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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

**Withdrawer**

JET 5/9/2005

**File Folder** GENERAL 1/5 [1984-1986]

**FOIA**

F06-114/7

**Box Number** 26

YARHI-MILO

2607

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
9915	MEMO	HILL TO MCFARLANE RE DENIAL OF SOVIET VISIT TO ALASKA PIPELINE [ 44 - 44 ] <b>R 7/7/2008 NLRRF06-114/7</b>	1	3/17/1984	B1
9910	MEMO	MCFARLANE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE FORTHCOMING VISITS TO MOSCOW [ 46 - 46 ] <b>R 7/7/2008 NLRRF06-114/7</b>	1	ND	B1
9916	MEMO	SHULTZ TO PRESIDENT REAGAN RE FORTHCOMING VISITS TO MOSCOW [ 47 - 47 ] <b>R 7/7/2008 NLRRF06-114/7</b>	1	3/20/1984	B1
9911	MEMO	MATLOCK TO MCFARLANE RE MEETING OF PRESIDENT WITH RUSSIAN ÉMIGRÉ WRITERS [ 49 - 49 ] <b>R 6/25/2009 F2006-114/7</b>	1	4/2/1984	B1

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.

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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**Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
9912	MEMO	MATLOCK TO MCFARLANE RE VISIT OF SOVIET TV COMMENTATOR POZNER [ 52 - 52 ] <b>R 7/7/2008 NLRRF06-114/7</b>	1	4/6/1984	B1
9913	MEMO	KIMMITT TO HILL RE VISIT OF SOVIET TV COMMENTATOR [ 53 - 53 ] <b>R 7/7/2008 NLRRF06-114/7</b>	1	3/19/1984	B1
9914	MEMO	MATLOCK TO MCFARLANE RE VISIT OF SOVIET TV COMMENTATOR POZNER [ 54 - 55 ] <b>R 6/25/2009 F2006-114/7</b>	2	3/12/1984	B1
9917	MEMO	HILL TO MCFARLANE RE VISIT OF SOVIET TV COMMENTATOR [ 56 - 56 ] <b>R 7/7/2008 NLRRF06-114/7</b>	1	3/3/1984	B1

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

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
9918	MEMO	KIMMITT TO HILL RE VISIT OF SOVIET TV COMMENTATOR [ 57 - 57 ]	1	ND	B1
	<b>R</b>	<b>7/7/2008</b>			<b>NLRRF06-114/7</b>

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

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

The President has seen \_\_\_\_\_

9434 1984

1984 JAN -9 AM 11:09

*MATLOCK*

*BR*

*File*

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
January 9, 1984

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE *RCM*  
SUBJECT: New Year's Greetings from Soviet Leaders

New Year's greeting cards addressed to you and Mrs. Reagan have been received from Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Mrs. Andropov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Tikhonov, Soviet Foreign Minister and Mrs. Gromyko and Ambassador and Mrs. Dobrynin.

The cards are printed ones and contain no personal notes (Tab A). It is normal practice for the Soviet leaders to send greeting cards for the New Year. The cards do indicate that Mrs. Andropov is still alive (there had been some doubt about this), and that Tikhonov has not remarried since his wife died in 1980.

It tells us something about Soviet secrecy to realize that we have to get information of this sort from holiday greeting cards!

Attachment:

Tab A Soviet New Year's greetings

cc: Vice President

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By *CAS* NARA, Date *7/18/02*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tab A - Informal Translation

Envelope Address

His Excellency

The President of the United States of America  
and Mrs. Reagan

The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Card Greeting

Happy New Year!

Card Interior

Yuriy Vladimirovich  
and Tat'yana Filippovna  
Andropov send you  
their very best wishes  
for the New Year

Tab B - Informal Translation

Envelope Address

His Excellency  
The President of the United States of America  
and Mrs. Reagan

The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Card Greeting

Happy New Year!

Card Interior

Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov  
sends you his very best  
wishes for the New Year

## Tab C - Informal Translation

Envelope Address

His Excellency

The President of the United States of America  
and Mrs. ReaganThe White House  
Washington, D.C.Card Greeting

Happy New Year!

Card InteriorAndrey Andreyevich and Lidiya Dmitriyevna  
Gromyko send you their very best  
wishes for the New Year



December 30, 1983

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Soviet New Year's Greetings to President and Mrs. Reagan

Attached are New Year's greeting cards and informal translations for the President and Mrs. Reagan from General Secretary and Mrs. Andropov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov, Foreign Minister and Mrs. Gromyko and Ambassador and Mrs. Dobrynin.

The New Year's greetings are of some minor biographical interest. The appearance of Mrs. Andropov's name is additional confirmation that she is still alive (until recently, there was some doubt on this score). Also, Nikolay Tikhonov's wife, Praskovaya, reportedly died in 1980, and his solitary greeting would indicate that he has not remarried since then.

*Charles Hill*  
Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

## Attachments:

1. Tab A - Greeting from General Secretary and Mrs. Andropov.
2. Tab B - Greeting from Chairman of the Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov.
3. Tab C - Greeting from Foreign Minister and Mrs. Gromyko.
4. Tab D - Greeting from Ambassador and Mrs. Dobrynin.

~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE~~

CW

7/18/02

MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 5, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

JACK MATLOCK *JM*

SUBJECT:

Conference on Soviet Strategy in Tokyo

Ray Cline of CSIS, Georgetown, has written me and Gaston Sigur regarding a conference on Soviet strategy in Asia which his organization, the World Strategy Network, is organizing in Tokyo March 13-14. The conference is funded by DOD.

Ray had hoped to have a participant from the NSC, but we were able to locate no one with an appropriate background who could get away next week. I managed to arrange, however, for Jack Scanlan of State, who is familiar with the issues, to go. Stillwell's deputy will go from Defense.

Ray's second request was for a letter from you endorsing the conference. Since I believe that this is a laudable effort, I attach a letter which I believe would be appropriate for the occasion.

Gaston Sigur concurs.

Recommendation:

That you sign the letter at TAB I.

Approve Disapprove 

## Attachment:

Tab I - Letter to Dr. Ray S. Cline

Tab II - Cline-Matlock letter of Feb. 14, 1984

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 23, 1997  
By CSJ NARA, Date 7/11/02

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Ray:

I am very pleased to learn of the plans for a conference in Tokyo on Soviet Strategy in Asia, sponsored by the World Strategy Network and the World Strategy Council of Japan.

The subject is obviously of great importance both for the United States and for our Japanese Allies. I commend the initiative taken by both your organizations to provide an opportunity for government officials and prominent specialists from both countries to meet and discuss the strategic questions which arise from increasing Soviet activity in Asia.

You have my best wishes for a successful conference and I look forward to seeing your report on the views expressed there.

