

# Appreciations of Richard E. Pipes

(Presented, as befits an historian, in reverse chronological order)

By Historians, Government Colleagues, Former Students, Editors, Critics, et al., 43 in All



Presented on his 90<sup>th</sup> Birthday  
July 11, 2013

Little Ledge Lodge  
Chesham, New Hampshire

Gathered by Daniel Pipes

**Anne Mandelbaum**, author: My husband, Michael Mandelbaum, and I send our warmest congratulations to Professor Richard Pipes, exemplary public servant, public intellectual, courageous United States Army Air Corps veteran of World War II, admired and influential teacher, and author of many books of great and lasting importance, of which one, in particular, *Vixi: Memoirs of a Non-Belonger*, is a special treasure.

There is no book that we have more often recommended or given to friends and colleagues than this gripping and moving description of an extraordinarily well-lived life, with its compelling judgments of much that Professor Pipes observed and experienced.

When I, only an email acquaintance (although a long-time friend of his son, Daniel) sent him a draft of my own memoir in **2010**, Professor Pipes generously read it in its entirety. After doing so, he offered me the wisest possible advice, which turned out to be 180 degrees contrary to that which I received from a host of others. He advised me not to publish the book as written. Although he was the only reader to say this, he made his points so cogently and with such a profound understanding of the human condition, that I knew I should do as he alone advised.

I followed his recommendation, and will always be grateful to him for writing forthrightly to me to deliver the one piece of advice that no author ever wishes to hear, but that, on this occasion, I needed to hear.

Michael and I join the Pipes family and the vast, extended family of friends, colleagues and admirers throughout the world in celebrating this chronological milestone in the life of a great scholar, a great gentleman, and, in our hearts and minds, a true believer.

---

**Jolanta Woloszanska**, president, Magnum Publishing House, Warsaw: Dear Professor Pipes, In **2004**, we published *Vixi - Memoirs of a Non-Belonger*, your beautiful and touching autobiography. This event has marked the beginning of our collaboration, which now includes another seven of your books translated into Polish. This book and your other books published in multiple editions in the following years are now available in the best Polish bookstores and libraries.

In the past years, press conferences and meetings with you always attracted crowds of journalists, scientists, students, and readers. Reporters from radio and TV competed to get an interview with you or at least a statement. When I think about you, a couple events stick in my mind. A conference at the Polish Press Agency which was delayed due to earlier TV interviews which were difficult to wrap up. The second is a meeting at the University of Warsaw so well attended that students had to sit on the floor and stand in the corridor. They didn't want to miss a word from your lecture! Your popularity is not only limited to meetings in Warsaw. When you are in US, Polish media often reports on your opinion on

current affairs and international politics. You are a truly respected authority and we are honoured to be able to publish your books.

If you ever write the second part of your autobiography, it will be - again - an amazing book about the later part of your life. The readers are waiting.

---

**Jan Malicki**, Centre for East European Studies, University of Warsaw: In the light of such grand jubilee of such grand person, academician, analyst and true friend, I wish to dedicate some of my thoughts about you, Professor Pipes and your history as our lecturer, our guest and our friend.

I was trying to remember the first time that we have met. I am not quite sure if this is the first time for us to have met but it was definitely the first time you came to our institution with lectures. It was summer **1998** at our 8<sup>th</sup> annual East European summer school (Wschodnia Szkoła Letnia).

That was a time when Poland was devoting lots of effort and struggling to join NATO. I remember that you were coming to Warsaw by train from Budapest and I was waiting for you on a train station. A few days before your arrival you had given an interview in which you mentioned that you were against Poland's accession to the Alliance. When you finally arrived in Warsaw there were many journalists waiting for an interview concerning that statement and you did not understand the reason. I remember very well our conversation about it. You didn't fully understand our stubbornness and determination in this desire...

I explained to you that Poles believe that NATO is our only possible shield against Russia (see: the history of Poland ...). I remember us laughing that you were absent in Poland for over 50 years and therefore your perspective was absolutely from Washington than from Warsaw. You gave some interviews and I know that you also changed your point of view on the matter of Poland and NATO.

Later, with time, you came more often to Warsaw and our Centre was the only academic institution in Poland that had the honor to host you as a regular "honorable visiting professor". Our students had the privilege to participate in your lectures up to the moment when, I think it was when you turned 85, you wrote me a letter that said "I am not able to conduct anymore the *regularny kurs wykładow* (the regular course of lectures)".

Then, in 2010, at the Centre's initiative, the university of Warsaw decorated you with a title of its *doctor honoris causa*. On this occasion the Centre organized a conference to honor your work and research. Some of the best academicians and researchers participated and presented their papers. Very soon we will send you a copy of a book published as a result of that session.

