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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:	Dr. Kazys Bobelis, President, Lithuanian- American Council							
	Dr. Lev Dobriansky, President, Ukranian-American Congress							
	Aloysius Mazewski, President, Polish National Alliance							
	Joseph L. Osajda, President, Polish Roman Catholic Union							
	Dr. Andras Pogany, President, Hungarian Freedom Fighters Association							
	Frank J. Vodrazka, President, Czechoslovakian Society of America							
	Henry J. Scheib, President, Aid Association of Lutherans							
	Albert Bosch, National Chairman, Steuben Society of America							
	Joseph Lesawyer, President, Ukrainian National Association							
to /ai /:	Dr. Mikulas Ferjencik, Director, Czechoslovak National Council of America							
4) 7)	Uldis I. Grava, President, Latvian World Organization							
3	Paul P. Dargis, President, Lithuanian American Alliance							
and a second	Heikki A. Leesment, Member, Board of Directors of the American Estonian Organization							
The B	Edward Behuncik, Slovak League of America							
DELINES	Stephen P. Mugar, Chairman, Board of Directors of the Armenian Assembly							
DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12968, SEC. 3.5 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State U.V. an 3/10/04 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State U.V. an 3/10/04	Mike Bachar, Vice Chairman, Byelo Russian Congress Committee							
SSIFII 8, SEC 171E C 171E C 171E C 171E C	President Ford							
DECLASSIFIED 0. 12968, SEC. 3 24/98, STATE DEF 24/98, STATE DEF 	Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs							
Ŭ Ŭ Į Į Į Į	Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the							
	President for National Security Affairs							
NSC MEM	Max L. Friedersdorf, Assistant to the President for Func							
NS NS	Legislative Affairs							
	Representative Edward J. Derwinski							
	Representative Edward J. Derwinski Representative Thomas E. Morgan							
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Representative Clement J. Zablocki Representative Lucian N. Nedzi Representative Dan Rostenkowski Representative Daniel J. Flood Representative Jack F. Kemp A. Denis Clift, National Security Council Staff (Notetaker) 2

DATE AND TIME: Friday, July 25, 1975 ll:10 a.m. - ll:55 a.m.

PLACE: Cabinet Room

<u>President</u>: Please sit down everybody. It is nice to see you all (the press photographers were admitted for photographs and then departed). Again, let me welcome you; this is an important subject, and I have a prepared statement that I'd like to read -- I'll see that you all get copies -- and then I'll be very happy to take your questions. I would note that the Secretary of State will be here until about 11:20 and then he will have to leave for a press conference.

(The President then read the statement at Tab B, and upon conclusion there was applause. The President then opened the floor to questions.)

<u>Dr. Ferjencik</u>: Mr. President you understand our position. We don't trust the Communists; we don't trust the Soviet Union. Many of us have had personal experiences and so have our people. Mr. President, would it be possible for you to make a short brief statement to the people behind the Iron Curtain that we are not abandoning them?

<u>President</u>: I am not sure that I have understood every word of your question. However, I do think that the statement that I have just read does that. It will be a public statement.

<u>Mr. Dargis</u>: Mr. President, on behalf of the Baltic-American community, we greatly appreciate the disclaimer you have made on the Baltic States. Is there a possibility of your reading this in Finlandia Hall or in a press conference or in a meeting with the Baltic States delegation which will be there?

<u>President</u>: I'll take that suggestion under advisement. I do have a copy of my proposed remarks for Helsinki in my office, however because of other business I have not had a chance to go over it. I will take your suggestions into consideration.

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<u>Mr. Vodrazka:</u> Mr. President, if you could issue a statement to the people behind the Iron Curtain it would be most important. Your remarks do this generally, however you do not address the people behind the Iron Curtain; what can be tell them through our press.

<u>President:</u> I think the countries that will be represented there are identified and the people who live in those countries will know that I have just read this statement.

Mr. Vodrazka: But you don't address them specifically.

<u>President</u>: But you can take this statement that I have just read and quite properly you can interpret it.

<u>Mr. Lesawyer</u>: Mr. President we are concerned about the dissidents in the Soviet Union. When you went to Vladivostok we asked you to raise the case of Valentyn Moroz, the Ukrainian who is imprisoned. I know you have discussed the question of Soviet Jewish emigrants, but we would like you to raise the cases of others. We would request and appreciate your bringing up the case of Moroz.

