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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

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The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements, addresses, and news conferences of the President and the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and on treaties of general international interest.

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First Secretary Gierek of the Polish United Workers' Party Visits the United States

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, made an official visit to the United States October 6-13. He met with President Ford and other government officials in Washington October 8-10. Following are an exchange of greetings between President Ford and First Secretary Gierek at a welcoming ceremony at the White House on October 8, their exchange of toasts at a White House dinner that evening, and their remarks on October 9 upon signing a joint statement on principles of relations and a joint statement on economic, industrial, and technological cooperation, together with the texts of the joint statements and a joint communique issued on October 13.

REMARKS AT WELCOMING CEREMONY

Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents dated October 14

President Ford

Mr. First Secretary: It is a very distinct pleasure for me to welcome you and Mrs. Gierek to the United States. As you know, Mr. First Secretary, the family ties that bind our two peoples together in a very special way are very, very old, indeed, older actually than the United States itself.

You have already visited Jamestown, Virginia, where the first Poles arrived in 1608, only one year after it was first settled. From that day to this day, large numbers of your countrymen have helped to build this country and to mold our great American traditions.

America treasures these contributions to our growth, to our culture, and to our history. During your stay in this country, Mr. First Secretary, you and Mrs. Gierek will be able to see for yourselves the character of

our country and the role that men and women from Poland have played in America's history.

Our two nations have thus a fine foundation upon which to build. I have watched with very great interest the substantial growth of our bilateral trade in the last two years since the establishment of the joint Polish-American Trade Commission. And continuing expansion of contacts between officials and private citizens in the fields of such activities as science, technology, and the arts is another evidence of the dynamic development of Polish-American relations.

You, Mr. First Secretary, will surely agree with me that we must not allow our satisfaction with past progress to slow our pace or slacken our efforts in the future. We must use the opportunity your visit affords to seek new avenues of bilateral cooperation in many, many fields, including energy and environmental areas.

In many other areas of common interest—for example, our participation in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and our participation in the force reduction talks—we are engaged in common endeavors for peace.

Today, economic problems almost everywhere are very, very severe. That stability of the world is in danger, and almost everywhere it develops, as well as in developing countries, the welfare of people on a global basis unfortunately is actually threatened.

Mr. First Secretary, Poland knows too well, perhaps better than any other nation, the fearful experience of war and its very painful consequences. A thorough review of all the dangers to peace for ourselves and the world must surely be a matter of highest priority.

We seek a peaceful world and a more prosperous world. Poland is a world leader in coal production and coal research. Poland has a very major role, a role to play in contributing solutions to the world energy problem; and you, Mr. First Secretary, with a lifetime of expertise, are able to make a very important personal contribution in this specific area. I look forward to exchanging views with you on the energy problem.

Mr. First Secretary, we, all of us in America, are pleased that you and Mrs. Gierek are here. I am very confident, Mr. First Secretary, that our meetings will deepen the friendship of our two peoples and broaden the cooperation of our two nations.

Thank you very much.

First Secretary Gierek¹

I wish to thank you for your words of cordiality which you, Mr. President, have addressed to me, to Mrs. Gierek, and to members of my delegation. I take these words of yours as being directed to the people of Poland and to the Polish state, on behalf of which and upon your invitation I am visiting the United States.

I am pleased to have made this visit, as it adds new testimony to the friendly ties that have linked our two nations since the times of George Washington and Tadeusz Kosciuszko.

I rest assured that it is the desire of both our peoples not only to preserve these traditional relations but also to strengthen them through closer and broader cooperation in the world of today.

Indeed, Socialist Poland, dynamically developing her new potential and creating as she does new living conditions for her people, is vitally interested in this. I trust that the talks we shall hold and agreements we shall conclude will greatly contribute toward this end, that they will open up a broader prospect for cooperation between our countries.

I am pleased to have made this visit, also,

¹ First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish on all three occasions.

because it represents yet another reaffirmation of international détente, which my country views as extremely significant and to which we try to make our utmost contribution.

That process, which originates from the very essence of the contemporary world, from the need for and necessity of peaceful coexistence among states with differing political systems, has been considerably enhanced in recent years.

We of Poland can only welcome it in our profound conviction that it is in the interest of all nations to make that process further extend, universal and irreversible. Precisely for this reason there is wide appreciation today that it is you, Mr. President, who is steering the U.S. policy toward this direction.

I am pleased to have made this visit, as it will enable me to get to know the United States, to acquaint myself with the outstanding accomplishments of the progress of civilization of the American people, whose history and achievements have since the very outset been and continue to be so much enriched by the Americans of Polish extraction.

Mr. President, I am profoundly convinced of the propitious conditions today and the right time for expansion of Polish-American cooperation in its new dimensions and in all fields of endeavor.

Mine is also a firm belief that we can work closer together for the great cause of peace. That is the purpose of my visit here, and I am happy that you, too, share these aspirations of ours.

Please accept, Mr. President, the best wishes from Poland to the United States, from the Polish people to the American people.

TOASTS AT WHITE HOUSE DINNER

Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents dated October 14

President Ford

Mr. First Secretary, our wonderful guests: It is a great privilege and pleasure to have you and Mrs. Gierek here with us this eve-

ning. We have had a very delightful dinner, and we had a very helpful and constructive discussion during the day, and I am looking forward to further discussions tomorrow.

Mr. First Secretary, I come from a part of our country where we have roughly 30,000 people with a Polish heritage or background. And as I grew up, Mr. First Secretary, I had many wonderful personal experiences with families that had a Polish background, families that had the same great family strength, families that had a tremendous religious dedication, individuals with a Polish heritage that became leaders in our community, outstanding scholars, athletes, public servants. And so I had a great exposure to the finest, the best, with individuals who had come from your country to ours.

And then in 1958 or '59, I had the opportunity to go to Poland, and I wondered as I went to Poland whether there would be so many comparable wonderful people in Poland as I had known in my hometown in Michigan in the United States.

And I found, Mr. First Secretary, that instead of 30,000, there were 30 million. And all of them had the same warmth, friendship, family dedication, deep conviction, and all of them wanted to uplift their community, their state, and make their country a better and finer place in which to live.

So it seemed to me, Mr. First Secretary, that it was very easy for Poland and our country to start building a foundation some years ago which has now developed into a great relationship, a relationship predicated on understanding, a relationship that has a far broader vision.

We want to help one another, and we do. But we want to build from our relationship a broader effort to improve world relations between countries that did not understand one another but who now, hopefully, will—blocs that did not understand one another but, hopefully, will. And the net result is that because of our citizens who came from Poland, settled here, and have become so strong and vital in our society and yours, who are so strong and so vital in Europe, I hope and trust that we can move together in coopera-

tion and economic matters, cultural matters, educational matters, environmental matters, and set an example for all nations, because we do understand one another and we can, by history, work together.

And so I ask all of our guests here tonight to rise and join with me in offering a toast to the First Secretary and to Mrs. Gierek and offer them the best from all of us in the United States to the First Secretary, to the Polish people.

First Secretary Gierek

Dear Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: I thank you, Mr. President, for your kind and friendly words. I thank you for the hospitality you have shown us, which both Mrs. Gierek and I greatly appreciate and sincerely hope to heartily reciprocate.

From the outset of our sojourn on the American soil, we have been accompanied by a good, matter-of-fact, and friendly atmosphere. This gladdens us and reaffirms in our profound conviction that my visit here will prove fruitful.

Our conversations with you, Mr. President, have above all reassured me in this. We have exchanged, in their course, views on the most important issues of Polish-American relations and on the further development of the process of international détente.

We have reached important conclusions which will be set down on our joint documents. I am confident that the results of our meetings will open up a new stage in the mutual relations between both our countries and nations.

I highly value, Mr. President, this direct contact with you, with the leader of the United States, who by his own deep understanding of and positive approach to issues of the present-day cooperation between our two nations confirms the willingness to develop it further in the friendly attitude toward Poland.

I am also satisfied over my meetings with the Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, and with all eminent associates of yours.

It is my conviction, Mr. President, that

there exist very favorable conditions to a significant expansion of Polish-U.S. cooperation, which is the common concern of ours. These conditions, as you have pointed out a moment ago, stem from our longstanding tradition of friendly mutual bonds, dating back to the times of the founding of the United States, began by the participation of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, Pulaski, and other sons of the Polish people who struggled for the independence of the United States.

These bonds were subsequently strengthened by the sympathy toward and interest of the democratic forces of the American nation in the cause of Polish independence. And they were amply reaffirmed in our joint struggle for freedom, greatest in history, as it were, conducted by the great anti-Fascist coalition in the years of World War II.

These traditions have remained alive, although their early postwar phase has fortunately become a closed historical chapter.

As a result of its own heroic struggle and its cooperation with all other freedom-loving forces, the people of Poland found its road to durable independence, to enviable security, to dynamic development.

