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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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JET 4/27/2005

File Folder DISSIDENT LUNCH-WHITE HOUSE MAY 11, 1982 2/2

FOIA

F06-114/6

Box Number 22

YARHI-MILO

2213

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
9244	MEMO	TYSON TO CLARK RE PRESIDENT'S LUNCHEON WITH SOVIET EMIGRANTS [12 - 12]	1	5/4/1982	B6
9245	TALKING POINTS	TALKING POINTS FOR PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH SOLZHENITSYN AT 12:00 NOON---MAY 11, 1982 [19 - 19]	1	ND	B6
9246	MEMO	PIPES TO CLARK RE BACKGROUND OF MAY 11, 1982 LUNCH [39 - 40]	2	5/11/1982	B1
R 12/13/2007 F06-114/6					

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.

Dessidents
/

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

4/29/1982

Bud McFarlane

Subject: President's May 11th lunch

I think it would be entirely impossible now to cancel the lunch since invitations have already gone out and the happening has been reported in the press.

We initially intended to invite a few Americans to the lunch but the list ballooned so quickly that it was decided not to invite anyone outside the White House. I hope you can communicate this tactfully to Jepsen

Dick *R*ipes

4/28
2
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
4/27/82

Dick Pipes

Subject: The -President's Meeting With Soviet
Dissidents

As of now the President is giving a lunch for
the group of dissidents.

You recall that part of the impetus for this
gathering was Sen Jepsen and Cong Kemp's urging
that the President meet with Solzhenitsyn at a
forthcoming gathering of Project CREED.

We have told Jepsen and Kemp that the President
has settled on this alternative approach.
Two days ago Jepsen called to say that he hoped
the President would defer his lunch and cast
the event in the CREED context. I told him I
thought it unlikely that the President could do
that.

Surely Jepsen would be pleased if he could be
included in the lunch. On the other hand there
are undoubtedly dozens of congressmen/Senators
who would like to be included. Could I ask you
to ponder whether Jepsen/Kemp could somehow be
brought into this without getting us more trouble
than it's worth. If not, so be it.

Bud


sent by te to Tyson
4/28

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 27, 1982

FOR: RICHARD PIPES

FROM: Bud McFarlane

*Tyson says
he will take
no action*

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 30, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: RICHARD PIPES *RP*
SUBJECT: Letter to Solzhenitsyn

Attached at Tab I, as you requested through Charles Tyson, is a letter for your signature to Alexander Solzhenitsyn inviting him to meet briefly with the President prior to the luncheon on May 11.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Tab I Letter to Alexander Solzhenitsyn

cc: Charles Tyson

5

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Solzhenitsyn:

I am very glad to know that you will attend the luncheon which the President is giving on Tuesday, May 11 at noon. If you could come ten or so minutes before the appointed hour, the President would very much like to have the opportunity of speaking with you privately.

The purpose of the luncheon is to honor a group of outstanding fighters for the cause of liberty and human rights in the Soviet Union. This, we believe, will send an unmistakable signal to the Soviet government that the Reagan Administration and the American people identify with the causes of national and religious freedom as well as human rights inside its domain.

It will not be necessary for you to bring your own interpreter as interpreters will be provided.

Looking forward to seeing you on May 11, I am

Sincerely,

William P. Clark

Mr. Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn
Cavendish, Vermont 05142

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 30, 1982

RP,

Message from Charles Tyson:

You should write memo to Clark attaching ltr to Solzhenitsyn for his (Clark's) signature inviting Solzhenitsyn to meet with the President prior to luncheon for 10 minutes.

Tyson heard through Jepson's office that Solzhenitsyn accepts the invitation to lunch and would appreciate knowing whether or not he should bring his own interpreter for mtg w/Pres or will one be provided. In the body of the letter he would also like a general idea as to the purpose of the lunch and the meeting.

fl

RECEIVED 01 MAY 82 10

TO

CLARK

FROM NEWELL, G

DOCDATE 30 APR 82

KEYWORDS: USSR

AP

SOLZHENITSYN, A

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRES ACTIVITY FOR MAY 11 FOR LUNCH W/ SOVIET IMMIGRANTS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO WHEELER TO BREMER DUE 06 MAY 82 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

TYSON

STEARMAN

DOBRIANSKY

MYER

PIPES

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG 8202344

NSC/FID

(M /)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

NSC/S C 6 May handled by #3118 (TPs etc.)

