The original documents are located in Box 30, folder "Solzhenitsyn, Alexander" of the John Marsh Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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June 20, 1975

JACK.

I spoke with Clint Fuller (Executive Assistant in Jesse Helms' Office) concerning the Solzhenitsyn matter. Clint agreed to send us a letter, detailing the purpose, dates, etc. of preposed visit.

I advised him that I had already run this by Brent Scowcroft and that NSC agreed to expedite action on any request we might pass on.

Just to make sure no feelings were hurt, at my request, Clint agreed to coordinate this effort with Victor Fediey in Strom Thurmond's Office.

We need take no action then, until we receive Helms' letter.

RUSS

RAR:cb



RUSS:

Sorry - I neglected to do this one on Friday.

Copies to Kendall and Max are attached, too.

cb

WASHINGTON

June 27, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

RUSS ROURKE

I spoke with both Victor Fediey (Thurmond) and Clint Fuller (Helms) re the Solzhenitsyn matter.

Neither seemed overly upset over the diplomatic turn-down routine that I went through. Quite frankly, I get the very distinct impression that matters may have gone sour on their end. I am confident, therefore, that there will be no adverse political reverberations to the NSC negative recommendation.

Senator Helms' A. A., Clint Fuller indicated some problems they were having in reference to Solzhenitsyn's visits to North Carolina on Tuesday and Wednesday, and indicated that Solzhenitsyn was cancelling out on those appearances, which was a source of some concern and irritation to Senator Helms. The fact that Fuller had indicated to us on Friday not to continue pushing for the Solzhenitsyn meeting with the President, was mentioned by phone to Senator Helms on Monday, who disavowed this action by his aide and stated that it was done without his approval.

cc: BKendall

MFriedersdorf



materials. Please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library for access to

Some items in this folder were not digitized because it contains copyrighted

these materials.

Washington Post Tuesday, July 8, 1975

> "It's all right to come out now. If you had met him, Brezhnev might have disapproved"

Joseph Kraft

Solzhenitsyn's Message

Alexander Solzhenitsyn is a great literary artist with a supreme feel for human suffering. But, as his speech here in Washington the other day



Wash. Post - Fri., 7/4/75

Solzhenitsyn's Politics

A LEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN arrived in Washington on the wings of his immense artistic reputation and

He has no particular interest in, or knowledge of, foreign affairs. He has a consuming obsession with the destiny of his own people. This is precisely why the Washington Post Tuesday, July 8, 1975

Helms Scores Treatment of Solzhenitsyn

United Press International

Sen. Jesse Helms (R.N.C.) charged yesterday that President Ford declined to meet with dissident Russian author Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn because White House advisers warned such a meeting would offend the Soviet Union.

.

Helms, in a Senate speech, said Mr. Ford's advisers took

- Q: Mr. President, recently the distinguished Soviet author, Solzhenitsyn, was in Washington, and the report was that he was unable to see you. If that is correct, why did you not want to see him?
- A: The suggestion was made as to the possibility of my meeting with Mr. Solzhenitsyn. However, the original proposal was limited to a particular day because of other plans that Mr. Solzhenitsyn had in other parts of the United States. It was concluded on the date requested that the meeting could not be worked out. I understand that subsequent to the request to the White House, there was a change in his schedule which enabled him to remain in Washington longer than originally expected.

JOM/d1/7-8-75



WASHINGTON

July 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

SUBJECT: Solzhenitsyn

I am concerned about the Solzhenitsyn issue and its impact on the right wing on the Hill.

One possible solution might be to host a meeting, a luncheon or some other type of event as soon as possible for Solzhenitsyn, Nureyev, and Rostropovich.

Both Nureyev and Rostropovich are now appearing in the Kennedy Center before sell out crowds and both are highly publicized exiles but not nearly as controversial, of course, as Solzhenitsyn.

They are all three artists of great talent and the meeting could be held as an artistic and intellectual event rather than any political gathering.