The people of Poland found it in its new Socialist homeland, in its consciously chosen alliance with the U.S.S.R. and other Socialist countries, in its active foreign policy of international security and peaceful cooperation.

Modern Poland, Mr. President, with a more than 1,000-year history and great traditions of love for freedom and progress, is proud of the great historic achievements of the past three decades which have essentially altered the course of our nation's tragic past and verily transformed the country, elevating it onto a new place in Europe and the world at large.

The Poland of today, one of the world's top 10 industrial producers, is a country of a dynamic economy, of high cultural and scientific standards, and constantly growing standards of living.

In recent years we have endowed her development with a still greater dynamism and higher quality. We still have much to accom-

plish. But the decisive stage is behind us and Poland could now enter the phase of accelerated growth of her economy. And the aspirations of my people are indeed in keeping with these vital needs and aspirations of all.

It is from this position and for this purpose that we also desire to eject new impetus and quality to our cooperation with other countries of the world. We are delighted to see considerable progress achieved in Polish-American relations, particularly in recent years. But we take it only as a harbinger of a much broader cooperation.

We therefore attach special importance to development of economic cooperation, which establishes most durable of bonds and provides for a material base of cooperation in all other fields.

We conceive of the United States as one of our principal partners in the West. There exist all opportunities that it be so. The essential thing is to create conditions that would make us seize of all those opportunities.

I strongly believe that arrangements we are now adopting and agreements we are concluding will be a decisive contribution toward this end.

In the overall framework of relations between our two countries, a major positive role can no doubt be played by the multimillion-strong group of Americans of Polish ancestry as good citizens of the United States and at the same time retaining their emotional ties with their old land. They have always been one of the important factors of mutual rapprochement between our two nations, and they can further make a substantial contribution to their friendly cooperation.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, our thoughts constantly turn to the great and common cause of all mankind, the cause of peace.

The Polish nation, which paid the highest price for its freedom and is fully cognizant of the value of peace, attaches great importance to the process of détente, which has been developing in recent years. We see in it a true road toward the strengthening of in-

ternational security and development of cooperation among nations on the basis of peaceful coexistence of states with different political systems. This is the prime need and necessity of our time.

Let me say, Mr. President, that Poland fully appreciates the far-reaching and all-round significance of Soviet-American agreements for the cause of world peace and general improvement of international relations.

It was with greatest satisfaction that we welcomed progress already achieved here, and together with other countries we have noted with great appreciation the promise that these propitious trends will be continued.

It is only natural that Poland should attach particular significance to progress of détente and to consolidation of the facts of nearly three decades of peace in Europe. We have been actively cooperating to insure the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We believe that there exist very realistic conditions for its successful conclusion in the months to come.

We shall continue to make our constructive contribution to the Vienna talks on troops and arms reduction in Central Europe.

We are convinced that the United States is also vitally interested in a lasting peace on our continent and can indeed make a substantial and constructive contribution to that cause. We rest assured of the indivisibility of and the universal need for peace and of the desire common to all nations for security, justice, and a better morale.

I trust that also in the strivings to achieve these great objectives closer cooperation between both our countries is possible and necessary.

My first day in Washington and, above all, the talks I had with you, Mr. President, reaffirm me in my conviction that together we can open up new, broader prospects for the development of Polish-U.S. cooperation. I am reassured in this also by the good climate in which all our meetings are held and which is typical of the friendly relations obtaining between our two peoples.

Mr. President, I should like to propose a

toast: To your very good health and all success in steering the affairs of the great United States; for the speediest recovery of Mrs. Ford; to your good health, ladies and gentlemen; to the development of friendly cooperation between our peoples and states; to world peace.

REMARKS UPON SIGNING JOINT STATEMENTS

Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents dated October 14

President Ford

Mr. First Secretary: We have just put our signatures on landmark documents.

The first, on principles of bilateral relations, recognizes the friendly state of those relations. It underlines our joint determination to not only continue this cooperation but to further expand it for mutual benefit. We will make a joint contribution to peace and security throughout the world.

The second document is more specifically directed to economic, industrial, and technological cooperation. If it is to succeed, cooperation requires the careful and continuing attention of nations, as I am sure you will agree.

Over the past few years we have made important advances in our economic and trade relations. We have now pledged our countries to even further advances toward realization of the full potential for cooperation that we both see and we desire. Our peoples will benefit and the economic international community will likewise benefit.

These documents should be reassuring to our friends and associates throughout the world. We discriminate against no one, nor do we prejudice any commitments we have already made to others. Indeed, the respect we show for each other and the cooperation that we seek is part of the international spirit we see emerging. This new spirit seeks to solve problems, not to make new tensions.

Mr. First Secretary, my signature on these documents is yet another expression of the deep interest of the people of the United States in the well-being of your nation and

its deserved place in the international community. We welcome these documents for the contributions they will make to the spirit of cooperation and peaceful endeavor throughout the world.

First Secretary Gierek

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: I do share, Mr. President, your appraisal of the weight of the documents we have just signed, the fruitful nature of our talks, and the importance of the agreements we have concluded. I greatly appreciate what you have said and wish to express my profound satisfaction over the headway we made and results we achieved during my visit to Washington. I especially enjoyed meeting with you, Mr. President, which I shall cherish in my memories as an important, sincere, and friendly encounter.

We are opening together a new chapter in relations between the Polish People's Republic and the United States of America. As of now, these new annals will be recording the future of our relations as well as our broader, closer, and more extensive cooperation. We are opening that new chapter aware of the entire tradition of the friendly mutual relations between the Polish and American peoples, in the desire of tightening the bonds which we have inherited from the past and continue to maintain at present.

In enhancing the progress made in our bilateral relations in recent years, we are likewise creating a groundwork for expanded economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, for cultural exchanges and various contacts between our respective peoples. Particularly important in this regard is expansion of reciprocally beneficial economic ties, which form the most durable basis for all other mutual relationships.

I firmly believe that the inauguration of a future-oriented phase of Polish-American relations concurs with the interests and wishes of our two peoples. We are doing it in accordance both with the principles and the spirit of peaceful coexistence among states with different systems. For the United States

and modern Socialist Poland are precisely such states. Poland for 30 years has been shaping new conditions of life and development of her people. She remains faithful to her alliances, and in the best of her tradition, she is actively involved in the strife for progress and peace.

I trust, Mr. President, that the results of our meeting will also contribute to the strengthening of international détente. This latter process, in particular fortified by the improvement of Soviet-American relations, which are of exceptional significance to world peace, has already brought about many favorable changes in the international situation. It has reduced dangerous tensions and provided new vistas for constructive cooperation.

We can particularly sense this in Europe, where the process has been advanced most. Yet, even there, a great deal still remains to be done in order to insure peace for the entire future to come. May we all move further along that road, to free mankind completely from the nuclear threat, to give the world of today and all its nations a feeling of lasting security, and to resolve successfully the great socioeconomic and civilization problems which confront us now and are likely to emerge in near future.

I am happy, Mr. President, that, as has been reflected in our joint statement, we are in agreement as to the need for further action at making irreversible the progress achieved in peaceful relations among states with different socioeconomic systems.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, tomorrow morning I shall be leaving Washington to visit other centers of your great and beautiful country.

On behalf of Mrs. Gierek and persons accompanying me, as well as in my own name, I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for the friendly reception and hospitality accorded to us.

Permit me at the same time to reiterate my very cordial invitation for you and Mrs. Ford, whom we wish a very speedy recovery, to pay a visit to Poland. With the fresh memories of our Washington encounter, I shall be looking forward to meeting you again,

this time in our capital, the city of Warsaw.

I should also like to say once more how happy I was to have met the prominent representatives of the U.S. Congress. My meeting with them has reaffirmed me of the congressional favorable attitude toward matters concerning further development of Polish-American cooperation.

I take this opportunity to thank the Secretary of State, as well as your other collaborators, for their contribution to the fruitful results of my visit to Washington. I thank all who helped make this visit a success.

Through you, Mr. President, I wish to convey to the American nation my heartfelt greetings and best wishes which I am bringing from the people of Poland.

President Ford

Thank you very, very much, Mr. First Secretary. I have enjoyed meeting you, becoming well acquainted with you, and I look forward to the opportunity of visiting Poland.

I told Mrs. Ford on the telephone today of your kind invitation, and she remembers vividly our visit to Poland some years ago. She, as well as I, are looking forward to a return to your nation and to meet again the wonderful Polish people.

I can assure you, Mr. First Secretary, that as you travel around the rest of the United States—and I wish you could stay longer and visit more places—that you will find a great warmth on the part of the American people for the people of Poland and you will be welcome wherever you go. I know the warmth of the welcome here will be equal wherever you visit in our country.

We hope you will come back. I look forward to seeing you in the future.

