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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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**Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

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**File Folder** MATLOCK CHRON MARCH 1985 (4/4)

**FOIA**

F06-114/2

**Box Number** 8

YARHI-MILO

809

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
6991	MEMCON	MEETING WITH SHCHERBITSKIY <i>R 11/21/2007 F06-114/2</i>	8	3/8/1985	B1
6993	MEMO	MATLOCK TO POINDEXTER RE USSR <i>R 11/21/2007 F06-114/2</i>	1	3/28/1985	B1
6994	REPORT	REPORT ON USSR <i>PAR 5/26/2011 F2006-114/2</i>	8	ND	B1 B3

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]

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*Matlock*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SYSTEM II  
90240  
ADD-ON

*SMOG*

March 13, 1985

UNCLASSIFIED WITH  
SECRET/SENSITIVE ATTACHMENT

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLAS PLATT  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation on the President's  
Meeting with Soviet Politburo Member Vladimir  
Shcherbitsky, March 7, 1985

Attached is the memorandum of conversation covering the  
President's meeting with Politburo member Vladimir Shcherbitsky  
of the Soviet Union on March 7, 1985.

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

Attachment

Tab A Memorandum of Conversation

UNCLASSIFIED WITH  
SECRET/SENSITIVE ATTACHMENT

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

*for 8/11/85*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SYSTEM II  
90240  
ADD-ON

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

March 8, 1985

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Vladimir Shcherbitsky of the Soviet Union

PARTICIPANTS: UNITED STATES

The President  
Secretary of State George Shultz  
Mr. Donald Regan, Chief of Staff  
Mr. Michael K. Deaver, Deputy Chief of Staff  
Mr. Robert C. McFarlane, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs  
Admiral Daniel J. Murphy, Chief of Staff to the Vice President  
Mr. Richard Burt, Assistant Secretary of State  
Mr. Jack F. Matlock, NSC  
Mr. Dimitri Zarechnak, Interpreter

USSR

Vladimir Shcherbitsky, Member of Soviet Politburo  
Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin  
Boris I. Stukalin, Department Head, Central Committee  
Aleksandr A. Bessmertnykh, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Oleg A. Krokhalev, Interpreter

DATE, TIME March 7, 1985; 3:00-4:00 P.M.  
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President opened the meeting by saying that he supposed the question uppermost on both their minds was the negotiations to open next week in Geneva. He said he had read the words by Chernenko and Gromyko recently expressing a hope to eliminate nuclear weapons, and he agreed with these words completely. (C)

Shcherbitsky confirmed that this is Soviet policy. (C)

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~  
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F06-114/2 #6991  
BY LDS NARA DATE 11/21/07

The President added that he knew it is a complicated question, but if both countries feel that way, we should move ahead toward accomplishing the goal. It, of course, cannot be done all at once, but we can establish phases of reductions to move in that direction. (C)

Shcherbitsky said he had the impression that our goals coincide. But to bring them into effect we need patience, and also need to exhibit less emotion in the dialogue. He pointed out that we have so far been able to accomplish some small-scale things, such as increased exchanges in the cultural and environmental protection areas, but we must be more ambitious. (C)

He continued by saying that you say you have no aggressive intent toward us and we say the same, that we have no aggressive intent toward you. You are determined to defend your allies and we are committed to defend ours. So in this respect our policies are the same. But there is an excess of arms. We have enough to destroy the world many times over, and to what point? People are surprised by this situation and think their governments are not acting in a sensible fashion. (C)

He then recalled that he had been in public service for many years and had worked under various Soviet leaders who differed in many ways. He was a student in Stalin's time, then was in the Army during the war, and after that in various party and government positions. The Soviet leaders differed in their approaches on many things: Stalin took decisions alone; Khrushchev, who had both positive and negative qualities, did as well. The others consulted their colleagues. He worked for Brezhnev for many years, with Andropov for a period which proved unfortunately short, and now with Chernenko. But through all this period there was not a single meeting of the Politburo where any plans were developed to attack the U.S. or impose on the U.S. (S)

We think of our countries as far apart, he continued parenthetically, but in fact our borders are very close in the Bering Sea. The Diomede Islands, one of which is Soviet and one American, lie only a few miles apart. But the fact is, whether we are distant or close, such questions as aggressive acts against the U.S. are simply not discussed by the Soviet leadership. (S)

The Soviet people had learned a bitter lesson in World War II and are determined not to repeat the experience. They saw U.S. bases all around the Soviet Union created by the U.S. after the war, so the question was not that of threatening the U.S. but of not lagging behind the U.S. And what he had said of discussions among the Soviet leadership was equally true of discussions and plans made by their military people and scientists. (S)

So the picture is different in our two countries, he continued; you kept up an arms race while we kept up with you. (C)

As for the Geneva negotiations, he referred to Chernenko's recent letters to the President and stated that the principled positions set forth in them had not changed. He could reaffirm the policy Chernenko had described. His government has been working hard on the instructions for their delegation to Geneva. He believes we can reach a mutual understanding there if we approach the negotiations in the spirit of mutual concessions. Referring to the treaties and agreements signed between 1972 and 1974, and to the Declaration of Principles of 1972, he said that this experience demonstrated that we can reach agreement by a series of compromises. (S)

However, Shcherbitsky continued, if you continue your plans for an ABM system with elements based in space, then this will be contrary to the ABM Treaty. That treaty bans development, testing and deployment of sea-based, air-based, space-based or mobile land-based ABM's. He recognized that the President had said the U.S. program is limited to research, but wondered what the point of the research could be if the results are not tested. (S)

The President said he would like to speak to that. Research is not banned by the ABM Treaty and all we propose is research. He had stated publicly that if this research proves that defensive weapons are possible, we will sit down and talk about how they can be integrated into a more stable deterrent system. We must try to move toward the elimination of nuclear weapons, and defensive systems could help. The Soviet Union has defensive systems today, including ABM's which the U.S. does not have. (S)

Regarding suspicion of each other, the President pointed out that there was no ground for Soviet fear of the U.S. At the end of World War II, the U.S. was the only one of the wartime allies which emerged with its industry intact, and the only one with nuclear weapons. If our intentions had been aggressive, we could not have been stopped. But instead of threatening others with our nuclear weapons, we proposed that atomic energy be placed under international control and that the military devices be dismantled. The Soviet Union rejected this and proceeded to undertake what was probably the greatest military buildup in the history of the world. Soviet leaders also made statements declaring their intent to expand their control in the world. So the U.S. had no choice. (S)

The U.S. has tried unilateral disarmament, the President continued, but the Soviet buildup continued. Our intentions are peaceful, but we cannot sit still when there is an imbalance of forces. The U.S. must act to make sure the balance is not upset. (S)

As for the Geneva negotiations, the President stated, we must either achieve reductions of nuclear weapons -- and we want their total elimination -- or else, until we have agreements and these are honored, the U.S. must build sufficient force to match the Soviet force. He pointed out that Gromyko had spoken of the mountains of weapons we are sitting on. We want to reduce them, just as Gromyko said he did, but we will not stand by and see ourselves inferior. (S)

The President then pointed out that we have some important things in common. We have the power to start a war, but we also have the power to bring peace to the world. That is where our efforts must be directed. (C)

Shcherbitsky said he agreed that it would be good to pursue joint efforts in this direction. He also had some comments on some of the President's earlier remarks. (C)

As for the President's mention of U.S. restraint after World War II when it had a monopoly of nuclear weapons, Shcherbitsky said that the Soviet Union had ten million men under arms and could have swept across Europe if it had so chosen. Nevertheless, they observed the wartime agreements, which illustrated their restraint and lack of aggressive intent. (S)

Regarding strategic defense, he would not agree that the U.S. program is purely research. Assistant Secretary Perle had stated that there could be testing within four years, and General Abrahamson had spoken of tests within two years. (S)

Regarding compliance, Shcherbitsky said that he had read the U.S. memorandum and had consulted with Soviet military experts in regard to the 19 allegations. He believes the Soviet Union has not violated any treaties, but that there have been violations by the U.S. It is true that they have ABM's around Moscow, but this is permitted by the treaty. As for the radar near Krasnoyarsk, it is a system to be used for tracking civilian satellites, communication satellites. He suggested that we have our specialists discuss these matters. If we do so, many doubts might be dispelled. (S)

Shcherbitsky then asked why the U.S. refuses to commit itself not to use nuclear weapons first. He understands the U.S. position that it is because the Warsaw Pact has more conventional weapons than NATO. But we have been holding negotiations in Vienna for 12 years on this question and the Soviet Union has agreed to equal levels. They are willing to withdraw troops and their equipment in accord with an agreement, and are willing to have verification. And the Soviets are willing to ban the first use of any type of force. He wondered whether an agreement in the MBFR forum would not make it possible to proceed to a no-first-use of nuclear weapons commitment. (S)

He then turned to the question of chemical weapons, alleging that the U.S. has a campaign to stockpile chemical weapons. This gives the Soviets great concern. He has talked to many Soviet citizens, and many have the impression that the U.S. is preparing for war against the Soviet Union. When they hear threatening statements by U.S. political figures they feel that war is close. (C)

