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IPS by W. M. [Signature] Date: 3-8-2004

Other Agency Action: _____

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Nixon
 Senate Commerce Committee that met with Brezhnev:
 Senator Robert P. Griffin
 Senator Vance Hartke
 Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr.
 Senator J. Glenn Beall, Jr.
 Senator Howard W. Cannon
 Senator Frank E. Moss
 Senator James B. Pearson
 Peter Flanigan, Assistant to the President
 Bill Timmons, Assistant to the President for
 Congressional Affairs
 Major General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to
 the President for National Security Affairs

DATE & TIME: Tuesday, May 8, 1973
 5:30 p. m.

PLACE: Oval Office

SUBJECT: Congressional Delegation's Meeting with Brezhnev

Hartke: I heard about the Jackson Amendment when we were in the USSR.

Let me tell you, you have performed a real miracle. You have achieved a relationship and a personal relationship that I would not have imagined.

Baker: This is a bipartisan group, but Nixon is our President and we support him.

Griffin: (Read transcript of Brezhnev's greeting to the President.)

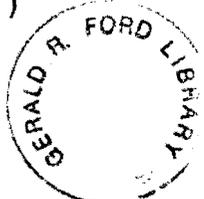
President: Did you meet in the Kremlin?

Hartke: Yes.

President: Troyanovsky is a brilliant man. He was educated in the U. S. How old is he?

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 NSC MEMO, 11/24/00, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State & v. 2-3 3/9/04
 BY [initials], NARA, DATE 3/21/04



Baker: He is about 38.

President: I want to say something about bipartisanship. I remember a Churchill story. He told Stalin he had to go back for elections. Stalin: "Why?" Churchill said: "We have two parties." Stalin said: "One party is better."

Baker: I asked him about dissent in the Soviet Union. Brezhnev is the leader of the Soviet Union.

President: The Russians can be very hospitable, but when it comes to negotiating they are tough. They always insist on a quid pro quo.

Baker: They are eager for a relationship with us.

Hartke: They are very defensive; they say they don't need anything.

President: The Chinese are different. They're very diffident. The Russians are defensive.

Moss: I have been there before. They're very defensive. They wouldn't admit they are behind. But things are getting better. More cars, better food.

President: We should never act superior. We should give all countries their due in areas where they are better.

Brezhnev and I get along well personally, but you shouldn't think that helps solve problems. But if the relations are bad, there's no chance to solve them.

Hartke: They mentioned coexistence and big, long term deals.

President: One thing which has helped is the end of the Vietnam war.

Baker: Brezhnev has his neck out a mile on his relations with the U. S.

There were no young people in our meeting.

President: Confidentially, Brezhnev wants this trip to the U. S. badly.

Hartke: Jackson is going to proceed. We need to figure out some words. Glenn, tell them what happened.



Beall: Brezhnev said he didn't have to answer. He got upset. But he said there is no education tax and there won't be. Only a normal fee.

Cannon: I asked what he meant. He said there is only an administrative fee.

Griffin: He said they would let Jews come out, except for national security cases.

Hartke: They want MFN and trade badly. He expected the question.

Griffin: We can tell our colleagues, but he asks that we not quote him.

President: What is at stake? Because the Soviet Union considers it an internal matter and because of pride, Brezhnev couldn't say he had gotten MFN because he acceded to the U.S. Senate.

Moss: That is exactly what Brezhnev said.

President: What you are risking with Jackson around is the whole Soviet-US relationship, because you can't publicly force Brezhnev to back down. Would you rather have a situation where you are talking to the Soviet leaders, or rather be outside not talking. You're always better off to have a dialogue.

They have made significant steps. Some have said it's not enough.

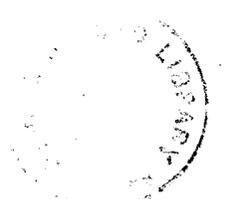
What your leaders have to think of is: are we going to risk SALT II, trade, any restraints over Soviet action, talks on the Middle East, etc.?

