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Date __-__-____
MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

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?
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 harassment 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 harassment, but I come back to the point that it is better to get somewhere than nowhere. That's what 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

H - He said something about a new arrangement we were in. I think that was more about the 
...I don't know if you have prepared or 
...relationship or personal relationship that 
...wouldn't have happened.

Baker: This is a bi-division story, but it's not a 
...real story at all. I don't know 
...what's going on.

P - Did you meet in Russia?

H - Yes.

P - They moved into a brilliant man. He was 
...educated in US. How old?

Baker: He is about 55.

P - I remember a Churchill story. At Porton 
...Down he had a pavilion for dinner, so why?
...we have 2 parties. 1 on party is in Britain.

Baker: The other is in absentia in SS.

P - Boy in absence of SS — a police

H - The Russians are a very logical, logical when 
...it comes to anything they are tough...painful...

P - They are very logical.

Baker: They are very defensive in say they don't need
...nothing.

P - Obama is difficult. Very difficult. Russian 
...defensive.

H - I have been there before. They defended themselves 
...admit they can win. They said they can
...have cars, better food.

P - We should know that everyone should just call
...democracies...there's an area that touches...
Buy - I just am not personally, but upon...

"I don't think that helps solve problems. If I had...

I'm assuming, uh, a long-term

Bill - Buck

There were 2000 young people in one meeting.

Confidentially, Fergie wants to move this topic to in-depth

Jackson goes to go to court. We'll figure out

some way to do this. What happened?

Bill - OK, I don't know to move a get a lot of

Buck. There is no information that there

won't be. Only a named file

you want to request. I should own admin

file

The panel tried to have some come out except

of most recently.

They went MFP and told Foley. He told United

It was a name.

We can tell our colleagues, but he was asked

at state that we don't quote him.

What is the other? Because SC makes it an

unrelated matter. I know if I had gotten MFP because the accord

to US Senate

That is really what Beck said

What you are editing/wright are

You are editing/writing a letter from B to A. Would you

That is not calling for a formal letter. We need to

Talk to B about that. Always better offer
I think there are some things that have to be said.

What you need to think of, we are going to wish that we had some sort of a token. "We did not just have a token." I can see what you mean, but everyone goes. The Jews are just presented.

But do we want 80 Jews to have influence? I have been a sort of what you call it. I have been a sort of what you call it.

Both: I think there was more (4 times) that we could find some solution. They are obviously needed.

End some language. The point of words that doesn't give them an ultimatum.

A: I have watched it. I respect him, but I think to be helping. To take them just going.

B: He is not what I would call. He needs some help to make it acceptable.

End some.

H: What you find some other language that I'll disagree on a very big.

C: I went w/ Jewish leader in Boston. They were infant institutionalized. But disagreement.

I can't see how she could have at all. But each can I speak to. Good idea. I'm in treat security area at one time. They didn't agree with you were in this category. This way be a plight of a small group of people.
I think B has gone as far as he can, but I argue that what you had spoken to someone, that I can't make the point that it is better to get somewhere than in a while. The idea is to change my in their minds.

You can get language. Get straight points to introduce, get states to play in smooth.

We have to do it, let us do it.

We'll have lunch in front of points.

Want to be able to frame a drought w/s.

Want to get off running without ease and for some reason.

That could make it worse.

B point doesn't change against him.