Nevertheless, Shcherbitsky asserted, Soviet citizens have maintained a warm attitude toward Americans since World War II. They know of American achievements and the high standard of living here. Soviet media do, Shcherbitsky added, show examples of poverty and the "barbaric treatment of Negroes," but they know that this is not the whole story. In short, the U.S. is respected in the Soviet Union and the Soviet people want only peace. (S)

The President agreed that the Soviet people, like the American people, want peace. Americans feel great friendship for Russians also. As he had said many times, people don't start wars, governments do. And the problem is that the Soviet people do not have much to say about what their government does. [Shcherbitsky interjected, "Why do you say this?"] We want the people in both countries to live in peace, the President continued. (S)

The President then explained why we are concerned about Soviet intentions, recalling statements by Lenin and other leaders to the effect that they would take Asia, then Europe and eventually the U.S. would fall into their hands like ripe fruit. He also recalled, as an example of Soviet official hostility, the Soviet refusal for a long time during World War II to allow U.S. bombers on missions over Germany to land on Soviet territory. The Cuban missile crisis was another example; the Soviets removed their missiles, but we had superiority at the time. Many Soviet activities today give us concern, such as their preponderance of heavy missiles and their continually expanding blue water navy. (S)

The President then observed that deterrence based entirely on offensive weapons is undesirable. All we have now to deter war is a system of mutual threats against innocent civilians. History records a whole series of international agreements designed to protect civilians in wartime, and we must not ignore that experience or that moral principle. We need to see if defensive weapons can be developed so that we can return to a more acceptable means of avoiding war than threatening civilian populations. (C)

Shcherbitsky asked which country had encircled the other with bases. (S)

The President replied that we had dismantled some of these bases, and we began to deploy missiles in Allied countries which could strike the Soviet Union only when our Allies asked for protection from the threat of Soviet SS-20's. Even then, we offered the zero option, but the Soviet answer was that they would reduce by half but NATO could have nothing. So it was a half zero option -- half for them and nothing for us. (S)

Shcherbitsky remarked that they could argue endlessly on these points, but would point out that when the U.S. refused to count British and French missiles, there was no way the Soviet Union could agree. Now U.S. missiles are in Europe, and the President should try to understand how the Soviets feel. (S)

The President pointed out that Soviet SS-20's are there too. (S)

Shcherbitsky said that they cannot strike the U.S., and that the Soviets must take measures to counter them. And if the U.S. is to pursue SDI, why does it need the MX and a new bomber? (S)

The President said that the MX is in response to four new Soviet systems. It has the same capability of the SS-18, but the Soviets have many more of these than the hundred MX's which the U.S. intends to deploy. (S)

Shcherbitsky alluded to the research done on the possibility of a nuclear winter if a nuclear war should be fought. In light of this possibility, he wondered why we keep creating more weapons. We can destroy mankind only once, and we already have the means to do so many times over. (C)

The President said that if Shcherbitsky wished to negotiate, he would have a deal. We can start eliminating nuclear weapons right now. If our two countries could cooperate in this, we could make sure that no one else uses these weapons. We must do this to preserve peace for our children and grandchildren. (S)

Shcherbitsky said that the prospect of space weapons is particularly frightening. People would feel that destruction is poised above their heads. To have weapons on earth and on and under the water is one thing, but something which is poised in space above your head all the time is enough to drive people crazy. (S)

The President pointed out the desirability of having a non-nuclear weapon which could be used against nuclear ones. This would be particularly important if nuclear weapons ever came into the hands of a madman. Madmen exist, but if the nuclear weapons could be destroyed, then we could deal with that problem. (S)

The President then reiterated that if we ever find a way to build such a weapon, we would internationalize the question and work for agreement on how to use it as a means for eliminating nuclear weapons. (S)

Shcherbitsky replied that, in that case, the U.S. would begin dealing with the Soviets as if they were children. And what is the Soviet Union to do until it has such a weapon? Their only choice would be to increase their offensive weapons. (S)

The President asked why they would not be willing to reduce their nuclear weaponry. (S)

Shcherbitsky claimed that we have parity, an approximate parity, of nuclear weapons now. U.S. claims that the Soviets have superiority are without foundation. This parity must not be disturbed. But the main problem is distrust. (S)

The President agreed that distrust is a problem. (C)

Shcherbitsky then said that if the U.S proceeds with SDI, the Soviets will have to spend much more on new weapons. This will be painful. The U.S. is richer. But although the Soviet people have on average 3% fewer calories to consume each day and do not live as well as Americans in general, no army in the world defends its country better than theirs. If necessary, they will tighten their belts, but this will mean another spiral in the arms race. (S)

As for the Geneva negotiations, the Soviets are ready for a sensible compromise, he said, and noted that he understood that some members of Congress intended to go to Geneva for the opening of the talks. He said that this is up to the U.S., but if Soviet legislators wished to attend the talks, he would not think that this is a good idea. (S)

The President returned to some of Shcherbitsky's earlier comments and pointed out that there is no evidence that the U.S. has embarked on expansionism. The U.S. is not in Africa and is not injecting its forces into local disputes. He added, however, that it seems to us that the Soviets have an expansionist program, and this gives us concern. (S)

Shcherbitsky inquired, "What do you mean by an expansionist program?" (S)

The President answered citing Afghanistan and proxy forces in Angola and Kampuchea, for a start. (S)

9

Shcherbitsky inquired about Kampuchea, and the President said he was referring to the North Vietnamese, who are backed by the Soviets. (S)

Shcherbitsky protested that Soviet troops were not involved here. As for Afghanistan, Soviet troops were there at the request of the government. The request had been made several times and the Politburo had considered the request several times before finally granting it. He then asked about the American action in Grenada. (S)

The President explained that we have no troops in Grenada, and the island has been returned to the control of its people. He pointed out that we had found documents and weapons there which had made the earlier Soviet involvement and intentions quite clear. (S)

Shcherbitsky observed that Afghanistan is a much larger country and therefore presents a much more formidable military problem. Noting that they were already over the scheduled time, he expressed the hope that the negotiations in Geneva would be fruitful. (S)

The President said that he also hoped for good results and wished Shcherbitsky and his delegation a pleasant trip to Texas and California. (U)

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

March 11, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

**SIGNED**

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation of President's Meeting  
with Politburo Member Shcherbitsky

Attached at Tab A is the Memorandum of Conversation covering the President's meeting with Soviet Politburo member Vladimir Shcherbitsky.

Attached at Tab I is a Kimmitt-Platt memorandum to transmit the Memorandum to State.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize transmission of the Kimmitt-Platt memorandum at Tab I.

Approve *JFM* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

- Tab I Kimmitt-Platt Memorandum
- Tab A Memorandum of Conversation

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~  
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
White House Guidelines, August 23, 1997  
By *cdj* NARA, Date *6/14/02*

MEMORANDUM

*matlock*

2107

*34-C ✓*  
*S.B.C. 11*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 15, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

THROUGH: ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: Invitation to Speak during International Affairs Week at the Chautauqua Institution on June 26 or 28, 1985

I have been invited to speak by the Chautauqua Institution, during International Affairs Week, on Soviet-American relations on June 26 or 28, 1985. All expenses will be covered by the Institution.

RECOMMENDATION

That I accept the invitation.

Approve *RMK*

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment:

Tab I Letter of Invitation

cc: Administrative Office

1. TRAVELER'S NAME: JACK F. MATLOCK

2. PURPOSE(S), EVENT(S), DATE(S): Speak during International Affairs Week at Chautauqua Institution on June 26 or 28

3. ITINERARY (Please Attach Copy of Proposed Itinerary):  
 Washington - Chautauqua - Washington

DEPARTURE DATE o/a 6/26 RETURN DATE o/a 6/28

TIME TIME

4. MODE OF TRANSPORTATION:

GOV AIR \_\_\_\_\_ COMMERCIAL AIR  POV \_\_\_\_\_ RAIL \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER \_\_\_\_\_

5. ESTIMATED EXPENSES:

TRANSPORTATION \_\_\_\_\_ PER DIEM \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER \_\_\_\_\_ TOTAL TRIP COST \_\_\_\_\_

6. WHO PAYS EXPENSES: NSC \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER

7. IF NOT NSC, DESCRIBE SOURCE AND ARRANGEMENTS:  
 Chautauqua Institution

8. WILL FAMILY MEMBER ACCOMPANY YOU: YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO

9. IF SO, WHO PAYS FOR FAMILY MEMBER (If Travel Not Paid by Traveler, Describe Source and Arrangements):

10. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

11. REMARKS (Use This Space to Indicate Any Additional Items You Would Like to Appear on Your Travel Orders):

12. TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE: *J F Matlock*

13. APPROVALS:





2107 3/12  
93 - 14  
110 -

# Chautauqua

INSTITUTION

CHAUTAUQUA NEW YORK 14722 716/357-6200

March 12, 1985

The Honorable Jack F. Matlock  
Special Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
Old Executive Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ambassador Matlock:

It is a great pleasure to be able to invite you to speak on the subject of Soviet-American relations at The Chautauqua Institution during International Affairs Week this summer. I was glad that you had an opportunity to meet Dr. Daniel Bratton, President of Chautauqua, during the reception hosted by Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin for the visiting Soviet delegation that was here last week.

