

The original documents are located in Box 122, folder “Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe” of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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5. Recent reports indicate the U.S. expects a concluding summit meeting at the European Security Conference which will occur this June in Helsinki. Has the President decided on such a meeting and is a plan underway for such a summit?

1/23/75
GUIDANCE: The U.S. position regarding a possible CSCE summit meeting has been stated in a number of U.S.-Soviet and NATO communiques. We assume that the considerable progress made to date in the Geneva negotiations will make it possible to hold the final CSCE meeting at the highest level, but before we can make a final decision on this we will need to see the results of the negotiations still underway in Geneva.

4. Sec. Kissinger told reporters last night that a CSCE Summit Meeting in Helsinki is very likely this summer. Do you have a time set yet?

1/31/75 GUIDANCE: Sec. Kissinger noted in his press conference on Tuesday that progress has been made in the CSCE negotiations and that if this progress continues a summit meeting at the conclusion is highly probable. However, the timing and level of a concluding meeting will depend upon the outcome of the concluding round of negotiations in Geneva.

3. Does the President plan a major trip to Europe this summer or fall and he planning a summit meeting for CSCE in September?

2/18/75
Guidance: As I have pointed out a number of times, the President has accepted in principle a number of invitations to visit Europe and other countries. However, no dates have been set for any Presidential travel.

With regard to CSCE, it remains our position that if the conference is concluded along the lines that are now foreseeable a summit conclusion is anticipated and the United States will participate. However, we need first to see the results of the second round of negotiations now underway in Geneva.

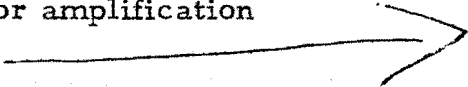
- 21/12/75
5. FYI ONLY: If asked about the letter from Secretary Brezhnev to various heads of government suggesting a June 30 CSCE summit meeting, you may say that we will have no comment on diplomatic exchanges between heads of state. On the CSCE summit itself, guidance is as follows:

GUIDANCE: The European Security Conference has made good progress. There are unresolved issues in several areas, including general principles and human contacts, but headway is being made in the negotiations. If the Conference is concluded along the lines that are now foreseeable, a summit conclusion is highly probable and the United States would participate. However, we need first to see the results of the negotiations still underway.

6. It is reported that President Giscard d'Estaing has accepted an invitation from General Secretary Brezhnev to attend a CSCE Summit this Spring. Has President Ford received such an invitation and does he plan to attend?

3/19/75 GUIDANCE: The President is in frequent touch with the General Secretary and our allies on this, and other matters. We are making progress in the negotiations and working toward a Summit meeting pending successful resolution of negotiations still underway.

FYI ONLY: Refer to guidance of yesterday for amplification on this.



4/21/75

CSCE

Q: Mr. President, there are a number of reports from Europe to the effect that there will be a summit-level meeting this summer to conclude the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. What are your views on such a summit? Will you go?

A: We are, of course, closely following the negotiations at the European Security Conference and up to now good progress seems to have been made. There are unresolved issues in several areas, but headway is being made in the negotiations. If the Conference is concluded along the lines that are now foreseeable, a summit conclusion is highly probable and the United States would participate. However, we need first to see the results of the negotiations still underway.

Q: Mr. President, there have been criticisms over the United States agreeing to legitimize the Soviet Union's World War II territorial acquisitions in this European Security Conference. Why are we taking this action?

A: First, I do not wish to prejudge the outcome of the current negotiations. Second, however, I would note that these negotiations do not involve the preparation of a peace treaty.

The European Security talks are aimed at producing declarations that should assist in the process now underway of reducing tensions and increasing contacts and cooperation between

East and West. The CSCE documents will not alter the legal position of any participating state on European territorial questions.

June 12, 1975

EUROPEAN SUMMIT

Henry Trewitt of the Baltimore Sun reports today that U.S. diplomats are saying the Soviet Union still must make substantial political concessions if the 35 nation European Security Conference is to end with a summit meeting.

Q. Can you comment on reports that plans for an eventual European summit meeting are in doubt because of unresolved issues?

A. In his last press conference, the President expressed his hope that there will be sufficient understanding on both sides to bring about an end to the negotiations and to have a summit in the near future. (President's CSCE guidance attached for reference).

~~Q: What about Vietnamese refugees, did the President ask the U.N. to help with this problem?~~

~~A: The President did review the steps being taken in the United States to assist the refugees arriving here from South Vietnam, and he did express the hope that as many countries as possible will assist in this humanitarian problem.~~

Q: With regard to the NATO Summit, did they discuss the position that will be taken concerning a European Security Conference Summit this summer?

A: It is my understanding that the President and the Prime Minister did touch on the CSCE negotiations currently underway in Geneva. However, this was in the form of a review of the current negotiations; no decision-taking was involved with regard to a possible CSCE summit this summer. The U.S. position continues to be that while progress is being made we have to await the results of the present negotiations before a decision can be taken on the conclusion of the European Security Conference.

