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MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN W. AVERELL HARRIMAN  
AND AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN, HOBE SOUND, FLORIDA, NOVEMBER 19, 1976

Ambassador Dobrynin telephoned me at Hobe Sound on November 19, 1976, and asked if he and his wife could come down on the coming weekend, November 20-21, 1976. I of course readily agreed. His purpose was to hand me the attached message and oral statement which he had received from General Secretary Brezhnev to be delivered to President-elect Carter.

*From: Nov 20 - 76 J. Brezhnev to Mr. Carter, hand  
and to the US; re: "Peace and Progress"  
President Carter.*

L.I. Brezhnev sends his greetings and congratulations to Mr. Carter in connection with his election as the President of the United States.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union familiarized himself with interest with the views of Mr. Carter communicated through Mr. Harriman. He proceeds from the assumption that the relations between our two countries will develop in a positive, constructive spirit as it was also expressed by Mr. Carter. We regard with due understanding the statements by Mr. Carter in support of continued efforts with a view to promoting friendly Soviet-US relations, in favor of a further progress in various fields. Moscow shares the viewpoint that the questions of mutual limitation and ending of the arms race should be in the center of these relations.

The statements of Mr. Carter in favor of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in the settlement of important international problems are also consonant with the views of Soviet leaders.

The understanding in principle concerning the main directions of our relations, ensuing from the objective role and responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States in maintaining international peace, is a necessary prerequisite for a stable advance of Soviet-US relations. We are ready to cooperate fully in this matter with Mr. Carter as the new President, guided by the principles of equality and mutual advantage of the sides.

L.I. Brezhnev regards positively Mr. Carter's idea of the importance of a personal meeting between them. Such a meeting would undoubtedly be useful both for strengthening relations between our two countries and for promoting the settlement of appropriate international problems.

*Delivered to me by Mr. Harriman. at White House.  
Nov. 21 76*

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*Oral.*

Objectively there exist necessary prerequisites for the onward development of Soviet-US relations. And here the changes for the better already achieved in the course of the recent years as a result of vigorous efforts of both sides are of great importance.

The main result of the development of relations between our countries for the last several years is the fact that the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war has been reduced to a certain extent, first practical steps have been made on the road of strategic arms limitation. We are convinced that this equally meets fundamental interests of the Soviet and American peoples as well as of all the other peoples of the world.

The Soviet Union is ready to move further along the road of improving relations with the United States and this our line is not of a tactical but of a principled character. This was quite clearly declared by I.I. Brezhnev at the 25th Congress of the CPSU as well as at the recent plenary session of the Central Committee of our party. Moscow counts on a similar approach to the relations with the Soviet Union on the part of the new US leadership.

Further steps aimed at the limitation of strategic arms is one of the most urgent tasks facing our countries. Successful completion of negotiations on the basis of the already existing understanding and the hard and difficult

work performed by the sides would be a great and important step in the field of a further limitation of the arms race. The achievement of an agreement on this problem would also be of great importance for the entire complex of Soviet-US relations from the viewpoint of their long-term prospect.

The task of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons in the world is considered as urgent in the Soviet Union. We come out in favor of further efforts of our two countries both in terms of strengthening the existing, and adopting additional measures with a view to making more effective the regime of non-proliferation. Taking into account the attention which Mr. Carter on his part gives to these questions Moscow believes that in this matter there exist also possibilities for finding appropriate practical solutions.

There are other questions related to the cessation of the arms race, which await their solution. As is known the Soviet Union has put forward a broad program of concrete measures which embraces both mass-destruction weapons and conventional types of armaments, the global and regional questions of disarmament. We count on the productive interaction with the United States in these questions on the basis of mutual interest and are ready to examine possible considerations of the US side.

The course of events itself poses, among international problems of paramount importance, the task of achieving a cardinal peaceful settlement in the Middle East. Moscow

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believes that the continuation of a dangerous situation there - and it is dangerous indeed - carries a great threat to peace and cannot but negatively affect the relations between the USSR and the United States, whether we wish it or not. The settlement of the Middle East conflict should be sought within the framework of a mechanism specially created for this purpose - the Geneva Peace Conference - by adopting there decisions which would take into account both the legitimate interests of the Arabs - including the Palestinians - and the interests of Israel. There are known concrete proposals of the Soviet Union in this regard and we expect that the US side will pay due attention to them.

Now we have thought it advisable to express some preliminary considerations and only on a number of questions which, for understandable reasons, should be constantly in the center of attention of the leaders of both countries. We hope that after the inauguration of Mr. Carter a concrete exchange of opinions will take place between us for the discussion of the entire complex of the questions related to Soviet-US relations and of the important problems of world policy.

Of course, Moscow will study with interest the thoughts of Mr. Carter.