possible now. There will be risks. We will maintain our freedom and security. It will not be easy, and with your support and that of the world's people, in the next 10 years we will develop an effective, non-violent means of resolving our conflicts as nations. We will realize conditions where war and the threat of war are obsolete as instruments of national policy.

In a few moments, President Andropov and Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping will be directly addressing you stating their countries' commitment to us and to the world, and I will be directly addressing their nations on your behalf. Then this evening I will be speaking to you and a joint session of Congress about specific actions already underway and being taken today to produce peace between nations within ten years, and about the role each of us can play in this shared journey.

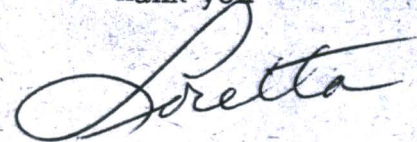
As I said last Thanksgiving, "Let us work for peace, and as we do, let us remember the lines of the famous hymn, 'Oh God of love, Oh King of Peace, make wars throughout the world to cease.' Thank you, good day, and God bless you."

21 Mar

Mr. Matlock:

This is in response to the recent ltr dtd 7 Feb from the President. This is a cy, both the original to the Pres & to McFarlane were not rec'd in the Secretariat for staffing. The WH correspondence Section & the NSC/S are still searching for the originals. I will send them to you upon receipt.

Thank you

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Loretta".

N. Terry Pearce  
400 San Rafael  
Belvedere, California 94920

*Stuffed & matted 76*  
*Obeliv*  
B. Tom Green  
2349 Spanish Trail  
Tiburon, California 94920

MAR 2 1984

February 29, 1984

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20006

President Reagan:

Thank you for your thoughts regarding the initiative, "Taking the Essential Step to End War Between Nations in Our Lifetime". There are few places in the world where such an idea could germinate and where private citizens could be privileged to play a part. We deeply appreciate your role in maintaining our freedom to quietly bring this proposal forward for Americans and for the world.

We greatly respect your conservatism in not endorsing the idea prior to its delivery to Deng and Secretary Chernenko. It is very much in keeping with your concern, which we share, about a potential negative characterization of the plan by one of the other two. We sense that to have the idea presented as any country's official proposal would raise the same suspicions. Accordingly, the idea is being presented to you, Deng and Chernenko for exactly what it is, a peoples' initiative by private American citizens, not as a proposal of the United States Government.

As we have not yet received a response from the other two leaders, (we believe delivery was completed this week) we have not shared your response with them. We interpret your letter to indicate your interest in pursuing the idea, as a private initiative, another step if the others are, given all of the procedures are followed.

We met with Ambassador Matlock on 2-21 regarding this initiative's potential impact on other agendas and have corresponded with Bud McFarlane on that same subject. As you pointed out, problem-solving dialogue is what is needed, and this first dramatic and safe step of declaring our joint commitment will enhance the probability of such dialogue being effective in producing the result we all want.

If our interpretation of your response is in any way in error, please let us know. Otherwise, we will inform you promptly through Bud, of the other responses when they are received.

God bless you for your contribution to a safer world for all.



N. Terry Pearce

Most respectfully,



B. Tom Green

cc: Robert McFarlane

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 2, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

JACK MATLOCK *JM*

SUBJECT:

Meeting of President with Russian Emigre Writers

Mike Deaver has requested your opinion regarding the possibility of the President meeting with three Russian emigre writers living in the United States, Vasili Aksyonov, Sergei Dovlatov and Yuz Aleshkovsky.

I believe that the President would find it very interesting to hear the views of these writers on some of the questions he has been discussing with other recent visitors, particularly those relating to Russian and Soviet psychology and the role of Communist ideology in regime thinking.

If he has a meeting with emigre writers, however, I believe it should include some from genres other than the novel (Josef Brodsky, for example, is one of the finest Russian poets writing today). We should also give some thought to the orientation of members of the group as regards other Russian emigres. It would be unfortunate to be seen favoring one faction over another. Of the three writers mentioned in the Times article, I know only Aksyonov personally. He is a brilliant writer who is an excellent conversationalist.

In sum, if you think the President would be interested, I would recommend that we draw up a list of not more than five Russian emigre writers and invite them to a meeting or a private lunch. Some of them do not speak English well, so an interpreter will probably be necessary.

Recommendation:

That I discreetly consult some persons knowledgeable about the Russian emigre cultural scene (including Suzanne Massie), and develop a list of about five emigre writers to be invited to a meeting or lunch with the President.