Sincerely,

Dr. Ray S. Cline  
World Strategy Network  
1015 Eighteenth Street N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036



# World Strategy Network

1015 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N.W. • SUITE 805  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • 202-775-3212

February 24, 1984

## CHAIRMEN:

Hon. Clare Boothe Luce  
Morris I. Leibman, ABA

## DIRECTOR:

Dr. Ray S. Cline

## EXECUTIVE SECRETARY:

Dr. James Arnold Miller

## MILITARY

### COUNSELORS:

General Lyman L. Lemnitzer  
U.S.A. (Ret.)  
Admiral Thomas H. Moorer  
U.S.N. (Ret.)  
General Maxwell Taylor  
U.S.A. (Ret.)  
General Albert C. Wedemeyer  
U.S.A. (Ret.)

## TASK GROUP CHAIRMEN:

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Hon. John J. Rhodes  
Hon. Mickey Edwards, M.C.  
John Norton Moore, ABA

### Disinformation:

Arnaud de Borchgrave  
Phillip Nicolaidis

### International Terrorism:

Dr. Yonah Alexander

### Geopolitical Issues:

Dr. Frank Barnett  
Dr. Jacquelyn K. Davis  
Dr. Richard B. Foster  
Dr. William R. Kintner  
Dr. Edward N. Luttwak

### Soviet Union:

Dr. Richard Pipes  
Dr. Leon Gouré

### China:

Hon. Walter H. Judd  
Dr. Franz Michael

### Latin America:

Dr. Roger Fontaine

### Mideast:

Dr. Joyce R. Starr

### Economic Strategy:

Dr. Norman Bailey  
Dr. Stefan Halper

### Air & Space:

Maj. Gen. Michael Collins  
U.S.A.F. (Ret.)  
Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham  
U.S.A. (Ret.)

### Science & Technology:

Dr. Edward Teller  
Dr. Miles Costick

Ambassador Jack Matlock  
Special Assistant to the President  
National Security Council  
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Jack:

Herewith is a brief description of the project in researching and conferring abroad with scholars and officials interested in Soviet strategy. This specific conference plan is for Japan.

We expect to hold a number of conferences this year but have scheduled only two: Tokyo, 13-14 March 1984 and Rome, 15-16 May 1984.

I am very anxious to have the NSC involved in and supportive of the whole project. Right now, however, it is urgent to demonstrate high-level enthusiasm for what we are doing in Tokyo. This means an NSC staff member should attend the Tokyo conference -- no paper necessary, just participation in discussions on Washington's view of Soviet strategy in Asia.

We also need a brief note of encouragement and endorsement from Bud McFarlane, or, if he thinks it appropriate, the President. Such a note would simply say White House officials concerned with strategic planning have been briefed on the Tokyo Conference on Soviet Strategy in Asia. This conference is sponsored by the World Strategy Network in Washington, whose Director Ray S. Cline will attend the Tokyo meetings. It is hosted by the World Strategy Council, Japan, an association of distinguished Japanese scholars and experts on Asian strategic issues.

Please help us get a name promptly for an NSC representative participating (unofficially and informally) at the Tokyo scholars' conference and also clear a letter endorsing the concept of the conference prior to 10 March 1984. Both the Defense Department and the State Department have approved the Tokyo project and are supporting it. Two officers from General Stilwell's staff will attend. Speedy action on a letter should be easy.

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## SPONSORING INSTITUTIONS

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Center for Strategic & International  
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Georgetown University

Interaction  
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Incorporated

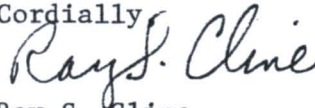
The John Davis Lodge  
Center  
for International Studies

---

Ambassador Jack Matlock  
February 24, 1984  
Page Two

Sorry to trouble you, but we want these discussions to be successful in improving understanding of the American view of the Soviet threat to world security.

Cordially



Ray S. Cline  
Director

Encs.

cc: Dr. Gaston Sigur, NSC



SOVIET GLOBAL STRATEGY AGAINST ASIA

POSSIBLE PARTICIPANTS

CONFERENCE IN TOKYO, JAPAN, MARCH 14, 1984

The Japan host for the conference effort will be the Japan World Strategy Council (JWSC) whose leaders include:

Gen. Ichiji Sugita (Ret.) (JWSC Chairman)  
Honorary President, Japan Veterans Association

Amb. Shinsaku Hogen (JWSC Co-Chairman)  
Former Vice Foreign Minister

Prof. Osamu Miyoshi (JWSC Executive Director)

Prof. Kenzo Kiga  
Keio University, and President of the Association for  
Soviet-East European Studies

Adm. Kenichi Kitamura (Ret.)  
Former Commander, Self-Defense Fleet

Dr. Koh Maruyama  
Former Vice Minister of State for Defense

Gen. Shigeto Nagano (Ret.)  
Former Chief of Staff, Ground Self-Defense Force

Prof. Haraki Niwa  
Kyoto Sangyo University

The JWSC tentatively plans to invite to the March 14, 1984, conference in Tokyo the following persons, all of whom were met by Drs. Cline and Miller at various meetings during a planning trip to Tokyo, December 11-16, 1983:

Adm. Hirosato Asonuma (Ret.)  
Former Deputy Commander in Chief, Self-Defense Fleet

Amb. Ryuichi Ando  
Former Ambassador to Athens

Mr. Yukiyasu Harano  
Secretary, Kangaku-in Foundation

Gen. Iiichi Hirose (Ret.)  
President, Japan Veterans Association

Mr. Hajime Iki  
Executive Director, Japan Veterans Association

Mr. Toyokazu Isaka  
Monthly Magazine "JIYU"

Mr. Hideaki Kase  
Chairman, Japan Center for the Study of Security Issues (JCSSI)

Mr. Hiroshi Kimura  
Critic

Mr. Nobutane Kiuchi  
Chairman, Institute of the World Economy

Mr. Yoshihisa Komori  
Senior Correspondent, Mainichi Newspapers

Mr. Hiroshi Komoto  
Director, RF-RADIO NIPPON Inc.

Gen. Hiroomi Kurisu (Ret.)  
Former Chairman, JSC

Gen. Hisatomo Matsukane (Ret.)  
Former North-Eastern Army Commander

Dr. Akishige Matsumoto  
Vice President, Defense Association

Mr. Masahiro Miyazaki  
Secretary General, JCSSI

Mr. Masahiko Motoki  
Deputy Chief, Monthly Magazine "GENDAI"

Prof. Yatsuhiko Nakagawa  
Tsukuba University

Mr. Toshio Nakajima  
Director, U.S. Affairs, Cabinet Research Office

Ms. Kaoru Nakamaru  
Director, International Affairs Institute

Mr. Toyoo Nobori  
Director, Sogo Security Service Corporation

Adm. Ryohei Ohga (Ret.)  
Former Chief of Staff, Self-Defense Fleet

Mr. Hisahiko Okazaki  
Director General, Research and Planning Division,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Tomoya Okumura  
President, Ohsaka Riki-Knives Mfg. Co., Ltd.