I just don't think this issue is going to go away with the conservatives and, of course, it has adverse impact with the liberals too.

With all due deference to Dr. Kissinger, I believe that if detente is so fragile that it cannot stand a meeting with Solzhenitsyn, it will fall on some other account.

bcc: Marsh
Rumsfeld
Chaney
Hartmann
Scowcroft
Nessen



WASHINGTON

July 14, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RUSS ROURKE

FROM:

IACK MARCH

I think a note should be added to the bottom of the memo dated June 27, something to the effect:

Senator Helms' stoff representative lad indicated some problems they were having in reference to Solzhenits yn visits to North Carolina, and indicated that Solzhenits yn was cancelling out of planned North Carolina appearances, which was a source of some concern and irritation to Senator Helms. The fact that Fuller had indicated to us on Saturday not to continue pushing for the Solzhenits yn meeting with the President, was mentioned by phone to Senator Helms on Monday, who disavowed this action by his aide and stated that it was done without his approval.

I want the memo to show that we were advised by the staff to stop pushing, this order was based on experiences they were having with Solzhenitsyn, that this fact was brought to Helms' attention on Monday and that Helms repudiated the information that we had been given.



Very Imp.

J. La. Make

1 p/stat copy

M

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

RUSS ROURKE

SUBJECT:

Telephone Conversation with Senator

Jesse Helms

Senator Helms expressed great concern over the rejection of the request for the appointment for Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Senator Helms said that "Solzhenitsyn is a Christian, pro-American, world famous author, who should be paid the common courtesy of a 3-minute visit with the President. We have Communists running in-and-out of the White House every day, and we turn our backs on a man like Solzhenitsyn, a symbol to the world."

Senator Helms requested a 2-minute telephone call from the President outlining the reasons for this rejection. It is Helms feelings that the President would not agree to this decision and that "it must have been an inaccurate judgment made on his behalf. If the President cannot or will not call me, I would like a letter, outlining the reasons for his refusal to see Solzhenitsyn."

Solzhenits yn will be in Washington only today, Monday, June 30.

Telephone Numbers: Office: (919) 755-4630/4444

Home: (919) 828-6410



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

July 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

SUBJECT:

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bcc: Warsh
Rumsfeld
Chaney
Hartmann
Scowcroft
Nessen



M

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

RUSS ROURKE

Helms spoke only briefly about Solzhenitsyn. Specifically, he indicated that he made a statement on the Floor of the Senate (July 7) about "the President's refusal to see Solzhenitsyn."



To' Purished THE WHITE HOUSE TO SE

Jusday Comen Smate (315 Russell BLD.)

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PASTORE

RIBICOFF STEVENSON

STONE WILLIAMS

CASE .

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HELMS

JAVITS

PACKWOOD

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STEVENS

TAFT

WEICKER

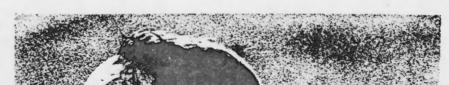
Bill 10 15



George F. Will

Solzhenitsyn and the President

The U.S. government may have to expel Alexander Solzhenitsyn from the republic, not only as a handsacross-the-barbed-wire gesture of solidarity with its detente partner, the Soviet government, but also to save





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EFFICIENCY LINE NO. 4725 AN AMPAD PRODUCT

THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE WASHINGTON TO A STATE WOLLD

RUSS - JOM wants you to speak with Brent Scowcroft on attached, and JOM will speak w/Brent after you have done so.

Please speak with Brent as soon as you return.

cb

have you talled.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 26, 19**7**5

JACK,

Bill Nicholson has just advised me that NSC "would not recommend" a Solzhenitsyn meeting with the President this coming Monday. Apparently, NSC feels that this would be something of an insult to the Soviet Union in that Solzhenitsyn continues to be a burr under the Soviet saddle. There is no indication how adamant NSC is in their position. This matter must, of course, be acted on immediately. I know you will want to consider the Thurmond/Helms, et al., reaction to a direct request for a Presidential meeting for Solzhenitsyn.