Q: Did the President discuss that strategy the U.S. is planning in the forthcoming round of meetings with President Sadat and the Israeli Prime Minister?

A: I really can't go much beyond the readout I have already given: namely that today's talks did include a review of Middle East developments.

BREZHNEV COMMENTS ON CSCE, FORD MEETING

Over the weekend General Secretary Brezhnev indicated that he might defer his visit to the U. S. until late this year. (The Ford-Brezhnev meeting depends on SALT II progress and the conclusion of the CSCE in a summit meeting.) *It is generally understood that*

Q. Does the President see any change in the Soviet position or willingness to pursue detente in view of the General Secretary's remarks over the weekend? Is the President still hopeful about progress for a summit on the CSCE this summer?

A. In his last press conference, the President expressed his hope that ~~there will be sufficient understanding on both sides to bring about an end to the negotiations and to have a summit in the near future.~~

As for the meeting with Secretary Brezhnev, no date has been set, but here again, I would refer you to the President's remarks during his press conference: "I would hope if negotiations go the way they are, some time in the fall of 1975."

remaining issues will be resolved which would permit

June 20, 1975

PROSPECTS FOR A CSCE SUMMIT

Q. Yesterday NATO General Secretary Luns seemed rather pessimistic that a European Security Summit Conference could be convened in view of the issues still unresolved. Yet the President has stated that if the negotiations are concluded along the lines now foreseeable a summit is possible in the near future. How do you reconcile these seemingly contrasting points of view?

A. I do not see a contrast. The U.S. has always maintained that we need to see the results of negotiations still in progress before deciding finally on the feasibility of a summit. There are some unresolved issues as we have said, and as Luns said yesterday, and all possible dates for a summit are theoretical until the substantive negotiations are successfully concluded.

FYI: The State Department said on background yesterday that preparation for the Summit would take four weeks following the conclusion of the current phase.

CSCE

There are stories out of Paris that Giscard D'Estaing has answered a letter from Brezhnev by saying that a summit is possible at the end of the first half of this year provided that more progress was made in Geneva. How do we judge the status of the talks today? Would we be prepared to go to a summit by the end of June? Have we been in touch with our allies following this latest Brezhnev initiative? What can you tell us about the President's other travel plans for 1975?

June 22, 1975

PROSPECTS FOR A CSCE SUMMIT

Q: Last week NATO General Secretary Luns seemed rather pessimistic that a European Security Summit Conference could be convened in view of the issues still unresolved. Yet you have stated that if the negotiations are concluded along the lines now foreseeable a summit is possible in the near future. How do you reconcile these seemingly contrasting points of view?

A: I do not see a contrast. The U. S. has always maintained that we need to see the results of negotiations still in progress before deciding finally on the feasibility of a summit. There are some unresolved issues, as we have said and as Secretary General Luns said last week, and all possible dates for a summit are theoretical until the substantive negotiations are successfully concluded.

June 30, 1975

CSCE

Background: A Sunday New York Times article sets forth several issues purported to be stumbling blocks not only by their substance, but also by virtue of the coalitions supporting them. The story may prompt the following questions.

Q: Has any progress been made on the negotiations in preparation for a CSCE summit conference? Is it true that prior notification of military maneuvers is a major stumbling block to concluding the negotiations? Is it likely that we will have a summit in July?

A: There are still ^{some few} unresolved issues ~~in several areas~~. Until we see the results of the negotiations still underway, all possible dates for a

summit are still theoretical. *If it concludes in the direction it's now moving, along the lines it's now moving, we have some grounds to be optimistic. Conference is working ^{hard} intensely to resolve the ^{remaining} issues.*

July 2, 1975

PROBABILITY OF CSCE SUMMIT IN JULY

BACKGROUND ONLY

There are stories in the Washington Post today that the U.S. is insisting on settling all issues of substance facing the European Security Conference before agreeing to a final summit late this month. The report is essentially accurate.

Western negotiators in Geneva yesterday put off a response to Soviet demands that the European Security Conference be ended in July with a summit meeting in Helsinki; the West and the neutrals are insisting that agreement be reached first on military-related confidence-building measures and follow-up procedures for the conference. Even if agreement can be reached on the major issues, the summit could still founder on the special demands of smaller states like Malta, Romania, and Yugoslavia.

Negotiations have been proceeding at a faster pace, with sessions being held even on a weekend. Tentative agreement has been reached on several confidence-building measures -- how much advance notice on military maneuvers and the numbers of troops involved, as well as the voluntary nature of these commitments. The West Germans yesterday for the first time indicated they could not agree to a date until the final version of the text relating to all confidence-building measures and to principles among states was agreed upon.

* * * *

The guidance to any questions on the likelihood of a summit or probable dates remains the same:

Q: Is it likely that we will be able to have a European Security Conference this July?