Amb. Shizuo Saitoh  
Former Ambassador to the United Nations;  
Chairman, The Foreign Press Center

Mr. Tomohisa Sakanaka  
Senior Correspondent, Asahi Newspapers

Mr. Norimitsu Sasagawa  
President, The Nippon Times

Prof. Yoshiaki Sasaki  
Lecturer, Takusyoku University

Dr. Hideo Sekino  
Director, Historical Research Institute

Prof. Yasunobu Somura  
Tokyo Scientific University

Mr. Yasutoh Takada  
The Star & Stripe Association

Mr. Minoru Tamba  
Director, Soviet Union Affairs Division, Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs

Dr. Jun Tsunoda  
Executive Director, Japanese Center for Strategic Studies

Mr. Takehiko Ueda  
Director, Office of Total Produce, News Track Japan, Inc.

Mr. Sanji Ueki  
Secretary, Kangaku-in Foundation



Prof. Kazuro Umezu  
Ohsaka Foreign Policy University

Prof. Tetsuji Yasuhira  
Soka University

Prof. Yasuhiko Yoshida  
Aoyama Gakuin University

Mr. Joji Yoshihara  
Senior Staff, Cabinet Research Office

Other Japanese, not met by Drs. Cline and Miller, yet perhaps suitable for invitation include:

Mr. Masamichi Inoki  
President, Research Institute for Peace and Security

Prof. Hiroshi Kimura  
Hokkaido University

Prof. Masataka Kosaka  
Kyoto University

Prof. Masamori Sasse  
Japan Defense College

Prof. Seizaburo Sato  
University of Tokyo

Prof. Hayao Shimizu  
Tokyo Gaiko University

Most of these are believed to be Soviet specialists, or at least specialists on foreign policy and defense matters.



## SOVIET GLOBAL STRATEGY AGAINST ASIA

### FACT SHEET

The nature, objectives, intensity, and modus operandi of Soviet global strategy against Asia are being treated in a major research effort being undertaken by Interaction Systems Incorporated (ISI) of McLean, Virginia. Located near Washington, D.C., ISI is a research firm which concentrates on international political, military, and economic issues. As part of its Soviet Global Strategy Project, ISI is preparing a study entitled Soviet Global Strategy Against Asia.

Global strategy can be viewed as a systematic process involving the employment of the political, economic, technological, military, diplomatic, psychological, ideological, and moral elements of national power to promote national goals and objectives. Many analysts in the free world believe that the Soviet Union has a multi-faceted global strategy which consciously and, with the exception of occasional, relatively minor setbacks, effectively promotes Moscow's long-term expansionistic aims. Full understanding of the essence of Soviet global strategy is essential to policymakers in the free world.

Contributing to the project will be dozens of recognized Asian and American specialists on Soviet affairs. Relying whenever possible on primary Soviet sources of information, these Soviet specialists are being asked to document the existence of and the Asia-oriented manifestations of Soviet global strategy. A major element of the research process is extensive interviewing, panel discussions, and library-type research in the United States.

But in order to obtain the essential Asian perspective on Soviet global strategy, Soviet Global Strategy Against Asia will also be based heavily on the results of several conferences to be held in Japan. These conferences in Japan will be hosted by the Japan World Strategy Council and assisted by three American organizations based in the Washington, D.C. area: the World Strategy Network, the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University, and Interaction Systems Incorporated. At these meetings, Asian and American specialists on the Soviet Union will meet and, in a structured manner, exchange facts and insights on Soviet global strategy as applied to Asia. In addition, a select audience of Asians, who are not necessarily Soviet specialists

but who have concerns and expertise about international affairs, will be invited to participate in each meeting so that their perceptions of Soviet global strategy against Asia might be noted. Each conference will also include keynote and other special presentations by distinguished guests.

As Director of ISI's Soviet Global Strategy Project and Chairman of the firm's Advisory Council, Dr. Ray S. Cline serves as the Senior Editor for Soviet Global Strategy Against Asia. Dr. Cline is the former Deputy Director for Intelligence of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. He is also Director of the World Strategy Network, Washington, D.C., and Senior Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. A prolific commentator and writer on strategic matters, Dr. Cline is the author of World Power Trends and U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1980s (1980). His most recent book, written with Dr. Yonah Alexander, is Terrorism: The Soviet Connection (1984), which reports on the increasing use by the Soviets of terrorism and other forms of low-intensity conflict to implement their global strategy.

Co-Editors of Soviet Global Strategy Against Asia will be Dr. Roger E. Kanet and Dr. James Arnold Miller. Dr. Kanet is Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. A distinguished authority on Soviet foreign and military policies, Dr. Kanet has written hundreds of articles and written and edited a number of major books. Dr. Miller has written widely on such topics as terrorism and insurgency, geopolitics, raw materials availability, and Soviet global strategy in general. He is the Executive Secretary of the World Strategy Network, Washington, D.C. And in his capacity as Chairman of Interaction Systems Incorporated, Dr. Miller is responsible for the administrative aspects of the Soviet Global Strategy Project and the preparation of Soviet Global Strategy Against Asia.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 8, 1984

Musgrave: 16

General

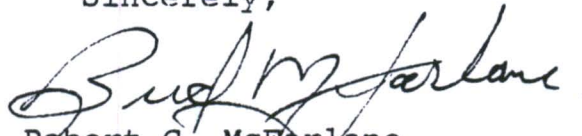
Dear Ray:

I am very pleased to learn of the plans for a conference in Tokyo on Soviet Strategy in Asia, sponsored by the World Strategy Network and the World Strategy Council of Japan.

The subject is obviously of great importance both for the United States and for our Japanese Allies. I commend the initiative taken by both your organizations to provide an opportunity for government officials and prominent specialists from both countries to meet and discuss the strategic questions which arise from increasing Soviet activity in Asia.

You have my best wishes for a successful conference and I look forward to seeing your report on the views expressed there.

Sincerely,

  
Robert C. McFarlane

Dr. Ray S. Cline  
World Strategy Network  
1015 Eighteenth Street N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 5, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *JEM*

SUBJECT: Conference on Soviet Strategy in Tokyo

SIGNED

Ray Cline of CSIS, Georgetown, has written me and Gaston Sigur regarding a conference on Soviet strategy in Asia which his organization, the World Strategy Network, is organizing in Tokyo March 13-14. The conference is funded by DOD.

Ray had hoped to have a participant from the NSC, but we were able to locate no one with an appropriate background who could get away next week. I managed to arrange, however, for Jack Scanlan of State, who is familiar with the issues, to go. Stillwell's deputy will go from Defense.

Ray's second request was for a letter from you endorsing the conference. Since I believe that this is a laudable effort, I attach a letter which I believe would be appropriate for the occasion.

Gaston *JS* Sigur concurs.

Recommendation:

That you sign the letter at TAB I.

