

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Gerald Ford
 Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and
 Assistant to the President for National
 Security Affairs
 Mr. William E. Timmons, Assistant to the
 President
 Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to
 the President for National Security Affairs

Senator Henry M. Jackson
 Senator Jacob K. Javits
 Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff

DATE AND TIME: Wednesday, August 15, 1974
8:00 a. m.

PLACE: The White House
First Floor-Private Dining Room

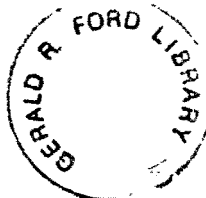
President: The Trade Bill is a matter of highest priority--not only for our own benefit but for all the world.

Number two is to get a better handle on Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union. As I tried to say on Monday--the House bill. I didn't identify the amendment, but you know what I mean.

Russell Long is going to campaign. I don't know why. Russell tells me everything is going well. If agreement here can be reached he sees little trouble on the floor.

I am familiar with the discussions Dr. Kissinger and Scoop have had on the letters. Dobrynin came in yesterday. He had planned to stay in the Soviet Union until September or October. He cut his stay short in order to indicate their interest in the continuation of their policy. He

~~SECRET/NODIS~~



~~TOP SECRET~~ - XGDS (3)
CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DISCLOSED
 E.O. 12958, SEC. 1.5
 NSC MEMO, 11/24/74, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Dept. v. es 2/19/04
 BY [signature], MARA, DATE 3/25/04

spent most of the time telling us that Brezhnev said that if harassment and difficulty with numbers continue, Brezhnev could take personal responsibility with the President. The President could complain directly to Brezhnev. Remember, Scoop, they previously said we had to bring it to the proper authorities, but never to Brezhnev.

Jackson: I think we are making good progress. The Russians are giving. The reports back from the Soviet Union are that they now consider there are 300,000 wanting to leave. They could handle that in 4-5 years. We got some letter changes last night. We three are in agreement. I want to touch base in the Senate, and talk to Meany. He is up tight about it. The labor people are fighting the hill.

Javits: The Trade Bill. This indicates their hangup.

Jackson: With this in the bill you will get more support from those who will push it for emigration.

Kissinger: In the text of the letter--we can't bother the President just about a legal clause. For example, it will cause no trouble with the Soviet Union to say "as frequently happened in the past."

Jackson: There are two areas. One is harassment. This is not just for the Jewish emigrants; it's all of the ethnic groups. The others are tough, but not well organized. They are hot on this.

President: I know, I have 5,000 Latvians in my old district.

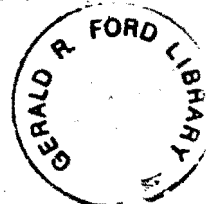
Jackson: The big problem is harassment. If you apply, you get harassed.

Kissinger: They have specifically said those practices wouldn't take place. They may not keep the agreement, but that is something they have specifically assured us.

President: I can assure you that, if we get an agreement, if there are violations of it, it won't take me 24 hours to cut it off.

Ribicoff: There has been much quiet cooperation among us. We are at the last issue-- the 60,000 figure. Is that realistic?

Kissinger: I am worried. If Jackson's figure is right, it is okay, but we don't know that. They don't want to have to expel people to meet a quota. They say the applications are dropping because of the Middle East situation. Would we know if harassment continues?



Jackson: Not necessarily. The subtle forms are the toughest. They are out to avoid quotas. The scheme is the letter, the response, and the interpretation. Our letter would say emigration would rise promptly from what they were.

Kissinger: That we can live with.

Jackson: This avoids your being associated with a quota. We must have the 1973 figures because this year is lower.

Kissinger: If you relate that to the number of applicants, and if there is no harassment, it should work if they keep their word.

Jackson: They are moving on security clearances. A cable I have here says they could leave after three years. There is general movement, Mr. President, which shows that the Soviet Union is in economic trouble. We don't want to push them into a corner.

MFN is a source of pride to them. The credits are a touchy area because they don't have anything to sell that doesn't require US capital. Oil, aluminum. They have hydroelectric power and Kaiser is putting up a plant. Forty percent of producing an ingot is power. But it is Kaiser capital.