Approve \_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_

Attachment:

Tab I - Memo from Deaver's office and New York Times article~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLS F95-074 #70

DATE 11/17/99

ID # 219578

# WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence  
received (YY/MM/DD)84 103 128NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: Sittmann / Deane☒ DC Mail Report

User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: request for President Reagan  
to meet w/ three Soviet  
writers who have immigrated  
to the US

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)

Action  
CodeTracking  
Date  
YY/MM/DDType  
of  
Response

Code

Completion  
Date  
YY/MM/DDDC S.H.C 84 103 128 PM  
ORIGINATORS 84 103 128

Referral Note:

C 84 103 128 PM  
29S 84 103 130

Referral Note:

1 11 1

Referral Note:

1 11 1

Referral Note:

## ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action  
C - Comment/Recommendation  
D - Draft Response  
F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be

I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary  
R - Direct Reply w/Copy  
S - For Signature  
X - Interim Reply

## DISPOSITION CODES:

A - Answered  
B - Non-Special Referral  
C - Completed  
S - Suspended

## FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer  
Code = "A"

Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

COMMENTS:

219578

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 29, 1984

Bob Kimmitt

TO:

FROM: BILL SITTMANN  
Special Assistant to the President  
and Special Assistant to the  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Subject: Attached

Mike Deaver would like your  
thoughts about a possible  
meeting with these people and RE

☐ Information

☐ Action

# Emigré Novelists Look at U.S.

## Concern Over Softness On Russians

By WALTER GOODMAN

THE scores of Soviet writers who have found their way to the West in the last decade were evidently accompanied by their Slavic names. Most of them continue to write in Russian about Russia, to associate with other émigrés and to lament what they believe is a lack of understanding among Americans about the nature of the Soviet regime.

That concern came through sharply in recent interviews with émigré novelists now living on the East Coast, whose work has made an impact here and abroad in the last few months. They are Vasily Aksentyev, author of "The Island of China," published by Random House, a political fantasy about an independent China trying to survive in the shadow of Soviet power; Sergei Dovlatov, author of "The Compromises," a tale of Soviet journalism published by Alfred A. Knopf, and Yuz Alekseyev, whose novel "Kangaroo," a surrealist satire about the Soviet secret police, appeared in France last year to favorable reviews and is due to be published in this country in July by Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

The three are stars compared to Russian émigrés like those who have joined together for mutual support in a Russian Writers' Club that meets once a month at the Russian Institute at Columbia University. Last month, the group of about 30, almost entirely Jewish, celebrated its fifth anniversary with a party at the Rappaport restaurant, not chosen for literary irony. "We have a big problem making a living," says Yevgeny Lubin, the club president. "Some of us write for Russian newspapers. Some of us have wives or husbands who have jobs. Nobody's work has been translated. When somebody makes a success, they don't come to our meetings any more."

Mr. Alekseyev is one of those who hasn't been to a meeting lately. Now 54 years old, he was a writer of children's books and stories as well as television and film scripts in the Soviet Union — "one of the most successful writers in Russia," he says. In 1974, he ran ahead of the authorities when he joined an attempt to postulate a new publication of "Metropol," a volume of censored works. He came to the United States in 1980 with his wife and 7-year-old son.

Now settled in a ranching old house known in Manhattan, Conn., close to Wesleyan University, Mr. Alekseyev has moved away from children's stories, which he wrote because "the world of childhood wasn't yet perverted by the cruelty of the political games," to fiction for adults. But his plots continue to reflect the imagination of a children's writer — a difference. He is working on a novel about a group of Russians who save themselves during the Nazi invasion in 1941 by setting the monastery. The Germans make a film about them, as a scientific phenomenon which leads after liberation to the group's arrest by the Soviet army for collaborating with the enemy.

Despite appearances — his working outfit includes jogging shoes and a pair of corduroys — Mr. Alekseyev is far from Americanized. He confesses that even after four years in this country, his English is "pre-terrible." ("I haven't finished solving the problems of the Russian language," he notes wryly, adding that the "soul" of his work remains in Russia.) He relies for help in interviews on his wife, Irina, who learned her very serviceable English in Soviet schools and who now teaches Russian at Wesleyan, and a friend from Wesleyan's department of Russian literature.

Although American has had little impact on Mr. Alekseyev's work, so far, his politics are much on his mind. He says he is sure that he speaks for most Soviet émigrés in maintaining that "the fact of America's existence" is more important than any of its faults.

"In Russia," as he sees it, "the people have their leaders, who are trying to hurt them; in America, the people dislike their leaders, who are trying to help them. It's such a mechanism or masochism — although he favors a nuclear freeze — and to hell with the army" — he believes that the political demonstrations against nuclear weapons should be taking place in Red Square. "I agree with Reagan," he says. "If the Soviet Union wants peace, there will be peace."

Mr. Alekseyev's favorite proposal for improving international relations — offered with a straight face — is for Washington to intervene to "defend the human rights of Soviet leaders." He explains: "Those people at the top are terrified that if they fall a little bit, there will be a complete collapse. That makes them dangerous to everybody. The number one problem in the Soviet Union is that its leaders are absolutely without culture, without spiritual values; they are not even truly pragmatic. There is no air up there. They have no autonomy. For the sake of the world, they must be saved."

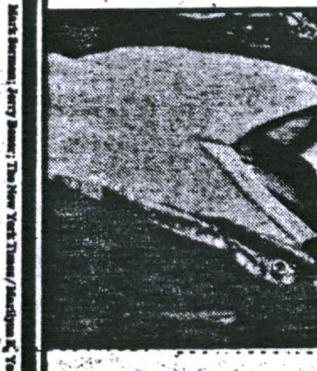
As Mr. Alekseyev was leaving for Paris a few weeks ago, for the publication in French of a new novel, Vasily Aksentyev was returning after the opening in Paris of his play "The Betrayal," which he describes as a "bad comedy" modeled on "The Sea Gull" by Chekhov.