Approve  Disapprove

## Attachment:

- Tab I - Letter to Dr. Ray S. Cline
- Tab II - Cline-Matlock letter of Feb. 14, 1984

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
 By *CSJ* NARA, Date *7/14/12*



# World Strategy Network

1015 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N.W. • SUITE 805  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • 202-775-3212

February 24, 1984

## CHAIRMEN:

Hon. Clare Boothe Luce  
Morris I. Leibman, ABA

## DIRECTOR:

Dr. Ray S. Cline

## EXECUTIVE

## SECRETARY:

Dr. James Arnold Miller

## MILITARY

## COUNSELORS:

General Lyman L. Lemnitzer  
U.S.A. (Ret.)  
Admiral Thomas H. Moorer  
U.S.N. (Ret.)  
General Maxwell Taylor  
U.S.A. (Ret.)  
General Albert C. Wedemeyer  
U.S.A. (Ret.)

## TASK GROUP

### CHAIRMEN:

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Hon. Mickey Edwards, M.C.  
John Norton Moore, ABA

#### Disinformation:

Arnaud de Borchgrave  
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#### International Terrorism:

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Dr. Frank Barnett  
Dr. Jacquelyn K. Davis  
Dr. Richard B. Foster  
Dr. William R. Kintner  
Dr. Edward N. Luttwak

#### Soviet Union:

Dr. Richard Pipes  
Dr. Leon Gouré

#### China:

Hon. Walter H. Judd  
Dr. Franz Michael

#### Latin America:

Dr. Roger Fontaine

#### Mideast:

Dr. Joyce R. Starr

#### Economic Strategy:

Dr. Norman Bailey  
Dr. Stefan Halper

#### Air & Space:

Maj. Gen. Michael Collins  
U.S.A.F. (Ret.)  
Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham  
U.S.A. (Ret.)

#### Science & Technology:

Dr. Edward Teller  
Dr. Miles Costick

Ambassador Jack Matlock  
Special Assistant to the President  
National Security Council  
Washington, D.C. 20506

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## SPONSORING INSTITUTIONS

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Studies.  
Georgetown University

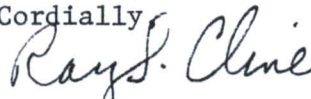
Interaction  
Systems  
Incorporated

The John Davis Lodge  
Center  
for International Studies

Ambassador Jack Matlock  
February 24, 1984  
Page Two

Sorry to trouble you, but we want these discussions to be successful in improving understanding of the American view of the Soviet threat to world security.

Cordially



Ray S. Cline  
Director

Encs.

cc: Dr. Gaston Sigur, NSC



## SOVIET GLOBAL STRATEGY AGAINST ASIA

### POSSIBLE PARTICIPANTS

CONFERENCE IN TOKYO, JAPAN, MARCH 14, 1984

The Japan host for the conference effort will be the Japan World Strategy Council (JWSC) whose leaders include:

Gen. Ichiji Sugita (Ret.) (JWSC Chairman)  
Honorary President, Japan Veterans Association

Amb. Shinsaku Hogen (JWSC Co-Chairman)  
Former Vice Foreign Minister

Prof. Osamu Miyoshi (JWSC Executive Director)

Prof. Kenzo Kiga  
Keio University, and President of the Association for  
Soviet-East European Studies

Adm. Kenichi Kitamura (Ret.)  
Former Commander, Self-Defense Fleet

Dr. Koh Maruyama  
Former Vice Minister of State for Defense

Gen. Shigeto Nagano (Ret.)  
Former Chief of Staff, Ground Self-Defense Force

Prof. Haraki Niwa  
Kyoto Sangyo University

The JWSC tentatively plans to invite to the March 14, 1984, conference in Tokyo the following persons, all of whom were met by Drs. Cline and Miller at various meetings during a planning trip to Tokyo, December 11-16, 1983:

Adm. Hirosato Asonuma (Ret.)  
Former Deputy Commander in Chief, Self-Defense Fleet



Amb. Ryuichi Ando  
Former Ambassador to Athens

Mr. Yukiyasu Harano  
Secretary, Kangaku-in Foundation

Gen. Iiichi Hirose (Ret.)  
President, Japan Veterans Association

Mr. Hajime Iki  
Executive Director, Japan Veterans Association

Mr. Toyokazu Isaka  
Monthly Magazine "JIYU"

Mr. Hideaki Kase  
Chairman, Japan Center for the Study of Security Issues (JCSSI)

Mr. Hiroshi Kimura  
Critic

Mr. Nobutane Kiuchi  
Chairman, Institute of the World Economy

Mr. Yoshihisa Komori  
Senior Correspondent, Mainichi Newspapers

Mr. Hiroshi Komoto  
Director, RF-RADIO NIPPON Inc.

Gen. Hiroomi Kurisu (Ret.)  
Former Chairman, JSC

Gen. Hisatomo Matsukane (Ret.)  
Former North-Eastern Army Commander

Dr. Akishige Matsumoto  
Vice President, Defense Association

Mr. Masahiro Miyazaki  
Secretary General, JCSSI

Mr. Masahiko Motoki  
Deputy Chief, Monthly Magazine "GENDAI"

Prof. Yatsuhiko Nakagawa  
Tsukuba University

Mr. Toshio Nakajima  
Director, U.S. Affairs, Cabinet Research Office

Ms. Kaoru Nakamaru  
Director, International Affairs Institute

Mr. Toyoo Nobori  
Director, Sogo Security Service Corporation

Adm. Ryohei Ohga (Ret.)  
Former Chief of Staff, Self-Defense Fleet

Mr. Hisahiko Okazaki  
Director General, Research and Planning Division,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Tomoya Okumura  
President, Ohsaka Riki-Knives Mfg. Co., Ltd.

Amb. Shizuo Saitoh  
Former Ambassador to the United Nations;  
Chairman, The Foreign Press Center

Mr. Tomohisa Sakanaka  
Senior Correspondent, Asahi Newspapers

Mr. Norimitsu Sasagawa  
President, The Nippon Times

Prof. Yoshiaki Sasaki  
Lecturer, Takusyoku University

Dr. Hideo Sekino  
Director, Historical Research Institute

Prof. Yasunobu Somura  
Tokyo Scientific University

Mr. Yasutoh Takada  
The Star & Stripe Association

Mr. Minoru Tamba  
Director, Soviet Union Affairs Division, Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs

Dr. Jun Tsunoda  
Executive Director, Japanese Center for Strategic Studies

Mr. Takehiko Ueda  
Director, Office of Total Produce, News Track Japan, Inc.

Mr. Sanji Ueki  
Secretary, Kangaku-in Foundation

Prof. Kazuro Umezu  
Ohsaka Foreign Policy University

Prof. Tetsuji Yasuhira  
Soka University

Prof. Yasuhiko Yoshida  
Aoyama Gakuin University

Mr. Joji Yoshihara  
Senior Staff, Cabinet Research Office

Other Japanese, not met by Drs. Cline and Miller, yet perhaps suitable for invitation include:

Mr. Masamichi Inoki  
President, Research Institute for Peace and Security

Prof. Hiroshi Kimura  
Hokkaido University

Prof. Masataka Kosaka  
Kyoto University

Prof. Masamori Sasse  
Japan Defense College

Prof. Seizaburo Sato  
University of Tokyo

Prof. Hayao Shimizu  
Tokyo Gaiko University

Most of these are believed to be Soviet specialists, or at least specialists on foreign policy and defense matters.