In the end I would like to write that it makes me very happy that Professor Pipes, and especially Mrs Irena, are so enthusiastic about the idea of coming to Warsaw. You are always welcome here!

We hope to see you very soon, on September 17th, for the celebration of your 90<sup>th</sup> birthday, at the University of Warsaw.

**Andrew Wylie**, book agent: I had a phone call one afternoon in the last century (maybe in **1997**) from Saul Bellow, who asked whether I was familiar with the work of Richard Pipes. I assured him that I was. “He’s first rate, and a good friend of mine. I think you might want to represent him,” Saul said. Within a few hours, I’d arranged to meet Dick at Harvard, and I was very pleased to become his agent. I am always impressed by how attentive to detail Dick is, and how fast on email: most scholars are adrift in the toss and play of large ideas. But Dick is in firm control of everything, and rides his ideas like a beachcomber.

**Brett C. Gerry**, former chief of staff to the U.S. attorney general: I remember the superb seminar you gave at Yale Law School in **1996** on the connection between property and freedom. A great man and a great life, worthy of continued celebration.

**David Brandenberger**, associate professor of History and International Studies, University of Richmond: Dear Professor Pipes, I’m just back from the former central party archive in Moscow where only on Friday[, June 28,] I was reminiscing about my formative years under your direction with A.A. Chernobaev, the editor of *Istoricheskii arkhiv*. I shared with him the following anecdote: During the summer of **1995**, you invited me to assist you in the editing of a volume of Lenin documents for Yale’s *Annals of Communism* series. For me, this was a more than just a research assistantship, sitting side by side, day after day, in the dining room of your house on Berkeley street, proofing the translation of Lenin memoranda and speeches as you read them aloud in Russian. This work allowed me unusual insight not only into the person in question, but into the field as a whole and the academic publishing industry as well. 18 years later, as I am finishing my own volume for Yale (sadly, probably the last in the *Annals of Communism* series), I remember this formative experience as something both exceptionally generous and influential in defining the path which my career would take. For that, I will always be grateful.

**Thomas Kosmo**, president, The Mentor Group: Dear Richard, You are such a good sport about your age. I like to recall two moments when your goodwill carried the day. First, you had this episode renting a car and you had to give details of your drivers license to a novice behind the rental car desk. I think the rental car agency was somewhere forlorn too. When asked, you casually gave the clerk your year of birth as 1923. The clerk’s reaction: “Holy Smoke.” You replied with a wan smile. Second, one night at the Faculty Club in **1994**, soon after we met, you arrived to give a seminar on Russia; all students were eager and sipping water before you arrived. My noble assistant Brett Gerry noticed you did not seem so well, and when asked about it you told Brett, “I don’t know what it is, but I seem to have a throbbing pain in one of my teeth. . . . It’s really making me not feel very well”. Brett, gallant descendent of Elbridge Gerry (as in Gerrymander), asked you, “is there anything I can bring you, Sir”? You didn’t miss a beat, “Yes, a bourbon would be good”. Students were shocked because drinking only begins

long after the seminar and their questions. But Brett bounced down into bar and brought you a large bourbon. The seminar was a real success, students complimented you and then asked, “how are you feeling, Professor”? Your reply, “I feel great”! So you won over all the students to your medicines and they congratulated your sage wisdom on all sides.

**Anne Applebaum**, *The Washington Post*: Happy Birthday to one of my intellectual and academic inspirations: You combined the study of history with the practice of contemporary politics in your life - and because you succeeded, you convinced me that such a combination was possible long before we met in about **1992**. Thank you your attention to detail, your meticulous concern for accuracy, your interest in the truth, your understanding of how the past affects the present: your books helped me learn to write.

---

**Radoslaw Sikorski**, minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland: Dear Professor Pipes, Your life has been a gift to humanity. Nothing more, nothing less. Having stood behind the ideas that brought the Soviet empire to its knees, you proved to be an agent of hope and liberation. Something that hardly goes unnoticed in Central and Eastern Europe. Your intellectual discipline and realism has influenced both the policy makers and public opinion in different corners of the world. It is a blessing that you continue to challenge intellectuals in stimulating and thought provoking debates. We may not always agree with you (you would not expect us to do so), but it is always an honour and distinct intellectual pleasure to cross swords with you. For what you have accomplished and your continued inspiration, we will remain eternally grateful. With warm personal regards.

**Jonathan Daly**, professor of History University of Illinois at Chicago: Professor Pipes, you always had the most extraordinary independence of mind. When I first began studying Russian history in **1988**, it was taken for granted throughout the field that one's research projects had to be tailored to what the Soviet authorities would consider acceptable. But you would have none of that, saying that it was deplorable to allow a foreign power to dictate one's research agenda. I never heard anything even remotely like that from another scholar — and yet you were right. Thanks again!