President: If good authority for MFN is given, with Presidential authority to cut it off for violations with the assurances they and I have given, we have a club to insure performance.

Jackson: Yes, what we would do is leave it hang but with waiver authority. [He reads from the draft]. This is enough language. This is also your club with the Soviet Union.

President: Is the House bill a denial of authority?

Javits: The House language is onerous.

President: Let me propose. The general authority would cover all. Then a denial could apply to any one country who denied emigration.

Javits: That's not good either. You don't want to force you or us to break with the Soviet Union. We shouldn't be put in a place where it has to be proved that there are violations. The renewal obligation makes it an affirmative action, not a cut-off.



Jackson: By this method we would share the burden.

President: Let's see, I make a 12-month report and ask for an extension.

Congress approves by a majority vote. How do we avoid a bottle-up?

Jackson: We could write in a must vote within so many days. We would grant it--this is a big concession--immediately. The Soviet Union wants MFN immediately and we make this big concession.

Timmons: It applies to credits also.

Jackson: Everything.

Kissinger: What worries me is this: If Congress has to renew your authority every year, we can have this kind of debate every year.

Javits: We could write a line that the President has the right to waive and then say this will continue for one year.

President: It's a cumbersome procedure which is like the one on chrome. If we go this route we would have to have prompt resolution.

Jackson: We would have provisions to insure prompt action.

Kissinger: We can just get by with the letter. The interpretative statements overload the circuit. We have shown them this letter. There was no disagreement, on what the performance must be, but just on how to write it.

Javits: The interpretive letter is best.

Ribicoff: But Dr. Kissinger has to show it to the Soviet Union.

Kissinger: We have to distinguish between the objective and what we write down.

Javits: Take the non-proliferation treaty. We issued an interpretation about the French and British nuclear forces and the Soviet Union issued just exactly the opposite. Let the Soviet Union say what it wants.

President: How will the one-year affect business contracts?

Javits: Even if we cut it off, contracts made will continue.

President: What worries me is that you identify a particular country by this.



Jackson: No, just non-market states.

Kissinger: How would it apply to East Europe?

Jackson: It's the same for all of them.

Kissinger: How about Romanians?

Jackson: You would have to seek some assurances. The Romanians say they won't have any problem.

President: Supposing Romania performs and the Soviet Union doesn't. How would we handle that?

Jackson: We would work that out.

Javits: Abe and I talked to Ceausescu and he said it was no problem. I think they stopped because the Soviet Union didn't want them to set bloc policy. The PRC isn't yet an issue.

Kissinger: Because they want to keep MFN from the Soviet Union. Scoop has a great future in the PRC.

Jackson: They say the threat will come through Europe. Chou wants to talk to Mansfield on this.

Javits: The complaint in the Jewish community is that the Soviet Union has cut the rate and they should restore the rate before we move to show good faith. I said no. The same on the high visibility trials. They also fear numbers, as a possible quota. I don't buy this because with artful language we can make it okay.

Jackson: We don't want a bilateral agreement between West Germany and the Soviet Union to affect this. This argument is for about 1000 a month. We wouldn't want any other agreements to count against this quota.

President: I am worried about the language. I would prefer blanket authority with a right to cut off.

Let's get the technicians together and see if we can't work it out.

Jackson: This is so designed that Congress has to retain some authority.



Javits: I think I can work something out on a waiver if he [Kissinger] believes it is viable to keep the Jackson Amendment with some positive or negative waiver. We need to try this.

Kissinger: How about a waiver subject to Congressional veto? It is the affirmative vote that worries me.

Jackson: Let's go back and work more--We are determined. I am a strong supporter of the trade bill. We are getting strong pressures from pressure groups.

Timmons: I have three points I would like to make quickly. On the other ethnic groups, how does this apply?

Renewal--how would it be done? And what do we say to the press?

President: That it was a very constructive meeting. Momentum is now under way for one of the most important pieces of legislation on the calendar.

Jackson: We will praise the President for constructive efforts for a solution. But don't say it is settled. We don't want to let the Soviet Union think we capitulated.