A: As we have said before, until we see the results of the negotiations still underway all possible dates for a summit are theoretical. There are still several issues that remain to be resolved.

July 7, 1975

CSCE STATUS

BACKGROUND ONLY:

CSCE Status Report: On Saturday the French Delegation put forward a compromise proposal on a stage III date involving tentative agreement on July 28, on the condition that all stage II work be completed within a specified period of time. The FRG and other major allies decided that their reactions would hinge on the success in achieving solutions to three political points which the FRG had earlier presented to the Soviets as their condition for putting forward a similar compromise suggestion on timing: i. e., QRR (Quadripartite rights in Berlin), peaceful change, and the formulation extending CSCE benefits to Berlin, which has now become known as the "Europe clause."

Momentum appears to be building in the direction of acceptance by the majority of the Western, neutral, and Warsaw Pact participants on something like the French compromise proposal. Assuming peaceful change language can be registered early in the week, most major countries will probably agree to go along soon thereafter. A consensus on even conditional agreement to hold stage III on July 28 will not, however, be possible immediately. Several countries will continue to withhold agreement and it is not yet clear how long it will take to overcome all objections.

Q. Where do we stand on a CSCE summit for July? Secretary Kissinger seemed optimistic Saturday at Camp David that agreement could be reached which would permit a summit this summer.

A. There are still several issues remaining to be resolved; no final decisions have been made, ~~but all indications point to a summit~~
conclusion.

July 7, 1975

CSCE STATUS

FOR YOUR BACKGROUND USE ONLY:

CSCE Status Report:

On Monday, Finland ruled out opening the CSCE Summit on July 28. However, the Finnish delegation informed conference participants that if they agreed today to a late July date for the Stage II Summit, Finland could convene it on July 29. At the same time, the Finns put the conference on notice that every day the conference delays a decision, the Finns will push back the convening date by one day. The EC Nine plan an urgent meeting this morning to try to reach agreement on language in favor of an end of July meeting. Our delegation will be expected to support this position. If the Nine, the U.S., and the East go on record in favor of a late July date, the Finns will probably agree to begin preparations for the Summit.

Q. Now that the Finns have ruled out the convening of a CSCE Summit on July 28, is it likely that a Summit can still be convened this summer?

A. At this point, the probable timing of a Summit remains unclear. Since a few issues remain to be resolved, no final decisions have been made.

July 10, 1975

CSCE STATUS REPORT

FOR YOUR BACKGROUND USE ONLY:

CSCE Status Report: Malta yesterday blocked agreement on July 29 for convening the Stage III summit meeting. The Canadians have put forward a compromise proposal calling for agreement on July 30 as the target date, with negotiations to be completed by July 15. At the same time, the Finns would be asked to remain flexible on their deadline in exchange for the sharing of any financial obligations Helsinki might incur. The coordinating committee met late last evening to hammer out a compromise and bring Malta into line; it will meet again at 10:00 am today. The Finns have agreed to hold open the 30th through today.

Until any definitive conclusion is reached on the timing of the summit conference, we should not go beyond our past statements.

July 14, 1975

CSCE STATUS

FOR YOUR USE ONLY: CLOSELY HOLD: The NATO caucus on Saturday agreed to accept Malta's version on the Mediterranean declaration, thereby opening the way for approval today of a July 30 date for the CSCE summit. The Warsaw Pact countries agreed to support this position as long as NATO did so, and the neutrals have indicated their willingness to go along. The scenario for today will be as follows:

- registration of the Mediterranean declaration with the Maltese changes;
- registration of the follow-up provisions;
- registration of the quadrapartite rights provision;
- a meeting of the coordinating committee to vote on the July 30 date.

Approval of the 30th now seems assured, although agreement still needs to be reached with the Turks on confidence -- building measures, on which the Turks are showing flexibility.

Meanwhile, the Finns have begun preparatory work for the conference. The Finnish foreign ministry last Friday announced that it had taken control of the Finlandia Hall, the site for the summit, and that necessary technical preparations were underway to meet the probable July 30 meeting date. Also, at least one CSCE participant -- Yugoslavia -- has already presented the Finns with a complete delegation list and detailed accommodation needs. A Yugoslav advance team arrived in Helsinki on July 8.

* * * * *

If asked about the probability of a summit in Helsinki you may say:

// There has been considerable movement toward a late July date, but there are still a few matters remaining to be resolved. ^{If} The final agreement is reached to hold such a meeting and at the ~~summit~~ summit level, the President certainly will participate.

Q. What, after all is the purpose of the European Security Conference?

A. The European Security Conference talks are aimed at producing declarations that should assist in the process now underway of reducing tensions and increasing contacts between East and West. This will represent a most positive contribution internationally.

The CSCE documents, at the same time, are not a treaty. They will not alter the legal position of any participating state on European territorial questions.

