

VIXI

Memoirs of a Non-Belonger

RICHARD PIPES

Yale University Press New Haven & London

my diary
do you speak Russian
Daniel
Kevens b. 54
Chesham N.H.
love most my
writing
father died April 73
at 80

Historical Revisionism

Nietzsche
Muskegeth College 42'
Russian at Cornell
Holocaust - avoided reading
Morrow / USSR Krip 57'
1917 Revolution - from people
or power seeking
World START
Detente
Polish Crisis 1981
Richard Allen / Al Hoig /
Henry Kissinger
Sanctions
war a Holocaust
Team B
tension between NSC and State
Edmund Wilson
George Kennan
Solzgenitzyn

I've always had trouble dealing with the past
Sept 8 German assault on Warsaw
Family escaped to apartment away from city - bomb ripped through ceiling my room.
people do not not make history - they make a living P 9
bank account (follow) in Stockholm
Arrived in Rome Oct 30 with dog Coco / not to come back to Germany
father gives me 1st cigarette Bar mit. at 14
non-observant orthodox Jew
as a child - did not read much
Music - Beethoven - played piano
Art history -
Nietzsche - later in life appalled by - nothing is true - everything is permitted
I was always more interested in wisdom than knowledge
1938 - at 15 started keeping a diary
10% of Poland's pop was Jewish
Stockholm - money stashed \$3,300
Why do you call him Consul &
In Rome - waiting for June 1 visas. 1940
July 11, 1940 - we checked at Hoboken, N.J. - my 17th. came from
Spain on truck ship.
Clove Muskogean College in Ohio - ^{2 1/2 years} father wasn't happy - needed
me to help in his business. In our culture father did not treat
teenage boys as adults.
Professor V.P. of college - told me I shouldn't read Nietzsche
found women less secure in femininity - absurdist of feminism
Americans' morals - they enjoy less personal freedom than adults -
political correctness. Nietzsche predicts puritanism would lead to
Nazis - history and speech
Jan 50 11. of 6 at Berkeley
Sept 50 - decided to spend a year
Fall of 1942 - drafted - Junior year at Muskogean - granted U.S. Citizenship
K.P. duty - work a pol. - told me to forget punishment - I read
Ayn Rand's Lewis novels. - met Irene Roth - first date
studied Russian at Cornell - not basic training not U.S.
Rudolf Steiner concert. - being left but decided to become a historian
Scott Field Illinois - being left but decided to become a historian
nothing is ever crystal clear P 53 Francis Thurst - model
Holocaust - American Jews remained silent - Polish Jews raised
pamphlet in 42 - accurate info on slaughter, P 54
I have deliberately avoided reading, watching future of it.
my faith stayed - spent every day sending a moral message
Germans - Nazism wouldn't have occurred anywhere else! p 57

One year in Paris - 1950
early 50s - learned of org. at Indiana U. - set up trips to
Bernik V. - 30 days then onto India - trip then sponsored
by Congress for Cultural Freedom - CIA financed
Arrived Leningrad - depressing - refused escort from KGB woman
Visited my mother's brother Henry and family - police everywhere
Moscow / Odessa / Kiev / Tbilisi - began my entrapment
with Georgia - long way interesting 40 yrs. later
trip cancelled to Tashkent - Sputnik launch
Russian - persuasive lying

BOOKNOTES
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Chap 2

Cornell graduate

Harvard - dry cleaning business

Geo. Marshall speech at grad. 1947 - found it

Common plan - Marshall plan P65

1949 - David born - I stopped smoking

June 1950 - unemployed Director of Philomath

Korea - missed it because papers weren't shipped to home

1952 - pub. of The formation of the Soviet Union: Nationalism and Communism 1917-1924. Still in print

55-56 - my own lecture course. 7 students (left)

Jan 56 - to Berkeley

Sept 56 - to Paris for a year

Malta - Russia was a European country -

1958 - offered tenure at Harvard by McGeorge Bundy - \$8,000 P 90

Hayek - did not play by rules - ostracized.
turned out more than TOP40's

China 1978

Russia - everyone reading / China worse
Property and Law - economic vs. Russia + China

Russian lie - Kravtso

~~the~~ "China - optimistic Russia - fatalism and gloom
Unlike Russia which I could never
leave fast enough" Diary P 120

Went back in 1984 to China

Peter Struve 1890-1930 - one of most outstanding and controversial
figures in human political and intellectual life

one of the few intellectuals who didn't welcome the 1917 Revolution
as a socialist he believed it should evolve as conditions
for people improved - others just wanted power

took ten years - 2 volume set 1970 and 1980

Russians ignored my books

private property and its bearing on political liberty *

later - back to Paris -

Moscow / Leningrad - drunk during bouts of depression
that frequently afflicted me while in Russia P 97

Bolshevik Party - did not represent Russia's masses

Anna and She Mansky -

July 4, 1975 - A visit to salon of Vitaly Ruban -

Artest S. was there - eventually accused of collaborating
with me - sentenced to 13 yrs

Returned to Poland - 1st time in 36 years

BOOKNOTES
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Frontispiece: The author, aged seventy-eight. Used with permission of Bachrach Photography.