General Scowcroft: You have already done so, Mr. President.

<u>President</u>: Gentlemen, this is General Scowcroft of the National Security Council. As he says, we have done this and we will follow up.

<u>Dr. Pogany:</u> Mr. President we are going to give the Soviets propaganda that they will use. Your fine statement will not get behind the Iron Curtain. You expect us to do this for you; maybe we will, but our efforts won't get through the Iron Curtain. Even if we do get this through, your going to Helsinki is a disappointment to us and we are Republicans. This is a setback over here.

<u>Mr. Mazewski</u>: Mr. President, the Polish National Alliance has prepared a memorandum supporting your attendance at Helsinki with reservations. If at the time of signing the Helsinki documents you could issue some kind of statement -- a conditional statement on the freedom of movement and the ultimate government of self-determination for all peoples -- it would be helpful. The gentleman [Dr. Pogany] is right, the people over here are upset. But we recognize that your not going would be a greater catastrophe. We need some kind of assurance. We are not alone.The press doesn't understand it. <u>The New York Times</u>, <u>U.S. News and World Report</u>, <u>Newsweek</u> don't understand it. The writer said that seven Presidents have tried

detente and failed. We feel that the State Department is bending backwards rather than forwards in dealing with the Russians. It is necessary to have a statement by you prior to signing the Helsinki documents. This should get into Radio Free Europe and the European press. I think this will make them think twice. Our people read more now. They know more, we need some kind of statement they can read.

<u>President</u>: We are in the process of preparing my statement for Helsinki and I welcome your suggestions. I haven't looked at your statement yet but we will see if it can fit in.

<u>Rep. Derwinski:</u> Mr. President, this statement that you have just delivered will be released to the press. It will be picked up by the VOA and RFE.

Mr. Mazewski: Can we be assured that VOA will carry it?

<u>President:</u> What I have just read you is an official statement by the President of the United States of America. I would think they could carry it.

Rep. Derwinski: Mr. President, I think VOA will undoubtedly report this.

<u>Rep. Zablocki</u>: We are assuming a great deal. We will have to follow through. Those here in 1948 and 1966 still don't believe as they still have reservations; they are fearful that they are giving up the rights of millions who are struggling to make sure they have their freedom. We should make sure that RFE and VOA carry this statement, and we should tell the press that we have met with you and that all are in accord with you.

<u>Mr. Bachar</u>: I want to make an appeal that VOA broadcasts reports in Byelo Russian; we have been told that Byelo Russians understand Russian, and that for this reason it is not necessary. They have to understand Russian! But, it is insulting, it deprives them of hope and the feeling that we care. We hope it will be possible to include a full hour of broadcasts in Byelo Russian.

<u>Rep. Flood:</u> Mr. President, I've been around a long time. This is the first time in 30 years that I've seen a meeting like this! If there could be a press release that these people are here, that the names of those organizations and the names of those speaking for them, if this could be known, this could make an impression behind the Iron Curtain.

<u>President:</u> I believe this is the first time that a President has met with a group of this kind.

<u>Rep. Rostenkowski:</u> Mr. President, I can only echo what Dan Flood has said, this is a courageous step on your part to bring these people together. I know there are reports of people not being happy about your making this trip but the fact that you have brought us together and have pointed out that you are President and working in search of peace and that you will not be closing the door by going there is important.

I was your emissary recently in Poland and every government official I talked to as well as people walking in the street are excited by the fact that you are going there. It gives them hope, the fact that you are going.

<u>Dr. Bobelis</u>: I join with Rostenkowski in expressing my appreciation for this meeting. However, we have tremendous apprehensions the Soviet Union is interfering in Portugal. The Russians are pouring money into Portugal to obtain a Communist government. We are happy with the statement you have made; we believe in you. You are a champion of freedom and human rights.

<u>Dr. Dobriansky</u>: Mr. President, I support what Dan Flood has said. This is an unprecedented meeting. I second the framework and thrust of your statement. I am overwhelmed by your statement!

Moscow is going to make Helsinki a prime propaganda tool -- they are going to make use of it. What do we do with your statement? There should be follow up. People in Eastern and Western Europe will be looking for guidelines of interpretation. The RFE and Radio Liberty should carry this in full.