First Secretary Gierek

I wish to thank you most heartily, Mr. President, and we are expecting you in Warsaw, and Mrs. Ford. We shall be trying to greet you, Mr. President and Mrs. Ford, according to the Polish tradition and our saying, "My home is your home."

President Ford: Thank you, sir.

JOINT STATEMENT ON PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS

JOINT STATEMENT ON PRINCIPLES OF UNITED STATES-POLISH RELATIONS

The President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek,

—having met in a cordial, businesslike and constructive atmosphere, which provided the opportunity for a useful and comprehensive exchange of views,

—mindful of the long-standing and rich traditions of relations between their two peoples and the feelings of friendship and respect toward each other,

—being convinced that further development of American-Polish relations and the expansion of mutual cooperation serves the interests of both nations and contributes to peace and security in the world,

agreed on a statement of principles of friendly relations and cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic.

I

The President and the First Secretary reaffirmed that bilateral relations between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic are founded on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and international law, and in particular the following interrelated principles:

- sovereign equality;
- refraining from the threat or use of force;
- inviolability of frontiers;
- territorial integrity of states;
- peaceful settlement of disputes;
- non-intervention in internal affairs;
- respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
- cooperation among states;
- fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law.

II

The President and the First Secretary expressed their determination to develop relations of the two countries in a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect.

They resolved to expand and encourage as appropriate the long-range development of commercial, economic, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation of the two countries under conditions of reciprocity of advantages and obligations, in particular in agriculture, industry, transportation, health and environment.

They also resolved to continue to support the development of cooperation through the Joint American-Polish Trade Commission, between organizations, institutions and firms, as set forth in the "Joint

Statement on the Expansion of Economic, Industrial and Technological Cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic" signed on October 9, 1974. They affirmed that mutually beneficial economic relations are conducive to good political relations.

They will facilitate and support, through all appropriate means, agreements concerning exchange of experts, students, and other persons as well as exchanges in the fields of science, culture, the arts, education, and other fields, between their two governments or directly between research organizations, institutions and firms as well as people.

Being aware of the importance of cultural and scientific cooperation as a means of promoting mutual understanding and trust, they resolve to promote the development of cultural relations providing opportunities for the citizens of both nations to learn the language of each other and to acquire a better knowledge of their respective achievements and values.

They will support the expansion of contacts between citizens of the two countries, including tourism, as well as contacts between representatives of federal and local authorities and youth and vocational organizations.

They reaffirmed their commitment to develop further relations between the two countries through frequent consultations at various levels, on matters pertaining to their mutual relations, including implementation of the principles contained herein, as well as important international issues of mutual interest.

III

The President and the First Secretary welcomed the progress in recent years toward the general relaxation of tension and the development of peaceful relations between countries of different socio-economic systems. In this connection they stressed the importance of making that progress irreversible. They are determined to continue efforts aimed at strengthening these positive changes to which all countries, irrespective of their size and potential, can and should contribute in the interest of peace and security of all nations.

They will continue to work toward strengthening European security, in particular by contributing to the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the negotiations on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe.

They stressed the importance of achieving effective measures of disarmament conducive to strengthening peace and security in the world.

They expressed their willingness to cooperate on various international matters concerning the consolidation of peace, international security and economic, social and cultural progress, with a view to making their own contribution to the settlement of important international problems in the spirit of good will and mutual trust.

They recognized the necessity of strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance and consolidation of international peace, and in developing cooperation among all nations on the basis of the United Nations Charter.

They acknowledged that this Joint Statement does not infringe upon the obligations of the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic with respect to other states.

Washington, October 9, 1974

For the United States
of America:

GERALD R. FORD

*President of the
United States of
America*

For the Polish People's
Republic:

EDWARD GIEREK

*First Secretary of the
Central Committee of the
Polish United Workers' Party*

JOINT STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION

JOINT STATEMENT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

The President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek,

—having held talks on the present state and further development of economic, industrial and technological cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic,

agreed on the following statement:

I

The President and the First Secretary expressed gratification with the results achieved in their mutual economic and trade relations in recent years. They endorsed the guidelines for their further development that are set forth in this Joint Statement, and affirmed the positive role of these guidelines for the further development of mutual economic, industrial, and technological cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic.

Recognizing further growth of international trade as fundamental to economic development and improved standards of living, and guided by the provisions contained in the Joint Statement on Principles of United States-Polish Relations, they reaffirmed their determination to seek continued expansion of economic and trade relations pursuant to a liberal export and import policy consistent with the legal requirements of each country and with the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, including most-favored-nation treatment. They also ex-

pressed confidence that their two countries' bilateral trade relations would be strengthened by the participation of their countries in the multilateral trade negotiations.

They recognize the existence of favorable prospects for further rapid development of bilateral trade in the coming years. They anticipate that their trade may reach \$1 billion in 1976 and grow to \$2 billion by 1980. They will seek to ensure the existence of proper conditions for economic relations in order that these goals may be achieved. Fields offering particular opportunities for the development of their economic relations include various light industries, food-processing, chemical and petrochemical industry, construction and transportation equipment, machinery, electronic and electrical equipment industries, coal mining and utilization and nonferrous metallurgy.

II

Considering industrial cooperation as a particularly important factor in the development of trade and the diversification of its structure, the President and the First Secretary will facilitate cooperation between American firms and Polish enterprises and economic organizations consistent with applicable laws and regulations of each of the two countries, including long-term understandings in production; construction of new industrial facilities, as well as expansion and modernization of existing facilities; technological cooperation and research including exchanges of know-how, licenses and patents; training and exchange of technicians and specialists; organization of exhibits and conferences; and market and management research; in both countries and in third countries.

They affirmed that favorable consideration should also be given to new forms and methods of industrial cooperation suggested by interested firms and organizations. With a view to the development of economic cooperation, they will examine ways and means for the application of customs and fiscal facilitation for goods assigned to, and resulting from, cooperation projects within the provisions of customs legislation in force in the two countries.

III

Positively evaluating the development to date of scientific and technological cooperation between the United States and Poland, including cooperative projects undertaken in accordance with the United States-Polish Agreement on Science and Technology, the President and the First Secretary expressed the view that further cooperation of this kind in fields of interest to both countries should be pursued.

With a view toward the facilitation of projects for industrial and agricultural development, they, by mutual agreement, will exchange information concerning various fields in which the expansion of industrial and technological cooperation is desirable, and, on the basis of such exchange, will examine areas appropriate for consideration.

They positively evaluated the development to date of mutual financial and credit relations, especially the cooperation between the Export-Import Bank of the United States and the Bank Handlowy in Warsaw, which contributed to the rapid rise of trade and economic cooperation, and pledged continued cooperation in the development of these relations.

Attaching great meaning to the progress achieved in creating reciprocal trade facilities, they will examine ways of resolving administrative, tax, visa, and customs problems which may arise, and will facilitate as appropriate access to information concerning actual and potential markets, operation of business offices, trade promotion and other endeavors which contribute to the development of trade and economic cooperation.

Evaluating positively the work to date of the Joint American-Polish Trade Commission in developing and coordinating action in the area of mutual economic and trade relations, they will continue to work through the Commission to promote economic cooperation and resolve problems arising in the course of their economic, industrial and technological cooperation.

In issuing this Joint Statement, they express the hope that it will become an important practical contribution to utilization of the potential for development of economic, industrial, and scientific and technological cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic.

Washington, October 9, 1974

For the United States
of America:

GERALD R. FORD

*President of the
United States of
America*

For the Polish People's
Republic:

EDWARD GIEREK

*First Secretary of the
Central Committee of the
Polish United Workers' Party*

JOINT U.S.-POLISH COMMUNIQUE

White House press release dated October 12; for release October 13

At the invitation of the President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and Mrs. Ford, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, and Mrs. Gierek, paid an official visit to the United States October 8 through 13, 1974.

The First Secretary was accompanied by: Mieczyslaw Jagielski, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mrs. Jagielski; Stefan Olszowski, Foreign Minister, and Mrs. Olszowski; Ryszard Frelek, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; Witold Trampeczynski, Polish Ambassador to the United States of America.

The First Secretary was also accompanied by a group of advisers and experts.

The official party also visited New York, Pittsburgh, and Houston.

During his stay in Washington, First Secretary Gierek held talks with President Ford on the development of relations between Poland and the United States as well as on international issues.

He also met with Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, Secretary of Commerce Frederick Dent, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Caspar Weinberger, and Chairman of the Export-Import Bank William Casey.

The First Secretary paid a visit to Congress and met with members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. He also had talks with leading American businessmen and bankers.

Talks were also held between Foreign Minister Olszowski and Secretary of State Kissinger.

The talks and meetings were held in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere and were characterized by a mutual desire to expand and strengthen the relations between Poland and the United States.