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

5/6/82
This has been done in
why should Wheeler write
state?!
RP

5/6 Pipes

file Newell

RECEIVED 01 MAY 82 10

✓ 8

TO CLARK

FROM NEWELL, G

DOCDATE 30 APR 82

KEYWORDS: USSR

AP

SOLZHENITSYN, A

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRES ACTIVITY FOR MAY 11 FOR LUNCH W/ SOVIET IMMIGRANTS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO WHEELER TO BREMER DUE: 06 MAY 82 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

TYSON

STEARMAN

DOBRIANSKY

MYER

PIPES

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG 8202344

NSCIFID

(M /)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

237 / 2012-01-09
UNT
9

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

4/30/82

TO: MUFFIE BRANDON/WILLIAM P. CLARK
FROM: ^{78R for} 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
M. Brandon
R. Darman
R. DeProspero
K. Duberstein
D. Fischer
C. Fuller
E. Hickey
M. McManus
E. Rollins
C. Romero
B. Shaddix
L. Speakes
S. Studdert
WHCA Audio/Visual
WHCA Operations
R. Williamson
N. Wormser
A. Wrobleski

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

4/30/82

TO: WILLIAM P. CLARK
FROM: ^{JR for} 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	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	
C. Tyson	M. Wheeler

Jerusalem, 3 May 1982

President

Mr. President,

I wish to thank you very much for your kind invitation to attend a dinner at the White House on May 11, 1982.

Although greatly honoured by your thoughtfulness, I have the feeling that my participation at that dinner may cause harm to my husband. The distinguished guests at that dinner have political interests, whereas my sole aim is to get my husband out of prison and then join me in Israel. Therefore, I told your Adviser how sorry I was for not being able to accept your generous invitation.

Since I had the honour of being received by you a year ago, my husband's situation has deteriorated and I fear for his life. This is the fifth month that we have not received any mail from him. Therefore, I would be more than grateful if you would kindly grant me an audience so that we can see what can be done to alleviate my husband's suffering.

I would like to let you know how much I appreciate the interest you take in my husband's fate and hope that your endeavours will bear fruit.

Yours respectfully,

Avital Scharansky

Avital Scharansky

His Excellency
Mr. Ronald Reagan
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, D. C.

cc: Mr. Richard Pipes
Adviser to the President
The White House

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 3, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLOTTE PONTICELLI

FROM: MICHAEL O. WHEELER MW

SUBJECT: Request for an Additional Guest to the President's Luncheon on May 11

In response to your memorandum of April 30 (Tab I) conveying the request of eight Senators that Mr. Makarenko be invited to the lunch which the President will give for dissidents from the Soviet Union on May 11, please advise them that unfortunately the guest list is now closed and it is not possible to add new names. We believe the Senators will find that the list of invitees is well balanced and has representatives of diverse groups, including several persons who have spent long terms in Soviet prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric wards. The letter should add that we are sorry not to be able to respond positively to the request.

Attachment:

Tab I Incoming package from Charlotte Ponticelli

cc: Charles Tyson
Richard Pipes

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 30, 1982

MEMO TO LORETTA BRAXTON

FROM CHARLIE PONTICELLI *CP*

RE McClure et al. letter on President's May 11 luncheon
with Soviet dissidents

My instructions from the West Wing were to see that Richard Pipes receives this ASAP and to send an FYI copy to Charles Tyson. Therefore, please accept this memo as our note of transmittal for the file to be entered into your system.

(The original letter is being sent to White House Records Management to be C-tracked.)

Please see that we are advised as to NSC action/response regarding this matter.

Many thanks.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

075883

April 29, 1982

27
KD

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I urge you to invite Mr. Michail Makarenko to attend your May 11 luncheon with Soviet dissidents.

Mr. Makarenko spent more than 11 years in Soviet psychiatric hospitals, prisons, and concentration camps. During his most recent incarceration, 1970-78, Mr. Makarenko led a number of strikes and work stoppages within the camp factories.

Mr. Makarenko's most dramatic protest against the Soviet slave labor system was organized in April, 1978.

At the head of a group of some 40 Soviet dissidents, Makarenko made his way to the site of a mass grave near Bielomorsk. There he unearthed some of the bones and skulls of 250,000 political prisoners and brought them back to Moscow for a clandestine interfaith burial service.

The cremated remains were then buried near the Kremlin Wall. This extraordinary event was captured by Makarenko in a fifteen-minute samizdat documentary film.

Mr. Makarenko is in Washington today to present testimony before the Senate regarding Soviet slave labor camps -- especially with reference to the new Soviet-German pipeline.

Congress has had hearings specifically on Soviet camps only once -- in 1973 -- which makes Mr. Makarenko nearly unique among the many dissidents now in the United States. We're sure you'll find him a wealth of information and inspiration on the GULAG Archipelago today.

Best regards.

Sincerely,


William L. Armstrong

WLA:jjk

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
JOHN TOWER, POLICY
BOB PACKWOOD, SENATORIAL
RICHARD G. LUGAR, COMMITTEES

MARGO CARLISLE
STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

THE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 27, 1982

CP - This should
be gotten to
Richard Pipes ASAP.