**Stephen F. Cohen**, professor emeritus, New York University and Princeton University: Starting about **1984**, Professor Richard Pipes and I were widely thought to be intellectual and policy adversaries in the realms of Russian Studies and US-Russian relations. This perceived relationship was even institutionalized in public commentary on the opposing schools of Pipes and Ulam at Harvard and Tucker and Cohen at Princeton. Indeed, NBC News was so taken with this notion that it hired Richard Pipes and me to argue about Russia and US Policy on its morning Today Show, as we did for some time, from New York to, as I recall, Geneva in 1985.

For me, the off-camera reality was somewhat different. I developed warm feelings for Dick, as he permitted me to call him, partly because of his unfailing courtesy

toward me and my wife, but also because he enriched my life in two ways. First, when NBC or another institution wanted to feature Dick and me in public events, and ask how much I wanted to be paid, I always answered, "I'll take whatever you are paying Professor Pipes." Since Dick was more eminent than I was, this approach rewarded me well. Second, arguing with Richard Pipes about Russia and US policy forced me to consider my opinions—if not to change them, certainly to firm them up. For this too I was grateful. I continue to remember our relationship with fondness and gratitude.

Several of the great figures of Russian/Studies lived into their 90s. So I expect a good deal more from Dick.

**Steve Marks**, professor of History, Clemson University: In **1983**, I was in my third year of graduate school when I met the woman who would become my wife. Around the same time, Prof. Pipes told me I should start making plans to go to the Soviet Union right away to do my dissertation research. I was afraid, though, that if I did it would put an end to my budding relationship. I did not feel that I could tell Prof. Pipes the real reason for my hesitation, so over the next few weeks I made up various excuses: I needed to improve my Russian; I needed to do further library work in the US, etc. He did not buy any of them and insisted that I go as soon as possible. I finally had no choice but to tell him the truth. When I did he looked at me in disbelief and said, "Well why didn't you tell me that in the first place? Of course you should delay, that's important." That was not the only kindness he did for me over the years, but it was the one that made me first see his human side, whereas before I had mainly been intimidated by this world renowned scholar who was my graduate advisor.

**Melissa Stockdale**, associate professor of History, University of Oklahoma: My recollection dates from my first year as a teaching assistant for Professor Pipes in 1983. Steve Marks and I had recently passed our exams, Dick was recently returned from his stint at the NSA. After the first day of class (Imperial Russia), we declared that "we could not work for someone with whom we had never drunk coffee," and invited him to join us for a cup. We were enormously pleased when he agreed. He proposed that we go by his office and invite Nellie Hauk, his research assistant, then we all headed over to "One Potato, Two Potato." For the next hour, he entertained us with truly funny stories of his own years as undergrad, grad student, and novice instructor. I wish I could remember a specific anecdote (imperfect command of written English figured in one of them!) I do remember it as a rare and special moment: a relaxed, congenial sharing of stories about mishaps and adventures, between a teacher and his students.

**Antony Polonski**, Albert Abramson Professor of Holocaust Studies, Brandeis University: A friend in need is a friend indeed. Dick was there when we needed him and has been an unfailing source of information and entertainment since we met about **1983**. His joke-telling skills are legendary. He was happy to show me his Kossak paintings of Polish *ulans* and that he also was very interesting about his father's service in the *pierwsza brygada*. We also often talked about his

experiences at the Kreczmar school and of the increase in antisemitism after the death of Pilsudski.

**Jack Matlock**, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union: As one with only a few years to go before I cross that tenth decade threshold (if I manage to!) let me salute you. Your history of the Bolshevik Revolution remains the key reference for me to that fateful series of events—and it's a great read to boot! I remember the meetings of "Sovietologists" in the **early 1980s** when we combined our voices to argue against distorted views of the Soviet Union. I still remain in your debt for your briefings the summer of 1983 when I was a greenhorn on the NSC staff. *Sto lat*—and then some!

**Norman A. Bailey**, former staff member, National Security Council: I met Richard Pipes when we were both on the staff of the National Security Council, [in **1981**] during the Reagan Administration, when Richard V. Allen was National Security Advisor. Dick Pipes coordinated and contributed greatly to the strategic plan (NSDD 74 of March, 1983) which was implemented and resulted in the destruction of the Soviet bloc and eventually the Soviet Union itself and won the Cold War. I had the privilege to contribute to and supervise the economic aspects of that strategic plan. It was all spelled out in the monograph I published in the 1990's, *The Strategic Plan that Won the Cold War*, an expanded version of which is going to be published by the Lexington Press, and to which Dick has contributed a chapter. You are one of the greats, and the republic owes you greatly.