## SOVIET GLOBAL STRATEGY AGAINST ASIA

### FACT SHEET

The nature, objectives, intensity, and modus operandi of Soviet global strategy against Asia are being treated in a major research effort being undertaken by Interaction Systems Incorporated (ISI) of McLean, Virginia. Located near Washington, D.C., ISI is a research firm which concentrates on international political, military, and economic issues. As part of its Soviet Global Strategy Project, ISI is preparing a study entitled Soviet Global Strategy Against Asia.

Global strategy can be viewed as a systematic process involving the employment of the political, economic, technological, military, diplomatic, psychological, ideological, and moral elements of national power to promote national goals and objectives. Many analysts in the free world believe that the Soviet Union has a multi-faceted global strategy which consciously and, with the exception of occasional, relatively minor setbacks, effectively promotes Moscow's long-term expansionistic aims. Full understanding of the essence of Soviet global strategy is essential to policymakers in the free world.

Contributing to the project will be dozens of recognized Asian and American specialists on Soviet affairs. Relying whenever possible on primary Soviet sources of information, these Soviet specialists are being asked to document the existence of and the Asia-oriented manifestations of Soviet global strategy. A major element of the research process is extensive interviewing, panel discussions, and library-type research in the United States.

But in order to obtain the essential Asian perspective on Soviet global strategy, Soviet Global Strategy Against Asia will also be based heavily on the results of several conferences to be held in Japan. These conferences in Japan will be hosted by the Japan World Strategy Council and assisted by three American organizations based in the Washington, D.C. area: the World Strategy Network, the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University, and Interaction Systems Incorporated. At these meetings, Asian and American specialists on the Soviet Union will meet and, in a structured manner, exchange facts and insights on Soviet global strategy as applied to Asia. In addition, a select audience of Asians, who are not necessarily Soviet specialists

but who have concerns and expertise about international affairs, will be invited to participate in each meeting so that their perceptions of Soviet global strategy against Asia might be noted. Each conference will also include keynote and other special presentations by distinguished guests.

As Director of ISI's Soviet Global Strategy Project and Chairman of the firm's Advisory Council, Dr. Ray S. Cline serves as the Senior Editor for Soviet Global Strategy Against Asia. Dr. Cline is the former Deputy Director for Intelligence of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. He is also Director of the World Strategy Network, Washington, D.C., and Senior Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. A prolific commentator and writer on strategic matters, Dr. Cline is the author of World Power Trends and U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1980s (1980). His most recent book, written with Dr. Yonah Alexander, is Terrorism: The Soviet Connection (1984), which reports on the increasing use by the Soviets of terrorism and other forms of low-intensity conflict to implement their global strategy.

Co-Editors of Soviet Global Strategy Against Asia will be Dr. Roger E. Kanet and Dr. James Arnold Miller. Dr. Kanet is Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. A distinguished authority on Soviet foreign and military policies, Dr. Kanet has written hundreds of articles and written and edited a number of major books. Dr. Miller has written widely on such topics as terrorism and insurgency, geopolitics, raw materials availability, and Soviet global strategy in general. He is the Executive Secretary of the World Strategy Network, Washington, D.C. And in his capacity as Chairman of Interaction Systems Incorporated, Dr. Miller is responsible for the administrative aspects of the Soviet Global Strategy Project and the preparation of Soviet Global Strategy Against Asia.

General 26

2004

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 13, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Mrs. Massie's Gift of Three Books

Attached at Tab I is a Memorandum to the President conveying the letter and books Mrs. Massie left for him, as well as a thank-you letter for his signature.

Recommendation:

That you sign the memorandum at TAB I.

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

Attachments:

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
- Tab A Letter to Mrs. Massie
- Tab B Letter from Mrs. Massie

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By CJS NARA, Date 7/18/02

MEMORANDUM

2004

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SUBJECT: Mrs. Massie's Gift of Books

Following the lunch with you on March 1, Mrs. Suzanne Massie sent you the letter at Tab B and also copies of three of her books, which she mentioned during the lunch.

A letter of acknowledgement for your signature is at Tab A.

Recommendation:

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

OK NO

— —

Attachments:

- Tab A -- Letter to Mrs. Massie
- Tab B -- Letter from Mrs. Massie
- Three books

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 21, 1997  
By CSJ NARA, Date 7/18/12

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Suzanne:

You were most kind to send me copies of your books The Living Mirror, Journey and Land of the Firebird. Nancy and I will read them with great interest.

I very much enjoyed our chat at lunch March 1, and I appreciate all your efforts to try to improve our communication with the Russian people.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Mrs. Suzanne Massie  
One West 67th Street  
Apartment 715  
New York, New York 10023



STAFF  
MAR 1

BRIAN/NSC Secretariat:

It is essential that this package be kept in the sequence as it is attached.

Thanks much,

Wilma

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1984

FOR: JACK MATLOCK

FROM: Wilma Hall

Mr. McFarlane has asked that I send attached to you for preparation of an appropriate response for the President's signature.

Also, she has provided with the letter inscribed copies of her three books:

- 1) The Living Mirror
- 2) Journey
- 3) Land of the Firebird

which we have retained in our office, to be forwarded with reply for the President's signature.

I have attached copies of the inscriptions in the books in the order listed above.

SUZANNE MASSIE  
1 WEST 67TH STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023

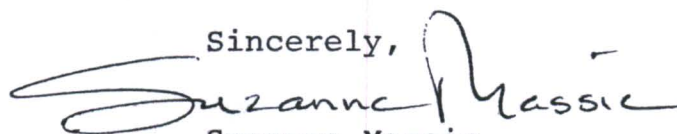
March 6, 1984

Dear Mr. President,

It was a great honor and pleasure for me to be asked to lunch with you last Thursday. Thank you so much for giving me so generously of your time and attention.

For many years it has been my deepest desire to see a relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union that is realistic and yet hopefully, constructive and looking toward a better future. It gives me a profound joy to be able to serve you in any way I can towards the fulfillment of this goal.

With respect and best wishes,

Sincerely,  
  
Suzanne Massie

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

March 8, 1984

THE LIVING MIRROR

FIVE YOUNG POETS FROM LENINGRAD

for President and Mrs. Ronald Reagan -

a glimpse into the life and  
work of the poets of the  
great city of Peter -

with best wishes,

Juranne Massie

March 8, 1984

For President -  
and Mrs. Ronald Reagan -

It is said that God  
wears straight on crooked  
lines - These were those  
years -

with best wishes,

Jacqueline Massie

March 8, 1984



To President and Mrs. Ronald Reagan -

May the fire of the spirit  
unite both nations -

with respect and  
warm personal regards -

Suzanne Massie

USSR - General  
Handwritten 34  
File

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1984

Dear Suzanne:

You were most kind to send me copies of your books The Living Mirror, Journey and Land of the Firebird. Nancy and I will read them with great interest.