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Joining NSC

Richard Allen / Haig at State p150-

Reduced size 75 to 35

Office in basement

Comed phone START

New York Times ignored my appointment to NSC (Head 18)

Soviets hated it

Kissinger had snubbed me for years - blamed me for Jackson/Vanik Amendment - emigration - dealt a blow to detente

Henry K. at Bohemian Grove p151

My daily routine was "not strenuous"

Dept of State

State - only professionals vs politicians for ambassadors

Bilderberg meeting

Social life left in Wash - State vs. my work

Reuter interview on or off record

p159

on background

on deep background

"Detente was dead" - Hans Dietrich Genscher

launched "gung-ho to stand up to Moscow"

Haig was outraged

footnote p160

The Polish Crisis

1981 - Warsaw Pact vs. Solidarity

Haig enraged at my inquiry

Colonel Kuklinski offered review to CIA

Question: would Soviets invade and would there be an internal crackdown

James Baker - showed up in Turx - detached and quite puzzled

Haig's comment to Jean and me - I shall give the two of you bricks p172

Proposed Sanctions against Soviet Union

Experience with these sanctions targeted and why intellectuals in general and academics in particular have so little influence on policy

p179

Sanctions against USSR Dec 81 p 175

Bill Clark - head NSC

but MCFalone deputy. did not like independent thoughts

he required me - refused to take my calls

When Allen was NSC I was not allowed in Reagan's presence

My letters to Reagan - held sway his decision to extend sanctions

Versailles meeting - Reagan deslaked French intensely

Reagan after revisiting sanctions decided to stand for 3 days later - Hain resigned

Geo. Schultz -

convened a conf. on Aug 21, 1982 - reassess U.S.

position on USSR. - I was not invited

Nov. 1982 - sanctions lifted.

(NSDDIS) p 188

Reagan refused to continue arms control neg.

Stoles Talbot - 84' wit. Reagan for this

May 81 - I submitted a paper to Allen laying out our position toward communism and Soviet Union

It sat on his desk til Sept. 81

Memo to Reagan - Allen said "Get that cover off" with your name on it. p 195

My paper led to Reagan's London speech June 82

Differences between State and myself is philosophical
we need to know where we are going

NSDD-75

Tom Dolan - coined evil empire

Suzanne Marie - private source of info to Soviets
Sponsored by Nancy Reagan

P100 George Kennan
inordinate vanity
gratification of ego above truth
bygone political ideas - Russia & right to Iraq
Mr. X article didn't believe he had written it

Edmund Wilson gruff self-centered person
difficult to get along with
painted words - P106*

Spring 1960 Wilson, Kennan, Berlin, Schlesinger
four soloists - unused to playing
in tandem P104

Historical Revisionism at Harvard

60's -

Draft - 70's without it things cooled

Working for Reagan - I was called "traitor" - refused
to show his hand.

Black Studies Affirmative Action

never quite regained esteem & good for my colleagues

Fatherhood 1975

"By the 1970's Howard came to resemble more a
Midwestern State University than its old self." P111

1974 - year in London -

my book Russia Under the Old Regime

1976 - Sol. delinquent a blistering attack. P114

1978 - met Kissinger - His hate drives intellectual
intolerance

Reflections on govt. Service p208

Role of personalities -

Reagan reaction Haig - Mr. French

Decisions are made ad hoc

VSSR - collapsed primarily from internal causes

I had a lack of taste for power

freedom not power I yearned for

Fantastic word to describe my last moment in govt.

Reagan -

Maney - something of a social climber

only invited to one social occasion - didn't want an image of being anti-communist (Deaver)

Haig / Dick Allen / Deaver / Winchberger / Kirkpatrick

Reagan - charm

"To deal with Soviet Union you must have a simple mind" p165

Solzhenitsyn - Non meeting with Reagan

S. blamed me for "personal hatred"

we had no time for symbolic encounter

Lebanon - surprised by Bush's anti-Israel attitude p188

Chap 3 W&A.

1948 voted for Henry Wallace - why? p127

Sovietologists - depicted Communist societies as
not fundamentally different from democratic ones
Sputnik implant

American academia helped KGB but refused to
cooperate with CIA.

detent - Louis Fischer politics is power

Steop Scoop Jackson. Dorothy Fosdick
1983 - loosened my Democratic lemons - (Detent of Jackson)

Team B

1976 - summer in London -

SRI's Foster wanted me back for special assignment
sent project for CIA

Mutual assured Destruction / MAD doctrine

Geo. Bush - CIA director 1976

Team A vs. Team B. National Intelligence Estimate

President Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board

this meeting - we judged CIA unsuspected Soviet strategic
programs.

* Bush - lack of political courage p137 diary (1982)

rather doubt strength of character

The leak - Boston Globe - David Banks of NY Times

* Liberal tactics and techniques p141 check footnotes

p204 Bushner dies -

Bush to go to funeral - Reagan to embassy

I went to embassy - didn't want to sign book (why?)

Confrontation with Geo. Shultz
joined whole campaign - he had no clear vision

Back at Harvard

Had to write every day—

black empty days without it

"Surgical Is not Enough" 1973—occupied my
next ten years

Russian Revolution—nearly all my scholarly work
connected to this pivotal event.

Hobsbawm's words— "to overturn the world" p208
ignored by all historians
Definition of History p219

In liberated Russia p241 Mother die May 94 (she 92)

I had underestimated damage 7 decades of Communist rule
Pub. 96 The Russian Revolution

Pub. Property and Freedom ~~97~~ May 99

* Montaigne—intellectual mentor—advised—in reaching
old age give up study
tells story of Ford Acton and last meeting w. Leopold von
Ranke

p246

83' law—can't force retirement at 65

"We are not trained to grow old"

Became prof emeritus July 1, 1996

Definition of History p219
I have a classical style of writing—don't like Pound, James

Traditional vs. Revisionist Russian Historians p221
—^{disruption}

Fell ill in 85—potentially fatal disease

Book—Russian Revolution—Pub. 1990
Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime 1994

My view bring Revisionist Historians to which funny
footnote page 225 Oxford Historian—now accepts Pagan view
that Stalin had a better understanding of Communism than

college professors
Harvard Liberal Harvard—Round vs. Flat earth
American Historical Association—we started The Historical
Society—
Hobsbawm—superior ^{too} critical book B.U. Society—
review