

SECRET/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
 Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and
 Assistant to the President for National Security
 Affairs
 Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, USSR Amb. to U.S.
 Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
 to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE & TIME: Friday - 9 May 1975

PLACE: The Oval Office
 The White House

The President: I appreciate the letter from the General Secretary. [Tab A]

Dobrynin: This is just a little memento from the General Secretary. Henry and Brent have seen it.

[General Scowcroft leaves the meeting for a few minutes.]

The President: As I said in the press conference, I am pleased with the state of our relations but I think we have to make substantive progress.

Dobrynin: Yes. I think there are prospects for the European Security Conference, then the summit.

The President: We are hopeful that Congress will take some action, but this one is more difficult than usual. Compared to previous ones, there is a division of leadership. We used to condemn Rayburn for being dictatorial but he looks good compared to this. But from a long-range point of view, the Congress is losing support with the public.

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 EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
 SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
 EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 (B) (3)
 AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to Det.



DECLASSIFIED
 E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Div. on 2/19/04
 BY WA
 NARA DATE 5/14/04

Dobrynin: What do you think of the Middle East? The General Secretary said we would do everything in our power to help. We know you are now reassessing.

The President: We are reevaluating -- we will be talking to Sadat and Rabin. In the meantime we hope nothing will erupt, but we cannot tolerate a stalemate. Does the General Secretary feel we should go to Geneva?

Dobrynin: Yes. It is a difficult ordeal, but we should do the whole thing rather than ordeal after ordeal. We have the feeling that more and more people in this country support a complete settlement. It is surprising how few cries there are in opposition now.

President: I think there is a change in public opinion. But that opinion fluctuates. We are getting views from a wide variety of people, but we must move soon because we can't permit stagnation.

[The President hands Ambassador Dobrynin a letter. Tab B] Please give the General Secretary my regards and best wishes on this historical day. Where were you on V.E. Day?

Dobrynin: I was a fighter aircraft engineer. I picked up a rifle only when the Germans were ten miles from Moscow. We had a potato garden and my wife and I dug in the garden.

And here is a letter from our Parliament to all allied Parliaments. [Tab C]

[There was small talk about the future of Vladivostok, and the meeting ended.]



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EMBASSY OF THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

For, 2/10/75

16

May 8, 1975

Dear Henry,

As agreed I am sending to you
herewith the texts for the President,
which I have mentioned over the phone.

*Waiting for a reply to my
request*

With best wishes

Armed

Dr. Henry Kissinger
The Secretary of State,
The Department of State
Washington, D.C.

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines, *State Dep. as 3/9/04*
By *ljk*, NARA, Date *5/14/04*



His Excellency
Mr. Gerald Ford,
The President of the United States
of America
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

These days the freedom-loving nations of the world are marking a historic date - the 30th Anniversary of Victory over hitlerite Germany in the Second World War.

This is a joint festivity of the countries of the Anti-hitlerite coalition whose peoples and armies united their efforts to rout the common enemy. Soviet people highly value the participation of the U.S.A. in the Anti-hitlerite coalition, in the struggle for the freedom and independence of the countries that fell victim of fascist aggression. The possibility of effective political and military cooperation of our countries in the struggle against aggression was proved in practice thirty years ago.

Tension is now lessening in the world and gaining strength is the trend towards strengthening of peace and security of the peoples. Substantial positive changes have also been achieved in Soviet-American relations as a result of efforts made by our countries.

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State Dept. Guidelines
By hla, NARA, Date 5/14/04
State Rev. on 3/9/04



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The consolidation of relations of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States accords not only with the cardinal interests of the peoples of our countries, but is also of much importance for the cause of universal peace.

On the occasion of this historic Anniversary permit me on behalf of the Soviet people and on my own behalf to convey to you, Mr. President, and to the entire American people congratulations and wishes of peace and wellbeing. We express firm conviction that the further development of good relations between our two countries will continue serving the cause of strengthening universal peace and security.

Sincerely,

L. Breznev

Moscow,
The Kremlin
May 8, 1975

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TO THE PEOPLES, PARLIAMENTS AND GOVERNMENTS

Thirty years ago the bloodiest and the most destructive war in the world history came to an end. The victory in that greatest of wars over fascism and militarism became an important landmark in the destinies of mankind.

It forever preserved a deep feeling of pride and sorrow in the memory of peaceloving peoples.

The feeling of pride - because at that time defeated were the forces which were bringing slavery to whole nations under the black banner of fascism, racism and chauvinism.

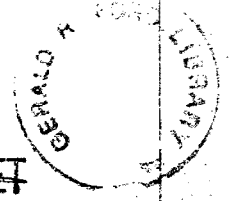
The feeling of sorrow - because the victory cost an incredibly high price. It was paid with the lives of dozens of millions of men, women and children, with tremendous destructions and with ruining many states.

The scale of the losses is great. The gravity of sacrifices is boundless. But they were not in vain.