The FYI copy to C. T. [unclear] NK
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. President:

We respectfully encourage you to consider inviting Mr. Michail Makarenko to attend your May 11 luncheon with Soviet dissidents.

Mr. Makarenko spent over eleven years in Soviet psychiatric hospitals, prisons, and concentration camps. During his most recent period of incarceration, 1970-78, Mr. Makarenko led a number of strikes and work stoppage within the camp factories.

But Mr. Makarenko's most dramatic protest against the Soviet labor system was organized in April, 1978.

At the head of a group of some forty Soviet dissidents, Makarenko made his way to the site of a mass grave near Bieloromsk. There he unearthed some of the bones and skulls of 250,000 political prisoners and brought them back to Moscow for a clandestine, interfaith burial service.

The cremated remains were then buried near the Kremlin Wall. This extraordinary event was captured by Makarenko in a fifteen-minute samizdat film.

Mr. Makarenko is in Washington today to present testimony before the Senate regarding Soviet slave labor camps -- especially with reference to the new Soviet-German pipeline.

Congress has had hearings specifically on Soviet camps only once -- in 1973 -- which makes Mr. Makarenko somewhat unique among the many dissidents now in the United States.

For this reason we urge you to include him in your lunch gathering.

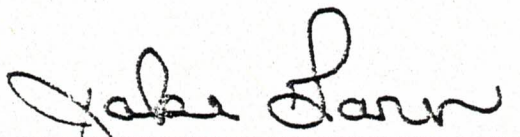
-More-

April 27, 1982
Page 2


We're sure you'll find him a wealth of information and inspiration on the GULAG Archipelago today.

Thank you.

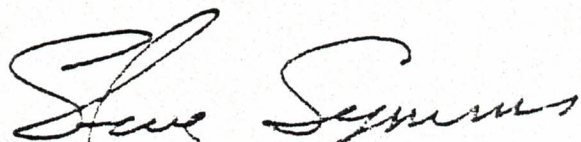
Respectfully,



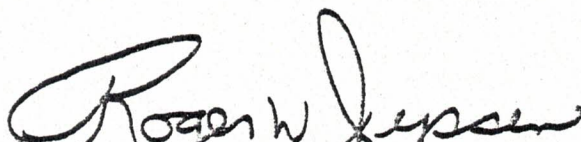
Jake Garn
U.S. Senator



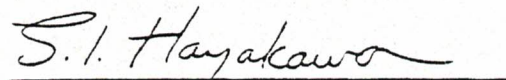
James A. McClure
U.S. Senator




Steve Symms
U.S. Senator




Roger W. Jepsen
U.S. Senator



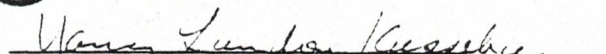
S. I. Hayakawa
U.S. Senator



Jack Kemp
U.S. Representative



Don Bonker
U.S. Representative



Nancy Landon Kassebaum
U.S. Senator

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

May 6, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

THROUGH: CHARLES P. TYSON *CHT*FROM: RICHARD PIPES *RP*

SUBJECT: May 11 Luncheon

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum for the President transmitting the following materials: Tab A - Talking Points for meeting with Solzhenitsyn; Tab B - Talking Points for the President's use in connection with the May 11 luncheon for dissidents from the Soviet Union; Tab C - List of Participants at the luncheon. (C)

This is an unusual occasion in that several of the participants have spent years in concentration camps and psychiatric wards: they tend to be emotional and may want to take advantage of this unique opportunity to get across to the President the grievances of the particular groups they represent. I will ask each of them (except for Solzhenitsyn with whom I have no communication) not to be too obtrusive. Secondly, it must be borne in mind that represented will be groups that are at odds with each other, sometimes passionately. (C)

If you think it prudent, I would give the President a short briefing before May 11 on the situation he will confront and the personalities involved so that he will be better aware of the undercurrents that a meeting with Russian emigres inevitably generates. (C)

RECOMMENDATIONS

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By *smf* NARA, Date *8/3/02*

1. That you sign and forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President with Tabs A, B and C.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

2. That I brief the President before May 11.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I	Memorandum for the President
Tab A	Talking Points for meeting with Solzhenitsyn
Tab B	Talking Points for luncheon
Tab C	List of Participants - brief bio sketches
Tab D	Luncheon Remarks

CONFIDENTIAL

Review May 6, 1988.