International Affairs Week, which traditionally draws somewhere between 5,000 and 10,000 Americans from all walks of life, will take place between June 24 and June 29, 1985. The theme of the week will be Soviet-American relations. I hope that you would be able to address the Chautauqua audience on either Wednesday, June 26 or on Friday, June 28. The week will be devoted to Soviet-American relations, with a delegation attending from the Soviet Union.

Among the American speakers who have accepted are: Former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft; Dr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Mark Palmer and a number of distinguished American historians and academics.



# Chautauqua

INSTITUTION

CHAUTAUQUA NEW YORK 14722 716/357-6200

The Honorable Jack F. Matlock

Chautauqua itself is one of the most historic sites in America. There are few places anywhere that reflect American democracy at work as beautifully as Chautauqua. Nine American Presidents, beginning with Ulysses S. Grant, have addressed the Chautauqua audience. FDR spoke there on three occasions. James Michener wrote South Pacific at Chautauqua. Thomas Edison electrified the Athaneum Hotel, which still welcomes visitors as it did 100 years ago. George Gershwin wrote "Rhapsody In C" at Chautauqua. Its speakers have included Henry Ford, Harvey Firestone, Leo Tolstoy, John Philip Sousa and, of course, William Jennings Bryan.

Chautauqua is about a 45-minute drive from the Buffalo Airport. You will be met by a limousine at the airport. US Air has four regularly scheduled nonstop flights from Washington to Buffalo daily. It is about a 55 minute flight. All your expenses will be paid by The Chautauqua Institution. If it is possible to bring yourwife, it is a beautiful place to spend a relaxing two or three days.

The morning lectures in the amphitheatre begin at 10:45 a.m. and end promptly at noon. They usually include a short question-and-answer period with written queries sent from the audience. In the afternoon a more informal seminar-type program takes place on one of the handsome Town Hall squares on the property.



# Chautauqua

INSTITUTION

CHAUTAUQUA NEW YORK 14722 716/357-6200

The Honorable Jack F. Matlock

I very much hope that you will be able to address the Chautauqua audience. Both Al Haig and Geoffrey Kemp, as well as Richard Perle, were at Chautauqua last summer. I have attached a note from Al Haig after his participation.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Sincerely,

John P. Wallach  
Chairman, International Affairs Week  
Foreign Editor, The Hearst Newspapers  
In Washington: 298-6920 or 966-5353

JM-c 17

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 15, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Message on the Occasion of the 4th Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League on March 23

I have reviewed and concur in the proposed Presidential message at Tab A to the Baltic American Freedom League on the occasion of the 4th Annual Human Rights Conference on March 23. Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Anne Higgins forwarding the proposed message.

*W* Walter Raymond and Paula <sup>*TD*</sup>Dobriansky concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab to Anne Higgins.

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

Attachments:

- Tab I Memo to Anne Higgins
- Tab A Proposed Text of Presidential Message
- Tab B Background Papers

MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM FOR ANNE HIGGINS

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT

SUBJECT: Presidential Message: 4th Annual Human Rights  
Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League  
on March 23

We have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential message at Tab A for the 4th Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League on March 23.

## Attachment:

Tab A	Proposed Presidential Message
Tab B	Background Papers

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 14, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB KIMMITT, NSC

SUBJECT: Baltic American Freedom League

Attached for your review and clearance is a proposed Presidential message for the 4th Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League on MARCH 23. It was requested through Linas Kojelis, OPL. I understand the Director of the Voice of America will read the message.

Thank you.

*RDC*  
(for) Duncan Clark  
ANNE HIGGINS  
18-OEOB/Ext. 7610

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1985

I am pleased to send warm greetings to all those gathered for the Fourth Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League.

This occasion presents me with a welcome opportunity to acknowledge the splendid efforts of your organization on behalf of the people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Your labors serve to remind us of the Baltic States' continuing struggle to realize the ideals of liberty and human dignity and the most basic yearnings of the human spirit.

Although the shadow of tyranny hangs over your ancestral lands, a spirit of hope and the yearning for liberty live on to inspire a new generation. I wish to express my solidarity with the brave people of the Baltic States in your resolve to advance the cause of freedom and self-determination for your beloved homeland.

Nancy joins me in sending best wishes for a productive conference and for every future success.

21

DRAFT/Date March 12, 1985 SPECIAL DEADLINE ASAP  
 (printing, e.g.)  
 RR/ CV / ROZ DATE OF EVENT March 23  
 (drafter) (Rev.)  
 [Straight Wire/Telegram]  
 [Special Delivery/Express Mail]

Clear with NSC

I am pleased to send warm greetings to all those gathered for the Fourth Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League.

This occasion presents me with a welcome opportunity to acknowledge the splendid efforts of your organization on behalf of the people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Your labors serve to remind us of the Baltic States' continuing struggle to realize the ideals of liberty and human dignity and the most basic yearnings of the human spirit.

Although the shadow of tyranny hangs over your ancestral lands, a spirit of hope and the yearning for liberty live on to inspire a new generation. I wish to express my solidarity with the brave people of the Baltic States in your resolve to advance the cause of freedom and self-determination for your beloved homeland.

Nancy joins me in sending best wishes for a productive conference and for every future success.

CC to C. Kedlik, Rm. 93 OE0B

22  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: March 8, 1985

TO: Claudia Korte

*Assign to  
CSABA*

FROM: LINAS KOJELIS *LK*  
Associate Director  
Office of Public Liaison  
Room 438 OEOB, Ext. 2741

*Last message  
attached. Clear  
w/NSC.*

SUBJECT: Presidential Message, ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~American Freedom League~~

The attached is for your:

- |                                                       |                                             |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Information                  | <input type="checkbox"/> Review & Comment   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Direct Response              | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Letter                 | <input type="checkbox"/> Signature          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> File                         | <input type="checkbox"/> Other              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Please Return By <u>ASAP</u> |                                             |

Comments: The Director of the Voice of American will be reading this message to the group and we need it back ASAP. Thanks.

ASAP

23

March 8, 1985

TO: Linas J. Kojelis, White House Office of Public Liaison  
FROM: Frederick Quinn, Voice of America  
SUBJECT: Presidential Greeting

Attached is a draft presidential greeting for the Baltic American Freedom League Human Rights Conference, meeting in Los Angeles, March 23, 1985, for Gene Pell, VOA Director Designate, to deliver at the evening banquet. Need ASAP.

FQuinn  
3406  
VOA  
330 Independence Ave.  
Washington, SW  
DC 20547  
485-6169

Draft Presidential Greeting

March 23, 1985

Today, the Baltic American Freedom League meets in Los Angeles for its Fourth Annual Human Rights Conference. It is appropriate that you gather in a city filled with Americans whose ethnic roots extend to many countries. It is equally appropriate that you hold before the world the valiant people of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, whose basic political and religious freedoms have been denied. Your activities on behalf of individuals and of the historic hopes of the peoples' of the Baltic states informs the world again of their struggle for freedom, human dignity, and justice.

Truth will spring, like a flower, eternally in the Baltic soil; and the quest for liberty is as ageless as the life and culture of the Baltic peoples.

As President of the United States, I applaud your Human Rights activities on behalf of the freedom-loving peoples of the Baltic states, and wish you every success in your conference.

Ronald Reagan

212775

4900

4400

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HU013-5

JV

RECEIVED  
MARCH 16 1984

ED

STRAIGHT WIRE - MARCH 16, 1984

Mr. Valdis V. Pavlovskis  
President  
Baltic American Freedom League  
2551 Michael Torena Street  
Los Angeles, California 90039

*message of*

It is a great pleasure to send my warm greetings and best regards to all those gathered for the Third Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic-American Freedom League.

This event presents a fine opportunity to recognize the significant contributions Baltic Americans have made to the advancement of the ideals of liberty. Your organization has repeatedly demonstrated its deep concern for the cause of freedom and human dignity for the peoples of the Baltic States.

Baltic Americans serve as an inspiring reminder of the priceless value of our nation's freedom and independence. Let me assure you that our citizens share your hopes for one day regaining the liberty of your ancestral homeland on the Baltic Sea.

America continues to recognize the free states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and will never acknowledge the forcible incorporation of these republics into the Soviet Empire. We remain steadfastly committed to the principles of self-determination and the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they live.

my best wishes for an enjoyable and rewarding

RR:WELLS:vs

✓cc: K.Osborne/L.Kojelis/D.Livingston/CF

EVENT: MARCH 17

26



# BALTIC AMERICAN FREEDOM LEAGUE

27

P.O. Box 29657, Los Angeles, California 90029

February 10, 1984

**Honorary Members:**

Olafs Bruvers  
Simas Kudirka  
Vladas Sakalys  
Sergei Soldatov

**Executive Board:**

Valdis V. Pavlovskis  
President  
(213) 567-1331, Ext. 282  
(213) 665-9583  
Dr. Ansis Blakis  
Vice President  
(213) 828-4613  
Anthony B. Mazeika  
Vice President  
(714) 859-0340  
Avo Piirisild  
Vice President  
(213) 765-2587  
Heino Nurmberg  
Treasurer  
(714) 835-6676  
(714) 667-3940  
Viivi Piirisild  
Secretary  
(213) 765-2587

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New York, New York  
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Maris Manteniaks  
Cleveland, Ohio  
Jonas Matulaitis  
Los Angeles, California  
Danute G. Mazeika  
Los Angeles, California

**Editor, Baltic Bulletin**

Agris U. Pavlovskis  
(805) 393-4325

Mr. L. Kojelis  
Associate Director  
Office of Public Liaison  
The Old Executive Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Kojelis:

We would greatly appreciate a letter from the President to the participants at our Third Annual Human Rights Conference in Los Angeles on March 17, 1984. The President did send letters of greetings to our two previous conferences in Los Angeles.