I very much enjoyed our chat at lunch March 1, and I appreciate all your efforts to try to improve our communication with the Russian people.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

*Ronald Reagan*

Mrs. Suzanne Massie  
One West 67th Street  
Apartment 715  
New York, New York 10023

35

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1984

FOR: JACK MATLOCK

FROM: Wilma Hall

Mr. McFarlane has asked that I send attached to you for preparation of an appropriate response for the President's signature.

Also, she has provided with the letter inscribed copies of her three books:

- 1) The Living Mirror
- 2) Journey
- 3) Land of the Firebird

which we have retained in our office, to be forwarded with reply for the President's signature.

I have attached copies of the inscriptions in the books in the order listed above.

3  
STAFF  
MAR 0 9 1984

BRIAN/NSC Secretariat:

It is essential that this package  
be kept in the sequence as it is  
attached.

Thanks much,

Wilma



MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Received SS  
1984 MAR 14 PM 4:58  
2004  
37

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 14, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE *RCM*  
SUBJECT: Mrs. Massie's Gift of Books

**SIGNED**

Following the lunch with you on March 1, Mrs. Suzanne Massie sent you the letter at Tab B and also copies of three of her books, which she mentioned during the lunch.

A letter of acknowledgement for your signature is at Tab A.

Recommendation:

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

OK NO

Attachments:

- Tab A -- Letter to Mrs. Massie
- Tab B -- Letter from Mrs. Massie
- Three books

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By *CAI* NARA, Date *7/18/02*

CONFIDENTIAL

200 7

38

SUZANNE MASSIE  
1 WEST 67TH STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023

March 6, 1984

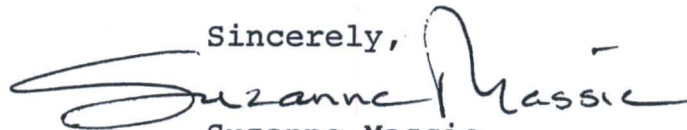
Dear Mr. President,

It was a great honor and pleasure for me to be asked to lunch with you last Thursday. Thank you so much for giving me so generously of your time and attention.

For many years it has been my deepest desire to see a relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union that is realistic and yet hopefully, constructive and looking toward a better future. It gives me a profound joy to be able to serve you in any way I can towards the fulfillment of this goal.

With respect and best wishes,

Sincerely,



Suzanne Massie

Suzanne Massie

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

39  
March 8, 1984

THE LIVING MIRROR

FIVE YOUNG POETS FROM LENINGRAD

For President and Mrs. Ronald Reagan -

a glimpse into the life and  
work of the poets of the  
great city of Peter -

With best wishes,

Juranne Massie

40  
March 8, 1984

For President -  
and Mrs. Ronald Reagan -

It is said that God  
wheels straight on crooked  
lines - These were those  
years -

with best wishes,

Jacqueline Massie

March 8, 1984

41



To President and Mrs. Ronald Reagan —

May the fire of the spirit  
unite both nations —

with respect and  
warm personal regards —

Suzanne Massie

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

42

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 13, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

**SIGNED**

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Mrs. Massie's Gift of Three Books

Attached at Tab I is a Memorandum to the President conveying the letter and books Mrs. Massie left for him, as well as a thank-you letter for his signature.

Recommendation:

That you sign the memorandum at TAB I.

Approve   ✓  

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
- Tab A Letter to Mrs. Massie
- Tab B Letter from Mrs. Massie

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 27, 1997

By   CJ   NARA, Date   7/18/02

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 20, 1984

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *JM*

SUBJECT: Denial of Soviet Visit to Alaska Pipeline

The attached memorandum from State reports the denial of permission for a group of Soviet engineers to tour the Alaska pipeline in June.

I believe the denial was appropriate under the circumstances.

Attachment:

Tab I - Hill-McFarlane Memorandum of March 17, 1984

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
By AS NARA, Date 7/18/02

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

44



March 17, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. McFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Denial of Soviet Visit to Alaska Pipeline

The Department of State is denying a request from General Electric that they host a group of Soviet engineers, headed by an unspecified deputy minister of the gas industry and the operational manager of the export gas pipeline, on a tour of the Alaska pipeline in June. We will inform GE of our decision.

The Soviets wanted to review the Alaska pipeline consortium's experience in maintaining GE Frame V turbines in the tundra. All equipment which the visitors would have seen is licensable for export to the USSR under current standards. The Soviet delegation also planned to tour Canadian pipelines equipped with aircraft-engine derivative compressors. The Soviet quid pro quo would have been a visit by GE engineers to the new Soviet export gas pipeline to Western Europe.

While we perceived commercial utility for GE from the exchange of visits, and some intelligence collection opportunities for the USG, we believe the Soviets would have been the net gainers. In addition, there was a strong possibility that the visit would have been interpreted as evidence that we now view our pipeline sanctions as a mistake, and that we are relaxing our oil and gas equipment export controls. Therefore, we decided to deny the visit.

*BMCKmley*  
for Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR Feb-114/7 179915

BY Cut NARA DATE 7/7/08

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL: OADR



MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 20, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *JGM*

SUBJECT: Forthcoming Visits to Moscow

Secretary Shultz has sent the President a Memorandum calling his attention to a number of forthcoming visits to Moscow, by the German, Portuguese and British Foreign Ministers, and by several private Americans, including Congresswoman Pat Schroeder, the Co-Chairperson of Senator Hart's national campaign.

Recommendation:

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to the President.

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

Attachments:

- Tab I - Memorandum to the President
- Tab A - Shultz-President Memorandum of March 19, 1984

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SUBJECT: Forthcoming Visits to Moscow

George Shultz has sent you the memorandum at Tab A, calling your attention to plans of a number of Allied Foreign Ministers and several prominent private Americans to visit Moscow during the spring and early summer.

As George points out, we can expect the Soviets to try to use these visits to bring pressure to bear on us to make unilateral concessions.

Attachment:

Tab A - Memorandum from Secretary Shultz of March 19, 1984

Prepared by:  
Jack Matlock

cc: Vice President

DECLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Declassify on: OADR

NLRR folo-114/7 #9916  
BY CW NARADATE 7/7/08

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

March 19, 1984

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

84 MAR 20 A 3: 37

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: George P. Shultz  
SUBJECT: Forthcoming Visits to Moscow

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

We are now entering a period of more active East-West diplomacy. With Chernenko, the Soviets once again have a leader who can meet with foreign visitors. We are already witnessing an increase in prospective visits by Allied Foreign Ministers to the USSR:

- German Foreign Minister Genscher has accepted an invitation from Gromyko to visit Moscow May 21-22;
- Portuguese Foreign Minister Gama also plans to be in Moscow in May; and
- British Foreign Secretary Howe is scheduled to visit Moscow July 2-3.

In addition to talks at the Foreign Minister level, the Soviets may fête each visitor with a session with the new General Secretary.

These may just be the beginning of an upsurge in pilgrimages to the Kremlin, as our Allies try to demonstrate that they are doing their part to explore the possibilities of improving the West's relations with the new Soviet leadership. As they did with SPD leader Vogel, the Soviets will try to use the Allied visits as a means of putting pressure on us to make unilateral concessions toward Moscow.