**Paula Dobriansky**, former U.S. Under Secretary of State: Dick, your scholarship on both Russia and the Soviet Union was nonpareil. You understood the past, grasped the present, and intuited the future. At the White House [from **1981**], you also translated your knowledge into action, laying the essential groundwork for taking down the Soviet empire. It was a great privilege and pleasure to work with you.

**Alistair Horne**, author, historian: For all his formidable intellect, Dick also has the most exquisite sense of humour. I was in Washington in **1980** when he arrived with the Reagan entourage. He rang one day to boast: 'I have an office with a window on the White House.' 'So what?' 'Well if you don't have that window you don't get a look-in.' He did. We have also chuckled these 25 years over Dick's non-PC joke about the zebra confused about his stripes. He will remember.

Sheelin and I owe Dick, and Irene, a lot. At their invitation Sheelin and I were married in their house in Tortola 25 years ago. They were our witnesses. The marriage, and the friendship, endures. As a historian, I am indebted to Dick for his writings on Soviet Russia, which undoubtedly helped dispatch 'The Evil Empire.

---

**Claudio Véliz**, economic historian and sociologist: When celebrating Richard's magnificent nine decades, María Isabel and I are overwhelmed with wonderful memories presided by two defining features: Firstly, the difficulty, almost impossibility, of thinking of Richard (note that for us it is always "Richard", not

Dick) in isolation. For us it is always Richard and Irene, certainly including Irene's elegant conquest of the Great Ocean Road at the wheel of a racy MGB and before and after richly adorned by countless dinners and conversations on either side of the Charles. Secondly, the overwhelming awareness that Richard's intellectual generosity is truly exceptional and not a definitive characteristic of academic life. Richard is always ready in most enjoyable and leisurely chats to cast light on those complex aspects of contemporary Russian history and international politics that invariably prove intractable to visiting Chileans, but even more important, he carved for himself a very special niche as principal contributor to the *Boston, Melbourne, Oxford, Vancouver Conversazioni on Culture and Society* that was born soon after we met in **1979** and prospered on our side of the Charles River.

**Nadieszda Kizenko**, associate professor of History, University at Albany: His impeccably crafted lectures and his, as he put it, 'classically liberal' perspective on imperial Russian history changed my life. When everyone else was talking about Lenin, Stalin, and the 'inevitable' rise of communism, Richard Pipes offered a seminar on Russian intellectual history that covered the right-wing 'losers'—that is, Leontiev, Mikhailovskii, Danilevskii, Berdiaev, Rozanov, and the rest. On the first day of class, Prof. Pipes acknowledged that, given how events in the USSR appeared to have turned out, the endeavor might seem pointless—but, in the interests of giving us a more accurate picture of intellectual life in imperial Russia, he thought it his responsibility to introduce us to these thinkers. He was prescient: communism would fall and these thinkers would be rediscovered.

Prof. Pipes went against the grain in other ways. Although I did not always share his point of view, I always found it stimulating, sometimes brave, sometimes hilarious. The three occasions on which I heard him hiss are telling. First, in giving a lecture series to the Greater Boston community on imperial Russia, Prof. Pipes declared that Alexander III not only had not commissioned the pogroms, but thought they were a dangerous disturbance of the peace. (--sharp intake of breath, murmurs, and hisses from the public.) --Knowing full well how little Prof. Pipes cared for the Emperor, this scrupulous fairness was impressive.

Second, when asked a general question about the importance of Russian monasteries, Prof. Pipes raised an eyebrow and commented laconically: 'Dens of homosexuality.—Next question?' Third, in [**1979**,] describing how the poet Griboyedov had been chopped up into little pieces on his diplomatic mission to Teheran, Pipes commented, 'The Muslims are like that. They get extremely violent for short bursts of time—after which they proceed to sink back into their usual sloth.'

That was Prof. Pipes—deeply erudite, mischievously politically incorrect, but always illuminating unexpected aspects of Russian history.

**Sallie Wise Chaballier**, writer, analyst and editor: Although I had taken Professor Pipes' course in graduate school, I only really got to know him when he hired me as his research assistant in the autumn of **1978**. My initial intimidation at

the prospect of working for him quickly gave way to admiration and respect. What some may have seen as aloofness in his manner, I realized, was a certain European formality and even courtliness. Professor Pipes was at least as demanding of himself as he was of his students and others. I always found him to be a model of intellectual rigor and integrity, as well as of personal fairness and courtesy. It was a privilege to work with him.