Of course, if at all possible, we would also appreciate a direct telephone call from the President either during the seminars or at the evening banquet. The Conference will start at 9:00 a.m. and continue till 2:00 p.m. The banquet will start at 7:00 p.m. All activities will take place at the Ambassador Hotel.

The main speaker at the seminar will be Mr. Carl Gershman and at the banquet it will be Assistant Secretary for Human Rights Mr. Elliott Abrams.

On behalf of the members and the Executive Board of the Baltic American Freedom League, I would like to thank you for the help you have given us in arranging the Conference. We would also like to invite you to attend the Conference and if possible give a short presentation. Please advise us if this would be possible. Again, thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Valdis V. Pavlovskis  
President

Handwritten note: 2551 Michael Torana St., L.A., 90039

MEMORANDUM

2112

28 ✓

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Matlock

March 15, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

THROUGH: ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Invitation to Participate in a Conference on "One Europe" Sponsored by the Research Institute, Columbia University on September 26-30, 1985

I have been invited by the Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University to participate in a conference on "One Europe" to be held in Bonn on September 26-30, 1985. All expenses will be covered by Columbia University.

RECOMMENDATION

That I accept the invitation.

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

*Jack: There may be UNGA activity around that time, which may require some adjustment, but this looks fine now.*

Attachment:

Tab I Letter of Invitation

*Bob 3/19*

cc: Administrative Office

NSC STAFF TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

DATE: 3/15/85

29

1. TRAVELER'S NAME: JACK F. MATLOCK

2. PURPOSE(S), EVENT(S), DATE(S): Paticipate in a conference in Bonn, Germany on September 26-30

3. ITINERARY (Please Attach Copy of Proposed Itinerary): Washington-Bonn-Washington

DEPARTURE DATE o/a 9/26 RETURN DATE o/a 9/30

TIME TIME

4. MODE OF TRANSPORTATION:

GOV AIR COMMERCIAL AIR XX POV RAIL OTHER

5. ESTIMATED EXPENSES:

TRANSPORTATION PER DIEM OTHER TOTAL TRIP COST

6. WHO PAYS EXPENSES: NSC OTHER X

7. IF NOT NSC, DESCRIBE SOURCE AND ARRANGEMENTS: Columbia University, Research Institute for International Change

8. WILL FAMILY MEMBER ACCOMPANY YOU: YES NO X

9. IF SO, WHO PAYS FOR FAMILY MEMBER (If Travel Not Paid by Traveler, Describe Source and Arrangements):

10. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED: \$

11. REMARKS (Use This Space to Indicate Any Additional Items You Would Like to Appear on Your Travel Orders):

12. TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE:

13. APPROVALS:

MEMORANDUM

2112

*July 30*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 15, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

THROUGH: ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Invitation to Participate in a Conference on "One Europe" Sponsored by the Research Institute, Columbia University on September 26-30, 1985

I have been invited by the Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University to participate in a conference on "One Europe" to be held in Bonn on September 26-30, 1985. All expenses will be covered by Columbia University.

RECOMMENDATION

That I accept the invitation.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment:

Tab I Letter of Invitation

cc: Administrative Office

NSC STAFF TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

DATE: 3/15/85

31

1. TRAVELER'S NAME: JACK F. MATLOCK

2. PURPOSE(S), EVENT(S), DATE(S): Participate in a conference in Bonn, Germany on September 26-30

3. ITINERARY (Please Attach Copy of Proposed Itinerary): Washington-Bonn-Washington

DEPARTURE DATE o/a 9/26 RETURN DATE o/a 9/30
TIME TIME

4. MODE OF TRANSPORTATION:

GOV AIR COMMERCIAL AIR XX POV RAIL OTHER

5. ESTIMATED EXPENSES:

TRANSPORTATION PER DIEM OTHER -TOTAL TRIP COST

6. WHO PAYS EXPENSES: NSC OTHER X

7. IF NOT NSC, DESCRIBE SOURCE AND ARRANGEMENTS: Columbia University, Research Institute for International Change

8. WILL FAMILY MEMBER ACCOMPANY YOU: YES NO X

9. IF SO, WHO PAYS FOR FAMILY MEMBER (If Travel Not Paid by Traveler, Describe Source and Arrangements):

10. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED: \$

11. REMARKS (Use This Space to Indicate Any Additional Items You Would Like to Appear on Your Travel Orders):

12. TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE:

13. APPROVALS:

Columbia University in the City of New York | New York, N.Y. 10027

RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON INTERNATIONAL CHANGE

420 West 118th Street

March 12, 1985

The Hon. Jack Matlock  
National Security Council  
Old Executive Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Jack,

On behalf of Seweryn and the Research Institute, I would like to invite you to a conference on "One Europe" that will be held near Bonn on September 26-30, 1985. It will focus on the relationship between Western and Eastern Europe, and it will be cosponsored by this Institute and the Bundesinstitut für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien.

Conference participants will include a small but high-level European (mainly West German) delegation, and we are inviting eight or nine Americans to join us. We hope that the U.S. delegation will consist of four academics (Montias, Griffith, Bialer, and myself) and four or five political figures (Brzezinski, Congressman Gingrich, Sen. Hart, Amb. Matlock, and Sec. Mark Palmer). They are being contacted this week.

Our tentative plans call for three think-pieces to be prepared by European colleagues on the political, economic, and security aspects of inter-European relations. Three American participants will be asked to serve as official discussants, preparing 4-5 page comments in advance of the conference.

We would be delighted if you could join us. We will pay for business-class air travel, and the Bundesinstitut will take care of us in a nice hotel near Bonn.

Given the caliber of likely participants and the very important topic, I expect a stimulating conference and I very much hope that you will be able to join us. I will call you soon to follow up by phone.

With best regards,

Cordially,



Charles Gati  
Director  
East Europe Project

*Handwritten notes:*  
Sta-gati  
3/15 32  
2/12

*Handwritten initials:*  
je ✓  
na

JH-C 33

2076

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 18, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ANNE HIGGINS

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Bob*  
SUBJECT: Presidential Message: 4th Annual Human Rights  
Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League  
on March 23

We have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential message at Tab A for the 4th Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League on March 23.

Attachment:

Tab A Proposed Presidential Message  
Tab B Background Papers

*refer 34*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 15, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Message on the Occasion of the 4th Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League on March 23

I have reviewed and concur in the proposed Presidential message at Tab A to the Baltic American Freedom League on the occasion of the 4th Annual Human Rights Conference on March 23. Attached at Tab I is a memorandum to Anne Higgins forwarding the proposed message.

*W* Walter Raymond and Paula *PD* Dobriansky concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab to Anne Higgins.

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

Attachments:

- Tab I Memo to Anne Higgins
- Tab A Proposed Text of Presidential Message
- Tab B Background Papers

MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM FOR ANNE HIGGINS

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT

SUBJECT: Presidential Message: 4th Annual Human Rights  
Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League  
on March 23

We have reviewed and concur with the proposed Presidential message at Tab A for the 4th Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League on March 23.

## Attachment:

Tab A	Proposed Presidential Message
Tab B	Background Papers

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 14, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB KIMMITT, NSC

SUBJECT: Baltic American Freedom League

Attached for your review and clearance is a proposed Presidential message for the 4th Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League on MARCH 23. It was requested through Linas Kojelis, OPL. I understand the Director of the Voice of America will read the message.

Thank you.

*RC*

(for) Duncan Clark  
ANNE HIGGINS  
18-OEOB/Ext. 7610

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1985

I am pleased to send warm greetings to all those gathered for the Fourth Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League.

This occasion presents me with a welcome opportunity to acknowledge the splendid efforts of your organization on behalf of the people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Your labors serve to remind us of the Baltic States' continuing struggle to realize the ideals of liberty and human dignity and the most basic yearnings of the human spirit.

Although the shadow of tyranny hangs over your ancestral lands, a spirit of hope and the yearning for liberty live on to inspire a new generation. I wish to express my solidarity with the brave people of the Baltic States in your resolve to advance the cause of freedom and self-determination for your beloved homeland.

Nancy joins me in sending best wishes for a productive conference and for every future success.

DRAFT/Date March 12, 1985 SPECIAL DEADLINE ASAP 38  
[printing, e.g.]  
RR/ CV / ROZ , [Rev.] DATE OF EVENT March 23  
[drafter] [Straight Wire/Telegram]  
[Special Delivery/Express Mail]

Clear with NSC

I am pleased to send warm greetings to all those gathered for the Fourth Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic American Freedom League.

This occasion presents me with a welcome opportunity to acknowledge the splendid efforts of your organization on behalf of the people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Your labors serve to remind us of the Baltic States' continuing struggle to realize the ideals of liberty and human dignity and the most basic yearnings of the human spirit.

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Nancy joins me in sending best wishes for a productive conference and for every future success.