TALKING POINTS
FOR PRESIDENT'S LUNCH WITH
DISSIDENTS FROM THE USSR
MAY 11, 1982

- This is a most unusual, almost historic occasion: never before has a President of the United States hosted in the White House a group of dissidents from the Soviet Union.
- The purpose of the lunch is 1) for the President to inform himself on the struggle for human rights in the USSR and 2) to honor the heroism of the invitees and their associates in the USSR.
- The invitees represent diverse groups of dissidents: those who have organized Helsinki Monitoring Groups to check on Soviet compliance with the terms of the Final Accord (Alexeeva, Chalidze); those who have struggled for the national rights of their people, whether Great Russian (Solzhenitsyn), Ukrainian (General Grigorenko), Jewish (Azbel), or Muslim (Seitmuratova), or those who have suffered for their Christian beliefs (Father Vins) or their right to free literary expression (Siniavskii); and those who have paid the penalty for protesting Soviet violations of international law (Litvinov).
- Many persons worthy to be present cannot attend because they are under detention in the USSR: among them Andrei Sakharov, Yurii Orlov (the founder of the Soviet Helsinki movement) and Anatolii Shcharanskii.
- Their struggle is testimony that the peoples of the Soviet Union are not intimidated, that they share the same values which we uphold, that the words and deeds of the Soviet regime are not representative of the people over whom it rules.
- We honor them and wish to express our admiration for the sacrifices they have made for their ideals.

24

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS
FOR THE PRESIDENT'S LUNCH WITH
DISSIDENTS FROM THE USSR

MAY 11, 1982

NOTE: Without exception, all the participants have demonstrated unusual civic courage while in the Soviet Union, standing up for human rights in its many aspects for which they suffered imprisonment and other forms of abuse.

Ludmilla ALEXEEVA: 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.

Mark AZBEL: A Soviet Jewish physicist who organized in Moscow illegal scientific seminars of refuseniks. Helped edit the samizdat publication, Jews in the Soviet Union. Resides in Israel but presently teaches as guest professor at the University of Pennsylvania. He left the Soviet Union in 1977.

Valerii CHALIDZE: 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: 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: 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.

Ayshe SEITMURATOVA: A Muslim Tatar from the Crimea. In 1944 suffered with all her people mass deportations ordered by Stalin. Ever since has fought for the right of her people to return to the Crimea for which she was arrested numerous times.

Andrei SINIAVSKII: 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, served a long sentence in camp.

Alexander SOLZHENITSYN: The prominent writer and author of Gulag Archipelago, was expelled in 1975.

Father Georgii VINS: A Baptist minister, spent many years in camps for his Christian activities.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONINFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Your May 11 Luncheon for Soviet Dissidents

Attached at Tab A are talking points for your use at the luncheon, and at Tab B is a list of the dissidents who have been invited.

Attachments:

Tab A	Talking Points
Tab B	List of Participants

Prepared by:
Richard Pipes

Fran -

A Table D was added.

Flo

(Table D needs to be typed on
dark memo to Pres.)

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 6, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

THROUGH: CHARLES P. TYSON *CH*FROM: RICHARD PIPES *RP*

SUBJECT: May 11 Luncheon

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997

By *smf* NARA, Date *7/3/02*

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum for the President transmitting the following materials: Tab A - Talking Points for meeting with Solzhenitsyn; Tab B - Talking Points for the President's use in connection with the May 11 luncheon for dissidents from the Soviet Union; Tab C - List of Participants at the luncheon. (C)

This is an unusual occasion in that several of the participants have spent years in concentration camps and psychiatric wards: they tend to be emotional and may want to take advantage of this unique opportunity to get across to the President the grievances of the particular groups they represent. I will ask each of them (except for Solzhenitsyn with whom I have no communication) not to be too obtrusive. Secondly, it must be borne in mind that represented will be groups that are at odds with each other, sometimes passionately. (C)

If you think it prudent, I would give the President a short briefing before May 11 on the situation he will confront and the personalities involved so that he will be better aware of the undercurrents that a meeting with Russian emigres inevitably generates. (C)

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That you sign and forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President with Tabs A, B and C.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

2. That I brief the President before May 11.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab I	Memorandum for the President
Tab A	Talking Points for meeting with Solzhenitsyn
Tab B	Talking Points for luncheon
Tab C	List of Participants - brief bio sketches
Tab D	Luncheon Remarks

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review May 6, 1988.



26
(Elliott/AB)
May 10, 1982
11:00 a.m.

REMARKS FOR LUNCHEON WITH SOVIET EMIGRES AND EXILES
MAY 11, 1982

I would like you to know, on behalf of our countrymen, how honored we are to welcome you to the White House -- the people's house in America.

I believe you are the first group of fighters for freedom and human rights in the Soviet Union ever to be received in the White House. And that, of course, is a source of great satisfaction to us.