In the course of the talks, the President and the First Secretary noted with satisfaction the significant progress which has recently been made in Polish-American relations. Both leaders expressed their desire to further develop these relations, which are based on the long-standing traditions of friendship and sympathy existing between the Polish and American peoples.

They agreed that the "Joint Statement on Principles of U.S.-Polish Relations" signed during the visit provides a firm basis for broad cooperation between the two countries and contributes to the process of strengthening world peace, security, and international cooperation.

The President and the First Secretary also attached importance to the "Joint Statement on the Development of Economic, Industrial and Technological Cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic," which they signed. They agreed that the main directions and scope of cooperation stipulated in the field of trade, industrial and technological cooperation should contribute to the further advancement of bilateral economic relations.

The President and the First Secretary noted with satisfaction the rapid growth of trade between the United States and Poland in the past two years, accompanied by a substantial intensification of general economic relations between the two countries. They considered a mutual trade turnover of one billion dollars by 1976 and two billion dollars by 1980 to be a realistic and desirable goal.

They also agreed that the provisions contained in

the "Joint Statement on the Development of Agricultural Trade between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic" create possibilities for a further expansion of trade in food and agricultural products as well as for cooperation in various sectors of the agricultural economy.

They noted that the Joint American-Polish Trade Commission plays an important role in the development of trade and economic cooperation.

President Ford and First Secretary Gierek expressed their deep satisfaction at the conclusion during the visit of agreements in the fields of: Coal research; Health; Environmental Protection; Cooperation in Science and Technology; and Avoidance of Double Taxation.

They also welcome the conclusion of an agreement on the establishment of working relationships between the U.S. and Polish Chambers of Commerce.

Both leaders stressed the significance of the broad development of cultural and scientific cooperation between the United States and Poland and expressed their conviction that this cooperation should be further developed.

The President and the First Secretary emphasized the importance of historical traditions in strengthening the bonds of sympathy and friendship between the United States and Poland. A positive role in this strengthening of mutual relations has been played by American citizens of Polish descent. Both leaders undertook to encourage and support further development of those and other contacts between the American and Polish people.

The President and the First Secretary conducted a broad and useful exchange of views on the most important international issues with special emphasis on European questions. They agreed that there exist a number of spheres in which both countries can contribute to the strengthening of peace and international security.

Both leaders expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks they held and agreed that consultations will continue between the two countries at various levels on matters concerning their mutual relations, including the assessment of the implementation of the agreements that were concluded as well as on important international issues of mutual interest.

The First Secretary and Mrs. Gierek expressed their warm gratitude for the hospitality and friendliness accorded to them in the United States.

The First Secretary extended an invitation to the President of the United States and Mrs. Ford to pay an official visit to the Polish People's Republic at a time convenient to them. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Secretary Kissinger Visits Six Arab Nations and Israel

Secretary Kissinger left Washington October 9 for a trip to the Middle East and returned October 15. Following is an exchange of remarks between President Ford and Secretary Kissinger upon the Secretary's departure from Andrews Air Force Base, together with exchanges of remarks with foreign leaders, statements, and press conferences by Secretary Kissinger in Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and Morocco.

DEPARTURE, ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE, OCTOBER 9

White House press release dated October 9

President Ford

It is nice to see you all, and I just came out with all the Cabinet members and others in the administration to express our appreciation to the Secretary of State for going on this vitally important mission and to indicate my full support and the support of the administration for the, I think, tremendous efforts to bring peace in an area of the world that has been so volatile and controversial that it is important for the world, as well as the countries involved, that the maximum efforts for peace be made.

This country and this administration are going to work with the skill and imagination of Dr. Kissinger in seeking that result.

We wish you the very best.

Secretary Kissinger

I appreciate very much, Mr. President, your coming out to see me off. The problem of contributing to peace in the Middle East is a very complicated one; but as I have had

occasion to say before, it is a source of pride to all Americans that it is the United States that all parties trust, and that we will attempt to make some progress.

I would like to say to the President this is the first time in a long time that one can go on these missions with an America that is at peace with itself.

Thank you very much.

ARRIVAL, CAIRO, OCTOBER 9

Press release 399 dated October 9

I am happy to be starting my tour in Cairo and to have this opportunity to talk to my friends. I'm here to see what the United States can do to contribute to progress toward peace in the Middle East. President Ford is committed to continue the efforts that the United States has made, and I will talk with my friends here in a spirit of making constructive progress.

Thank you.

REMARKS AT AMERICAN EMBASSY, OCTOBER 9

Press release 405 dated October 11

Ladies and gentlemen: I've been coming here more often than I can remember in the last year, and you've all been taking very good care of me. These young ladies here have been bossing me around in such a way that I'm a strong supporter now of women's liberation, which, as I understand it, gives men equality. [Laughter.]

I came here for the first time last November. We had a very small Interests Section here that had to kill itself to help with the arrangements that were made for me. I am

particularly conscious of our Egyptian friends who worked with us through all the difficult years when we had no formal relationships, who stuck with us, and with whom we are proud to be associated now that our relationship has moved from one of coolness to one of growing friendship.

Since then we had an opportunity to reestablish relations and to contribute to agreements between Israel and Egypt which we hope will mark the beginning of a process toward peace in the Middle East. I am here today because President Ford and I are committed to continuing this process toward peace.

Now, none of these efforts are possible without the dedication and support of those of you who are working far away from Washington, convinced that your reports are never read—and I must say, if the State Department Secretariat had anything to do with it, that is exactly what would happen.

But, as it happens, to me the relationship between Egypt and the United States is not just an assignment that goes with the job of Secretary of State, but one of the profound conviction that the United States and the Arab people are natural friends. We have no conflicting interests. We have been separated for many years due to misunderstandings on both sides. But now I think we have begun a new and lasting period in which our relationship will grow ever closer.

We are very dependent on the support and the advice of people like yourselves in areas like the Middle East. We are happy the individual still counts for something. The human relationships played such an important role, and the function of our offices is decisive.

For a long time now I have wanted an opportunity to thank you all personally for what you have done and for the dedication which I have seen on my trips and for the depth of your reporting. Of course, I am a great admirer of your Ambassador [Hermann F. Eilts], and I'd steal him from you and bring him to Washington if the President and the Foreign Minister here would let him go. So, as it is, I am afraid you are stuck with him for a while.

I want you to know that the reporting we

get from here is very much what I have in mind. Usually when I go to Embassies I tell them: Don't tell me all the details of your conversations; I want to know what the trends are, I want to understand what the relationship of events is, and I want to know where we are going. I don't have to give you that instruction because that is what I get from here, and I want you to know that I appreciate it.

Now, you may not know that your Ambassador has been in the Foreign Service for quite some time. In fact, U.S.-Arab relations go back several hundred years, and I think Hermann has been affiliated with them for the greater part of that period. [Laughter.] But it says on his record, which I cannot believe, that he has been associated with the Foreign Service for only 30 years. Since that is what the records say, I would like to take this occasion to give him this certificate of official recognition and appreciation for his dedicated service of 30 years and to thank you all for being partners with us in Washington in what I think is one of the most important, one of the most exciting, trends in American foreign policy that I can remember—one that will continue and grow, and we shall all look back to it and remember that what we did made a difference.

Thank you.

NEWS CONFERENCE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER AND PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT, OCTOBER 10

Press release 407 dated October 11

President Sadat: Dr. Kissinger is going to brief you.

Secretary Kissinger: I was just waiting for the President. The President and I have both last night and this evening reviewed the entire range of Egyptian-U.S. bilateral relationships as well as progress toward peace in the Middle East. I repeated to the President, President Ford's interest that progress toward peace in the Middle East be maintained. We reviewed the modalities both of procedures and of various points of view, the various aspects, in what I consider a very

constructive and positive manner and in the usual friendly atmosphere.

Q. What are these modalities, Dr. Kissinger?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I'm at the beginning of my trip, and I have to visit many other countries. I will return here on Monday to review my conversation with President Sadat, so I would think I would be going through them then.

Q. President Sadat, what would you hope would be the next stage in the effort to secure peace in the Middle East?

President Sadat: Well, we have discussed this in broad lines and there are many items that we have already discussed. And as Dr. Kissinger says—the [inaudible] of the best relations that we have together—I think it is premature to tell you any details.

Q. Do you expect further disengagement or withdrawal of the Israeli troops?

Secretary Kissinger: I, of course, haven't visited, as I said, any of the other countries, but the Israeli Prime Minister has publicly stated that Israel is prepared to make territorial concessions in the proper context. That is what we are trying to discuss and explore.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, do you think that your trip will come out with concrete steps toward peace, toward the Geneva Conference and complete Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories?