CC to C. Kedlik, Rm. 93 OE0B

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

39

Date: March 8, 1985

TO: Claudia Korte

*Assign to  
CSABA*

FROM: LINAS KOJELIS *LK*  
Associate Director  
Office of Public Liaison  
Room 438 OEOB, Ext. 2741

*Last message  
attached. Clear  
w/NSC.*

SUBJECT: Presidential Message, ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~American Freedom League~~

The attached is for your:

- |                                                       |                                             |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Information                  | <input type="checkbox"/> Review & Comment   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Direct Response              | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Draft Letter                 | <input type="checkbox"/> Signature          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> File                         | <input type="checkbox"/> Other              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Please Return By <u>ASAP</u> |                                             |

Comments: The Director of the Voice of American will be reading this message to the group and we need it back ASAP. Thanks.

ASAP

40

March 8, 1985

TO: Linas J. Kojelis, White House Office of Public Liaison  
FROM: Frederick Quinn, Voice of America  
SUBJECT: Presidential Greeting

Attached is a draft presidential greeting for the Baltic American Freedom League Human Rights Conference, meeting in Los Angeles, March 23, 1985, for Gene Pell, VOA Director Designate, to deliver at the evening banquet. Need ASAP.

FQuinn  
3406  
VOA  
330 Independence Ave.  
Washington, SW  
DC 20547  
485-6169

Draft Presidential Greeting

March 23, 1985

Today, the Baltic American Freedom League meets in Los Angeles for its Fourth Annual Human Rights Conference. It is appropriate that you gather in a city filled with Americans whose ethnic roots extend to many countries. It is equally appropriate that you hold before the world the valiant people of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, whose basic political and religious freedoms have been denied. Your activities on behalf of individuals and of the historic hopes of the peoples of the Baltic states informs the world again of their struggle for freedom, human dignity, and justice.

Truth will spring, like a flower, eternally in the Baltic soil; and the quest for liberty is as ageless as the life and culture of the Baltic peoples.

As President of the United States, I applaud your Human Rights activities on behalf of the freedom-loving peoples of the Baltic states, and wish you every success in your conference.

Ronald Reagan

JV

RECEIVED  
MARCH 16 1984

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STRAIGHT WIRE - MARCH 16, 1984

Mr. Valdis V. Pavlovskis  
President  
Baltic American Freedom League  
2551 Michael Torena Street  
Los Angeles, California 90039

*message of*

It is a great pleasure to send my warm greetings and best regards to all those gathered for the Third Annual Human Rights Conference of the Baltic-American Freedom League.

This event presents a fine opportunity to recognize the significant contributions Baltic Americans have made to the advancement of the ideals of liberty. Your organization has repeatedly demonstrated its deep concern for the cause of freedom and human dignity for the peoples of the Baltic States.

Baltic Americans serve as an inspiring reminder of the priceless value of our nation's freedom and independence. Let me assure you that our citizens share your hopes for one day regaining the liberty of your ancestral homeland on the Baltic Sea.

America continues to recognize the free states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and will never acknowledge the forcible incorporation of these republics into the Soviet Empire. We remain steadfastly committed to the principles of self-determination and the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they live.

my best wishes for an enjoyable and rewarding

RR:WELLS:vs

✓cc: K.Osborne/L.Kojellis/D.Livingston/CF

EVENT: MARCH 17

# BALTIC AMERICAN FREEDOM LEAGUE

44

P.O. Box 29657, Los Angeles, California 90029

February 10, 1984

## Honorary Members:

Olafs Bruvers  
Simas Kudirka  
Vladas Sakalys  
Sergei Soldatov

## Executive Board:

Valdis V. Pavlovskis  
President  
(213) 567-1331, Ext. 282  
(213) 665-9583

Dr. Ansis Blakis  
Vice President  
(213) 828-4613

Anthony B. Mazeika  
Vice President  
(714) 859-0340

Avo Piirisild  
Vice President  
(213) 765-2587

Heino Nurmberg  
Treasurer  
(714) 835-6676  
(714) 667-3940

Viiivi Piirisild  
Secretary  
(213) 765-2587

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Chicago, Illinois

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Los Angeles, California

Aivars Jerumanis  
Los Angeles, California

Karlis Kalejs  
Los Angeles, California

Daiva Kezys  
New York, New York

Juozas Kojelis  
Los Angeles, California

Aristids Lambergis  
Boston, Massachusetts

Maris Manteniaks  
Cleveland, Ohio

Jonas Matulaitis  
Los Angeles, California

Danute G. Mazeika  
Los Angeles, California

## Editor, Baltic Bulletin

Agris U. Pavlovskis  
(805) 393-4325

Mr. L. Kojelis  
Associate Director  
Office of Public Liaison  
The Old Executive Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Kojelis:

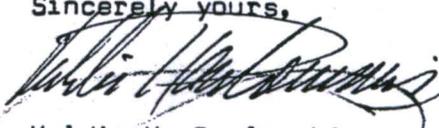
We would greatly appreciate a letter from the President to the participants at our Third Annual Human Rights Conference in Los Angeles on March 17, 1984. The President did send letters of greetings to our two previous conferences in Los Angeles.

Of course, if at all possible, we would also appreciate a direct telephone call from the President either during the seminars or at the evening banquet. The Conference will start at 9:00 a.m. and continue till 2:00 p.m. The banquet will start at 7:00 p.m. All activities will take place at the Ambassador Hotel.

The main speaker at the seminar will be Mr. Carl Gershman and at the banquet it will be Assistant Secretary for Human Rights Mr. Elliott Abrams.

On behalf of the members and the Executive Board of the Baltic American Freedom League, I would like to thank you for the help you have given us in arranging the Conference. We would also like to invite you to attend the Conference and if possible give a short presentation. Please advise us if this would be possible. Again, thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

  
Valdis V. Pavlovskis  
President

2551 Michael  
Torena St.  
L.A.  
90039

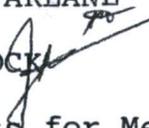
JM-C  
KS

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 19, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK 

SUBJECT: Talking Points for Meeting with American  
Rabbinical Delegation on March 20, 1985

At Tab I are suggested talking points for the President's meeting with the Rabbinical Delegation on Soviet Jewry to be held on Wednesday, March 20, 1985 at 1:15 p.m. in the Oval Office. I understand that the original of the Meeting Memorandum prepared by Ambassador Whittlesey has already gone forward (Tab II).

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward attached talking points at Tab I to the President.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

- Tab I Talking Points
- Tab II Meeting Memorandum

cc: William Martin

46

I

TALKING POINTS

- Glad to see you. Appreciate the gift.
- Your work is vital. It is important to make sure public understands plight of Soviet Jewry.
- Can assure you that the U.S. Government is doing all it can to persuade the Soviet authorities to fulfill their obligations to respect the human rights of all their citizens.

RABBINICAL DEL., MARCH 20, 1985, 1:15 p.m.

-- GLAD TO SEE YOU. APPRECIATE THE GIFT.

-- YOUR WORK IS VITAL. IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAKE SURE PUBLIC UNDERSTANDS PLIGHT OF SOVIET JEWRY.

-- CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS DOING ALL IT CAN TO PERSUADE THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES TO FULFILL THEIR OBLIGATIONS TO RESPECT THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL THEIR CITIZENS.



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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 19, 1985

MEETING WITH RABBINICAL DELEGATION ON SOVIET JEWRY

DATE: March 20, 1985

TIME: 1:15 p.m.

PLACE: Oval Office

FROM: Faith R. Whittlesey

PURPOSE

To demonstrate concern with the fate of Soviet Jewry by meeting with leaders of the Rabbinical March on Washington and accept a gift with them in honor of your commitment to Soviet Jewry. The gift is a Haggadah, the text of the Passover service narrating the story of the exodus from Egypt. Also, to express your appreciation to the Orthodox Jewish population who overwhelmingly supported your re-election.

BACKGROUND

The National Conference on Soviet Jewry and the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, the nation's two major Soviet Jewry advocate organizations, are sponsoring a convocation of over 300 rabbis in Washington, D.C. to bring attention to the deteriorating situation for Russian Jews and all oppressed religious minorities. A similar "March on Washington" occurred in 1944 to protest the "Holocaust". President Roosevelt refused to meet the delegation from that "March".

The Orthodox Jewish community strongly support your domestic and foreign policies. The Orthodox group consists of three strong supporters of your re-election: Rabbi Fabian Schonfield delivered the invocation at the Republican Convention in Dallas; Rabbi Morris Sherer, who is the President of Agudath Israel of America, an Orthodox social service organization, and Rabbi Sholom Klass, the publisher of the New York Jewish Press, the largest Jewish newspaper in the country.

PARTICIPANTS

Approximately 13 participants will attend. A guest list is attached.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION

You have supported the rights of Soviet Jews throughout your term in office.

PRESS PLAN

Full press coverage has been requested.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- 1:15 pm - You welcome the Rabbinical Soviet Jewry delegation.
- 1:17 pm - You accept their gift in appreciation of your support of Soviet. A single photo is taken.
- 1:18 pm - You thank the Soviet Jewry group and they depart.
- 1:19 pm - You welcome the Orthodox Rabbinical delegation. Individual photographs are taken.
- 1:20 pm - Your guests depart.