But there is something even more important about your visit. You may come from different regions, represent different faiths and nationalities, but you are united by a bond every bit as strong as it is rare: You live for truth; you fight for truth, and you have proved you are willing to risk your lives for it.

The seemingly all-powerful Soviet state is still terrified of the brave voices and acts of courage like your own. With the sacrifices you have made, you redeem your national honor. Freedom itself is in your debt. You demonstrate that Russians and other national groups of the Soviet Union share our common ideals, and that the actions of the Soviet Government do not represent its peoples' real feelings and aspirations.

My only regret, is that we cannot look at these tables and see the faces of Andrei Sakharov, Anatoly Shcharansky, and Yuri Orlov -- and all those others who have been deprived of their freedom for the crime of wanting freedom for their people.

We do not want them to have to leave their beloved countries, as you had to do. No, our hope, our challenge, is that someday, they may wake up knowing there will be no more persecution, no more pain, just because they love the truth, strive for a greater good, and believe in God.

Alexander Herzen wrote: "To shrink from saying a word in defense of the oppressed is as bad as any crime . . ." I pledge to you that the United States will speak out, will stand up for, and will defend the values we share.

Communists boast they will crush democratic freedoms. Well, let us tell them: you can imprison your people, you can close their schools, you can take their books, harass their priests and smash their unions. You can never destroy the love of God and freedom that burns in their hearts -- they will triumph over you.

Andrei Sakharov, imprisoned, but unbowed, told the West: "Everything is as it was under the system of power and economy created by Stalin." But he added: "I consider the United States the historically determined leader of the movement toward a pluralist and free society, vital to mankind."

We Americans must respond to that challenge. We must remember that freedom was not won here without the help of others; that people who turn their backs on friends often lose what they cherish most for themselves, and that freedom is never more than one generation from extinction.

Thank you again for coming today, for reminding us what we stand for, and what all of us, together, must do. God bless you all.

TALKING POINTS FOR PRESIDENT'S LUNCH WITH
DISSIDENTS FROM THE USSR -- MAY 11, 1982

- This is a most unusual, historic occasion: never before has a President of the United States honored a group of distinguished fighters for human rights from the Soviet Union.

You may want to speak briefly to each of the guests who represent diverse trends in the Soviet dissident movement (their biographies are attached under Tab C):

- Alexander Solzhenitsyn has courageously stood up against Communist oppression and through his writings revealed Soviet reality.
- Ludmilla Alexeeva has played a key role in starting the Helsinki Monitoring Movement in the USSR to check Moscow's compliance with the Final Act.
- Valerii Chalidze has published the Chronicle of Soviet repression.
- General Peter Grigorenko has given up a prestigious life in the Soviet Army to defend the rights of Soviet minorities for which he was declared "insane" and confined to a psychiatric ward.
- Father Georgii Vins is a Baptist minister who has fought and suffered for the rights of Christians in the USSR.
- Mark Azbel has distinguished himself fighting for the rights of Soviet Jews.
- Andrei Siniavskii is a distinguished Russian writer whose novels published anonymously brought him a long jail sentence.
- Ayshe Seitmuratova is a heroic figure in the struggle of the Crimean Tatars for restitution of their homeland.
- Pavel Litvinov, the grandson of a Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, suffered punishment for the daring act of protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Many others, equally distinguished, are presently languishing in Soviet jails and camps: there are thousands of them, among whom three should be specially mentioned: Andrei Sakharov, the great fighter for democracy and arms control, now under house arrest; Yurii Orlov, the founder of the Helsinki Monitoring Group in Moscow; and Anatolii Shcharanskii, a man who fought both for the right to emigrate to Israel to join his wife and for general human rights and who now is in prison.

As the lunch ends, you may want to say in conclusion that the struggles which the guests at the luncheon and their associates in the Soviet Union have urged demonstrate that:

- The peoples of the Soviet Union have not been intimidated.
- That they share the same values as we.
- That the words and deeds of the Soviet regime are not representative of the people whom it rules.
- This is the best guarantee that some day the peoples of the Soviet Union will become peaceful and law-abiding members of the community of nations.

— AN UNUSUAL HISTORIC OCCASION

-- ADDRESS EACH GUESTS' CAUSE:

Alexeeva-- abuses of human rights
 Azbel-- organized illegal scientific seminars
 Chalidze-- scientist/struggle for human rights
 Gen. Grigorenko-- cashiered from service/
 committed to psychiatric wards
 Litvinov-- protested Soviet invasion of Czech.
 Seitmuratova-- deported by Stalin/fought for
 right to return to Crimea
 Siniavskii-- eminent writer/editor w/pen name
 prominent trial/sentence
 Solzhenitsyn-- writer/expelled 1975
 Father Vins-- in camps for Christian activities