July 14, 1975

MIDDLE EAST - UPDATE

ISREAL - LEBANON

On the attacks and counterattacks between Israel and Lebanon over the weekend, the State Department is advised to condemn the cycle of violence which begets violence in this particularly troubled area of the world. Your previous remarks to this effect can be reiterated and you may wish to point up the President's determination to seek progress for peace in the Middle East and avoid stalemate or stagnation on negotiations.

Kissinger - Rabin Visit

FYI: Sec. Kissinger will have a luncheon press conference in Minneapolis Tuesday and a morning press conference in Milwaukee Wednesday. He is likely to be asked about his meeting with Rabin.

IF ASKED: any questions about the outcome of the talks, the probable result, the likelihood of an interim agreement, the positioning of the new lines, buffer zones, corridors, etc., you should stay within your remarks of previous occasions:

Rubin
Glantz
Lawrence

I do not believe it would serve any useful purpose to get into the details of the negotiating positions of the particular parties. We are continuing diplomatic exchanges with the parties to determine the prospects for agreement. The President, as you know, has stated repeatedly his determination to prevent a stalemate or stagnation in this troubled area.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY: It is not yet public knowledge that Ambassador Eilts will be returning from Cairo for consultations with Kissinger and other officials. Following a trip to Milwaukee and Minneapolis the Secretary will also be seeing Dinitz on the progress of the talks. Because Eilts and Dinitz will be making assessments and reports based on these consultative discussions, this information should be closely held.

July 14, 1975

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*Palin
Gough
Saurangrad*

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R.N.
July 15, 1975

CSCE STATUS

BACKGROUND:

There remain a few relatively minor points to be resolved before the Conference delegates vote on whether to convene a final summit level meeting July 30. That vote is not expected until the end of the week; following a favorable vote to convene the summit in Helsinki, an announcement to that effect will be made in Geneva.

Until the formal announcement is made, we must continue to emphasize that if a final agreement is reached, the President will certainly attend.

July 16, 1975

CSCE STATUS

FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY:

CSCE Status: The July 30 date for the opening of the Helsinki stage III meeting has yet to be confirmed by the coordinating committee; however, it has agreed to meet today, tomorrow, and Friday, if necessary, to confirm the date formally and conclude the Stage II negotiations. It is understood by all parties that all texts must be registered by July 18.

Our public statements should remain the same until a final agreement is announced. If asked whether the advance team is leaving in the near future, and if so why, you may say that "yes, the advance team is leaving for Helsinki; we have to keep our options open."

July 16, 1975

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July 21, 1975

CSCE PREPARATIONS

Agreements reached at the European security conference have cleared the way for final acceptance of July 30 as the opening date of a three-day summit in Helsinki involving 35 heads of government.

The longest negotiating session in the history of the conference produced accord on confidence-building measures after Turkey -- under increasing pressure from its NATO allies -- dropped most its demands for separate notification of amphibious and airborne troop movements. Ankara agreed to give advance notification of maneuvers within a 250-kilometer zone along its borders after a compromise was worked out -- over Cyprus' objections -- excepting notification in areas "contiguous to" borders with non-participating states -- exempting some maneuvers in eastern and southern Turkey.

The Soviets held out until the last hour of the negotiations for a mention of the "irreversibility of detente" in the final documents, but agreed finally on an alternative formulation substituting "make continuing and lasting" for "irreversibility." The Soviets also tacitly agreed to allow Italian Prime Minister Moro to sign the final declaration twice -- acting on behalf of the EC as well as Italy.

In Helsinki, preparations for the summit are proceeding at a hectic pace. The Finns are expecting 900 delegates, accompanied by thousands of support personnel, and have begun elaborate security preparations. The order of speakers was determined by lot in Geneva, and a time limit of 20 minutes was placed on each speaker. British Prime Minister Wilson will be the first to address the conference; General Secretary Brezhnev is thirteenth to speak and President Ford is twenty-sixth.

* * * * *

Announcement of the President's travel to Bonn, Warsaw, Bucharest and Belgrade is being made today here and abroad.
(Announcement attached).

BENTSEN'S TELEGRAM ON CSCE AND PORTUGAL

Q. Has Senator Bentsen's telegram been received at the White House? Has the President seen it? What does he intend to do about it?

A. Senator Bentsen's telegram has been received at the White House (afternoon of July 23).

He has been sent a letter stating that his telegram would be brought to the immediate attention of the President. A reply to Senator Bentsen will be forthcoming.

Q. Has the telegram been brought to the President's attention?

A. Yes, it has, and as I said, he will be replying to it.

Check w/ State
August 2, 1976

CSCE ANNIVERSARY

Nease
Q: Mr. President, August 1 marked the first anniversary of the signing of the CSCE Final Act in Helsinki. After a year, how do you assess the value of this document? Has it made any difference? Has anything at all changed? Has there been any progress in the area of human rights?