Attachment: Guest List

GUEST LIST

SOVIET JEWRY DELEGATION

Rabbi Marshall Wolke, President, Synagogue Council of America  
Rabbi Joseph Sternstein, Vice Chairman and Group Spokesman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry

Rabbi Louis Bernstein, President, Rabbinical Council of America

Rabbi Gunther Plaut, President, Central Conference of American Rabbis

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Rabbi Alexander Shapiro, President Rabbinical Assembly

Rabbi Ira Korinow, National Board Member, Union of Councils for Soviet Jews

RABBINICAL SUPPORTERS OF REAGAN-BUSH

Rabbi Fabian Schonfeld, Young Israel of Kew Gardens Hills, Forest Hills, New York

Rabbi Morris Sherer, President, Agudath Israel of America

Rabbi Sholom Klass, Publisher, Jewish Press of New York

WHITE HOUSE STAFF

Faith R. Whittlesey, Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

Marshall Breger, Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

51

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 22, 1985

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FREDERICK J. RYAN, DIRECTOR  
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND  
SCHEDULING

FROM:

FAITH R. WHITTLESEY  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

REQUEST:

Meeting with American  
Rabbinical representatives to  
accept a gift of appreciation  
for his support of Soviet Jews.

PURPOSE:

To demonstrate solidarity with  
oppressed Soviet Jews by  
meeting with leaders of  
America's major Rabbinical and  
lay leadership. To highlight  
the President's commitment to  
human rights for oppressed  
religious minorities in the  
Soviet Union as demonstrated by  
his prior acts.

BACKGROUND

Both the National Conference on  
Soviet Jewry and the Union  
of Councils for Soviet Jews,  
the two main Soviet Jewry  
organizations are sponsoring a  
convocation of over 500  
clergyman in Washington, D.C.  
to bring attention to the  
deteriorating situation for  
Russian Jews and all oppressed  
religious minorities. A  
similiar "March on Washington"  
occurred in 1944 to protest the  
"holocaust". This convocation  
is a "media play" on the World  
War II march and will probably  
receive significant media  
attention for that reason.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION:

The President has supported the rights of Soviet Jews throughout his term as well as before assuming office.

DATE:

March 20, 1985

DURATION:

Five Minutes

PARTICIPATION:

Rabbis from the three major branches of Judaism, Orthodox, Conservative and Reform.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

A briefing held for 200 rabbis in Room 450 EOB on the present state of Soviet Jewry; before or after the President accepts their gift of appreciation, he makes remarks sharing his support for the cause of Soviet Jewry and departs.

You should note that after the meeting, the rabbis plan (weather permitting) to march down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol for a prayer service in the Capitol Rotunda.

REMARKS REQUIRED:

Provided

MEDIA COVERAGE:

Full press

RECOMMENDED BY:

Faith R. Whittlesey

PROJECT OFFICER:

Marshall Breger

53

2366

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

*Matlock*

March 27, 1985

MEMORANDUM TO JOHN E. HILBOLDT

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Bob*

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Letter to Mr. Vladimir Shcherbitsky Thanking him for his Gifts

We have reviewed and concur with the proposed draft letter as amended at Tab A to Mr. Vladimir Shcherbitsky thanking him for his gifts.

Attachment:

Tab A Proposed Presidential Draft Letter

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 25, 2985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK 

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Letter to Vladimir Shcherbitsky  
Thanking him for his Gifts

I have reviewed and concur in the proposed draft letter as amended (Tab A), prepared by the White House Gift Unit to Mr. Vladimir Shcherbitsky thanking him for his gifts.

Steve Sest<sup>of</sup>anovich concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Memorandum at Tab I.

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

Attachments:

Tab I Memorandum to John E. Hilboldt

Tab A Draft Letter to Mr. Vladimir Shcherbitsky



MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM TO JOHN E. HILBOLDT

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Letter to Mr. Vladimir  
Shcherbitsky Thanking him for his Gifts

We have reviewed and concur with the proposed draft letter as amended at Tab A to Mr. Vladimir Shcherbitsky thanking him for his gifts.

Attachment:

Tab A Proposed Presidential Draft Letter

57

A

March 19, 1985

Dear Mr. Shcherbitsky:

I greatly appreciated the opportunity of meeting you and of having a frank exchange of views on subjects of importance to the Soviet and American peoples. I ~~am sorry~~ *regret* that your delegation had to curtail its visit because of ~~the sudden death of Chairman Chernenko's~~ *death, but* ~~and I do hope that~~ there will be a future occasion for you to see California and other parts of the United States.

Nancy and I want to thank you for the handsome gifts which you brought for us. We are truly grateful for your special gesture of goodwill.

With our best wishes to you and your colleagues,

Sincerely,  
RR

*VLADIMIR*

Mr. Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitsky  
First Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of the Ukraine  
Kiev, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

RR:CMF:JEH:AVH

Draft to be channeled through Ambassador Jack Matlock for approval.

DISPATCH THRU STATE VIA NSC.

*JH*

JV

WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
  - H - INTERNAL
  - I - INCOMING
- Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1

Name of Correspondent: Vladimir Shcherbitsky

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Thank you for gifts following meeting with the President.

ROUTE TO: Office/Agency (Staff Name)	ACTION Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	DISPOSITION	
			Type of Response Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>GU HILB</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>85.03.19</u>		<u>1 1</u>
<u>WNS KIMM</u>	Referral Note: <u>ca</u>	<u>85.03.26</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			<u>1 1</u>

- ACTION CODES:**
- A - Appropriate Action
  - C - Comment/Recommendation
  - D - Draft Response
  - F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
  - 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: \_\_\_\_\_

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.  
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).  
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.  
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

WHITE HOUSE GIFT UNIT

ID 8500197 A INITIALS CMF

LOGGED 850311 ARRIVAL 850308 PRESENT 850307  
ARRIVAL FORM M MAIL ROOM

DONOR H FOREIGN OFFICIAL  
PREF MR.  
NAME VLADMIR VASILYEVICH SHCHERBITSKY

TITLE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE  
ORG UKRAINE

CITY KIEV  
CNTRY UNI UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

SALUT DEAR MR. SHCHERBITSKY  
ACKNOWLEDGE BY RR FORM DFT

INTEND P PRESIDENT  
CATEGORY 9999  
MISCELLANEOUS - N.E.C.

DESCRIP MEDALLIONS, BRONZE, 15 CIRCULAR, EA. 1 3/4" DIAM., DEPICTING ON ONE  
SIDE AN ENAMELLED FLAG OF A SOVIET SATELLITE COUNTRY BEARING THE  
SOVIET HAMMER & SICKLE MOTIF & ON THE OTHER SIDE A FLORAL OR OTHER  
STYLE DESIGN W/ THE SOVIET EMBLEM; AND ONE SQ. (3" DIAM.) MEDALLION  
DEPICTING THE SOVIET EMBLEM OVER A WORLD GLOBE INSIDE A WHEAT DESIGN  
LTRD "CCCP"; THE SOVIET RED FLAG APPEARS ON REVERSE; CONTAINED IN A  
RED VINYL CHEST.

VALUE 000250  
APPR DEAK-PERERA, NY.

DISP AF ARCHIVES, FOREIGN

COMMENT BY SOVIET EMB. MSGR. TO MR 45 TO ROBERT MCFARLANE, NSC., FOLLOWING  
PRESIDENT REAGAN'S MTG. W. MR. SHCHERBITSKY; REPLY TO BE COORDINA-  
TED W/ AMB. JACK MATLOCK, PER ROBERT MCFARLANE.

TOTVALU 0000545 GIFTS D

*Matlock*

National Security Council  
The White House

*uld*  
*(11/14)*



System # I

Package # 2516

*1671*

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>I</u>
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			
<u>Matlock</u>	<u>4</u>		

I = Information    A = Action    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Regan Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS                      Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

*It was interesting. It raises several possibilities.*



*J*

1. Executive Secretary

62

2. NSC SECRETARIAT

*For your files*

3. BRIAN MERCHANT  
SITUATION ROOM



63

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

March 28, 1985

INFORMATION

NOTED

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT: Case Study of Soviet (Mis)Use of Technology Transfer

I was intrigued to read Howard Moon's account of the Soviet experience in trying to develop a supersonic airliner, the TU-144, in the attached issue of Studies in Intelligence. It was a miserable failure in spite of the fact that the Soviets had clandestinely acquired plans for the Concorde and a considerable amount of other relevant technology. The reasons are most interesting.

If you can find time, I think you will find it entertaining and thought-provoking reading. It is on pages 23-38 of the attached at TAB A.

Attachment:

Tab A Studies in Intelligence

cc: Donald Fortier  
Stephen Rosen

DECLASSIFIED  
NLS F06-114/2 #6993  
~~SECRET~~ LPT NARA DATE 11/21/07

FOIA(b)(1)(3)

~~SECRET~~

A tuft of golden plumage

64

### SOVIET SUPERSONIC: A TECHNOPOLITICAL DISASTER

[Redacted]

*In the Russian fable of the Firebird, the Tsarevitch becomes intoxicated with a bewitching birdlike creature who dances in the wilderness. He tries to capture her secrets, but comes away bearing only a tuft of her rich golden plumage. The Firebird, the tantalizing beauty, escapes, her elusive mysteries intact, having stolen the golden apples that provide the sustenance of the Russian realm. . .*

[Redacted] analysis of the USSR's supersonic airliner project provides insights into Soviet institutional interaction, elite psychology, and the strengths and weaknesses of Soviet research and development. The TU 144's origins can be traced to 1961; its end was announced in the summer of 1984. Many elements of this twenty-three year development program remain obscure.