-
- MENTION SAKHAROV, ORLOV, AND SHCHARANSKY AS PEOPLE WHO ALSO DESERVED TO BE PRESENT BUT ARE CONFINED IN USSR
 - THE DISSIDENT STRUGGLE PROVES THAT PEOPLES OF USSR - HAVE NOT BEEN INTIMATED
 - SHARE OUR VALUES
 - SOVIET REGIME DOES NOT SPEAK FOR ITS CITIZENS
 - THIS GUARANTEES PEOPLES OF SOVIET UNION WILL SOME DAY JOIN COMMUNITY OF NATIONS

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

Ludmilla ALEXEEVA
914/332-1578

293 Benedict Avenue
Tarrytown, New York 10591

Valerii CHALIDZE
212/860-8823

145 East 92nd Street
New York, New York 10028

General Peter GRIGORENKO
212/784-3676

4330 - 48th Street, Apartment 4F
Long Island
New York, New York 11104

Pavel LITVINOV
914/631-4861

293 Benedict Avenue
Tarrytown, New York 10591

Andrei SINIAVSKII
(not available)

8, rue Boris Vilde
Fontanay-aux-Roses
92260 France

Alexander SOLZHENITSYN
(unlisted)
Father Georgii VINS
(unlisted)

Cavendish, Vermont 05142

38 Stanton Road
P.O. Box 1188
Elkhart, Indiana 49515

Ms. Ayshe SEITMURATOVA
212/238-1621

303-99th Street
Brooklyn, New York 11209

Mark AZBEL
office: 215/243-7002

Department of Physics
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 7, 1982

TO: CHARLES TYSON

I made some changes on the
draft prepared by Elliott in
Speechwriters.

Richard Pipes

REMARKS FOR LUNCHEON WITH SOVIET EMIGRES AND EXILES
MAY 11, 1982

I would like you to know, on behalf of our countrymen, how honored we are to welcome you to the White House -- the people's house in America.

I believe you are the first group of fighters for freedom and human rights in the Soviet Union ever to be received in the White House. And that, of course, is a source of great satisfaction to us.

But there is something even more important about your visit. You may come from different regions, represent different faiths, but you are united by a bond every bit as strong as it is rare: You live for truth; you fight for truth, and you have proved you are willing to risk your lives for it.

The seemingly all-powerful Soviet state is still terrified of the brave voices and acts of courage like your own. With the sacrifices you have made, you redeem your national honor. You demonstrate that Russians and the other nations of the Soviet Union share our common ideals and that the actions of the Soviet Government do not represent its peoples' real feelings and aspirations.

My only regret, is that we cannot look at these tables and see the faces of Andrei Sakharov, Anatoly Shcharansky, and Yuri Orlov -- who have been deprived of their freedom for the crime of wanting freedom for their people.

We do not want them to have to leave their beloved countries, as you had to do. No, our dream, our mission, is that someday, they may wake up knowing there will be no more persecution, no more pain, just because they love the truth, strive for a greater good, and believe in God.

Alexander Herzen wrote: "To shrink from saying a word in defense of the oppressed is as bad as any crime . . ." I pledge to you that the United States will speak out, will stand up for, and will defend the values we share.

Communism ^{ts} ~~boasts~~ ^{they} ~~it~~ will crush democratic freedom ~~S/~~. Well, let us tell them: you can imprison your people, you can close their schools, you can take their books, harass their priests and smash their unions. You can never destroy the love of God and freedom that burns in their hearts -- they will triumph over you.

Andrei Sakharov, imprisoned, but unbowed, told the West: "Everything is as it was under the system of power and economy created by Stalin." But he added: "I consider the United States the historically determined leader of the movement toward a pluralist and free society, vital to mankind."

We Americans must respond to that challenge. We must remember that freedom was not won here without the help of others; that people who turn their backs on friends often lose what they cherish most for themselves, and that freedom is never more than one generation from extinction.

Thank you again for coming today, for reminding us what we stand for, and what all of us, together, must do. God bless you all.

REMARKS FOR LUNCHEON WITH SOVIET ~~IMMIGRANTS~~ **EMIGRES & EXILES**
MAY 11, 1982

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But there is something even more important about your visit. You may come from different regions, represent different faiths, but you are united by a bond every bit as strong as it is rare: You live for truth; you fight for truth, and you have proved you are willing to risk your lives for it.