Secretary Kissinger: Before I left Washington I told the American press corps that there probably would not be any dramatic announcement on this trip, and I never disappoint the American press corps. But I do believe that this trip will contribute toward progress, toward peace in the Middle East, and I am encouraged by my talks with President Sadat.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, a year ago you said that you thought the whole matter would take about a year. Now that a year has passed, do you think it will take another year?

Secretary Kissinger: I don't think I should

make any predictions as to any time period except what I have already pointed out: That we reviewed all the modalities and possible approaches, that we are committed to contributing to peace and progress toward peace, and that I am encouraged by my talks.

Q. Are you going to leave Mr. Sisco [Joseph J. Sisco, Under Secretary for Political Affairs] in the area or are you coming back yourself?

Secretary Kissinger: I will take Mr. Sisco back with me as was always planned, and of course I plan to come back periodically to the area whenever my coming here can make a contribution toward peace.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, after your talks with President Sadat, is the next step clearer in your prospectus toward keeping the peace momentum in the area?

Secretary Kissinger: It is somewhat clearer in my mind.

DEPARTURE, CAIRO, OCTOBER 11

Press release 408 dated October 11

I just want to express my appreciation to President Sadat and the Foreign Minister for the excellent courtesy that has been extended, for the warmth of the reception. We have had good talks, and we plan to continue them on Monday when I come through.

It is always a pleasure to see my friends in Egypt.

Thank you.

DEPARTURE, DAMASCUS, OCTOBER 11

Press release 412 dated October 12

I just wanted to express my appreciation to the President and to the Foreign Minister for receiving me this past day. We had a session this afternoon and a longer session this evening. We reviewed bilateral relations between Syria and the United States, which are improving rapidly, and we also reviewed the prospects for peace in the Middle East in an overall perspective. We had very good,

very constructive talks in a friendly atmosphere.

Q. Are prospects for peace in the Middle East also improving rapidly, Mr. Kissinger?

Secretary Kissinger: I'm always encouraged.

Q. Are you coming back, Mr. Secretary?

Secretary Kissinger: I plan to come back on Monday for a few hours.

ARRIVAL, AMMAN, OCTOBER 11

Press release 413 dated October 12

Secretary Kissinger: Ladies and gentlemen, first of all I would like to express my great pleasure to be here with our friends in Jordan. As you all know, I'm taking a trip through the area in order to determine what possibilities exist for a second stage of peace negotiations and what framework would be most suitable. In that effort, of course, the views of our friends in Jordan will be taken with the greatest seriousness, and the United States has already expressed its view as to a manner in which progress can be made. So I look forward very much to my conversations with His Majesty and with the Prime Minister. I'm sorry I kept you all waiting out here.

Q. Mr. Secretary, I don't like to sound impertinent, but I really wonder why you are here while Jordan has frozen its diplomatic initiatives.

Secretary Kissinger: Because I was invited to come here.

Prime Minister Zaid Rifai: And he's always most welcome here.

DEPARTURE, AQABA, OCTOBER 12

Press release 414 dated October 15

I just wanted to thank His Majesty and the Prime Minister for the very warm reception that we have had here. We reviewed, of course, bilateral Jordanian-U.S. relations, which are excellent.

We also reviewed the prospects for peace negotiations which may develop. As is well known, the United States supports Jordan playing a role in any negotiations that may develop.

Thank you.

ARRIVAL, BEN GURION AIRPORT, OCTOBER 12

Press release 415 dated October 15

Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon

Secretary of State Dr. Kissinger, Honorable Ambassador of the United States in Israel, Honorable Ambassador of Israel in the United States, friends: I am very happy to welcome here tonight our friend Dr. Kissinger. Dr. Kissinger is a frequent visitor to the Middle East and to this country, and usually, almost every visit of his is resulting with good news. We are very interested that the present mission, the mission of peace, which Henry Kissinger took upon himself will succeed, and the Government of Israel will do its best to contribute its share to keep the momentum going.

We welcome Dr. Kissinger as a great statesman and as a great friend, and we all hope and wish him and all of us in this region satisfactory progress toward our great goal, which is peace in the area.

Secretary Kissinger

Mr. Foreign Minister, friends: I have visited Israel many times over the past year, and I have always come in pursuit of an objective that no people needs as much and has searched for as much as the people of Israel—the objective of peace. We have often when I came had frank discussions, and there has been speculation in the press about this or that disagreement. But always we have spoken to each other as friends and partners, and always we have achieved results that were to the benefit also of the people of Israel.

I am confident that the talks I will have with my friend the Foreign Minister and with all of my friends in the Cabinet will be

characterized by frankness and honesty on both sides. But I am also positive we will come out, as we always have, with agreement that will be to the benefit of all of the peoples in this area, above all, to our friends here in Israel, who have suffered more than anybody from the absence of peace.

DEPARTURE, BEN GURION AIRPORT, OCTOBER 13

Press release 416 dated October 15

Secretary Kissinger

Ladies and gentlemen: We have completed extensive talks with the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the Defense Minister. We reviewed the bilateral relationships in a harmonious manner with a constructive outcome. We discussed what progress can be made toward peace and a settlement in the Middle East. We agreed on principles and procedures that might be followed, and the general tone and content of the discussion was, as I pointed out, harmonious.

Before I come to Israel I always read in the newspapers about difficulties and possible suspicions. But these attitudes, in my experience, have never survived the actual dialogue among friends, because peace in the Middle East is in everybody's interest, and as I said yesterday, in nobody's interest more than that of Israel's—which I have found prepared to work for it with its usual dedication and tenacity.

Thank you.

Foreign Minister Allon

When I came back from New York I told the press that the Secretary of State was about to pay a short visit to the Middle East, including Israel. In answering questions, I said that you don't have to expect too much from a short visit of this kind, that no complete substance may be already negotiated, that maybe principles and procedural problems may be discussed, exactly as Dr. Kissinger said just now.

But from our own experience I can tell you that this short stay of his and our exten-

sive talks yesterday and today were an indispensable phase in the process of peacemaking in the Middle East and that we are very grateful to Secretary Kissinger for coming to this country and I'm sure that this will be remembered as one of the necessary steps in our endeavor to achieve peace and stability in this area.

DEPARTURE, RIYADH, OCTOBER 13

Press release 417 dated October 15

Secretary Kissinger

I would like first of all to express my appreciation to His Majesty [and] my friend Umar Saqqaf for the very warm and gracious reception we received here. His Majesty and I reviewed the steps that seemed feasible toward peace in the Middle East, and I found His Majesty understanding and supportive. We also reviewed our bilateral relationships expressed in several of the joint commissions and in other matters, and we found them to be excellent. Nevertheless we decided to strengthen the already close relationship even further.

I explained to His Majesty our view with respect to the price of oil and the impact this can have on the whole structure of the world economy and the stability of the whole international system. His Majesty's attitude was constructive and enlightened. I believe the policy of the Kingdom will be in a constructive direction, keeping always in mind what we also believe—that the ultimate solution must be found on multilateral basis and cannot be found by isolated actions.

I am very grateful for the opportunity that was given to me here to exchange ideas with my friend Umar Saqqaf, the audience that was granted to me by His Majesty; and I leave here encouraged and with the conviction that I am indeed among friends.

Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Umar al-Saqqaf

I will start where my friend finished. I assure him that he is in a friendly country

and among friends. We are proud of his friendship, as much as Saudi Arabia is proud of its friendship with the United States. We appreciate the great efforts which our great friend is exerting toward peace under the guidance of the President of the United States of America, for whom we have great appreciation and respect.

We say in Arabic, "Each theologian has his own school of thought." At the outset, I used to have inhibitions and, I might even say, doubts about the method followed by our friend in his peacemaking efforts. But with the passage of time, and as events unfolded, I began to be sold on his efforts toward solving problems.

I am not being a flatterer when I praise our friend Henry's methods, but it is a statement of fact. Suffice it to review a change which has occurred during only a few months in the way we used to be and are now received by the representatives of the press.

Still, while I say that we have achieved a lot, I must add that we are still at the bottom rung of the ladder in our efforts. But we believe that with the grace of God we shall achieve peace in the area, peace based on justice and the right to self-determination.

At the same time we feel we have achieved a wider cooperation on a bilateral basis between Saudi Arabia and the United States. It is my belief that these relations could not have been strengthened and realized had we not discerned a clear light pointing in the direction of a complete solution to the problem of the Middle East, a solution based on complete withdrawal of Israel from territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem, and the restoration of the Palestinian people of their rights.

My relationship with my dear friend has always been based on frankness. Time has proved that mutual frankness is the only path leading to friendship and solutions. Dr. Kissinger has heard from His Majesty the King the viewpoint of Saudi Arabia and an explanation of Saudi policy toward world questions and toward the problems of the area. This policy as expounded by the King is not an overnight policy; it's the traditional time-honored policy of Saudi Arabia. I will con-

tinue to strive to explain the details of this policy whether here or over there during my visits.