[Large Redacted Block]

#### Obscure Genesis: 1961 - 1971

The first impression affecting an analyst approaching the Soviet SST story is the dramatic imbalance of materials available for its first and second decades. While the final days of the Soviet SST project can be reconstructed in great detail, its beginnings cannot.

[Redacted]

The TU 144 story in the 1960s must be reconstructed from contemporary press commentary and flashbacks from later reporting. The critical questions remain:

- Why did the USSR follow the West into supersonic transport development?
- Which Soviet institutions played leading motivational roles in bringing this about?

The atmospherics of the last years of Nikita Khrushchev's rule were radically different in spirit from those which have followed. Khrushchev was an adventurer, sincerely hopeful that Soviet technological prowess—revealed

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

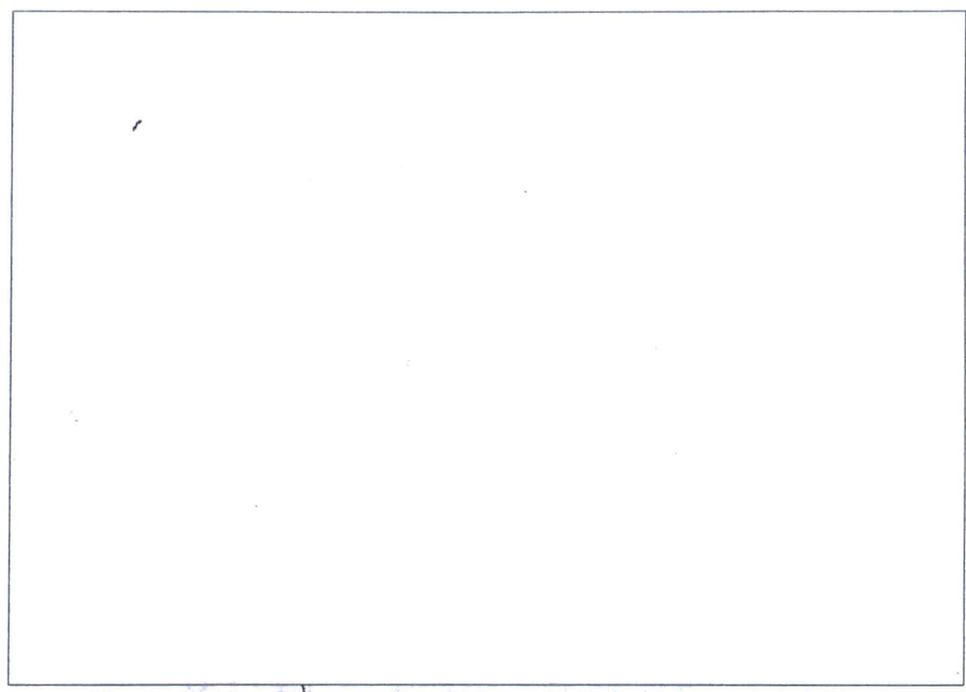
DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
NLRR F06-114/2#6994  
BY RW NARA DATE 5/26/11

65

~~SECRET~~ [redacted]

*Supersonic*

most dramatically by the advent of Sputnik in 1957—would enable the Soviets to surpass the West by 1980. Soviet space successes seemed to accredit the Soviet elite's technocratic optimism. An airliner of unprecedented speed to conquer the USSR's unparalleled distances must have seemed the wave of the future.



This Soviet "crash" program, which attained dramatic early results, was a first-class technical achievement. It had been accomplished chiefly by mobilizing the entire Soviet aerospace establishment behind Tupolev, by commission of the Council of Ministers. It is a salient example of the Soviet economy's ability to deliver quickly by concentrating all resources on a given design goal. Only later did the cost of this strategem become apparent.

For example, the development approach to the SST was that of the "Great Leap Forward." There was not time to develop sub-systems at a correct, safe rate and then integrate them into the grand design. Rather, all design components were developed simultaneously at maximum speed, which led to corner cutting and some high-risk technical solutions. This produced early results for the record books, as the higher party leadership doubtless desired, but it did not deliver reliable components for a project as technically ticklish as a supersonic airliner,



The trouble-plagued history of the struggle to place the TU 144 into commercial service may be traced to the Central Committee's decision to concentrate on a record breaker. Fourteen years of dogged development, system modification, and redesigns never compensated for an inappropriate project strategy. Subsequent efforts to put the aircraft right were not aided by

the fact that Tupolev's rival design bureaus were forced, for policy reasons, to act as its unacknowledged subcontractors.

The priority accorded the SST is shown by comparing its progress over the Backfire bomber, with which it shares Kuznetsov NK-144 engines.

[redacted]

It eventually became apparent that the Backfire Mach II bomber, [redacted] shared more with the SST than its engines. Target speed, probable weight, and, probably, landing gear design were similar.

[redacted]

As aerospace was the first priority in Soviet technical espionage in the 1960s, and the SST was the first priority project of the sector, the TU 144 quickly benefitted from data collected by Soviet intelligence services.

[redacted]

In the case of the SST, an analogous project was proceeding in the West in an atmosphere of high publicity; this made matters much easier.

Something of the magnitude of this activity is revealed by General de Gaulle's personal authorization of the expulsion in 1965 of Sergei Pavlov, then senior Aeroflot representative in Paris. Pavlov spent much of his time attempting to penetrate SudAviation facilities near Toulouse to learn the secrets of the Concorde. In this, Pavlov appears to have been successful. His expulsion did not damage his career; he rose eventually to become Deputy Minister of Civil Aviation.

Pavlov recruited two French Communist Party members working at Toulouse to obtain blueprints and plans. At the trial of two Czechoslovakian priests in March 1966, arrested near the factory, one of the clandestine transmission routes of Concorde data was revealed. Microfilmed plans had been rolled up in toothpaste tubes by "tourists" on the Ostend-Warsaw Express for forwarding to Moscow.

[redacted]

This is in part a tribute to the efficacy of the "gumshoe" developed by Soviet intelligence services, whereby Soviet delegations visiting Western machine shops and production lines wore shoes with super-soft and absorbent soles designed to pick up and retain metal filings and samples from the floor.

~~SECRET~~ [redacted]

Supersonic

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Technology theft also took cruder forms, even in the spotlight of detente.

[redacted]

The Soviets were known to have problems casting blades. Important Soviet officials were told these parts could not be sold. Shortly thereafter, most of the exhibit, including the uniquely perfect compressor casting, was stolen.

The Soviet SST made its debut at Sheremetyevo Airport, Moscow, on 21 May 1971. As the leadership had endowed the aircraft with a priority over defense projects, it was almost without precedent and indicative of Soviet optimism that the public was permitted to inspect this aircraft, embodying Soviet state-of-art technology.

More suprisingly, the leadership decided to fly the aircraft to Western air shows where it would be subject to detailed scouting by Western technicians. The TU 144's presence at the Hamburg Air Show in 1972, and the Paris shows of 1971, 1973, 1975, and 1977, provided opportunities for detailed inspection of the latest Soviet technology. This put Soviet aerospace development and production techniques into fresh focus. Frank peer exchanges between Soviet and Western pilots, engineers, and designers yielded information and insights extending beyond the SST proper. Politburo pride in this superlative Soviet technical achievement overrode normal Soviet preoccupations with secrecy and security.

#### Hidden Costs

In the context of the several long interruptions in SST testing—from 1 January to 30 March 1969, from 1 November 1969 to 1 April 1970, and from 12 November 1970 to 1 April 1971—the decision to go public with the craft reflects a certain bravado. The Soviets in this instance were breaking with precedent in not copying the West, but carrying out development in parallel. For once, the Soviets were toiling alongside the West at the technological frontier. Western technical secrets frequently could not be exploited because of inadequate Soviet materiel and technique as well as inability of Soviet engineers to decipher Western technical data. This undercut extensive Soviet technical espionage. Therefore, high level pressure to develop the SST at top speed at all costs had a counterproductive effect.

Soviet engineers themselves—including chief designer Alexei Tupolev—subsequently complained that concentration of Soviet resources on the SST blighted more economically justifiable programs, notably the wide-body jetliners that the USSR badly needed for the 1970s and 1980s. The first of these, the IL-86, was supposed to serve the 1980 Olympics, but was not available in quantity.