~~This~~ ^{The recently} all-powerful Soviet state is still terrified of ~~a few~~ ^{the} brave voices and acts of courage like your own. With the sacrifices you have made, you redeem your national honor. ^{You demonstrate} ~~And~~ ~~that the Russian people and the other nations of the Soviet Union share our~~ ~~believe me, it is you who honor us by appealing to us. Freedom~~ ~~common ideals and that the actions of the Soviet Government do not represent~~ ~~itself is in your debt. This brief moment we spend together is~~ ^{'s peoples'} ~~one I shall cherish forever. then~~ ^{real feelings and aspirations.}

^{have been} ~~My only wish, My~~ only regret, is that we cannot look at these tables and see the faces of Andrei Sakharov, Anatoly Shcharansky, and Yuri Orlov -- ^{who are deprived of their freedom for} ~~that we cannot see the faces of~~ ^{the cause of wanting freedom for their people.} ~~all those in the Soviet empire who yearn for the blessings we~~ ~~enjoy, and too often take for granted.~~

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1982

TO: Richard Pipes
FROM: Julie Cave *R*
RE: Solzhenitsyn

You are probably aware of these facts brought to our attention by Molly Tuthill, curator of Reagan's papers at the Hoover Institution:

In 1975, Governor Reagan made a trip to Europe and was scheduled to meet with Solzhenitsyn in Zurich. The meeting, for some reason, never took place, however.

In 1976, Reagan was going to meet with Solzhenitsyn, as Ford chose not to, but again the meeting did not occur -- at the time, Solzhenitsyn did not wish to involve himself in partisan politics, it was said.

Reagan and Solzhenitsyn are two of the Hoover's only three honorary fellows (the third is Hayak), and they were chosen in that order.

If any of this is of interest, we can pursue it, or I could have Mrs. Tuthill contact you.

Dissidents
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1975

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Wednesday, April 2

9:00 a.m. Depart Residence for Office

10:00 a.m. Briefing for England trip (PH, MD, JB) 1 hr.

11:00 a.m. Interview with Editors Manuel Klausner, Lynn Kinsky, Robert Poole and editorial assistant Eric Garriss of Reason Magazine (1/2 hr.)

11:30 a.m. Depart Office for KABC Studio

noon Luncheon with "Viewpoint" sponsors

Return to Office

4:30 p.m. Depart Office for Residence

5:30 p.m. Live - Lou Staples, KRLD-Dallas Radio Talk Show (He will call in on 472-2332) 1 hr.

(Overnight - Los Angeles)

Thursday, April 3

12:00 noon TWA #840, lv. LAX 12N, arr. JFK/NY 7:55 p.m. (747) (RR, NR, PH). Met by Dart's driver, Ray Fryor in Mercury station wagon. Proceed to Dart's apartment 870 United Nations Plaza (49th St. & East River Drive). Robert Raitt, butler. 212/832-8210

Friday, April 4

9:00 a.m. Auto and driver at Reagan's disposal for the day.

4:30 p.m. Proceed to JFK. TWA #832, lv. 7:00 p.m. (320B) arr. Zurich, Saturday, 4/5, 7:40 a.m. (met by DLB, proceed to hotel).

Saturday, April 5

Day of rest.

Sunday, April 6

10-11:30 a.m. (est. time) Meeting with Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Zurich. (Subject to confirmation on 3/24. There is a possibility that the meeting would have to take place the evening of the 5th.)

Did not take place

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENTS

To: Officer-in-charge
Appointments Center
Room 060, OEOB

Please admit the following appointments on Tuesday, ~~May~~ May 11, 1982
for Richard Pipes of NSC
(NAME OF PERSON TO BE VISITED) (AGENCY)

Ludmilla ALEXEEVA

Mark AZBEL

Valerii CHALIDZE

General Peter GRIGORENKO

Mrs. Zinaida GRIGORENKO

Pavel LITVINOV

Ayshe SEITMURATOVA

Andrei SINIAVSKII

Mrs. Maria SINIAVSKII

Father Georgii VINS

MEETING LOCATION

Building OEOB

Requested by Francesca Lapinski

Room No. 368

Room No. 368 Telephone x5646

Time of Meeting 11:00 a.m.

Date of request May 10, 1982

Additions and/or changes made by telephone should be limited to three (3) names or less.

APPOINTMENTS CENTER: SIG/OEOB - 395-6046 or WHITE HOUSE - 456-6742

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/11

Dick,

Get together with Tyson
and prepare a chronology
of events (papers, telephone
calls, etc) on the lunch
for today with the Soviet
emigres and exiles. Be sure
and cover Congressional
interest. The Judge would
like this by noon.