The soldiers from all the continents who fought against the armies of Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan, partisans, resistance fighters, underground antifascists fighters, all those who forged the victory at the home front - they did not spare their lives in the battles and did not spare themselves for the sake of defending their Motherland, their ideals, their home and their family. They wanted to destroy fascism and militarism for good and to save the mankind from the horrors of war for ever. They went to the great struggle, hoping and dreaming to attain a durable, just and democratic peace. And their heroic efforts produced the results and brought about tremendous changes. Social and political transformations of the greatest importance took

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By WJ, NARA, Date 5/14/04

place and for the first time in history an objective possibility was created to exclude a world war from the life of the mankind.

The thirtieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War is a special one. We commemorate it in a new and more favourable situation. Europe and the world as a whole came closer in a real way to the achievement of the high goal which had been sought by the peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition. In the relations between states the principles of equality, sovereignty, renunciation of the use of force are gaining more and more ground.

The road toward it happened not to be a simple one. Through all the thirty years a hard and persistent struggle have been going on and to this day that struggle is not yet over.

The "cold war" delayed building the structure of peace for decades. Aggressive, reactionary circles tried to impose from the position of strength such a world order which would be in a complete contradiction with the interests of peoples and social progress. That brought about an unprecedented arms race with the use of latest scientific achievements and not once pushed the world to the brink of a new military catastrophe.

We have no right to forget either that over the past thirty years one or another country and sometimes the whole areas of the world were stained with blood, turned into a theater of military actions resulted in the loss of millions of lives. Even today the peoples of Arab and other countries have to wage a fierce struggle often with arms in hand against the reactionary forces in order to be able to determine by themselves their own way of development under the conditions of just peace, independence and liberty.

However through the efforts of socialist states, of all those who cherish peace and who actively fought for it the deadly nuclear and rocket weapons have not been used after the Second World War.



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An important role in that was played by realistically thinking political circles in the West.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the great victory the Soviet people, the Communist party, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government call upon the peoples of the world, Parliaments and Governments of all countries to put an end once and for all to the dangerous "cold war" policy, to stop interference in the internal affairs of other peoples and states, to concentrate efforts on creating the atmosphere of confidence in a peaceful future for the mankind, on ensuring lasting and permanent peace on earth.

For three decades already the humanity ^{has been} saved from a world war. This is a great achievement of peaceloving forces, the importance of which is getting deeper and deeper into the minds of peoples.

There has never yet been done so much for strengthening peace as during the recent years.

Thanks to the consistent peaceloving policy of the Socialist states, as a result of active actions of democratic forces of all countries, as well as of realistic position of Governments which realized the danger of continuing the "cold war", the international situation fundamentally changed.

Historic agreements defining the process of relaxation of international tensions were concluded. Of special importance are the agreements between two largest states of the world - the USSR and the USA - on prevention of a nuclear war and on the strategic arms limitation. In force are important treaties and agreements between the USSR and France, between the USSR and the FRG, between other Socialist countries and the FRG, the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin. The first steps are made on the way of limiting the

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arms race. Search is underway for a settlement of existing international conflicts by peaceful means.

In the relations between states with different social systems such elements establish themselves in a more and more fundamental way as recognition of the inviolability of borders, settlement of disputes at the table of negotiations, regular consultations, long-range economic cooperation, exchange of technological and cultural achievements.

The all-European conference is nearing the completion - an unprecedented event in the history of the continent which was the major theater for two world wars and for centuries a knot of most explosive international contradictions. Success of such a Conference, implementation of its recommendations will open a new page in the life of Europe, will signify the triumph of the ideals of peace and reason. And this in its turn will favorably influence the development of international relations the world over.

In today's world it has been basically done away with direct colonialism, which served as a permanent source of acute tension and as a legitimate reason for the armed national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. Disintegrated is the last colonial empire - the Portuguese one.

All these important changes are the embodiment of the will of the peoples towards peace and progress. They prove that prevention of wars between states is not an utopia, but is a real perspective and a fully attainable goal. Deep reshaping of the system of international relations on the basis of principles of peaceful co-existence began. It can and must be continued and completed. The memory of the fallen and the vital interests of the living demand that.

In the present epoch peace is a necessary condition of social progress of the mankind, of securing the sovereign right of the



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peoples to build their life the way they want. All the development for the last three decades is an ample proof of it.

Under the conditions of peace the gigantic growth of scientific and technical knowledge and ensuing powerful development of productive forces allow to transform the material culture and the every day life of people. Achievements of the scientific and technical revolution make it possible to fundamentally improve the living conditions on earth, to abolish hunger, poverty and mass diseases. And the greatest social changes and transformations that occurred in 30 years clearly demonstrated, as exemplified by various countries, that inhumane reactionary forces can be kept in check and on this basis negative consequences of the scientific and technical revolution can be prevented.

The achievements of many peoples since the end of the second world war have been enormous. But they could have been incomparably greater if the colossal means, intellect and energy spent during this period for the production of instruments of death and destruction were used for creative purposes.

Nevertheless, some influential forces which are stubbornly seeking to stop the movement toward lasting peace continue to exist. Unprecedented in time of peace arsenal of arms - of nuclear-rocket type included - has been already accumulated. The arms race is going on. All of this causes deep and justified anxiety, demands stronger efforts in the struggle for peace, for stopping the arms race and for disarmament, for terminating the material preparation for a war.