As government-to-government contacts increase, we can also expect an increase in visits to Moscow by American political figures, academics and private "peace" groups, along with reciprocal visits to the U.S. by their Soviet counterparts. Much of this will be critical of the Administration's policies. For example, the Co-Chairperson of Gary Hart's National Campaign, Pat Schroeder, is leading a delegation of Congresswomen to Moscow for talks on arms control in mid-April. The U.S. and Soviet scientists who last year publicized the "nuclear winter" concept are continuing to cooperate, and Senator Kennedy may attend one of their sessions in Moscow this spring.

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F06-114/7 #9916

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL: OADR

BY CW NARADATE 7/7/88

# THE WILSON CENTER

*File*

JAMES H. BILLINGTON, *Director*

*No ack  
→ Matlock  
FIT*

APR 5 1984

48

APR 5

March 30, 1984

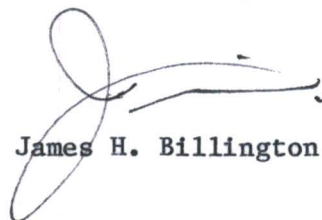
Mr. Robert C. McFarlane  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bud:

This is just a note to thank you for your kind words and indication of support for our work on the dialogue question with the U.S.S.R.; I and Herb Ellison at the Center will continue to pursue this with Jack Matlock. We are currently hoping to mount a major conference by the late spring or early summer which will bring together for the first time a large number of people involved in this question of dialogue with responsible people in the government. There is interest on the Hill, and Dr. David Hamburg of the Carnegie Corporation has articulated a special role and interest. He has also had good discussions with Jack Matlock as well as with us.

We will remain in close touch with Jack, and we are grateful for your encouragement of an enterprise in which we find very broad interest indeed.

Yours sincerely,



James H. Billington

219578

ID #

# WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence received (YY/MM/DD)

84103128

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT:

Sittman / Deane

DC Mail Report

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

SUBJECT:

request for President Reagan to meet w/ three Sittman writers who have immigrated to the US

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
DC Sitt	C	84 103 128 PM		S	84103128
NS KIMM	C	84103128 PM		S	84103130

**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:

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 2, 1984

DECLASSIFIED

ACTION

NLRR FO6-114/7 #9911

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *JM*

BY AL NARA DATE 6/25/09

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

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 R

Information

Action

# Emigré Novelists Look at U.S.

## Concern Over Softness On Russians

By WALTER GOODMAN

**T**HE scores of Soviet writers who have found their way to the West in the last decade were evidently accompanied by their Slavic muse. Most of them continued to write in Russian about Russia, to associate with other emigrants to discuss what they believe is a lack of understanding among Americans about the nature of the Soviet regime.

That concern came through frequently in recent interviews with three novelists now living on the East Coast, whose work has made an impact here and abroad in the last few months. They are Vasily Aksyonov, author of "The Island of Crimea," published by Random House, a political fantasy about an independent Crimea trying to survive in the shadow of Soviet power; Sergei Dovlatov, author of "The Compromises," a book of Soviet journalism published by Alfred A. Knopf, and Yuz Alekshovich, whose novel "Kangaroo," a surrealistic 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 Rauspahn restaurant, not chosen for literary irony. "We have a big problem making a living," says Yury Lyubim, 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. Alekshovich 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 1970, he ran afoul of the authorities when he joined an attempt to persuade them to permit publication of "Detropol," a volume of censured works. He came to the United States in 1969 with his wife and 1-year-old son.

Now settled at a rambling old farmhouse in Middleboro, Mass., Alekshovich has moved away from children's stories, which he wrote for the world of childhood wasn't "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 — with a difference. He is working on a novel about a group of Russians who move themselves during the Nazi invasion in 1941 by acting like mongrels. 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. Alekshovich is far from Americanized. He confesses that even after four years in

this country, his English is "prevalent." ("I haven't finished solving the problems of the Russian language," he notes wryly, adding that the "soul" of his work remains in Russian.) He relies for help in interviews on the wife, Irina, who learned her very serviceable English in Soviet schools and who now teaches Russian at Wellesley's department of Russian literature.

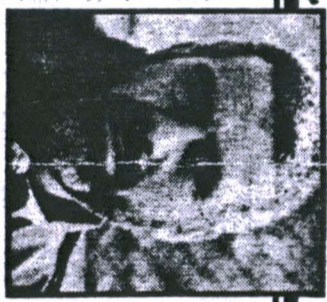
Although America has had little impact on Mr. Alekshovich's work so far, his politics are much on the mind. He says he is sure that he speaks for most Soviet émigrés in maintaining that "the fact of America's existence" is more important than any of its faults. "In Russia," as he sees it, "the people have their leaders, who are trying to hurt them; in America, the people dislike their leaders, who are trying to help them. It's a socio-politicism or a pseudo-socialism." Although he favors a nuclear freeze — "and to hell with the army" — he believes that the political demagogues against nuclear weapons should be talking place in Red Square. "I agree with Reagan," he says. "If the Soviet Union wants peace, there will be peace."

Mr. Alekshovich's favorite proposal for improving international relations — offered with a straight face — is for Washington to instruct "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. Alekshovich was leaving for Paris a few weeks ago, for the publication in French of a new novel, Vasily Aksyonov was returning after the opening in Paris of his play "The Heron," which he describes as a "hard 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 1960, 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 tires 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 Buzz," written before "The Island of Crimea," will be published here in September. It takes place during what Mr. Aksyonov calls the Soviet Union's "soot period," the



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



Left: Vasily Aksyonov; center: Sergei Dovlatov; right: Yuz Alekshovich.

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

The gulag has figured intimately in Mr. Aksyonov'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. Aksyonov, 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. Aksyonov that Americans have been growing somewhat more realistic about the Soviet Union. "Before, the media tried to make an image of Russia as the first of American models," 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 too-hasty rhetoric, Reagan understands."

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

was preceded here by his wife, Elena, who contributes to the family upkeep with a job as a phototype machine operator, and their daughter, 17-year-old Katerina, 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 Katerina. A son, Nicholas, was born in 1961.

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 tell 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 acts based on his experience as a journalist for Soviet Estonia.

He comments, in his self-deprecating style, "That was the high peak 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 unusable. "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 for his test approvingly, "and when the audition is done says, 'That's fine — but of course you have to play while walking on a tightrope.' So this violinist plays while walking the tightrope. And the conductor says, 'I'm sorry, I can't hire you. You're not doing so well.'"

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 grabbing in Leningrad, cross the street carefully because if a car driven 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."



USSR - General  
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Add-on 52

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 6, 1984

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK MATLOCK *JM*

SUBJECT: Visit of Soviet TV Commentator Pozner

You will recall that State sent us a memo March 3 regarding issuance of a visa to Vladimir Pozner, who had offered an exchange of TV appearances with Jim Dabakis of Salt Lake City.