I am for what the Jackson Amendment says. I would like them to let everyone go. The Jews are persecuted.

But do we want the US President to have influence with the Russians or not? It's that simple.

Baker: I said to TASS I was sure that we could find a satisfactory solution. They are obviously worried.

President: Find some language with lots of words that doesn't give them an ultimatum. Scoop won't do it and I respect him, but it's better to be talking to them than just glaring.



Baker: If the White House and State could tell us how far we have to go to change the language to make it acceptable.

President: They have a lot at stake. Look at the Middle East. The Soviet attitude there is important in whether Israel survives.

Hartke: We've got to find some other language -- but I'll disagree on the rest of the bill.

Cannon: I met with the Jewish leaders in Moscow. They weren't concerned with the tax, but the harrassment and the fact they couldn't leave at all. But each one I spoke to had been working in the national security area at one time. They said only about 200 were in this category. This may be the plight of a small number of people.

President: I think Brezhnev has gone as far as he can, but I agree with what you have said on harrassment, but I come back to the point that it is better to get somewhere than nowhere. The issue is so blown up in their minds.

Hartke: If we can get language, get Ribicoff and Javits to introduce it. Get State to give us something.

Griffin: We have to do it; let us do it.

Moss: We'll have lunch with Ribicoff and Javits.

President: We've got to be able to continue to have a dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Moss: We've got to get off the narrow problem of the Jews. There are other groups.

President: That could make it worse.

Moss: Brezhnev pointed out it's not directed against Jews.

1740

The President / Sec. Ruffin
46 Members of Commune
Corte who met w/ Eisenhower
5:30 pm Tues., 8 May 73

H - Heard about a train ~~arrived~~ ^{arrived} when we were in USSR.

Let me tell you, you have prepared a real miracle. You have achieved a relationship & a personal relationship that I would not have imagined.

Baker This is bipartisan group, but it is our president & we support him

Q - Read transcript of Bay's greeting to Pres.

P - Did you meet in Kremlin

H - Yes

P - Troyanovsky is a brilliant man. He was educated in US. How old?

Baker He is about 38.

P - I remember a Churchill story. At Potsdam ~~at~~ Stalin had to go back for election. S - why?

C - we have 2 parties, S - One party is better

Baker Bay's speech is dissent in SS.

Bay is leader of SS, — & people

P - The Russians can be very belligerent but when it comes to negotiating they are tough - ^{good} ~~good~~ _{for}

H - They ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~so~~ ^{so}

Baker Terry and layers

H - They are very defensive - say they don't need anything.

P - Choices are difficult - very difficult. Russians defensive.

M Q - I have been there before. Very defensive. Wouldn't admit they were behind. Things are getting better. More cars, better food

P - We should have a surprise. Should give all countries their due in areas where they better

? = Bobin

P Bez & I get along well personally, but you shouldn't think that helps solve problems. Of course, in chance to solve

H They mentioned expertise & big, long term deals.

Bob - Bez

P One thing which has helped a lot of US war
Bob - Bez has his work on a mile on US
relation

There were no young people in our meeting

P Confidently, Bez ~~was~~ wants this trip a US body

H Jackson going to proceed. Need to figure out
some words. Tell them what happens

Bob - B said he didn't want to answer - got upset -
but said there is no education tax & there
won't be. Only a normal fee

Q - I asked what he meant - he said an admin
fee

R - He said they would let firms come out except
for most security.

H - They want NFE & trade body. He had urgent
agreement

Q - We can tell our colleagues, but be careful about
at stake that we not quite know.

P - What is at stake? Because SO considers it an
internal matter & because of pride, B couldn't
say he had gotten NFE because he accident
to US Senate

M - That is exactly what B said

P - What you are asking w/ Jackson around is
sov - US relationships, because you can't
publicly face B to back down. Would you
rather have a situation where you
are out talking to the SO leaders, or rather
outside not talking. Always better off w/
disclosure.