The 51-year-old writer, among the best-known in his homeland, arrived in this country in 1980, after resigning from the Soviet Writers' Union in protest against the expulsion of two younger writers for their part in the "Metropol" affair. His books, more than a dozen novels, were taken off the library shelves; his telephone was tapped, his mail blocked, the lines of his car slashed. His citizenship was revoked soon after his departure from the Soviet Union. He now lives in Washington, with his wife and a daughter and grandson by her first marriage, and teaches short-story writing at Goucher College in Maryland.

His novel "The Island of China," written before "The Island of China," will be published here in September. It takes place during what Mr. Aksentyev calls the Soviet Union's "soul period," the



Three Soviet writers who have immigrated to the West, and continue to write in Russian about Russia: Vasily Aksentyev, below at left, Sergei Dovlatov, left, and Yuz Alekseyev.



From left, Vasily Aksentyev, Sergei Dovlatov, and Yuz Alekseyev.

relatively permissive late 1960's and early 1970's, and centers on five intellectuals linked together by their experiences of the Siberian gulag.

The gulag has figured intimately in Mr. Aksentyev's own life. His mother was Eugenia Ginzburg, whose books, "Journey into the Whirlwind" and "Within the Whirlwind," recounted memorably her 10 years in Stalin's camps.

Mr. Aksentyev, whose English is more than passable, says that he is beginning "to feel some influence of my new country in my writing."

He plans to start work next year on a novel that will be set partly in the United States.

It seems to Mr. Aksentyev that Americans have been growing somewhat more realistic about the Soviet Union. "Before, the media tried to make an image of Russia on the American model," he says. "They tried to interpret all events from an American perspective. But the Soviet Union is very different from America. It is an ideological empire."

He adds tentatively, "I'm afraid to sound a little bit conservative — but in spite of a sometimes top-heavy rhetoric, Reagan understands."

Like Mr. Aksentyev, Sergei Dovlatov, too, is working on a novel set in America, where he arrived early in 1979, at the age of 37, with his mother and a fox terrier named Glasha. He

was preceded here by his wife, Elena, who contributes to the family upkeep with a job as a photocopier machine operator, and their daughter, 17-year-old Katherine, a senior at Forest Hills High School, who serves as interpreter for interviews, generally conducted in the small kitchen of their apartment in a large building near Queens Boulevard. "Russians do all their business in the kitchen," says Katherine. A son, Nicholas, was born in 1981.

Mr. Dovlatov's new novel, entitled "The Invisible Paper," which he hopes to complete this spring, reflects his experiences in trying to write for some Russian periodicals in this country. He complains that they are controlled by right-wing editors who refuse to print liberal opinions about subjects like racial prejudice in the United States.

"To such Russians," he says, "Reagan seems to be on the left. Although they hate the Soviet Union, they don't understand the American idea of freedom of speech. They would kill my friends, about me. This writer must not be published. They are products of the Soviet system."

"The Invisible Paper" is a sequel of sorts to "The Invisible Book," the first of Mr. Dovlatov's novels to appear in America; it had to do with the difficulties in publishing honest work in the Soviet Union. A similar theme was sounded in "The Compromises," a series of tales based on his experiences as a journalist for Soviet Estonia.

His comments, in his self-deprecating style, "That was the high point of my journalistic career."

Although Mr. Dovlatov did not consider himself a dissident, he says that he left the Soviet Union because the

subjects he wanted to write about were deemed unsuitable. "You can't write about crime or slums or drunkenness or the emptiness, boredom, dullness of big-city youth today. You can criticize some aspects of the system, like the failure of a grain plan — but you can't criticize the system."

Mr. Dovlatov, who is given to telling little stories to make his point, tells this one about the prevailing attitude on central issues: "Suppose my mother is living with my brother in California, and she's sick. So I call my brother and ask how she's feeling. He tells me that the weather is bad, transportation is bad, and there's prejudice in California — but about our mother, nothing."

Soviet writers, he says, "must master the art of knowing what you can write and what you can't write. They know the line where you have to stop."

He tells a joke about a violin player who auditioned for a job. The conductor listens approvingly, and when the audition is done says, "That's fine — but of course you have to play while walking on a tightrope." So the violinist plays while walking the tightrope. And the conductor says, "I'm sorry, I can't hire you. You're not doing somersaults."

Mr. Dovlatov works part time for Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to audiences across the Iron Curtain. He sees no prospect of change in the Soviet regime no matter what is on top. "Why should they change?" he asks. "The people in charge are in a privileged position. If you're playing in Leningrad, cross the street carefully because if a car drives by a member of the elite hits you, it won't even stop. The Soviet Union is a nation of winners and losers. That's what Americans can't understand."

## Existence of U.S. is more important than its faults.

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