A: In the year since the Helsinki Summit, the United States has continued to stress the need for full compliance with and implementation of the provisions of the CSCE Final Act. At the Helsinki Conference itself, ~~the President~~ *the President* stated that CSCE would be judged by its deeds -- "Not by the promises we make, but by the promises we keep." The United States is monitoring implementation of the CSCE Final Act in all its parts. We are working with our NATO partners to coordinate actions related to a systematic exchange of information with respect to monitoring implementation. These efforts provide this government with continuing and detailed information concerning fulfillment of the provisions of the Final Act.

The information we are receiving suggests a mixed picture on implementation. In the area of military security, for example, confidence building measures, there has been progress, with participants in both East and West giving advance notification of major military maneuvers and observers from CSCE participant states having been invited to such maneuvers. Similarly, we have seen implementation of provisions concerning cooperation in the field of economics, science and technology and the environment.

Of importance to Americans, there has been some progress in the implementation of provisions on human rights. Regulations governing foreign journalists have been eased somewhat and several steps have been taken to simplify application for emigration and reduce its cost. There also has been progress in the reunification of divided families. Nevertheless, this government has emphasized to the Communist signatories that their actions thus far represent only a start and that much more must be done to implement fully the provisions of the Final Act in this area.

In sum, the United States continues to believe that CSCE will be judged by its deeds: we are giving close attention to implementation and will continue to do so. The net results thus far have been positive.

CSCE

Q: Mr. President, do you conclude from your talks with European leaders during the past week that it will be possible to have a summit-level meeting this summer to conclude the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe?

A: We are, of course, following the negotiations at the European Security Conference very closely. While there are still unresolved issues in several areas, the negotiations seem to be reaching a point where there is reason to be optimistic. If the Conference is concluded along the lines that are now foreseeable and if early progress is realized, then I think the time schedule for a concluding phase sometime this summer could materialize. However, we still need first to see the results of the negotiations now underway.

Q: Mr. President, there have been criticisms over the United States agreeing to legitimize the Soviet Union's World War II territorial acquisitions in this European Security Conference. Why are we taking this action?

A: First, I do not wish to prejudge the outcome of the current negotiations. Second, however, I would note that these negotiations do not involve the preparation of a peace treaty.

The European Security talks are aimed at producing declarations that should assist in the process now underway of reducing tensions and increasing contacts and cooperation between East and West. The CSCE documents will not alter the legal position of any participating state on European territorial questions. They will specifically reaffirm the principle of peaceful change.

PROSPECTS FOR CSCE SUMMIT

Q: Mr. President, it now appears likely that there will be a summit level conclusion of the European Security Conference at the end of this month. Will you go, and are you content with the results of the negotiation?

A: There has been considerable movement toward a late July date, and if final agreement is reached to hold such a meeting and at the summit level, I certainly will participate.

With regard to the content of the talks, there are still some matters to be resolved; we are in close consultation with other countries on these matters, and we shouldn't prejudge the outcome of specific issues still under negotiation.

The European Security talks are aimed at producing declarations that should assist in the process now underway of reducing tensions and increasing contacts between East and West.

This will represent a most positive contribution internationally.

The CSCE documents, at the same time, are not a treaty. They will not alter the legal position of any participating state on European territorial questions.

CSCE

Q: Mr. President, there are a number of reports from Europe to the effect that there will be a summit-level meeting this summer to conclude the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. What are your views on such a summit? Will you go?

A: We are, of course, closely following the negotiations at the European Security Conference and up to now good progress seems to have been made. There are unresolved issues in several areas, but headway is being made in the negotiations. If the Conference is concluded along the lines that are now foreseeable, a summit conclusion is highly probable and the United States would participate. However, we need first to see the results of the negotiations still underway.

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The European Security talks are aimed at producing declarations that should assist in the process now underway of reducing tensions and increasing contacts and cooperation between East and West. The CSCE documents will not alter the legal position of any participating state on European territorial questions.

CSCE SUMMIT

Q: Mr President, there has been considerable comment lately in the press and by Administration officials regarding the likelihood of a summit meeting in connection with the European Security Conference. Will you attend such a conference and what significance would such a meeting have for East-West relations?

A: The European Security Conference has made good progress. There are unresolved issues in several areas, including general principles and human contacts, but headway is being made in the negotiations. If the Conference is concluded along the lines that are now foreseeable, a summit conclusion is highly probable and the United States would participate. However, we need first to see the results of the negotiations still underway at Geneva.

CSCE IMPLEMENTATION

Q: Mr. President, it has been alleged in recent press reports that the Soviet Union has failed to comply with important aspects of the CSCE Final Act, particularly in the area of human rights. In view of these violations, and the Administration's opposition to a joint Congressional-Executive monitoring committee, do you believe the agreement you signed in Helsinki is anything more than a piece of paper? What has the Administration done in the last eleven months to monitor implementation of the document?