Javits: Also, we are determined, if it is humanly possible, to have a trade bill.

Jackson: You and Abe cover that.

Ribicoff: You are in a great position here with the change of President.

We will have no problem knowing about harassment. The most important thing is numbers. Once we have established that, and the exchange of letters, I am not worried.

Once we know that harassment is ending and people are leaving, we are in good shape. They should go ahead with mark-up and amend on the floor to add the waiver.

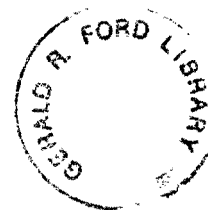
Kissinger: If I may summarize, the three Senators are saying that if we keep the Jackson Amendment, they can be flexible on waiver authority. Let us look at this.



Jackson: We will ensure there can be no delay or filibuster. We will get our drafting people on this to get the language right. We had little time and this is only a rough idea and formulation.

President: The ExIm Bank lawyers don't understand all the legislative procedures.

Jackson: We should look at the options.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

accepting is going well. Agreement
here can be worked, in sees with
work on floor.

Booker

J junction w/ K & Long discussions
+ letters. D Day came in yesterday -
he had planned to stay in S U but Sept
Oct. He cut short to make sure
in policy in transition. He spent
most time talking to that Burg
to find harassment, diversity,
#1, Burg would take personal resp.
w/ P. P would explain directly
to B. Remember, Long they previously
said bring to people attention,
but more to B.

Jc Think we're making good prog.
Rees are giving. Report back
from S U - they now would
300 as wanting to have. They
could handle that in 4-5 years.
We got some other changes that
might. We 3 in agreement.
Want to talk back on Smith +



talk to Murray. He says they got
about it. The labor people are
frighty - hell.

J - The back hall. This is what
they're saying.

Jc - If this is a bird you will
get some support at by those
who will push it for integration.

K In - text for letter - include
letter - P. Don't a legal case.
For example, will cause no trouble
w/ S U to say "as frequently happened
in - part"

Jc 2 areas. One is harassment.
Not just Jewish - all of ethnic groups.
They are tough, but not well organized.
They hate this

P I know - have 5 or 6 letters
for Big job is harassment. If
you apply, you get harassed.

K They have specifically said

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

those would not work plan. May not keep agreement.

P I can assure you that if we get agreement, if we take it we will take care to get it.

R That has been much great employment. We are at least 60 and figure to that extent.

R I worried - if Ja figure is right, but we don't know that. They don't want to have to xpel & make a point. They say applications dropping because of M.E. We don't know if harassment continues.

Ja Not necessarily, a search firms are tough but. Got a good photo. I know as Start



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

letter, response, & interpretation. A note letter would say ... emigration would be a priority from ...

R That we can hold on.

Ja This needs your being aware w/a profit. We must have 23 figures because this year has

R If you relate to # of applicants, & no harassment it should work if they keep their word

Ja They worry on security Charm (Read not enough they could have after 3 years) There is a general movement. And, that I'm in even health. We don't want to push them into error.

M.F.XI is source of pride to them. The credits a touchy

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

once more they don't know any-
thing to sell that doesn't require
US capital. Oil, aluminum -
They have hydro power + Kariz power
exp plant (40 B input is power) but
it's Korean capital.

P If you'd certify for MEX-USA
I'd participate to cut off the evaluation
of assurances they + I have given,
and have a check to insure
performance

Ja Yes, what we'd do is to have a
long bond w/ income certainty
(Reeds) This is enough language.
This is also your check w/c SU

P Is House had a denial of certainty.
House language is ~~the~~ certain.

P Let me phrase. The general
certainty would cover all. Then
a dividend could apply to 1 country
who would

f not get a tax. You don't want

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

to force you or us to handle
w/c SU. We shouldn't be put
in place where it has to be proved
there are no catches. The removal
obligation makes it an opportunistic
action, not a cut off.

Ja This method would be done a banker

P I'd see, I made a 12 mo
report + ask for a transition. Every
approach by myself with.
How do we avoid both up.