Please advise.

RUSS



WASHINGTON

June 20, 1975

JACK,

I spoke with Clint Fuller (Executive Assistant in Jesse Helms' Office) concerning the Solzhenitsyn matter. Clint agreed to send us a letter, detailing the purpose, dates, etc. of proposed visit.

I advised him that I had already run this by Brent Scowcroft and that NSC agreed to expedite action on any request we might pass on.

Just to make sure no feelings were hurt, at my request, Clint agreed to coordinate this effort with Victor Fediey in Strom Thurmond's Office.

We need take no action then, until we receive Helms' letter.

RUSS

Follow

UP!



M

June 23, 1975

Dear Senator:

This will acknowledge receipt and thank you for your June 23 letter to the President in which you joined with Senator Helms to request that an appointment be arranged for him to meet with Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn on June 30.

Please be assured that your letter will be called promptly to the attention of the

Please be assured that your letter will be called promptly to the attention of the President and the appropriate members of the staff. You will hear further as seen as possible.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

William T. Rendell Deputy Assistant to the President

The Honorable Stres Thursond United States Senate Washington, B.C. 20510

bcc: w/incoming to Warren Rustand for further handling

bec: w/incoming to General Scowcroft - for your

information

bcc: w/incoming to Max L. Friedersdorf - for your information

WTK: EF: VO: vo

SERANO.

Dear Senator:

This will acknowledge receipt and thank you for your June 25 letter to the President in which you joined with Senator Thursend to request that an appointment be arranged for him to meet with Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn on June 30.

Please be assured that your letter will be called promptly to the attention of the President and the appropriate members of the staff. You will hear further as soon as possible.

With kindest regards,

Sincorely,

William T. Kendall Deputy Assistant to the President

The Honorable Jesse Helms United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

bcc: w/incoming to Warren Rustand for further handling

bec: w/incoming to General Scowcroft - for your

information

bcc: w/incoming to Max L. Friedersdorf - for your information

WTK: EF: VO: vo



June 23, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

JACK MARSH

Brent, I understand that Russ discussed Solzhenitsyn's prespective meeting in a brief conversation with you last week.

You will note that there is a rather tight time element attached to this request. I hope arrangements can be made to accommodate the request of Senators Helms and Thurmond.

RAR:cb



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20810

June 23, 1975

The President The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

In conversations with the White House Staff, we have indicated that Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn will arrive in Washington on June 29. Since, as you know, the United States Senate has unanimously voted that Mr. Solzhenitsyn be proclaimed an honorary citizen of the United States, it would be fitting that he pay his respects to you during his first visit to Washington.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn will be making a well-publicized public appearance on the evening of June 30. We would like to suggest that it would be appropriate for him to meet with you sometime during the day of June 30, if your schedule permits. We hope you agree that a meeting with the President of the United States should take precedence before he makes his first major appearance in our country.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

Strom Thurmon

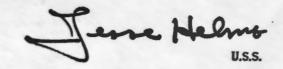
JESSE HELMS:18



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

OFFICIAL BUSINESS



The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

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MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH

FROM: RUSS ROURKE

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with Senator

Jesse Helms

Senator Helms expressed great concern over the rejection of the request for the appointment for Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Senator Helms said that "Solzhenitsyn is a Christian, pro-American, world famous author, who should be paid the common courtesy of a 3-minute visit with the President. We have Communists running in-and-out of the White House every day, and we turn our backs on a man like Solzhenitsyn, a symbol to the world."

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Solzhenitsyn will be in Washington only today, Monday, June 30.