Rep. Flood: And what about MBFR?

Dr. Dobriansky: CSCE was predicated on MBFR.

President: Yes.

<u>Dr. Dobriansky</u>: If thos guidelines could be reemphasized and you could make a similar statement at Andrews Air Force Base and in Bonn it would be good.

<u>President</u> Thanks Lev, I'll take one more comment and then I have to go to another meeting. For sometime now in a number of communities -- Atlanta, Miami, Dallas, eight all together -- we have been bringing together a cross section of the community, labor, management and others for a meeting with spokesmen of the Executive Branch for talks about energy or some other aspect of policy. Usually we have about 600 to 800 people and I have normally spoken. This program is under Bill Baroody on the White House staff. We are going to continue this. I'll make sure we broaden the base. It is my intention to bring someone on the staff when we hold such a meeting who will be representating Ethnic groups and making sure that they are included and have the opportunity to participate. We haven't selected the man on the White Staff yet who will do this.

Jack Kemp, you haven't spoken yet.

<u>Rep. Kemp</u>: With an ethnic name like Kemp? Seriously Mr. President, I agree with Dan Rostenkowski. We have much appreciated Ed Derwinski organizing this meeting. I'ts a real manifestation of your desire on this issue and the people of Buffalo will appreciate it.

<u>Mr. Vodrazka:</u> Mr. President, I have a request; would you make an appeal to the Soviets to withdraw their army from Czechoslovakia? It is a police force and it should be removed.

President: I will take that into consideration.

Thank you all for the meeting.



PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS

MEETING WITH AMERICANS OF EASTERN EUROPEAN

11)

BACKGROUND

FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1975

I AM GLAD TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY, BEFORE

TAKING OFF FOR EUROPE TOMORROW, TO DISCUSS WITH YOU

FRANKLY HOW I FEEL ABOUT THE FORTHCOMING EUROPEAN

SECURITY CONFERENCE IN HELSINKI.

I KNOW THERE ARE SOME HONEST DOUBTS AND

DISAGREEMENTS AMONG GOOD AMERICANS ABOUT THIS MEETING

WITH THE LEADERS OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

AND CANADA -- 35 NATIONS ALTOGETHER.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO FEAR THE CONFERENCE WILL PUT

A SEAL OF APPROVAL ON THE POLITICAL DIVISION OF EUROPE THAT

HAS EXISTED SINCE THE SOVIET UNION INCORPORATED THE BALTIC NATIONS AND SET NEW BOUNDARIES ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE BY MILITARY ACTION IN WORLD WAR TWO. THESE CRITICS CONTEND THAT PARTICIPATION BY THE UNITED STATES

IN THE HELSINKI UNDERSTANDINGS AMOUNTS TO TACIT RECOGNITION

OF A STATUS QUO WHICH FAVORS THE SOVIET UNION AND

PERPETUATES ITS CONTROL OVER COUNTRIES ALLIED WITH IT.

ON THE OTHER EXTREME THERE ARE CRITICS WHO SAY THE

MEETING IS A MEANINGLESS EXERCISE BECAUSE THE HELSINKI

DECLARATIONS ARE MERELY STATEMENTS OF PRINCIPLES AND GOOD

INTENTIONS WHICH ARE NEITHER LEGALLY BINDING NOR ENFORCEABLE

AND CANNOT BE DEPENDED UPON.

THEY EXPRESS CONCERN, HOWEVER, THAT THE RESULT WILL BE TO

MAKE THE FREE GOVERNMENTS OF WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA LESS WARY AND LEAD TO A LETTING DOWN OF NATO'S

POLITICAL GUARD AND MILITARY DEFENSES.

IF I SERIOUSLY SHARED THESE RESERVATIONS I WOULD

NOT BE GOING, BUT I CERTAINLY UNDERSTAND THE HISTORICAL REASONS FOR THEM AND, ESPECIALLY, THE ANXIETY OF AMERICANS WHOSE ANCESTRAL HOMELANDS, FAMILIES AND FRIENDS HAVE BEEN AND STILL ARE PROFOUNDLY AFFECTED BY EAST-WEST POLITICAL

DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE.