Our colleague Dr. Kissinger spoke about the question of oil. I want to explain what the attitude of Saudi Arabia on this problem is frankly and clearly. It is there for everyone with eyes to see and everyone with clean ears to hear. Saudi Arabia is following a policy on oil which bespeaks a sense of responsibility toward the welfare of the world community. As part of the world, we want to build the world and not destroy it. And we hope that other members of the world community come to appreciate the gravity of this responsibility and the importance thereof.

Oil is not everything, but it is a great thing. We will continue in the direction of the constructive policy laid down by His Majesty the King. It is the policy of cooperation, negotiation, and constructive cooperation between us and friendly nations of the world. Dr. Kissinger has expressed adequately his government's attitude toward oil when he said that Saudi Arabia should not be isolated in its oil policy. But we sincerely hope, and it is our prayer, that all of the other oil-producing countries will come around to following the policy of Saudi Arabia.

I would like to welcome our friend Dr. Kissinger and assure him of our welcome every time. We also appreciate the great efforts toward peace that our friend is exerting as well as his fathomless knowledge and deep wisdom. We wish him success in his tremendous efforts to achieve peace on the international level. All I wish to say on closing [is] that we hope he will take a few more days, not just a few hours, on his coming visit. Bon voyage and good luck.

ARRIVAL, CAIRO, OCTOBER 14

Press release 418 dated October 15

First of all, let me say what a pleasure it is to be back in Egypt. I have had a very useful, very interesting trip, in which I spoke to all the leaders that I met about how to move the Middle East toward a just and lasting peace. This is what I will really explore tomorrow

also with President Sadat and tonight with Foreign Minister Fahmy. I look forward to this talk very much.

Thank you.

NEWS CONFERENCE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER AND PRESIDENT SADAT, OCTOBER 14

Press release 419 dated October 15

Secretary Kissinger: First of all, I would like to thank the President for receiving me during the fast. I reported to the President the problems of the area and about the conversations that I have had with various leaders in the countries that I have visited. I told him my conclusions that there are positive indications that we are making as much progress toward a just peace in the area as possible.

The President told me that he would discuss these with his colleagues, with the Government of Egypt, and with the other Arab leaders after the summit in Rabat. I therefore plan to return to the area during the first week of November, and we shall then attempt to set the progress toward peace in the Middle East on a firm and concrete basis.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, do you expect this progress to be made on more than one front or on one front?

Secretary Kissinger: We shall have to make this judgment after all the consultations among all the leaders have been completed; then I'll return to the area.

Q. Could we ask about the line in Sinai? Has that been determined more or less?

Secretary Kissinger: I repeat, there were no maps discussed and at this stage we are not dealing with detailed negotiations but rather with the framework and the similar prospects toward peace in the area, about which there are positive indications.

Q. Does this mean, Dr. Kissinger, that no further Israeli withdrawal will take place?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, as I said when I was here last, the negotiations obviously will concern the substance of Israeli with-

drawals in the framework of a general negotiation and obviously a topic of concern.

Q. Mr. President, did you discuss the Geneva Conference in any substance?

President Sadat: Well, I have discussed all this with Dr. Kissinger and, as he said, I am going to discuss them with my colleagues in the summit meeting.

Q. To follow that up, Mr. President, will you tell us how you see the Palestinians being represented when negotiations in Geneva start?

President Sadat: Well, we have already—among us, as Arabs, we have already asked for this and we shall always be asking for the Palestinians to be represented in Geneva because, as we have said, Palestine is the core of the whole problem.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, at this stage what is your position on the Palestinian problem?

Secretary Kissinger: I have pointed out previously that we believe that negotiations on the West Bank would be most efficiently carried out between Jordan and Israel, but it is the kind of decision that has to be made by all the parties concerned.

Q. Mr. President, were the plans made for your visit to the United States tentatively?

Secretary Kissinger: The President is always most welcome, and we are now thinking of a visit early in the new year.

Q. Mr. President, what are you prepared to guarantee Israel in exchange for a withdrawal?

President Sadat: Why am I asked about guarantees?

Secretary Kissinger: I've said the President would be delighted to negotiate the whole thing [garbled].

President Sadat: I need guarantees like the Israelis. I myself need guarantees.

Q. Mr. President, how do you feel about the Rabat Conference?

President Sadat: Very optimistic.

Q. Mr. President, did you discuss the oil problem with Dr. Kissinger?

President Sadat: The oil problem, well, it is part of the problem to discuss, but I am not an oil producer.

DEPARTURE, CAIRO, OCTOBER 14

Press release 420 dated October 15

I've already said everything I think I can say, but I want to thank President Sadat and the Foreign Ministry, Foreign Minister Fahmy, for the very warm reception we've received.

I'm leaving the area now; I think we've made some progress. I'll return early in November, and as I said before, I hope then to put the matter on a concrete and definite basis.

DEPARTURE, DAMASCUS, OCTOBER 14

Press release 421 dated October 15

I would like first of all to express my appreciation to President Asad and to the Foreign Minister for receiving me at the end of a day of fasting and for the extraordinary courtesy with which they treated me under what I know were personally difficult circumstances for them.

As I did this morning with President Sadat, I reviewed with President Asad the trends and developments I found in the area in the direction of peace and an ultimate settlement. I pointed out to him that I found some positive and encouraging signs and that our problem now was to put them into concrete focus. As I pointed out already this morning in Cairo, I intend to return to the area in the early part of November. By that time the Arab summit will have taken place and I can then resume consultations with the various leaders to see what concrete expression can be given to this search for peace in the Middle East.

I note that we're approaching the end of Ramadan, and I'd like to wish the people of the area a happy *Eid*.

ARRIVAL, ALGIERS, OCTOBER 14

Press release 422 dated October 15

Let me first make a general statement. This is my third visit to Algiers within a year, and it reflects the very high regard in which President Boumediene is held in the United States. We recognize his leading role among nonaligned, and we take his views on international affairs and economic matters with a great deal of seriousness.

Therefore I look forward to benefiting from his wisdom and to bringing him the personal greetings of President Ford. I will also discuss with him our views in international affairs, especially about developments in the Middle East. So, I look forward to my visit here very much.

As I have said earlier in the day in Cairo and Damascus, the purpose of my visit was to determine the trend and possibilities toward a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. I found some positive signs and some positive indications, and our aim now will be to give them concrete form, perhaps when I return to the Middle East during November. At that time, the leaders of the Arab countries will have had an opportunity to consult with each other at the summit and elsewhere.

As for the United States, President Ford has reaffirmed our determination to contribute what we can to the development of peace in the area to the extent that the parties concerned want our contribution and can agree on a course of procedure.

Thank you.

DEPARTURE, ALGIERS, OCTOBER 15

Press release 423 dated October 15

Let me make a few comments. First of all, I would like to thank President Boumediene and his colleagues for the very warm reception I have received here. I reviewed with President Boumediene first of all my impressions of my trip through the Middle East.

I told President Boumediene of the U.S. commitment to help the parties make prog-

ress toward a just and lasting peace if they can agree among themselves on principles and procedures for the next stage. I told him of some of the positive trends that I found. His advice was very helpful, and his attitude was very understanding. I told him that I would return to the area in November to attempt to give the positive trends a concrete expression after the Arab leaders have had an opportunity to consult with each other.

We also discussed our differing approaches to the question of oil prices, and we reviewed ways and approaches to reconcile these different points of view in the months ahead.

Finally, we reviewed the state of bilateral Algerian-U.S. relationships. We found that they had improved considerably in recent months. We are convinced that they will take a positive evolution in the near future.

It remains for me to thank my Algerian hosts for their characteristic hospitality, to express my regret that my friend the Foreign Minister was kept in New York by other duties; but this gave me the opportunity to meet the Minister of Interior.

Thank you.

ARRIVAL, RABAT, OCTOBER 15

Press release 425 dated October 15

I would like to express my great pleasure at this opportunity of being able to visit Morocco again. It is less than a year ago that I visited your country. It was the first Arab country on which I ever set foot.

I had a long and very fruitful conversation with His Majesty and with his Ministers, and the advice that I received was extremely helpful in the subsequent peace missions through the Middle East; and of course the friendship between Morocco and the United States is long and on a very firm basis.

I look forward very much to my conversations here which I am confident will strengthen that friendship and from which I will draw, I'm positive, guidance and advice for further peace efforts in the Middle East. I am also bringing to His Majesty the warmest greetings of President Ford, who is

looking forward to an opportunity to meet with His Majesty at an early occasion.

Thank you.

DEPARTURE, RABAT, OCTOBER 15

Press release 426 dated October 15

His Majesty and I had an extended conversation, which was joined later by our associates. We reviewed first of all the situation in the Middle East in the light of my recent trip as well as the contacts which His Majesty has had in preparation for the Arab summit. I explained to His Majesty some of the positive trends which I have found in the area. We discussed principles and methods which might lead step by step to a solution of all of the problems standing in the way of a just and lasting peace.

