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## THE WHITE HOUSE

September 26, 1969

## MEMORANDUM FOR DR. MOYNIHAN

SUBJECT: Your Comments on the Ljubljana Seminar

I very much enjoyed reading your memorandum of July 30 and the abridged version of your 1965 article on the Ljubljana seminar. Both were very engagingly written and interesting.

I'm not sure how we could practically effect the approach you suggest on the status of Soviet Jews. The Ljubljana minute, although very clever, unfortunately is in no sense binding on the Soviets, and I fear they would not accept any obligation on that basis.

The Soviet Government will probably act in regard to Soviet Jews exactly as it has recently in Czechoslovakia -- in a cold-blooded manner designed to protect perceived Soviet national interests. If necessary, they will completely defy the UN Charter and world opinion. We will be able to secure an improvement in the lot of Soviet Jewry only if we somehow can convince the Soviets that an improvement will be in their own national interest, or conversely, that they will suffer some meaningful national damage if an improvement does not take place. For these reasons, I don't believe that pointing a finger at the agreed minute of the 1965 Ljubljana seminar will prove to be an effective tactic.

We will, of course, consider ways of using the results of the Ljubljana meeting as an adjunct to our continuing efforts -- within our very limited abilities in this regard -- to convince the Soviets of the international concern which exists over the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Henry A. Kissinger

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