A: From the outset, I have stressed the need for full compliance with and implementation of the provisions of the CSCE Final Act. At the Conference itself, I warned that CSCE would be judged by its deeds -- "Not by the promises we make, but by the promises we keep." The United States is monitoring implementation of the Act in all its parts. Additionally, the United States is working with our NATO partners to coordinate actions related to a systematic exchange of information with respect to monitoring implementation. These efforts are providing this government with continuing and detailed information concerning fulfillment of the provisions of the Final Act.

The information we are receiving suggests a mixed picture on implementation. In the area of military security, for example -- confidence building measures -- there has been progress, with participants in both East and West giving advance notification of major military maneuvers and observers from CSCE participant states having been invited to such maneuvers. Similarly, we have seen satisfactory implementation of provisions concerning cooperation in the field of economics, science and technology and the environment.

Of importance to Americans, there has been some progress in the implementation of provisions on human rights. Regulations governing foreign journalists have been eased somewhat and several steps have been taken to simplify application for emigration and reduce its cost. There also has been progress in the reunification of divided families. Nevertheless, this government has emphasized to the Eastern signatories that their actions thus far represent only a start and that much more must be done to implement fully the provisions of the Final Act in this area.

In sum, we are giving close attention to this and will continue to do so. The net results thus far have been positive.

usual lengthy heading

TRIP ANNOUNCEMENTS

July 19, 1975

(TEXT A)

July 21, 1975

(TEXT B)

FOR RELEASE AT 12 NOON

JULY 19, 1975

Office of the White House Press Secretary

NOTICE TO THE PRESS

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

With the conclusion of the Stage II negotiations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) at Geneva on July 19, the 35 participating States will now go to Helsinki July 30 to August 1 for a final phase at the summit.

President Ford will be among the North American and European leaders attending. This meeting will bring CSCE to a formal close and permit the signing of the Final Document that has been negotiated. The President's presence there reflects our view that the CSCE Final Document, which includes declarations of political resolve and intent on a broad range of East-West issues, represents a positive step in our continuing efforts to build a more stable and productive East-West relationship.

TEXT A

~~PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO EUROPE -- JULY 26 - AUGUST 4, 1975~~
~~(For release July 21, 1975, 12:00 P.M. EST)~~

President and Mrs. Ford will visit the Federal Republic of Germany from July 26-28, 1975. He will be received by President Scheel and will have talks with Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher about current international questions.

At the invitation of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, President and Mrs.

Ford will make an official visit to Poland July 28-29.

(The President and Mrs. Ford will be in Helsinki July 29-August 2.)

At the invitation of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs. Elena Ceausescu, the President and Mrs. Ford will pay an official visit to Romania from August 2-3.

At the invitation of the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, the President and Mrs. Ford will pay an official visit to Yugoslavia from August 3-4.

TEXT B

CSCE

Q: Mr. President, do you conclude from your talks with European leaders during the past week that it will be possible to have a summit-level meeting this summer to conclude the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe?

A: We are, of course, following the negotiations at the European Security Conference very closely. While there are still unresolved issues in several areas, the negotiations seem to be reaching a point where there is reason to be optimistic. If the Conference is concluded along the lines that are now foreseeable and if early progress is realized, then I think the time schedule for a concluding phase sometime this summer could materialize. However, we still need first to see the results of the negotiations now underway.

Q: Mr. President, there have been criticisms over the United States agreeing to legitimize the Soviet Union's World War II territorial acquisitions in this European Security Conference. Why are we taking this action?

A: First, I do not wish to prejudge the outcome of the current negotiations. Second, however, I would note that these negotiations do not involve the preparation of a peace treaty.

The European Security talks are aimed at producing declarations that should assist in the process now underway of reducing tensions and increasing contacts and cooperation between East and West. The CSCE documents will not alter the legal position of any participating state on European territorial questions. They will specifically reaffirm the principle of peaceful change.

CSCE ANNIVERSARY

Q: Mr. President, August 1 marked the first anniversary of the signing of the CSCE Final Act in Helsinki. After a year, how do you assess the value of this document? Has it made any difference? Has anything at all changed? Has there been any progress in the area of human rights?

A: In the year since the Helsinki Summit, the United States has continued to stress the need for full compliance with and implementation of the provisions of the CSCE Final Act. In Helsinki, I stated that CSCE would be judged by its deeds -- "Not by the promises we make, but by the promises we keep." We are working with our NATO partners to monitor implementation of the CSCE Final Act in all its parts.

Frankly, the information we are receiving suggests a mixed picture on implementation. There has been progress in the area of military security, with both East and West giving advance notification of major military maneuvers. Similarly, we have seen implementation of provisions concerning cooperation in the field of economics, science and technology and the environment.

There has also been some progress in the implementation of provisions on human rights, an issue of importance to many Americans. Regulations governing foreign journalists have been eased somewhat; steps have been taken to improve emigration procedures; and there has been progress in the reunification of divided families. Nevertheless, this government has emphasized to the Communist signatories

that their actions thus far represent only a start and that much more must be done to implement fully the provisions of the Final Act in this area.