We hope that the Arab summit will make a contribution to a solution of all of these problems. As I have pointed out in other capitals, after the conclusion of the Arab summit I will return to this area to see in what way and by what methods these aspirations for peace can be given concrete context.

His Majesty and I reviewed bilateral American-Moroccan relations, which we found to be excellent. In order to cement further our traditional friendship, I extended the invitation of President Ford to His Majesty to visit the United States in the spring of 1975. His Majesty has accepted. We will not be able to match Moroccan hospitality, but we will do the best within the capabilities of a young country.

ARRIVAL, ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE, OCTOBER 15

Press release 428 dated October 16

Ladies and gentlemen: My colleagues and I are delighted to be back. We went to the Middle East in order to see whether we could start a process toward another round of negotiations. We found a general receptivity to a step-by-step approach and a great willingness for the United States to continue to play a role.

Now, as you know, the various Arab leaders are consulting, and they are also meeting at a summit in Morocco in another couple of weeks. After that I shall return to the area and hope that we can continue the progress toward peace that has started in the last 11 months. It's a great pleasure to be home again.

Thank you.

President Ford Signs Defense Bill; Cautions on Viet-Nam Funding

*Statement by President Ford*¹

I am pleased to have signed H.R. 16243. Although not all administration recommendations were accepted, I recognize and appreciate bipartisan efforts made by the House-Senate conference committee to produce a defense appropriations bill acceptable to both Houses and sufficient for our national security needs.

The bill has, however, a major drawback. The \$700 million funding for South Viet-Nam is inadequate to provide for all of their critical needs if South Viet-Nam's enemies continue to press their attacks. It may therefore be necessary to approach the Congress early next year to work out some solutions to meet critical needs which arise.

Each year the President of the United States must sign into law an appropriations bill for our defense. From my experience in Congress, I know all too well the conflicts this defense bill can produce in the name of economy and other national interests. Thus, as I sign such a bill for the first time as President, I want to renew my pledge to build a new partnership between the executive and legislative branches of our government, a partnership based on close consultation, compromise of differences, and a high regard for the constitutional duties and powers of both branches to work for the common good and security of our nation.

Annual Meeting of SEATO Council Held at New York

Deputy Secretary Ingersoll was the chief U.S. delegate at the annual meeting of the SEATO Council held at New York October 3. Following is a press statement issued at the conclusion of the meeting.

The Council of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), comprised of ministerial representatives from Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States, held its nineteenth annual meeting in New York on 3 October.

The Secretary-General announced that the Council held an informal and wide-ranging exchange of views on the situation in South-east Asia and agreed to continue to uphold the objectives of the Manila Pact and its basic purpose of strengthening the fabric of peace in the region.

The Council affirmed that the recently reorganized structure and programmes of SEATO accorded with the goal of the treaty that member nations co-operate in promising economic progress, social well-being and peace in the treaty area, and were consonant with the currently prevailing conditions in Southeast Asia.

Satisfaction was expressed by the Council with the Secretary-General's reorganization of the staff at SEATO Headquarters in Bangkok in accordance with the directives of the Eighteenth Council Meeting held last year. It agreed that the integration of the civilian and military staffs of the organization, which came into effect on 1 February 1974, facilitated SEATO's current emphasis upon supporting the internal security and development programmes of the two regional members, the Philippines and Thailand.

The Council also noted that SEATO assistance to projects in the social and economic fields had been increased, with greater emphasis upon the rural economic development and rural education sectors. Member countries will continue multilateral or bilateral social and economic aid to the regional members under SEATO auspices.

¹ Issued on Oct. 9 (text from White House press release); as enacted, the bill is Public Law 93-437, approved Oct. 8.

America's Purposes in an Ambiguous Age

*Address by Winston Lord
Director, Policy Planning Staff*¹

For 200 years America has been confident of its purposes, secure in its strength, and certain of its growing prosperity.

Throughout most of our history, isolation made possible an uncomplicated view of the world. In the period following World War II, our preeminent power encouraged us to believe we could shape the globe according to American designs.

Today, as we approach our third century, we find—like most other nations in history—that we can neither escape from the world nor dominate it. America is destined to cope with a shrinking planet of dispersed power, diverse goals, and interdependent economies.

We must define our national purposes in an ambiguous age:

—Our traditional partners have regained power and self-confidence. This can enlarge our common capacity for shaping events, or it can result in tests of strengths among us.

—Ideological conflict with Communist powers has diminished, and cold war tensions have decreased. But serious differences remain, and a renewal of confrontation would be even more treacherous than before.

—Nuclear superiority has given way to nuclear parity and the specter of proliferation. These new dimensions of power could compel restraint or unleash a cataclysm.

—National prosperity increasingly must be seen in the context of the world economy. Economic interdependence can enrich, or it can impoverish.

In this setting the United States cannot forfeit leadership out of weariness or frustration. While we are more aware than ever of our limits, others still see us as the strongest nation in the world. No other country can evoke the new sense of common purpose that our partnerships require, balance potential adversaries so as to induce cooperation and restraint, help mediate conflicts in areas of chronic tension, and offer leadership in a world of economic uncertainty.

Thus an era of transition offers both promise and peril. We must understand the changes we face, or we will be crippled by change itself. We must be conscious of both the limits to our strength and the responsibilities that strength entails. We must co-exist with other ideals without abandoning our own. We must accept complexity without losing our way.

In an era where we can no longer overwhelm our problems with resources, our vision may be the most crucial resource of all.

George Kennan, the first Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, put the need concisely:

If we are to regard ourselves as a grown-up nation—and anything else will henceforth be mortally dangerous—then we must, as the Biblical phrase goes, put away childish things; and among these childish things the first to go . . . should be self-idealization and the search for absolutes in world affairs: for absolute security, absolute amity, absolute harmony.

These are the challenges we face in applying this prescription:

—First, with friends: to reconcile our in-

¹Made before the Commonwealth Club at San Francisco, Calif., on Oct. 11 (text from press release 404 dated Oct. 10; as prepared for delivery).

dependent identities with continuing collaboration.

—Second, with possible adversaries: to reconcile the reality of competition with the necessity for cooperation.

—Third, with military power: to reconcile a strong national defense with the control of nuclear arms.

—Fourth, with economic power: to reconcile the national interest and the international interest.

Let me address each of these four challenges in turn.

Evolving Partnerships

Partners in international politics, as in marriage, take each other for granted only at the risk of divorce. Our alliances must grow or they will wither—adjust to new conditions or become anachronistic.

Our relationships were molded in a period of American predominance, the threat of Communist expansion, and the presumption of economic growth. As the United States attempts to share the burdens of leadership, as Europe seeks unity, Japan its international role, Latin America equality, and as we seek together to grapple with the implications of détente and interdependence, some pangs of adjustment must be expected.

Our central concern is to strengthen our partnerships to deal with emerging realities:

—The United States supports Western Europe's historic striving for unity. But European identity must not be at the expense of Atlantic community, or both sides of the ocean will suffer. The "Year of Europe" was an effort to give renewed meaning and inspiration to transatlantic ties in a profoundly changed international environment. It began a healthy, if sometimes difficult, process of clarification and taking stock. The air has now been cleared. There is a solid basis for further progress.

—The United States encourages Japan's search for international identity. But we must maintain a sense of mutual security and common aspirations. Our evolving relation-

ship has been punctuated by occasional frictions; the episodes proved transient because our objectives have remained parallel. Our partnership is now on a sounder footing although it will deserve constant care.

—The United States is helping other allies in Asia to reach greater self-sufficiency. But the transition should be gradual; the manner of the transfer reflects the motive of the transfer. Moving too slowly would stifle our friends' incentive for self-defense and self-development; moving too fast would undermine their self-confidence and paralyze their will.

—The United States has launched a new dialogue with Latin America. But the search for a more mature partnership must lead to a new sense of community, not an adversary relationship. Our past policy for this hemisphere has oscillated between U.S. prescription and U.S. neglect. We are seeking a more stable approach based on realistic commitments and shared endeavors.

In short, with our friends we seek a balance between dominance and diffidence. The world is too complex, and our allies too independent, for American blueprints. At the same time, there is the continual danger that weary Americans and wary foreigners will translate self-reliance into abandonment. Our friends consider an active and creative American role essential for their interests and for a stable peace.

Therefore we must evoke initiatives from others while continuing to take initiatives ourselves. Where once we found inspiration in stewardship, we must now find it in partnership. Above all, we and our allies must act on the belief, once expressed by Jean Monnet, that "the inescapable forces which are molding the future bind us even more closely than memories of the past."

