

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH USAC, INSTITUTE DIRECTOR ARBATOV
May 31, 1983.

Arbatov called on me at my hotel at his request the day following our arrival to preview my meeting with General Secretary Andropov. This meeting, Arbatov informed me upon my arrival in Moscow, had been delayed one day because of the death of Politburo member Pel'she, whose funeral would be held on Wednesday.

I began the conversations with Arbatov by noting that I would be discrete regarding the talk, of that the General Secretary could be assured. Arbatov said that the General Secretary's statement would be short, businesslike and friendly. It would perhaps suggest that both sides hope for improvement in relations. He said there was no concern about what I might say to him, but they hoped there would be things which I could put across.

I noted that the report of the talk would be my own and that I would be reporting to Secretary Shultz to ensure that he received my interpretation of the meeting. Arbatov responded that in the Soviet view this was the first real meeting between the United States and the Soviet Union since the start of the current Administration. He said that we could (not?) count the ceremonial meeting which occurred at the time of Brezhnev's death.

I said that I hoped for a constructive statement by the Soviets. I noted that I would never criticize the President, although he has said some things which were unfortunate. I hoped for something to offset the negative impression which American people had received of the Soviets.

I emphasized that we should be looking for things on which we could agree, not those on which we disagree. I said that our governments were different, but we could work together. I would be saying that to Andropov, that we had now an extraordinary opportunity to talk frankly and, I would hope, constructively.

I noted to Arbatov my great pleasure that I was able to come again to the Soviet Union at my age. I felt very deeply about this since I may not be able to come again, and I had talked with every Soviet leader since Stalin, and even Trotsky. I asked Arbatov what the Soviets thought about Trotsky these days. Arbatov responded they really don't think too much about him. It seemed that he was of greater concern to the West European Social Democrats because of their own Trotskyites.

I said when I came in 1926 it was appropriate that Trotsky saw me, since he was then responsible for the concessions. I noted we had had four hours. He was fair, but he gave in on nothing and was all business. I felt, though, that he was concerned that he not be seen as being friendly to foreigners, and I decided at that time that he was in trouble. I added that, however, my first trip to Russia was in 1899, when my father was on his scientific expedition in the Bering Sea.

This was a surprise to Arbatov. I said I had told Stalin that we had landed and talked to the Eskimos, all without a passport. Stalin responded, however, that we couldn't do that now. I then continued that Stalin was an able man, whatever else one would say about him, and he had saved his country during the war, that he was a great organizer.

Arbatov responded that Stalin was indeed a leader for a crucial time. I then continued that this visit meant a great deal to me. For me, U.S.-Soviet relations remained the most important factor for the world and that anything I could do would be important, but I am here entirely as a private citizen in contrast to many of my other visits.

Arbatov then returned to my visit with my father, and asked why did my father come here, to the Soviet Union. I noted that he had chartered a boat with scientists to examine the region and many of the reports are still important. My father also wanted to find the kodiak bear. I noted that I was heavily influenced by my father.

He also asked me about the founding of Brown Brothers, Harriman and whether I still had interest in it. I said I was still a limited partner and had been the one who had merged the company. The reason Brown Brothers was mentioned first rather than Harriman was my view that their company was older than mine, at that time only ___ years old.

Arbatov also asked if I knew Bob Roosa, and I responded I knew him well. Arbatov said that Roosa plans to come to the Soviet Union and was in the Soviet Union in January with a U.N. group to discuss East-West trade. He said, sadly, there is nearly no trade, but at least there were discussions.

I concluded by noting that I was grateful that my wife came to the Soviet Union with me. I hoped she would continue after I would no longer be able to.

Arbatov, as I was leaving, noted that he would always be available if we needed him during this visit.