In sum, the United States continues to believe that CSCE will be judged by its deeds; the net results thus far have been positive.

CRITICISMS OF CSCE

Q: Mr. President, your participation in CSCE and signature of the Final Act has drawn considerable criticism from many in the United States that you have ratified the territorial acquisitions of the USSR from World War II and perpetuated its control in those areas. Could you respond to these criticisms?

A: The CSCE did not ratify post-war frontier changes. The Final Act of the Conference states only that frontiers cannot be changed through the use of force, a concept to which we have subscribed in the United Nations Charter. In addition, the Final Act of the CSCE expressly provides that frontiers can be changed by peaceful means and by agreement, thus indicating acceptance that the possibility for peaceful evolution, and frontier changes, exists. This was a major concession on the part of the Warsaw Pact, and it refutes the charge that present borders are being permanently frozen. It is important to remember that all the present borders had previously been established by treaty -- with US participation in every case except the German borders, which were ratified by West Germany in 1971. The CSCE Document also specifically recognizes the right of self-determination of peoples, includes a strong restatement of the principle of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and gives a public commitment to a greater measure of freedom of movement of people and ideas than has existed in the past. I believe the inclusion of these provisions, in which the United States played an energetic role, is fully responsive to the concerns you have mentioned.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q: You say final document -- is this a treaty?

A: No, the CSCE Final Document is not a Treaty -- its provisions will not be legally binding upon governments. Rather, its provisions are statements of political resolve or declarations of intent.

Q: What other stops will the President be making in Europe.

A: There will be additional stops, and I will give them to you as soon as the necessary arrangements have been completed with the host governments.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT TO CSCE COMMISSION

Q: I understand that the President is required by law to submit to the CSCE Commission a report concerning implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Is the President submitting such a report and what are its conclusions?

A: The President sent to Chairman Fascell of the CSCE Commission the first semi-annual report on implementation of the Final Act called for by PL 94-304. Submission of the report is in keeping with the President's full cooperation with the Commission, beginning with his signature of legislation creating the Commission last June.

The Report suggests a mixed picture on implementation. In the area of military security, for example -- confidence building measures -- there has been progress, with participants in both East and West giving advance notification of major military maneuvers and observers from CSCE participant states having been invited to such maneuvers. Similarly, provisions concerning cooperation in the field of economics, science and technology and the environment have been satisfactorily implemented.

The Report states that progress in the implementation of provisions on human rights has been limited and uneven. Regulations governing foreign journalists have been eased somewhat and several steps have

been taken to simplify application for emigration and reduce its cost. There also has been progress in the reunification of divided families. Nevertheless, this government has emphasized to the Eastern signatories that their actions thus far represent only a start and that much more must be done to implement fully the provisions of the Final Act in this area.

In sum, the Report concludes that there has been limited progress overall, but we are not yet content with what has been accomplished.

Q: Will copies of the Report be available to the public?

A: The President is sending the Report to the Chairman of the Commission. Its disposition is up to the Commission.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am transmitting today the first semi-annual report to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe established by Public Law 94-304.

When I signed the Final Act at Helsinki on August 1, 1975, I stated that:

Our peoples will be watching and measuring our progress. They will ask how these noble sentiments are being translated into actions that bring about a more secure and just order in the daily lives of each of our nations and its citizens.

Since that time our policy toward the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has continued to be that the test of the Conference will be to what extent its provisions are actually implemented. This dynamic concept of implementation, advanced by all the Western leaders present at Helsinki, has made of the CSCE a key yardstick for measuring the significance of the development of East-West relations.

The creation of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and its work, is part of this measuring process. It reflects how seriously the United States takes the Final Act and how conscientiously we expect all the signatory States to approach the task of implementing its provisions. It is not our purpose to interfere in the domestic affairs of others. We do expect, however, that all those with whom we pledged our word at Helsinki will work with us closely to give life and meaning not only to the noble goals but to the specific practical undertakings in the Final Act.

The CSCE has a long history of diplomatic preparation and hard negotiation against the background of wider diplomatic efforts. It is part of a broader diplomatic process, both bilateral and multilateral. The West, for instance, stipulated that progress in this larger area was necessary before

the Conference could even be convened. As a result of these diplomatic efforts the Soviet Union and its Allies acknowledged, after a quarter-century, that the United States and Canada do play an indispensable role in security and cooperation in Europe. The four powers with responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole concluded the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, and the East agreed to begin negotiations on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Central Europe (MBFR).