The Soviet people, the Soviet state that bore the major burden of struggle against fascism declare again their firm intention to do all they can in order to eradicate together with other peoples and states a war from the life of the mankind.

Expressing the will and earnest aspiration of all Soviet peo-

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ple we shall strive for:

- the complete and comprehensive affirmation in the practice of international relations of the principles of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems;
- the ensuring of the irreversible character of the process of easing international tensions;
- the limitation and termination of the race in all types and kinds of weapons, the steadfast progress towards general and complete disarmament;
- the elimination of existing sources of danger of war coupled with the necessary recognition and respect for the right of every people for independence and equal security;
- the creation of regional systems and a universal system of security and equal cooperation between the states;
- the utmost growth of mutually beneficial ties in the spheres of economy, science, technology and culture while insuring the unconditional right of every country to exercise control over its natural resources, to guard its laws and customs;
- the securing of real guarantees of the effective and equal participation of all countries and peoples in the world policies; the liquidation of neo-colonialism and of discrimination of any kind against any countries;
- the creation of such an international climate when potential aggressors, adventure-seekers and saber-rattlers are met with a decisive and universal rebuff, when security and confidence in a peaceful future actually become available to all countries and peoples.

On behalf of the 250 million Soviet people, we address all who are concerned with the future of our planet: let us exert all our efforts to make the future a peaceful one.

The stable peace and freedom of peoples are the most worthy

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monument to those who perished in the war.

The stable peace and freedom of peoples is a never fading ideal which inspired heroes of the struggle against fascism and which inspires us. Let us do everything so that this ideal becomes an indisputable law of the life of humanity.

We address this message to all Nations, Parliaments and Governments and, first of all, directly and officially, to those who are entrusted with the mission to represent their states and public opinion of their countries on the international arena. We are looking forward to their reaction worthy of the importance of this problem, and call for active actions in the name of stable and lasting peace.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet

The Government of the Soviet Union

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*Presented to Gen. Dobrynin
by Special Agent [unclear]
10:05 am, Friday, 5/9/75*

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1975

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

It is indeed fitting that we should mark the thirtieth anniversary of a victory for which both of our peoples sacrificed so much. Our military struggle against a common foe united our countries in the most noble of causes -- that of seeking to win peace and tranquility for all peoples. The success we achieved in the Grand Alliance bears witness to our ability to work together in furthering those ends which are the highest aspirations of mankind.

I welcome your desire to extend our cooperation together in peace as in war, and I assure you that I will do all I can to further the mutually beneficial changes which have taken place between our countries. Acting together in a spirit of restraint and cooperation, we can move forward toward a world that is more secure and prosperous for all.

On the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of Victory in Europe, I would like to reciprocate your congratulations, Mr. General Secretary, and wish you and the Soviet people, on behalf of the American people, best wishes and goodwill. I share your conviction that our two great countries will continue to work together in the search for a just and lasting peace.

Sincerely,

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AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Aug 10 1998

His Excellency
Leonid I. Brezhnev
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
The Kremlin
Moscow

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/00, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Dept. 2/19/04
BY [unclear], NARA, DATE 5/4/04

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P/D Seymour/K

9 May 75

- P I suppose a letter from Gen Secy
D This is just a ^{few} moments from Gen Secy, King +
Don't have ^{seen} it.

(I left)

- P So I said in P.C. I (phased) but I think we
have to make some prog.
D Yes, I think there are prospects. For the security
conf., then summit.
P We hoped Cong. will take some action, but this
one is more big than usual. Cong. and to previous
acts, there is a change of leadership. We need
to condemn Koyama for being dictatorial, but he
looks good compared to this. But from long range
point of view, a Cong. is losing support w/ a
public.
D What do you think of NIE. Buckley said we
could do anything in our power to help. We
know you want reassurance.
P We are negotiating ^{with us} - talking to Rabin. ^{Su 1981/} ⁵⁵⁰⁰ ^{US} ^{State} ^{Dept} ^{Washington}
we hope nothing will happen, but we cannot
take a statement. Does a Gen Secy feel we should
go to London
D Yes. It is a diff. school, but we should do the
whole thing rather than school after school.
We have feeling that more + more in the country
support Cong. ⁵⁵⁰⁰ ^{State} ^{Dept} ^{Washington} ^{US} ^{Su 1981/}
few voices in opposition now.
P I think there a change in pub opinion.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/88, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 2/9/04

BY llh NADA DATE 5/14/04



But that opinion frustrated. We getting
news from with unity, but we must work
soon ~~or~~ because we can't permit stagnation.
(Hands lifted). Please give Ben Sney my
regards & best wishes on the birthday day
when were you.

D Lives a fighter apt engineer. I put
eye up to when I across 10 miles from
Moscow. We had a potato garden & my wife
& I dug in garden.

And here a letter from our parliament to
all allied parliaments.

(Small talk about a future of Vlad)