**Jiri Valenta**, formerly professor of political science, University of Miami: I sincerely thank you for what you have done for the field of what used to be called “Soviet Studies and Russian history” in our country. I recall how you were attacked for your courageous assessment of Soviet intentions under Brezhnev, as well as the role you played influencing the views of U.S. policy-makers concerning American-Soviet relations.

Let me limit this to events when I was present. I attended various meetings at the Council on Foreign Relations as well as conferences with various Sovietologists from the **late 1970’s** on and I recall how you were vilified and ridiculed not only by Soviet scholars, but also by his American colleagues for his unorthodox views on the intentions of the Soviet empire. I have direct, eye-witness evidence because I witnessed your presentation and contribution to the international conference and a subsequent book I edited on analyzing the 1983 U.S. intervention in Grenada.

However, something unexpected happened. As the empire was disintegrating under Gorbachev, the empire’s own historians, analysts and apologists, not only in Russia, but also Czechoslovakia, came back to you, inviting you to deliver distinguished lectures, translating his books and articles and bestowing on him various honors and prizes. In short, I saw incredible turn-around concerning your work on Russian and Soviet history, and acknowledgement by leading Russian thinkers and policy-makers. You were right in your analysis of Leninism and the impact of the Leninist revolution on Soviet foreign policies

One of the most remarkable acknowledgements came from Alexander Yakovlev, who spent several hours with my wife, Leni Friedman Valenta and I, discussing the new revolution in 2000, but also the evolution of your views. As he put it, “Pipes was basically right.”

I also remember your participation in the conference I organized in liberated Prague, 1990, which including meetings with Czech president Vaclav Havel and Jiri Dienstbier. both former dissidents and writers, who of course, have always agreed with your views.

And I recall how Daniel and I in 1999 crossed the Czech-Polish border to go to Cieszyn to find the house in which you were born, and to take pictures of it.

I would like you to convey to you and your wonderful companion, Irene, best regards and wishes for his birthday. There is a Polish special song when a great man’s birthday or anniversary is celebrated, starting with the words, “Live long, to a hundred years [*sto let*].” I wish you *sto let*.

**Norman Podhoretz**, former editor, *Commentary*: Through brilliantly argued, masterfully documented, and beautifully written articles [from 1977 on] like “Why the Soviet Union Thinks It Could Fight & Win a Nuclear War,” “How to Cope with the Soviet Threat,” and “Soviet Global Strategy,” Dick Pipes probably did more than anyone else to supply the intellectual underpinnings of our eventual victory in the Cold War. To have enlisted him as a frequent contributor and to have presided over the publication of such pieces remains one of my proudest achievements in thirty-five years as editor of *Commentary*.

**Paul Wolfowitz**, former deputy secretary of defense: I still remember clearly your distinguished leadership of the “Team B” alternative assessment of Soviet strategic objectives, commissioned in 1976 by then-CIA Director George H.W. Bush. Your clarity of thought and deep understanding of Soviet and Russian history helped us produce a very different understanding of Soviet motivations than was the consensus view in the U.S. intelligence community at the time. That Team B effort correctly forecast the increasing Soviet adventurism in the late 1970’s, as they saw the strategic correlation of forces shifting in their favor. It also predicted the strong Soviet attempt to achieve regional strategic dominance in Western Europe by deploying new Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles, a system that the U.S. Intelligence Community had dismissed as obsolete.

At the same time, importantly, you saw the weakness that lay behind that aggressive military posture. As a result you were the strongest voice within the Reagan administration – save for the President himself – arguing for a campaign of pressure to hasten the demise of the Soviet Union. Even for many of the President’s closest supporters at the time, that goal seemed too ambitious. It must surely have strengthened the President’s determination to have someone with your profound knowledge of Russia and the Soviet Union at his side, as he worked to change the course of history for the better. Thank you for your magnificent service to our country.

**Angelo Codevilla**, former staff member, Senate Intelligence Committee: In 1976 the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board commissioned Richard Pipes and a distinguished group to review the CIA's estimates of Soviet strategic weaponry. Pipes' B-team, as it came to be called, showed that CIA had done a terrible job. The CIA set about trying to discredit the B-team, and Pipes. When the Senate Intelligence committee became involved, I judged that they were right and took it upon myself to vindicate them. I met Richard Pipes when he and I were cast together on a panel debate with some of the CIA's most senior officers. Having bested these people in the past but not knowing Richard Pipes, and anxious about how he might perform against them, I had prepared a bunch of notes that I planned to pass to instruct this professor who I supposed to be some kind of innocent. I recall the delight and relief that came over me when Dick Pipes began to speak. Wow! What a mind! And what a man. I admired him and have been grateful ever since that he thought well enough of me to consider me a friend.