State was instructed, by Kimmitt-Hill Memorandum of March 19, not to issue the visa since the exchange did not provide an adequate measure of reciprocity. However, State had already authorized the visa before receiving the memorandum.

In subsequent discussion with State on the matter I learned that, before action could be taken to withdraw the visa authorization, the Soviets stepped in and instructed Pozner not to come. It appears that they decided that they did not want to offer Dabakis access to Soviet TV, as Pozner had promised.

The bottom line of this mix-up on our side is that the visit will not in fact take place and the Soviets will be blamed by Dabakis and Senator Hatch, who was interested.

I wish all of our crossed wires could end so happily.

Attachment:

Tab I - Copies of previous memos on the subject.

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BY CI NARADATE 7/7/08

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Matlock*

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

VIA LDX

March 19, 1984

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CHARLES HILL  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Visit of Soviet TV Commentator (U)

Inasmuch as the proposed exchange of TV appearances by Vladimir Pozner in the U.S. and Mr. Dubakis and a university professor in the USSR does not meet the test of real reciprocity, we cannot concur that a visa should be issued. (C)

If either of the following conditions can be met in arranging for the exchange, we could reconsider our position: (C)

(1) An exchange which meets the criteria established in any future exchange agreement concluded with the Soviet Union, or

(2) An exchange whereby Mr. Dabakis would appear on Soviet television with a well-informed USG official (selected by the Department of State), after which Mr. Pozner would be granted comparable treatment in the U.S. (C)

*Robert M. Kimmitt*  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

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NLRR Feb-11/7 #9913

BY CW NARADATE 7/7/08

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## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 12, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

SIGNED

FROM:

JACK MATLOCK *JM*

SUBJECT:

Visit of Soviet TV Commentator Pozner

The memorandum from State at TAB III describes plans developed by Jim Dabakis, a TV talk show announcer from Salt Lake City, to invite Moscow TV commentator Vladimir Pozner to the U.S. for at least seven national TV programs, in return for which Pozner would arrange for Dabakis and a Brigham Young University professor to appear on four national TV programs in the Soviet Union, and to tour the fifteen Soviet republics. Dabakis and the professor would go to the Soviet Union in August and September, and Dabakis has agreed to spend a week in Washington before his departure to be briefed on U.S. positions on the issues. Senator Orrin Hatch has expressed support for the project, and State recommends that a visa for Pozner be approved.

Although it can be argued that a Soviet commitment to arrange for TV appearances in the Soviet Union by Americans is a step forward in achieving more reciprocity in the area of information exchange, in fact this proposal falls far short of real reciprocity. First, the Soviets would be sending an experienced propagandist, while the Americans (even with extensive briefing) are likely to be much less well prepared to defend U.S. positions than he is to present Soviet views. Second, by arranging Pozner's appearances here first, we have no assurance that the promised programs in the USSR will in fact materialize, and if they do, that they will not be "doctored" after taping.

For these reasons, my preference would be to deny the visa unless and until one of two conditions are met: (1) the exchange is pursuant to an exchange agreement in force which guarantees effective reciprocity; or (2) the exchange is arranged so that the Americans go first, that a USG official familiar with the issues accompany Dabakis, and that Pozner be granted reciprocity for the treatment actually offered the Americans.

If we follow this course, we can expect a certain degree of public criticism, including -- perhaps -- by Senator Hatch. We also cannot prevent Pozner from appearing on U.S. television in feeds from Moscow, and the visa denial could be legally

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challenged by the American sponsors -- as some past refusals have been. If the visa denial should become a public issue, we would doubtless be charged with acting contrary to our current policy of dialogue, and rejecting an arrangement which provides more potential reciprocity than we have obtained in the past.

Our decision, therefore, is essentially whether 1) to accept an arrangement which offers some, but inadequate, reciprocity in order to avoid a public controversy at this time and to provide some possibility of U.S. citizens appearing on Soviet TV, or 2) to hold firm on the principle of full reciprocity, while recognizing that we cannot prevent U.S. networks from using Soviet spokesmen by feeds outside the U.S.

I have prepared alternate Kimmitt to Hill memos for you to choose.

John Lenczowski <sup>JK</sup> concurs. *I concur only with the first recommendation. "Dialogue" requires reciprocity. Otherwise it is "monologue." - John L.*

RECOMMENDATION

1. That you authorize the memorandum at TAB I which directs State to refuse a visa to Pozner unless and until one of the conditions set forth above is filled (in which case State or I would call Senator Hatch to explain in advance).

Approve JK Disapprove       
OR, ALTERNATELY,

2. That you authorize the memorandum at TAB II, which concurs in issuance of the visa, if you feel that it is unwise at this time to stimulate public controversy on the issue.

Approve      Disapprove     

Attachments:

- Tab I        Kimmitt to Hill
- Tab II      Kimmitt to Hill
- Tab III     Incoming Memo from State



S/S 8406608

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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March 3, 1984

A7-27

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Visit of Soviet TV Commentator

Jim Dabakis, an ABC talk-show announcer from Salt Lake City, has invited Vladimir Pozner, a Moscow TV commentator who is frequently seen on American network TV news programs, to visit the US starting March 29. He has arranged for Pozner to appear on at least seven national TV programs, as well as local media, and to speak to various groups. Dabakis has been promised that in return he and a Brigham Young University professor will be able to appear on four major Soviet national TV programs and tour all 15 Soviet republics in August and September of this year.

While this visit raises questions of allowing a recognized Soviet propagandist to appear live on American TV with reciprocity only in the form of appearances on Soviet media by a relatively unknown pair of Americans, we have concluded that it is less costly to allow the visit to proceed. We cannot prevent appearance by Soviets, including Pozner, on American TV by direct satellite feed from Moscow. Refusing him entry would arouse criticism from US media (and in Pozner's case from Senator Orrin Hatch, who strongly supports Dabakis' project) on press freedoms grounds and Helsinki Final Act considerations and would give Pozner an issue he could use effectively in his propaganda. Refusal would have to be based on a finding on foreign policy grounds that his presence here would endanger national security. This would come at a particularly sensitive time in view of the recent filing of four lawsuits against the Department challenging the legality and constitutionality of several visa refusals on the same grounds in 1983.

Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

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BY CW NARADATE 7/7/08~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL: OADR

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CHARLES HILL  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Visit of Soviet TV Commentator (U)

Although we are disturbed by the lack of real reciprocity in the arrangements Mr. Dabakis has negotiated in his exchange of television appearances with Mr. Pozner, we concur that denial of the visa would be subject to misinterpretation by elements of the American public, and therefore concur with the State Department recommendation that, in this instance, a visa be authorized for Mr. Pozner. (C)

The State Department should ensure, however, that Mr. Dabakis and his companion are fully briefed on USG policies before they travel to the USSR -- and, if possible, before Pozner's visit to the U.S. The Department also should monitor closely the treatment accorded Mr. Dabakis and his companion and furnish a report assessing the balance of benefits resulting from this exchange of television appearances. (C)

Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

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NLRR FOI-114/1 #9918

BY CW NARA DATE 7/2/08

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