John

MEMORANDUM

BY

HDT NARA, DATE 12/13/07

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

May 11, 1982

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: RICHARD PIPES

SUBJECT: Background of May 11, 1982 Lunch

On short notice I cannot reconstruct with precision all the relevant facts, but here they are, in rough outline. (U)

In June 1981, Senator Jepsen met with Richard Allen to urge him to arrange for a Presidential meeting with Solzhenitsyn. I wrote a memorandum recommending that in view of Solzhenitsyn's identification with very controversial right-wing elements in the Russian emigration, the President not receive him but that, in recognition of his great attainments as a novelist and author of Gulag Archipelago, he send him a congratulatory message on a suitable occasion. (C)

Allen was not satisfied with this recommendation and requested that I meet with Stearman, Bailey and Lord to come up with another suggestion. On October 15, 1981, I wrote him that the four of us had discussed the matter and recommended that Solzhenitsyn be invited either with a group of internationally famous libertarians or with several Soviet dissidents representing diverse political currents. Allen approved the second of these recommendations, but no action was taken. (C)

In March 1982, under renewed prodding from Senator Jepsen (and Congressman Kemp), the idea of the meeting was revived. I cleared our proposal for a group lunch with State, which also was not happy with the prospect of a personal visit by Solzhenitsyn. In early April we began to put together a list of participants. At that time the date for the lunch was set for May 11. (C)

It seems that on April 6 the news of the Solzhenitsyn invitation leaked to the press. I was asked to contact Solzhenitsyn by phone and communicate the invitation. I talked to his wife and told her a formal invitation would be forthcoming and that in addition to her husband, other emigres would be present. She did not ask who they were. (C)

Subsequently, Russian emigres friendly to Solzhenitsyn let it be known that he was not happy with this arrangement. The idea then arose of a 10 or 15 minute private meeting with the President preceding the lunch. I was asked to communicate this proposal as well as the list of invitees to Solzhenitsyn. Mrs. Solzhenitsyn, however, refused to talk to me, requesting that any communication be put in writing. (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

Review May 11, 1988.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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In response to a query from Senator Jepsen's office, I drafted a brief letter from the President to Solzhenitsyn informing him of the arrangement. The package with that draft was sent to the West Wing on April 30, but I understand it was never mailed. (C)

On May 3, Solzhenitsyn sent a letter (it arrived on May 7) explaining his reasons for not coming. I understand that a telegram containing the text of the unsent letter of April 30, was then dispatched to him. (C)

cy Tyson

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

Ludmila 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

For Mwt Allen

Please add/delete
as needed. Dissidents
much

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

NOTICE TO THE PRESS

May 11, 1982

The following is the list of Soviet emigres and exiles who will have lunch with the President at 12:15 p.m.

- ✓ Ludmilla Alexeeva: 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.
- ✓ Mark Azbel: A Soviet Jewish physicist who organized in Moscow illegal scientific seminars of refuseniks. He helped edit the samizdat publication, Jews in the Soviet Union. He left the Soviet Union in 1977 and now resides in Israel but presently is teaching as guest professor at the University of Pennsylvania.
- ✓ Valerii Chalidze: A scientist, ~~he was one of the earliest to get in trouble with the authorities in the struggle for human rights.~~ *cofounder with Sakharov in 1970 of the Committee for Human Rights in USSR* He left the Soviet Union in 1972 and presently publishes Russian political literature in New York.
- ✓ General Peter Grigorenko: A distinguished Soviet Army general, 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. He is a Ukrainian by origin ~~and represents abroad Ukrainian Helsinki Group.~~ *(for a M of 6 yrs)*
- ✓ Pavel Litvinov: 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. ~~Spent for 5 years in exile as punishment.~~
- ✓ Ayshe Seitmuratova: A Muslim Tatar from the Crimea, she suffered with all her people mass deportations ordered by Stalin in 1944. Ever since she has fought for the right of her people to return to the Crimea for which she ~~was arrested numerous times.~~ *spent 3 years in camps*
- ✓ Andrei Siniavskii: An eminent writer and editor, he published for years in the Soviet Union under the pen-name "Abram Tertz." He was caught in 1965, given a prominent trial, and served a ~~seven-year~~ *long* sentence in camp. *Now teaches at the Sorbonne.*
- ✓ Father Georgii Vins: A Baptist minister, he spent many years in camps for his Christian activities. *One of the founders of the Council of the Church of Baptists created in 1965. Spent a total of 8 years in camps. In 1979 exchanged (among others) for Soviet spies.*

Chalidze: add ... , cofounder with Sakarov in 1970 of the Committee for the Rights of Man in the U.S.A.

Grigorenko: add ...wards for a total of six years. He is a Ukrainian by origin and represents ^{the} Ukrainian Helsinki Group abroad.

Litvinov: add ... Czechoslovakia. Spent five years in exile as punishment.

Seitmuratova: add: ... for which she spent three years in concentration camps.

Siniavskii: ... served a seven-year sentence in camp. Now teaches at the Sorbonne.

Vins: add ... One of the founders of the Council of the ^{Baptist} Church ~~of the Baptists~~ created in 1965. Spent a total of eight years in camps. In 1979 exchanged (among others) for Soviet spies.