**Jane Burbank**, professor of History and Russian and Slavic Studies, New York University: I was thinking about “Professor Pipes” the morning, as I made my way to the Slavic Research Center in Sapporo Japan. Now that I’m a professor, too, I often remember my very first class in the graduate seminar in modern Russian history at Harvard in **1970**. After giving us a short Russian language exam, Professor Pipes asked the students, “Why do we study history?” All of us struggled to find something smart to say, about relevance to politics, understanding origins, etc. But after we spoke, Professor Pipes said, “That’s interesting, but the real reason we study history is because we love it.” This was a wonderful way to start a class, and as it turned out in my case a career – an inspirational dose of honesty, directness, and passion. You gave me some kind words of encouragement about my seminar paper -- a great help for a girl in those times. You also supported my subsequent application to the PhD program in History. The seminar was thus a crucial turning point for me and my career. Thank you, Professor Pipes.

**Richard Perle**, former assistant secretary of Defense for Global Strategic Affairs: Ronald Reagan’s presidency marked a radical departure from those of his predecessors on the central issue of the Soviet Union. From the end of World War II until 1981, the main objective of American policy toward Moscow had been to co-exist peacefully, to cooperate with the Soviet state, to achieve détente with the other superpower. Reagan saw it differently. For him the challenge was to destroy the Soviet Union, to consign the “evil empire” to the “ash heap of history.” And he had an historian on his side. Richard Pipes, Harvard professor, author of important books on the Soviet Union, left the academy just long enough to help a transformative President solidify the courage of his convictions with the intellectual legitimacy that Dick was uniquely capable of providing, as I saw since we first met in about **1970**, when I worked for Sen. Henry Jackson.

I had the great pleasure of sitting through many inter-agency meetings where a radically new policy toward the Soviet Union took shape as the diplomatic and intelligence bureaucracy, resisting to a man, was driven to distraction by a soft-spoken professor who knew more about the issue than the rest of the participants put together. What a joy it was to see Larry Eagleberger silenced as his didactic conventional wisdom was so skillfully dismembered by the professor on our team. And what a source of pride it was that we had, on our side, a man of such authority who, unlike nearly all the professional colleagues arrayed against him and us, never compromised his judgment in order to be viewed favorably by the Soviets who controlled access to their territory and thus opportunities for research. Thanks, Dick, for your huge role in the western victory on the Cold War.

---

**Shlomo Sternberg**, professor of Mathematics, Harvard University: We met during the Harvard student riots of **1969**. We were part of a small group of ultra-conservative faculty members who organized to save the Library of Alexandria

from the depredations of the SDS. Since then Aviva and I and your father and mother have been close friends. We have valued and cherished this friendship over the past 44 years, sharing good times and bad .

**Ellen Dahrendorf**, historian and translator of Russian political works: Of course we all know that Dick is a Serious Person. His wonderful books enriched my passion for Russia and shaped my views. We must have first met in the **late 1960s**, probably introduced by Leonard Schapiro at the London School of Economics. However what I particularly cherish is the memory of amusement. Whenever Dick and Irene arrived in London, we celebrated - dinners and parties, conversation and laughter, the shared friends, many no longer with us, all of us part of an enthusiastic London fan club.

**Harvey Mansfield**, William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of Government, Harvard University: Dear Dick, Just a few words to celebrate your 90th birthday. I am at an age when I wonder if I will live that long. To do so is an ambition that shows the limits of ambition, because in the end, and to the end, one can only hope for a postponement. Still, that's a gloomy thought, and certainly you deserve to feel satisfied, or as the song says, more than satisfied, with all those years so well spent.

What I want to praise you for is not your record of accomplishments, or your choice of wife, for both of which—Congratulations. It's for your actions and speech in defense of the integrity of the study of History in a time when fact itself has come under challenge. If you have not been able to prevent the degeneration we have seen, you have set a noble example since we first met in **the late 1960s** by standing up for scholarship and culture in your profession and our university. With warm wishes, and for years to come.

**Linda Gerstein**, professor of History, Haverford College: One day in July **1965**. I got a phone call from Dick: “What is THAT?” he said to me.” That’s my finished thesis,” I said. “Well....fly yourself immediately up here and plan on staying at least TWO DAYS.” The “here”: for 48 hours straight in the New Hampshire dacha, punctuated with good food provided by Irene and one allowed slide down to the lake (where she disported herself most of the time to avoid hearing my squeals), we went over the manuscript, agony by agony. “What’s that mean?” “I meant to say...” “Well, SAY it then!” And when I had satisfied HIM, finally, I knew that it was done.

