



H. R. Haldeman Diaries Collection, January 18, 1969 – April 30, 1973

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This is recorded in the President's car, sitting in the yard of the Kremlin outside the quarters where the President and our staff are staying. It's now Wednesday afternoon, the 24th, and I'll cover the period up to this time.

Monday, May 22nd. We started the day in Salzburg. Nothing eventful except a good crowd on the motorcade route out, and at the airport in Salzburg when we left, and a good flight into Moscow. The President had Rogers, Kissinger and me up to his cabin for a review of the general plans once we get to Moscow. He said there'd be a plenary session first, as the first meeting—Brezhnev would preside. And there would be another plenary session at the end, Friday or Saturday, probably a plenary session on Friday on SALT.

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The President talked about his tactics with Brezhnev and how he was going to deal with them on the basis that he understood Brezhnev was jealous of Kosygin and he had to deal with that as part of the factors. He said he plans to go directly to the agenda at the plenary meeting, discuss the plans for the follow up meetings, and he says that Brezhnev will probably shift Kosygin to the Rogers meetings.

The President made the point that Gromyko knows the most of all the people in the Soviet government and that it's very important for Rogers to meet with him and work very closely with him.



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The President said he wants to begin with the easy subjects, having announcements each day. It's especially important Tuesday that we get off to a good start so he will raise the environment and health agreements at the plenary session and then have Rogers and Gromyko sign those Tuesday afternoon hopefully. He started to build the point that Rogers should do this because of his going to the environmental conference at Stockholm and Rogers said he wasn't going to Stockholm, because he's heard there were going to be a lot of demonstrators there, which shows his great courage again.

The President said he will sign the, he himself will sign the space agreement on Wednesday if it's ready. And, that would also include science and technology. He understands Kosygin will sign for the Soviets on that.

He said that the talks should cover the follow-on agreements on that and then to the Mideast, European problems generally, and in these the President will wing it. But he wants Rogers to let the President handle Vietnam separately with Brezhnev.

Regarding Soviet Jewry, the President said don't say anything here about it being on the agenda, we'll cover it when we get back to the US.

He said he can't see beyond Wednesday now. It's likely that SALT will be raised early and we'll get to the nut-cutting on it. Kissinger thinks they'll make a deal, but they're now down to the tough deal, and it's going to be hard to swing.



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The President said he would handle Vietnam, SALT, and some of the trade assurances. Rogers should discuss ongoing trade, cover the difficult problems regarding the Congressional leaders, say that Nixon is the first President that he'll be able to get favored nation treatment for them. We can, we can give them the Ex-Im Bank deal right there. Lend-Lease we can't make much progress. We should leave these deals hanging. Be very forthcoming about our intentions, but deliver later. Hold all of this as a club and carrot regarding Vietnam. Point out that we can produce, but they have to produce first.

On Thursday, he plans to have a Secretary of the Navy do the Incidents at Sea Agreement and Rogers sign the Maritime Agreement. On Friday, we will try to get SALT. The President said he'd keep Rogers posted regarding going to the Vietnam talks. Regarding Vietnam, the President will tell them that all of our actions go on until we get results, not just more talks.

Rogers raised the question of the European Security Conference and what our position is; whether we should go for something next year. And the President said they want this while it's a problem for us. So, we should say that we have a constructive attitude, but we must be properly prepared and so forth. And then keep them hanging for next year, which will give us leverage this year. We should agree to explore the idea of talks after the election at the assistant secretary level.

He agreed that we would have Smith in for the SALT signing, but he doesn't want him there ahead of time.



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The question on the final communiqué, it should be on Monday. The question of who meets on it, whether it should be Kissinger, Rogers, and Gromyko which is what Rogers is pushing for. Kissinger suggested the President discuss this with Brezhnev. Rogers made a big pitch regarding his doing it; argued that the president should not suggest any different procedure. This poses a sticky wicket, because obviously the President isn't about to have Rogers do it, and will propose different procedures. So we've got to work that one out.

The President made the point that Flannigan should brief on trade, Kissinger on SALT, Ziegler on all the rest; that Rogers would not be doing briefing, nor would the President.

We talked about the concern that we have to be sure the Hawk Senators realize regarding SALT that this is really a good deal for us. The military have to sell it hard; especially Kissinger's got to get Laird to get selling on this. And this is terribly important.

That was the end of the discussion on the plane. Kissinger was very worried afterwards because of the problem with the communiqué, but just have to wing that when we get to Moscow. The arrival was proper and correct, as the news reported. It was as much as we expected, but certainly no more than we either expected or hoped for.

The first surprise was the same kind of one we had in China. As soon as we got into the Kremlin and settled down, the President was whisked off to meet with Brezhnev at his office, and had about a two hour meeting there. Thus delaying the start of dinner, which worked out very well,



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especially since it was only the two of them. Kissinger did not sit in, so it didn't create the problems that the Mao meeting did in China.

Dinner went very well, toasts were mediocre; no unusual problems.

At about 11:30, the President called me in to his room after we got back from the dinner, sort of reviewed the day, especially the meeting with Brezhnev, and the way it was set up. Said that we have to carry the line on these; that there's nothing on, no problems by this kind of thing, and not let Rogers create one. I don't think we're going to have any trouble on that. We have already found horrendous problems on motorcades, access to the Kremlin, and all that sort of thing. Our press didn't get to the Brezhnev thing to get a photo, for instance. We had a terrible time getting them into the dinner and the right place at the right time, and all that. The Soviets are not cooperative in these areas, and apparently not at all understanding of the problem we have in dealing with our press.

End of May 22nd.