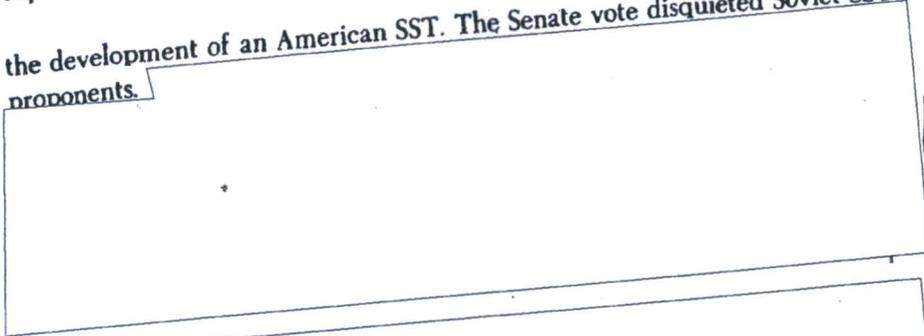
#### Record Breaker Goes Public

The first appearance of the TU 144 in the West, at Paris in June 1971, took place the week following the US Senate vote, 49 to 47, not to underwrite

~~SECRET~~ [redacted]

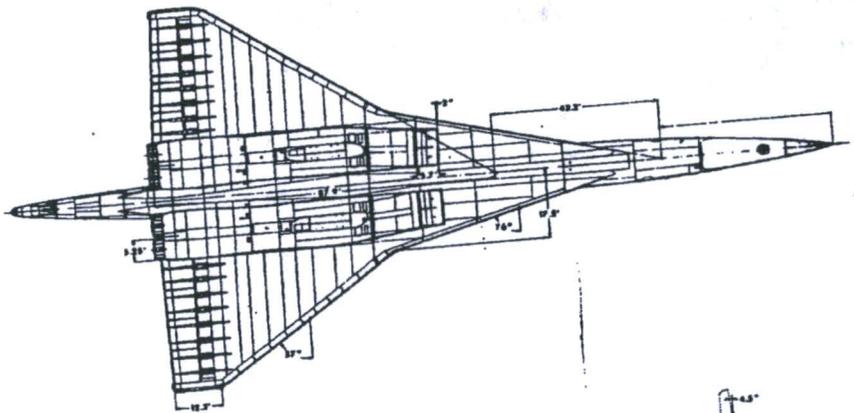
Supersonic

the development of an American SST. The Senate vote disquieted Soviet SST proponents.

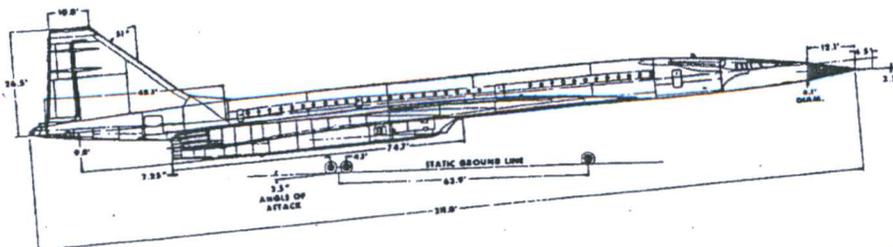
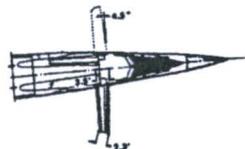


Tupolev engineers that Alexei Tupolev was the chief motivator and lobbyist for the SST project, and indicates that as early as 1971, Tupolev was well aware that the ruinous concentration of Soviet aerospace assets on the SST had stalled more necessary projects.

True!



Bottom, side, and auxiliary views of the TU 144, with dimensions. Top view of nose section shows canards extended.



At Orly, though the TU 144 was carefully guarded by the Soviets, Western experts were able to approach the aircraft and observe signs of operational stress. The Soviets obviously took a casual approach to presentation: popped rivets, missing bolts, and wrinkled, heat-stressed skin were apparent. The threadbare tires, often with cord showing, provided eloquent testimony that Soviet tire technology could not meet the challenge of 121 tons repeatedly landing at 175-180 miles per hour.

Numerous meetings of Western and Soviet aerospace specialists from 1971 on revealed the contrasting personalities of chief test pilot Eduard Elyan and chief designer Tupolev. Elyan, visibly contemptuous of his accompanying security goon, was delighted with an opportunity to sit in an F-16 cockpit, and was personally solicitous of a US test pilot who had recently crashed. Elyan, whose "Hero of the Soviet Union" medal denoted a survivor of three crashes or near misses, asked whether the American had back pains, as he, Elyan, had suffered for months as a consequence of a wheels-up landing.

Tupolev was a less sympathetic, if more complex personality. Warming to his role as TU 144 flack, he retailed official howlers even before audiences who knew better. He told one group of visiting engineers that the TU 144 was "17 percent quieter than Concorde." Tupolev had his own reasons for backstopping the mendacious official line. His own father had been arrested by Stalin's secret police in 1937 as a "wrecker," in a bizarre backwash of the Great Purge, and confessed immediately to avoid torture. Thereafter, Tupolev *pere* and most of his chief engineers designed aircraft in a unique Soviet institution, the "sharashka," or prison bureau.

Western delegations began to visit the TU 144 remote assembly plant at Voronezh. The first known pilgrimage of this type was undertaken by the president of Aerospatiale in 1971. Later US visitors were impressed by Soviet titanium skin work, in particular the practice of winding the one-piece wing skin 360 degrees around its spars. This technical advancement jarred with the density of machine tools at the facility, said to be five times those found at an analogous US facility—reminiscent of American conditions in the 1930s.

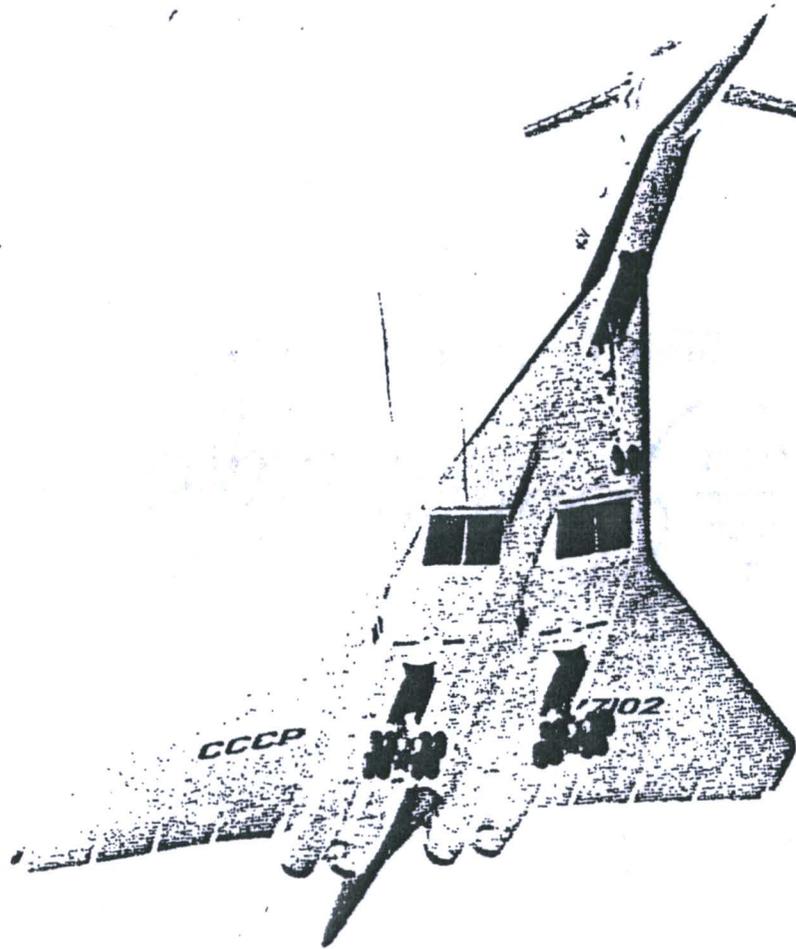
Whether this reflected a Soviet fetish for the machine shop and/or backwardness in Soviet forging technology was unclear, but intensive "hogging out" (machining from the solid) of titanium ingots produced a useful yield of only ten to twenty percent. The considerable waste from this process was sold to US scrap dealers. Later scrap analysis indicated that the TU 144 shared at least one component with the IL-86.

Juxtaposition of the modern with the primitive was capped by an automated chicken coop adjacent to the TU 144 assembly area; the Soviets showed this off as an example of Tupolev's "diversification."

Elsewhere, Soviet standards were notable by their absence. US production engineers were astounded to learn that Russians had no term for "reliability engineer." "Life cycle testing," whereby components were tested to destruction, likewise had no place in the Soviet lexicon or experience. Western executives visiting Aeroflot were appalled at the lack of any mechanism to track operating costs, and the absence of a balance sheet.

### Final Product and First Crash

The "production" TU 144 which appeared at the 1973 Paris Air Show differed dramatically from the earlier prototypes. Had it been developed in the West, it probably would have been assigned a new design number. Chief designer Tupolev later noted that the new version was ten percent longer than the prototype, with seven percent more wing area. More tellingly, the wing had been completely redesigned into a "double delta" configuration, supplanting the curved leading edges of the prototype. Two canards—short stub wings that swung out from the nose—aided quick lift-off, at the cost of increased weight and drag. The four NK-144 turbofans were moved outward from their original placement in the lower fuselage to the wing roots. The landing gear was moved down from the engine nacelles and its geometry was extensively revised, from three- to two-axle configuration.



TU 144B in flight at Paris Air Show, 23 May 1973.

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~~Secret~~

Vol. 28 No. 4

0347  
M/Koek

# Studies in Intelligence

Winter 1984



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~~Secret~~

TE-SINT 84-004