Dick was, in other words, a magical graduate adviser and mentor, opening up both the friendship of his houses (Daniel’s Bar Mitzvah party in Belmont, the 1969 summer in Cambridge) and his full professional attention when I needed it. He knew exactly what I had in me from the first course I took with him, and he made it possible for me to realize it: that I would approach History through Literature, that I needed a loose tether tightened only when absolutely necessary, and that I was suited for teaching undergraduates in a liberal arts college. That he could let me go a route so different from his with easy approval was his great gift to me. So, two months later I started at Haverford College with a finished thesis and a

feeling of confidence. Thank you, Dick; and Happy Birthday to you, and a hug for Irene too.

**Morton Keller**, professor emeritus in history at Brandeis University: It is, on the face of it, hard to say why Richard and I are friends, but we are since about **1963**. I'm middle-middle class American-born-and-bred, Richard is comparably European and upper-middle class. But longtime friends we are: partly because an octogenarian and a virtual nonagenarian are generationally compatible; partly because Dick and I are historians with a shared view of what it is we do (or are supposed to do), which makes us outliers in our profession. And outliers, like other *misérables*, love company. One thing more: it has been an honor and a delight to have had a years-long dialogue with a great historian.

**Martin Peretz**, former editor-in-chief, *The New Republic*: I remember the time when just about all of us thought that the Soviet Union - and also, for that matter, "People's China"- were players in the great competition for people's love and loyalty! The Harvard faculty was certainly rife with such men. (No women then.) My thesis supervisor was Adam Ulam. So I was saved with his own brave heresy. And also by the heresy of Richard Pipes, who bowed to no fashion (and who I recall meeting about 1965 at Hazen's, an old-fashioned cafeteria in Harvard Square). He recognized that the Soviet Union was no union, that many People's Republics were many prisons, that freedom was an illusion in the U.S.S.R. which would implode and explode. Pipes also recognized the Jew hatred of Soviet communism and the susceptibility of other socialisms to that ugly and millennia-old poison.

**Akira Iriye**, professor of History emeritus, Harvard University: To my delight, Richard and I have been neighbors on the top floor of Widener Library. He works in Study O, and I'm in N, sandwiching Oscar Handlin's study (783). I first met Richard in the **early 1960s** when I was a very junior member of the History Department. He was always very friendly, and I remember feeling very encouraged when one day during the academic year 1963-1964 I saw him sitting in my lecture course, which he attended on behalf of the Department to see if my status as instructor could be changed to something else. It was, although it was not till the 1980s that I rejoined the Department and had the pleasure of reuniting with him as a colleague. Our professional and personal friendship continue.

**Richard Frye**, Aga Khan Professor Emeritus of Iranian Studies at Harvard University: I remember at Daniel's Bar Mitzvah [in **1962**], when I gave him a copy of *Hajji Baba of Isfahan*, with many revealing illustrations, which may have turned him to the Middle East. Since I had once had to teach Hebrew it is now forgotten. But history is gone, only the present remains.

**In-ho Lee**, former South Korean ambassador to Russia: Dear Professor Pipes, I wish I could be there to make the sirloin tip marinated in the Korean Galbi source which you and Irene liked so much, Professor Pipes! You see, after all the years since we met in **1960**, and many overnight stays at your beautiful 17 Berkeley house, I still cannot quite bring myself to calling you Dick. You were held in such awe and esteem by your graduate students in Russian history. I feel sorry that

none of us has measured up to you as a scholar. But I know you were happy to see me become the Korean ambassador to Moscow. Ninety is quite a landmark but you still have a long way to go. My mother is 99 and she still runs the house for me. Please keep on! Mnogaia Leta!

---

**Graham Fuller**, former vice-chair of the National Intelligence Council: You may not remember me but I wrote my BA Honors Thesis in Russian History with you on the “Genesis of Turkic Nationalism in the Russian Empire” light years ago, in **1959**. Your course on “Nationalist Movements in the Russian Empire” had huge impact on me as I went on to become deeply involved in Turkic and then Middle Eastern studies. I want to thank you for opening my eyes to such a huge and exciting world and having an impact on the rest of my life, that led to my joining CIA, and later at RAND and later still as a writer on such topics. You played an indelible role in my education and the later course of my life and I am in gratitude.

**Valentine J. Boss**, professor emeritus, Department of History, McGill University: I was one of Richard’s first doctoral students at Harvard, starting in **1957**. The highest praise that I can offer in his honour is this: half a century later, Richard’s body of work on Russian history remains relevant. Genuine scholarship is rare and Richard’s work is true and continues to withstand the test of time. He took the coming of Glasnost’ and Perestroika with particular grace and intelligence. It was exceptionally interesting in my visits to the expiring Soviet Union to see how poorly prepared Russian graduate students were for the intellectual discussions Richard’s writings initiated among them. The most significant of these was his assertion that the Bolshevik “Revolution” was no such thing.