I WOULD EMPHASIZE THAT THE DOCUMENT I WILL SIGN

IS NEITHER A TREATY NOR IS IT LEGALLY BINDING ON ANY

PARTICIPATING STATE. THE HELSINKI DOCUMENTS INVOLVE

- 6a -

POLITICAL AND MORAL COMMITMENTS AIMED AT LESSENING TENSIONS

AND OPENING FURTHER THE LINES OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE

PEOPLES OF EAST AND WEST.

IT IS THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND IT HAS

BEEN MY POLICY EVER SINCE I ENTERED PUBLIC LIFE, TO SUPPORT THE ASPIRATIONS FOR FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE -- WITH WHOM WE HAVE CLOSE

- 7 -

TIES OF CULTURE AND BLOOD -- BY EVERY PROPER AND PEACEFUL

MEANS.

I BELIEVE THE OUTCOME OF THIS EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE

8 -

WILL BE A STEP -- HOW LONG A STEP REMAINS TO BE TESTED --

IN THAT DIRECTION. I HOPE MY VISITS TO POLAND, ROMANIA

AND YUGOSLAVIA WILL AGAIN DEMONSTRATE OUR CONTINUING

FRIENDSHIP AND INTEREST IN THE WELFARE AND PROGRESS OF

THE FINE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE.

TO KEEP THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE IN PERSPECTIVE,

WE MUST REMEMBER THAT IT IS NOT SIMPLY ANOTHER SUMMIT

BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS. ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS PRIMARILY

A POLITICAL DIALOGUE AMONG THE EUROPEANS, EAST, WEST AND NEUTRAL, WITH PRIMARY EMPHASIS ON EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIPS

RATHER THAN GLOBAL DIFFERENCES.

THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN PART, ALONG WITH

CANADA, TO MAINTAIN THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

OUR ABSENCE WOULD HAVE CAUSED A SERIOUS IMBALANCE FOR THE

WEST.

WE HAVE ACTED IN CONCERT WITH OUR FREE AND

DEMOCRATIC PARTNERS TO PRESERVE OUR INTERESTS IN BERLIN AND

GERMANY, AND HAVE OBTAINED THE PUBLIC COMMITMENT OF THE OF THE WARSAW PACT GOVERNMENTS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF <u>PEACEFUL</u> ADJUSTMENT OF FRONTIERS -- A MAJOR CONCESSION WHICH RUNS QUITE CONTRARY TO THE ALLEGATION THAT PRESENT BORDERS ARE BEING PERMANENTLY FROZEN. THE WARSAW PACT NATIONS MET IMPORTANT WESTERN

PRECONDITIONS -- THE BERLIN AGREEMENT OF 1971, THE FORCE

REDUCTION TALKS NOW UNDERWAY IN VIENNA -- BEFORE OUR

AGREEMENT TO GO TO HELSINKI.

SPECIFICALLY ADDRESSING THE UNDERSTANDABLE CONCERN

ABOUT THE EFFECT OF THE HELSINKI DECLARATIONS ON THE BALTIC NATIONS, I CAN ASSURE YOU AS ONE WHO HAS LONG BEEN INTERESTED IN THIS QUESTION THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER RECOGNIZED THE SOVIET INCORPORATION OF LITHUANIA, LATVIA AND ESTONIA AND IS NOT DOING SO NOW. OUR OFFICIAL POLICY OF NON-RECOGNITION IS NOT AFFECTED BY THE RESULTS OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. THERE IS INCLUDED IN THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

ON TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY THE PROVISION THAT NO OCCUPATION

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OR ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY IN VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

WILL BE RECOGNIZED AS LEGAL. THIS IS NOT TO RAISE THE HOPE

THAT THERE WILL BE ANY IMMEDIATE CHANGE IN THE MAP OF EUROPE,

BUT THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT ABANDONED AND WILL NOT COMPROMISE

THIS LONG-STANDING PRINCIPLE.

THE QUESTION HAS BEEN ASKED: WHAT HAVE WE GIVEN

UP IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND WHAT HAVE WE OBTAINED IN RETURN

FROM THE OTHER SIDE? I HAVE STUDIED THE NEGOTIATIONS AND

DECLARATIONS CAREFULLY AND WILL DISCUSS THEM EVEN MORE

INTENSELY WITH OTHER LEADERS IN HELSINKI.