RAR/dl



THE WHITE HOUSE S. is a sepulalones the greatest enthors of cares live . a Christian, pro anuray -- opice -919-755-4630 ham 919.825-6410

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Solphenet sym
Presidency: News

N-7

NEWS

White House Receives Mail in Favor of Solzhenitsyn Meeting

Secretary of State Kissinger was the advisor who convinced the President not to meet Alexander Solzhenitsyn fearing such a meeting would damage U.S.-Soviet relations, Bob Schieffer (CBS) reported. Ron Nessen said Tuesday that the White House has received 478 pieces of mail against the President's action and no mail in favor of the action. "White House spokesmen who said last week the President did not have time to see the exiled author have said this week they only meant the President didn't have time last week but does have the time now, and would meet him if Solzhenitsyn decides to do so. So far, Solzhenitsyn has not said what he will do, "Schieffer reported. -- AP, UPI, CBS (7/15/75)

White House Moving on Solzhenitsvn by Fred Barnes (Excerpted from the Washington Star)

The White House, alarmed by the adverse reaction to President Ford's refusal to see Russian author Alexander Solzhenitsyn, is ardently trying to extinguish the political flap caused by the affair. In the last four days, the White House has made a special effort publicly and privately to spread the word that the President is now willing to meet with the novelist.

So far, no meeting has been arranged, and it remains to be seen if one will be. But whatever happens, the White House is eager to assuage the critics of the President's earlier decision against seeing Solzhenitsyn.

If a Ford-Solzhenitsyn meeting does occur, that would help counter the criticism, and should no meeting come to pass, the White House is seeking to make the point that Ford has not snubbed the Russian exile.

Ron Nessen first explained July 1 to reporters that the President was simply unable to fit Solzhenitsyn into his schedule, even though he had found the time to meet with soccer star Pele and various beauty queens. The next day, Nessen



N-8

made a further explanation. "For image reasons, the President does like to have some substance in his meetings," he told newsmen, adding that "it is not clear what he would gain by a meeting with Solzhenitsyn."

Some Presidential aides now concede that they misjudged the impact of Ford's refusal to see Solzhenitsyn. did not begin to sense the political effect of the action until a spate of unfavorable editorials, news stories and cartoons began to appear. So a way to get the President out of the mess was sought, and the press conference which Ford was scheduled to hold on Saturday in Chicago was seized on. Ford, expecting at least one newsman to ask about Solzhenitsyn, was prepared to say that he would be pleased to see the novelist if he were willing to come to the White House. However, no one asked about Solzhenitsyn at the press conference, and this was disconcerting to the President and his aides. To rectify the situation, a White House official called several wire service reporters aside and leaked them the news that Ford had changed his mind. But this was seen as insufficient by the White House. Thus, Nessen announced several hours later on Saturday that Ford would like to meet with Solzhenitsyn.

But this did not constitute an invitation to Solzhenitsyn, and Sen. Jesse Helms noted this fact yesterday in a conversation with an aide. To soothe critics like Helms, an invitation to the Russian author may be what the White House will have to offer. (7/15/75)



C-17

Mr. Solzhenitsyn and Detente (Editorial condensed from the Courier-Journal)

The doubts that have persisted about Mr. Solzhenitsyn's political philosophy were strengthened by his recent speeches.

On each occasion, the exiled Russian writer lashed out at Western concepts of detente to lull the West into a false sense of security.

But when he argues for an aggressive policy toward the Soviet Union he is treading in dangerous waters. The slow work of conciliation and persuasion promises to achieve more in the long run than striking belligerent postures.

Nevertheless, President Ford's decision not to meet with the Russian writer during his visit to Washington was illadvised. Mr. Ford could easily have made clear that he was greeting Mr. Solzhenitsyn as a distinguished Nobel Prizewinner rather than as a critic of the Soviet Union. In refusing, he merely lends authority to the writer's political statements.