**Marvin Kalb**, former Edward R. Murrow Professor of Press and Public Policy, Harvard University: 90th? My stronger vision of Dick is 30th, or some such. He was my young and imaginative professor, and I was an anxious graduate student at the Russian Research Center. **1953**, as I recall, and I wanted to do something original with my seminar course. At the time I didn't know whether I wanted to be a professor, like Dick, or a journalist, like my brother, or maybe even a diplomat. Dick came to my rescue with a most wonderful idea--he and I would do a course together, a twosome, and it would bridge both of my worlds: journalism and scholarship, and yet not be truly faithful to either. It would be journalism of a very serious sort, and scholarship with a very modern twist. Every month, I'd be responsible for producing a *New York Times*-like magazine piece on a subject that would be found on the front page of the Globe, let us say. But it would be a piece, not only of topical interest, but one studded with substantive inquiry and sourcing. The sort of hybrid journalism that we could use a lot more of today. It was my best course. I loved every weekly session with my professor, every monthly challenge to write something I could be proud of. To this day, the Dick of then remains for me the Dick of today, brilliant, probing, current, imaginative, challenging. The only difference is that a few years have passed in between.

**Henry Rosovsky**, former dean of Faculty of Arts and Sciences and acting president, Harvard University: Dear Dick, It is virtually impossible to add something unusual to the great many tributes that will be sent your way when you celebrate your 90th. That is expected and fully deserved and I would like to be part of the chorus, given that we have known each other since the **early 1950s**. I do, however, have one—perhaps slightly unusual--contribution. My mother was a graduate of the University of Kiev who maintained her life-long interest in things Russian. Throughout her long life she firmly believed that all students of Russia in this country (and other places as well) were a bunch of fools, dupes, communist stooges and uncultured. I have only heard her make one single exception: "Pipes," she would say "is the only real exception." That is what I learned at my mother's knee. Nitzza and I send warm congratulations to you, Irene, and the family and wish you many more happy years in Widener.

**Zbigniew Brzezinski**, former White House national security advisor: I have many recollections of Richard and Irene Pipes going back to **1950**. At that time, I came to Harvard as a graduate student where Richard, several years older than I, was already a budding academic. We became friends, in part because of our Polish origins.

Not having grown up in Poland, I was always very curious as to how Poland was perceived by those who lived in it, and especially by Polish Jews because my father was a very strong opponent of rising anti-semitism in Europe. In my conversations with them, I was struck by how enthusiastic Irene was about her youthful experiences in Poland. On the other hand, Richard -- whose father was a volunteer in the fight for Polish independence in the legion organized by the later-Marshall Pilsudski -- harbored understandable bitterness at the growing resentments against Jews which were manifesting themselves among young Poles on the eve of World War II. That was a time when a form of "integral nationalism" was becoming widespread among younger college-aged Poles. At the same time, within the Jewish community in Poland, a sense of alienation from Poland was also deepening, with perhaps just as high a percentage of younger Jews in Poland attracted to communism as of young Poles attracted to chauvinism.

In subsequent years, we parted on some issues pertaining to the Middle East, but I was very much aware of Richard's important contribution (when he served on the staff of the NSC under President Reagan) to the strong U.S. response to the imposition of martial law in Poland. I continue to be fond of them.

---

**Gerald Holton**, Mallinckrodt Research Professor of Physics and Research Professor of the History of Science, Emeritus: Nina and I have known you and Irene longer than most of our other friends. We first saw you in the **late 1940s** at Winthrop House, and Nina said "I wonder who this interesting Turkish man is, and his German wife. Then we saw both of you again some time later, coming home by steamship from Europe—and then we finally had a conversation.

Believe it or not, you introduced us to the Liftons, who lived at that time in the house previously owned by the child psychiatrist, Lucy Jessner. We were invited after the Liftons had returned from Japan, so we all sat on pillows.

As the years went on, we remained friends but never talked about politics. As does in the world of scholars, we admired Dick's books, we have loved your and Irene's parties and her friendship, and when occasion arose, her help. We have reminisced about the good old Harvard, and we all swam together in Tortola....

**Bernard Bailyn**, professor of History emeritus, Harvard University: An ancient lady once told me that 90 years is not just 89 plus 1. It's a different level of being. Having beaten you to it by a few months I can confirm what she said (a different state of mind, anyway) and that it's not so bad. And then we two have the satisfaction of being the only survivors of the gang of graduate students who crowded into the History Dept in **1946-7**. So just keep a handy reference list of the first names of your closest friends (which you will forget at the worst time), and press on!