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# Solzhenitsyn Says Ford Joins In Eastern Europe's 'Betrayal'

NYTimes By BERNARD GWERTZMAN JUL 22 1975  
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WASHINGTON, July 21 — Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn accused President Ford today of participating in "the betrayal of Eastern Europe" by planning to attend the 35-nation European summit meeting next week. As a result the exiled Soviet novelist said, he could see no point in meeting with the President.

In a statement read over the telephone, Mr. Solzhenitsyn continued his campaign aimed at alerting the American people to the dangers he perceives in the policy of Soviet-American détente.

The impetus for Mr. Solzhenitsyn's call was the flurry of statements and press reports about President Ford's efforts to reverse his original decision not to receive Mr. Solzhenitsyn at the White House when the author first arrived in Washington for a speech on June 30. After first snubbing him, the White House said it was holding open an invitation to Mr. Solzhenitsyn.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn said that one of the original reasons given by Ron Nessen, the White House spokesman, when Mr. Ford did not see the author was that the President preferred "substantive" meetings to "symbolic" ones.

This provoked Mr. Solzhenitsyn's response, indicating his displeasure with a document that is scheduled to be signed in Helsinki, Finland, to

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mark the end of the European security conference, and with Mr. Ford's participation in the summit meeting.

In the telephone conversation from the home of Aleksandra Tolstoy, the one living daughter of Leo Tolstoy, in Rockland County, N.Y., Mr. Solzhenitsyn chatted in Russian about his statement, and then an English translation of it was read over the phone by an official of the Tolstoy Foundation. It said:

"Since I left Washington for the second time there have been many reports in the press concerning the White House change of intention and now the desire to see me.

"Among the somewhat contradictory explanations as to why this meeting did not take place earlier, it was stated that President Ford would prefer only meetings that were 'substantive' rather than 'symbolic.' I entirely share this point of view.

"Nobody needs symbolic meetings. The President will shortly be leaving for Europe to sign (incidentally together with the leaders of Western European states) the betrayal of Eastern Europe, to acknowledge officially its slavery forever.

"Had I the hope of dissuading him from signing this treaty I myself would seek such a meeting. However,

there is no such hope. If the President considers the 30-year raging of worldwide totalitarianism as an example of an 'era of peace' what will the basis be for a conversation?"

Mr. Solzhenitsyn was concerned that the signing of the European document would lend permanence to the post-war division of Europe into Communist and non-Communist nations.

**The Author's Version**

The White House, which had no immediate comment on Mr. Solzhenitsyn's statement, announced today that Mr. Ford would visit Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia in connection with the Helsinki trip.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn said in the conversation, undertaken at his initiative, that the White House was wrong in saying that he had held out for a written invitation to see Mr. Ford. What was important, he said, was the substance of the conversation.

He said he had not asked to see Mr. Ford.

What had happened, he said, was that before his June 30 speech at an A.F.L.-C.I.O. banquet in his honor in Washington, George Meany, the organization's president, had invited Mr. Ford to the dinner, but the President had declined in order to dine with his daughter Susan.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn said the effort by conservative Senators to arrange the meeting with Mr. Ford was taken at their initiative, not his.

The President had refused to receive him at first on the advice of Secretary of State Kissinger and others who feared the 'symbolic' effect it might have on détente. This led to criticism and a change in the White House position.

Initially, the White House said that Mr. Ford was too busy to see Mr. Solzhenitsyn; then it said that Mr. Ford did not like meetings empty of substance—a remark derided by the White House press since Presidents traditionally receive visitors such as beauty queens and sports figures for no reason other than to be photographed with them.

Soon after Mr. Solzhenitsyn's speech, White House sources divulged that Mr. Ford had considered seeing Mr. Solzhenitsyn and had asked the advice of Mr. Kissinger and others. Mr. Kissinger, who professed admiration for Mr. Solzhenitsyn as a writer, said later that he had recommended against the meeting because of the author's hostility to détente.