Ja We could write in most
with w/ in - days.

We would grant - big concession -
immediately. SU want all the
certainty + we make this
big concession.

T Credits also.

Ja Every thing.

R What worries me. If they
have to know your uncertainty
every year, we can have

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- this kind of debate every year
 J We could write long that
 Pres has right to ^{write} ~~convene~~ ^{then} ~~say~~
 this will continue for 1 year.
 P If some ~~some~~ ~~provision~~ which
 like a ~~Cham~~
 this month we would have to have
 prompt resolution.
 J We would have provisions
 to insure prompt action
 K We can just get by w/ letters.
 The interpretation & elements
 overlaid - ~~element~~ - We don't
 work, ~~thru~~ ~~than~~ this letter
 no do agreement but as on
 what performance must be, just
 how to write it.
 J The interpretation letter is out.
 P + Cruz
 R But K has to show to S.S.
 K How to distinguish bet. objective

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- & what we write down.
 J Take non-party treaty. We
 would an interpretation about
 E.A. & me + S.C. issued just
 as exactly opposite.
 hat S.C. say what it wants.
 P ~~What~~ ^{How} will 1 year affect business
 writers
 J Even if we can't get, ~~contracts~~
 made will continue.
 P Where's your own identity a
particular country by this.
 J No, just non-market status.
 K It would not apply to E. Euro
 J Doesn't work.
 K How about Romania?
 J You would work some assumptions.
 Romania say they won't have
 any prob.
 P Supposing Romania performs
 + S.C. doesn't. How would we
 handle that.
 J We would work that out.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Jo - Ahn + I talked to Beaconsun
+ he said we got prev. I think
they stopped because SO didn't
want them to see how fishing.
PRC isn't yet assessed.

R Because they want to buy M-14 from
SU. Scary idea great future in PRC

Jo They say threat will come from
Em. Chan wants to talk to Beaconsun
on this.

J - Complaint in Jewish community
that SU has cut rate + they
should raise rate to pay our money
to those good friends. I said no.
Lives on high visibility trials.
They also fear warblers, as a
partia. I don't buy this because
w/ artificial language we can
make it R.

Jo we don't want a bilateral
agreement but FRG-SU to
offer it this. This agreement

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

to for about 1000/month.
Wouldn't want other agreements
to current against this partia.

P I am worried about language.
I would prefer blanket authority
w/ right to cut off.

Let's get technicians together +
see if we can't work it out.

Jo This is understood Eng has
to return some authority.

J I think can work something out
on manner if he handles it
under to keep factbook usual
w/ some partia a very manner.
We need to

R How about minor subject to
PRC Eng veto. It's off-
with money and

Jo Let's go back + work work-
able determined. I don't

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

representatives of trade bill -
was getting strong pressure from
Johnson's group.

T I have 3 points I would like to make quickly
Other things pending - must do this apply

Reverend - how would it be done

What say to press.

P Very constructive

~~Unimpressive~~ under way
for 1 of most important pieces of
legislation

legislation

Go ~~please~~ P for constructive
efforts for solution - Don't
say it settled

Don't let S think
we're capitulated.

T Add, we determined if
humanly possible to have

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

@Frank's bill.

Ja You & the ~~cover~~ ^{cover} that change
R Great picture here w/ ~~Frank~~
of P.

No problem knowing about
Amusement, most things.
thing is #1, ^{assurances?} Conservative.
that's exchange of letters, I
was worried.

Don't let us know how
driving & people hearing, that
~~is what we want~~ we're in good shape
taking & could go ahead w/
work-up & amend it

How to add names.
K - If I may summarize, the 3 are saying
of ~~Frank's~~ ^{Frank's} ~~day~~ ^{of} ~~one~~ ^{one} ~~key~~
Jack Marshall, they can be



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

and
frustration

frustration on various activities
has no shock at this.

Ja also will ensure that
can be no delay or filibuster
We will get some dropping people
on this to get a language right. We
hold water time & this is only way to release
Exp & branch managers don't
we trust all of Lygia's
procedures.

Ja we should look at options