During the CSCE negotiations we worked closely, cooperatively and harmoniously with our Allies. We attached the greatest importance to ensuring that the interests of our friends in Western Europe were supported and reflected in the results of this Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We worked throughout the Conference in the closest consultation with members of the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Community. Maintenance of this Allied unity has been a major element of our policy since Helsinki and will continue to be a key part of our approach to the Belgrade follow-up meeting. Largely as a result of this unity, the West succeeded during the negotiations in obtaining significant commitments from the Soviet Union and the States of Eastern Europe on human rights and related matters, including especially the freer flow of people and ideas. Through the CSCE the West succeeded in establishing human rights and fundamental freedoms as a basic subject for legitimate East-West discourse. With these commitments in hand, Western leaders signed the Final Act at the Summit sixteen months ago, almost three years after the initiation of preparatory talks and more than two decades after the idea of a conference was first broached.

Since Helsinki our policy has been based on the need for implementation of the provisions of the Final Act: we have stressed this approach in all our contacts on CSCE. We have made a series of demarches to the Soviet Union to convey to the Soviet government the importance which the United States government and the American people attach to implementation of the commitments contained in the Final Act, and have sought to encourage positive implementation. We have also raised specific CSCE commitments with each of the Eastern European governments and have urged that those states fulfill their Helsinki undertakings. Our Allies and many neutral European states have also urged Soviet and Eastern European implementation of specific Final Act provisions, using high-level visits and contacts to press for progress on CSCE-related bilateral problems.

Since Helsinki, the United States has also carefully monitored implementation activity by all CSCE participant states, and has developed a continuing process of exchange and collation of information with our Allies. We have maintained contact and compared notes with other Western countries in order to have the broadest possible picture of how the provisions of the Final Act are being carried out.

We and our Allies are now preparing for the 1977 Belgrade follow-up meeting that is called for in the Final Act. The Belgrade meeting is, of course, closely related to the broader effort to improve East-West relations, of which CSCE is a part. The course of the Belgrade meeting and the future of the CSCE concept, however, will be determined primarily by the degree to which the participating States carry out the provisions of the Final Act.

The Final Act is not a legal document but rather an expression of political will. Nonetheless, we do not accept the argument of some Eastern states that implementation can only occur if there are supplementary legal undertakings. Nor can we accept that behavior contrary to the Act's undertakings is acceptable, even in the absence of such legal undertakings.

The Final Act has not transformed the behavior of signatory nations overnight, but it has committed the national leaders who signed it to standards of behavior which are compatible with Western thoughts about the relationship of people to their governments. With its profoundly Western orientation, the Final Act reflects the great importance that the West attaches to human rights and the self determination of peoples. As stated in greater detail in the accompanying report, the United States rejected in the negotiations and rejects in principle the concept of hegemony. Rather than freezing the political face of Europe the Final Act expresses the determination that Europe should again become a continent of nations free to choose their own course, both domestically and internationally.

The Helsinki document provides an agenda and a detailed framework -- accepted at the highest political level by both East and West as well as by the neutral States of Europe -- for addressing the problems which led to the division of Europe. In other words, we and our Allies have, with CSCE, added a dynamic new dimension to our efforts to reduce the barriers between East and West, a dimension which is based on peaceful contacts between both governments and peoples in Europe and North America.

We are generally satisfied with the initial steps taken to implement the military security or confidence-building measures contained in the Final Act. The East has provided advance notification of several maneuvers and has invited observers, although on a somewhat more limited basis than the Western and neutral States.

There has been some limited improvement in cooperation in the fields of economics, science, technology and the environment in the last sixteen months, a development which builds upon a process begun before the conclusion of CSCE. Nonetheless, this section of the Final Act affords scope for greater progress.

In the vitally important humanitarian and related fields, progress has been both limited and uneven. Predictably the most difficult areas have involved human contacts and the freer flow of information, concepts in the practical implementation of which the Soviet Union and its Eastern European Allies continue to have ideas very different from the West. There have been some positive developments in the fields of culture and education, which again build upon experiences which predate the Helsinki Summit. It is evident, however, that so far the Soviet and East European record on human rights issues remains inadequate when measured against the important undertakings of the Helsinki Final Act. The success of the Belgrade meeting will depend primarily on constructive Eastern efforts in the period ahead.

As I pointed out in Helsinki, the signing of the Final Act opened a process aimed toward more normal relations between States and people in Europe. The start has been slow, but a start nevertheless has been made and we are determined to continue our efforts. The Final Act remains a valid set of standards which if pursued steadily will contribute toward lowering the barriers between States and people in Europe.

Thus far there has been some limited progress overall, but we are not yet content with what has been accomplished. We have a good way to go to bring the commitments of Helsinki to life.

The United States intends to continue to work with all the signatories of the Final Act for its full implementation. We will consult widely in preparation for Belgrade and move in concert with like-minded states.

We do not wish to engage in recrimination, but we shall continue to press for real and steady progress both within the context of CSCE and in our broader relationships with the Soviet Union and the States of Eastern Europe. We hope and believe that CSCE will prove a practical and positive step in an historic process. However, as I stated in Helsinki and wish now to re-emphasize, the proof remains in the doing.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Dante B. Fascell
Chairman
Commission on Security and
Cooperation in Europe
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515