More importantly, the President's action was itself contrary to the spirit of detente. For him to feel so constrained, in fact, suggests that there may be some truth in what Mr. Solzhenitsyn is saying. Bending over backwards in deference to presumed Soviet susceptibilities, particularly over so harmless a matter as a White House invitation, is not what detente is about. (7/13/75)



WASHINGTON



TO:

DONALD RUMSFELD RICHARD CHENEY JERRY JONES JAMES CONNOR JAMES LYNN ROBERT HARIMANN

JOHN MARSH

FROM:

ROBERT GOLDWIN

This letter is a good indication of the domestic political consequences of the Solzhenitsyn affair because the man is so obviously a supporter of the President and wants so much to be on his side.

For your information, "UCRA" means University Centers for Rational Alternatives, Inc., an organization of outstanding academics all over the country who opposed racial violence on the campuses in the 60's.

7/25/75

Attachment



DR. ALEXANDER VON GRAEVENITZ 2064 CHAPEL STREET NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06515

July 19, 1975

Dr. Robert A. Goldwin Special Consultant to the President The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Goldwin:

I do not generally write letters to the White House but feel compelled to do so now. As one of the original members of UCRA, I thought it best to address my letter to you.

The President's decision not to receive Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was illadvised. I do not wish to elaborate on the reasons which other critics have stated and which I do think are valid. I also fully accept the notion that the Presidents acted only on Fr. Kissinger's advice.

But there are two further points to which I have to address myself.

As you know, there are not very many defenders of the President in "academia". I am one of the few Republicans at Yale, and have always upheld the President's side in the face of often overwhelming hostility. Although I have not discussed the Solzhenitsyn affair with anyone here, I feel that the President's decision has severly undercut his intellectual defenders. At this time, the arguments that the intellectual left is blind when it comes to suppression of liberties in Socialist countries are invalid as long as the White House implicitly takes the same stance.

The second point is the increasing weight that is given to lr. Kissinger's opinion in any matters affecting foreign affairs. I think it is foolish to doubt Mr. Kissinger's competence, as it is fashionable right now - again, in academic circles. But he is not beyond error; and detente is as sensitive as freedom is.

Viewed against the primary issue in the Solzhenitsyn case - the snub of a gifted and outspoken writer who seeks in the West what he could not get in Russia - my points are trifling. Nevertheless, I thought them important enough for the reputation of the President - whom I continue to admire - to write about them. I shall appreciate it if they were brought to the President's attention.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Professor of Laboratory redicing

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

JACK MARSH

I think the attached deserves your immediate attention. Many thanks.

Attachment

Memo of conversation from Russ with Vic Fediay re Solzhenitsyn

JOM/dl

A. FORD

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

JACK MARSE

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Attachment

Memo of conversation from Russ with Vic Fediay re Solzhenitsyn

JOM/dl



September 22, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK MARSH

FROM:

RUSS ROURKE

Jack, I returned your call from Vic Fadiay. Fadiay advises that following a recent Steering Committee meeting with the President, Jesse Helms, and Strom Thurmond brought up the subject of a possible Solzhenitsyn visit with the President at the White House.

Fadiay said Thurmond told him that the President indicated that he "would like to see Solzhenitsyn". Fadiay now suggests that he's certain that such a meeting "can be arranged, but there are conditions attached to it. We must have an excuse for such a meeting, such as the granting of citizenship to Solzhenitsyn". Fadiay and I then had a lengthy conversation on the subject of the introduction of a private bill by Thurmond and Helms. While time is short, Fadiay said that "with proper signals from the White House, I am confident that we could get a bill through before the adjournment of Congress. I suggested that such a rapid passage was highly unlikely, and Fadiay retorted "the very introduction of such legislation could serve as the foundation (or excuse) for a meeting at the White House between Solzhenitsyn and the President".

In response to my direct <u>inquiry</u>, Fadiay stated that all of the above comments and suggestions reflected Strom Thurmond's own views and desires.

Fadiay is waiting to hear from the White House.