IN MY JUDGEMENT, THE UNITED STATES AND THE OPEN COUNTRIES

OF THE WEST ALREADY PRACTICE WHAT THE HELSINKI ACCORDS PREACH,

AND HAVE NO INTENTION OF DOING WHAT THEY PROHIBIT -- SUCH AS

USING FORCE OR RESTRICTING FREEDOMS.

WE ARE NOT COMMITTING OURSELVES TO ANYTHING BEYOND WHAT

WE ARE ALREADY COMMITTED TO BY OUR OWN MORAL AND LEGAL

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STANDARDS AND BY MORE FORMAL TREATY AGREEMENTS SUCH AS

THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

WE ARE GETTING A PUBLIC COMMITMENT BY THE LEADERS

OF THE MORE CLOSED AND CONTROLLED COUNTRIES TO A GREATER

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MEASURE OF FREEDOM AND MOVEMENT FOR INDIVIDUALS,

INFORMATION AND IDEAS THAN HAS EXISTED THERE IN THE PAST,

AND ESTABLISHING A YARDSTICK BY WHICH THE WORLD CAN MEASURE

HOW WELL THEY LIVE UP TO THESE STATED INTENTIONS.

IT IS A STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF A GREATER DEGREE OF EUROPEAN

COMMUNITY, OF EXPANDING EAST-WEST CONTACT, OR MORE NORMAL AND HEALTHIER RELATIONS IN AN AREA WHERE WE HAVE THE CLOSEST HISTORIC TIES. SURELY THIS IS THE BEST INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF PEACE IN THE WORLD. I THINK WE ARE ALL AGREED THAT OUR WORLD CANNOT

BE CHANGED FOR THE BETTER BY WAR; THAT IN THE THERMONUCLEAR AGE OUR PRIMARY TASK IS TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF UNPRECEDENTED DESTRUCTION. THIS WE ARE DOING THROUGH CONTINUING STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE TALKS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE.



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THIS EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE IN HELSINKI, WHILE IT CONTAINS SOME MILITARY UNDERSTANDINGS SUCH AS ADVANCE NOTICE OF MANUEVERS, SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH EITHER THE SALT OR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. THE HELSINKI SUMMIT IS LINKED WITH OUR OVERALL POLICY OF WORKING TO REDUCE EAST-WEST TENSIONS AND PURSUING PEACE, BUT IT IS A MUCH MORE GENERAL AND MODEST UNDERTAKING.

ITS SUCCESS OR FAILURE DEPENDS NOT ALONE ON THE

UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION BUT PRIMARILY UPON ITS 33 EUROPEAN SIGNATORIES, EAST, WEST AND NEUTRAL. THE FACT THAT EACH OF THEM, LARGE AND SMALL, CAN HAVE

THEIR VOICES HEARD IS ITSELF A GOOD SIGN.

THE FACT THAT THESE VERY DIFFERENT GOVERNMENTS CAN AGREE,

EVEN ON PAPER, TO SUCH PRINCIPLES AS GREATER HUMAN CONTACTS AND EXCHANGES, IMPROVED CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES AND INTERNATIONAL MARRIAGES, A FREER FLOW OF INFORMATION AND PUBLICATIONS, AND INCREASED TOURISM AND TRAVEL, SEEMS TO ME A DEVELOPMENT WELL WORTHY

OF POSITIVE AND PUBLIC ENCOURAGEMENT BY THE UNITED STATES.

IF IT ALL FAILS, EUROPE WILL BE NO WORSE OFF THAN

IT IS NOW. IF EVEN A PART OF IT SUCCEEDS, THE LOT OF

THE PEOPLE IN EASTERN EUROPE WILL BE THAT MUCH BETTER, AND

THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM WILL ADVANCE AT LEAST THAT FAR.

I SAW AN EDITORIAL THE OTHER DAY ENTITLED:

"JERRY, DON'T GO."

BUT I WOULD RATHER READ THAT THAN HEADLINES ALL

OVER EUROPE SAYING: "UNITED STATES BOYCOTTS PEACE HOPES."

SO I AM GOING, AND I HOPE YOUR SUPPORT GOES

WITH ME.

END OF TEXT

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION August 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM:

Mr. Clift

SUBJECT:

President's July 25 Meeting with Baltic Americans

The memcon at Tab A is forwarded for review, approval and inclusion in the President's Files.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the memcon at Tab A.

APPROVE

OTHER



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