The Decline of Ideology

For a generation the unity of our alliances and the support of the American people were sustained by the perception of a monolithic threat from the Communist powers. We were joined in a struggle which made

accommodation difficult, if not immoral.

This situation has profoundly changed. The fragmentation of the Communist bloc, the evolving strategic balance, and economic incentives suggested the possibilities for more constructive East-West relations. Moscow and Peking, while proclaiming basic Socialist tenets, have emphasized geopolitical interests. They are acting more like world powers and less like revolutionary movements.

We, in turn, have generally shed the notion that others should mirror our social and economic structures. We deal with foreign countries primarily on the basis of their foreign policies. We cannot transform their domestic systems, though we can hope that relaxed international tensions will promote a positive evolution.

This decline of ideological struggle is an encouraging trend. But it carries with it ambiguities and fresh problems.

Are reports of the death of Communist doctrine greatly exaggerated? We cannot be sure that future leaders will embrace the more constructive approaches now being pursued in some Communist capitals. The Communist powers could once again act like revolutionary states out to disrupt the international system rather than nation-states willing to accept its legitimacy.

The United States will heavily influence their course. We will need to continue our policies of providing incentives for cooperation while displaying firmness against pressures. But Americans tend to take for granted the improvement in East-West relations and the lowering of global tensions. Some therefore assume that continued progress is automatic; others believe in hardening our demands. Some would jeopardize the process of détente by removing the incentives; others would ignore the continuing need for firmness.

We need to avoid the poles of intransigence and euphoria.

For a generation, brief moments of improved relations with the Soviet Union gave way to prolonged periods of confrontation. We must now build an irreversible commit-

ment to preserving peace. In the nuclear era there is no rational alternative.

For a generation, we and the People's Republic of China were separated by a gulf of isolation and hostility. We must expand the hopeful openings of the last few years. In the nuclear era there is no rational alternative.

Can Americans rally to a pastel banner? There is possible ambiguity about our purposes. Whatever its demerits, anti-Communism was at least a clear-cut rationale for our foreign policy, easily understood by Americans and allies alike. This formed a solid consensus for a global foreign policy. As ideology has waned, it has been difficult to sound a new theme to weld consensus at home and cement alliances abroad.

This is largely a question of leadership. We must derive inspiration from the long-term building of a more stable world through negotiation, accommodation, and restraint. With friends, we have the foundation of shared values and ideals; we can sustain our bonds by working together on the many new problems on the global agenda. These positive tasks must inspire our diplomacy in a grayer world.

Finally, how do we reconcile the pragmatic pursuit of peace with the promotion of our ideals? Concerned Americans have wondered whether we can be true to our values while dealing realistically with adversaries, friends, and the nonaligned.

Secretary Kissinger described the tension between our goals in a speech he made a year ago:²

In a community of sovereign states, the quest for peace involves a paradox: The attempt to impose absolute justice by one side will be seen as absolute injustice by all others; the quest for total security for some turns into total insecurity for the remainder. Stability depends on the relative satisfaction and therefore also the relative dissatisfaction of the various states. The pursuit of peace must therefore begin with the pragmatic concept of coexistence . . .

We must, of course, avoid becoming obsessed with stability. An excessively pragmatic policy will be empty of vision and humanity. It will lack not only direction, but also roots and heart. . . . America can-

² For Secretary Kissinger's address before the Pacem in Terris Conference at Washington on Oct. 8, 1973, see BULLETIN of Oct. 29, 1973, p. 525.

not be true to itself without moral purpose. This country has always had a sense of mission. Americans have always held the view that America stood for something above and beyond its material achievements. A purely pragmatic policy provides no criteria for other nations to assess our performance and no standards to which the American people can rally.

So, our foreign policy must reflect our national ideals. Otherwise it cannot be sustained in a democracy. But for the first time in history man can destroy mankind. In this nuclear age the pursuit of peace is itself a profound moral concern. In this nuclear age the loss of peace could mean the loss of all values and ideals.

The Redefinition of Power

While we must avoid a preoccupation with power alone, we must deal with the realities that it imposes. The need for a strong national defense stretches ahead for as far as we can see. This nation cannot mortgage its future to the good intentions of others.

But maintaining national security is more complex than ever before. For power is harder to define than ever before. Once, political, military, and economic power were closely related. But in the modern world additional armament cannot always be translated into additional political leverage; economic giants can be politically weak; countries can exert political influence without possessing either military strength or economic might. Power is spread more diffusely across the globe, and its use is more complex.

These conditions are most dramatically demonstrated by the nuclear dimension. The overwhelming destructiveness of nuclear weapons makes it difficult to relate their accumulation to specific objectives. Once a nation can destroy its opponent even after a surprise attack, it is difficult to know what numbers and capabilities would yield a superiority that has either military or political use. A massive shift in the balance would be needed to produce a decisive advantage. And clearly neither side will permit this to happen.

If superiority in the nuclear age is elusive, the pursuit of it is deeply destabilizing. Any course which conceivably threatens the sur-

vival of an opponent is bound to have severe impact. The relaxation of political tensions cannot proceed in the face of an unrestrained arms buildup. Yet to sustain such a race would require, and perpetuate, an atmosphere of hostility.

Against this background we face two essential challenges:

—First, we must slow, and ultimately reverse, the growth of nuclear weapons among major powers. The United States and the Soviet Union are heading for arsenals involving thousands of launchers and over 10,000 warheads. We will never accept the strategic preponderance of another power. We will do what is required. But the political decisions of our two nations must not be determined by the pace of technology and the inertia of mutual suspicion. We must move decisively to achieve comprehensive and equitable limits on strategic arms.

—Second, we must stop the spread of nuclear weapons to new nations and regions. We had become accustomed to a world of five nuclear powers; the recent nuclear explosion in India reminds us of the perils of proliferation. A world of 10 or 20 nuclear nations would clearly be less tranquil and secure. Chronic conflicts such as the Middle East could assume a nuclear dimension. Devastation in local wars could reach levels no civilized nation desires. The threat of major-power involvement might increase. Around the globe there would be greater risks of nuclear accident or theft or blackmail.

Last month at the United Nations, Secretary Kissinger underlined American determination to work with others to halt the spread of nuclear explosives. He proposed strengthened cooperation among the principal suppliers of nuclear materials, enhanced safeguards and security for these materials, and continuing support for the Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

We will work to seal Pandora's box.

Growing Interdependence

Even as we have dealt with more traditional problems, a whole new series of chal-

lenges have burst upon us. They transcend ideological and geographic boundaries. They link national prosperity to international prosperity.

Global interdependence is no longer a slogan, but an insistent reality. The crises of oil, food, and inflation cast shadows over the future of developed and developing, rich and poor, consumer and producer nations alike. Not only the prospects for world growth are at stake. A serious economic decline could trigger widespread domestic instability and tear the fabric of international political cooperation upon which peace itself depends.

President Ford spoke to these issues of interdependence three weeks ago in New York. He pointed out that many developing nations need the food of a few developed nations, that many industrialized nations need the oil of a few developing nations, that energy is needed to provide food, food to produce energy, and both to provide for a decent life.

The size of the American grain crop may determine how many people live or die in South Asia. Long-term climate changes could eventually affect food production here, as well as spreading devastation in the African Sahel. The decisions of a few oil producers may ricochet around the world.

We will all advance together, or we can all slide back together. Nations no longer can afford to pursue national or regional or bloc self-interest without a broader perspective. Countries must find their self-interest in the common interest and, indeed, recognize that the two are often identical.

The United States might do better on its own than others. But we could not prosper. And we could never feel secure in a sea of human misery, rising tensions, and likely conflict.

The time of easy choices for this nation is gone. Accustomed to relative self-sufficiency, we now face the reality which has confronted Europe, Japan, and most other nations for decades—dependence on an open, cooperative international system for national growth. America must reconcile its national and global goals.

We no longer possess a vast surplus of food. But we retain an enormous productive

capacity. We have a moral obligation to help meet the world's growing hunger as well as to feed our own people. And we have a political interest in tracing a constructive pattern for other producers of other resources.

We no longer have a seemingly endless supply of energy. But we must join more vulnerable friends to conserve, to explore new sources, to share in emergencies—because of our interest in their stability and well-being.

We no longer have a low rate of inflation. But we must move carefully—with others—to regain control, lest we spark a world depression.

But these particular issues reflect a deeper phenomenon: Basic preconceptions of international and domestic policy are being rudely shaken. The structure of the postwar world is being challenged in ways for which we are not yet intellectually prepared.

Leaders must grasp the basic forces at work in the world and impart this vision to their peoples. The public does not expect instant solutions. But it must be confident that the problems are understood and that they are being addressed.

What is at stake is mankind's faith that man still shapes his future.

The Domestic Dimension

At a time when the world is in flux and a new American role emerging, we are subjected as well to profound changes at home. A nation which first explored its own frontiers, and then stretched its presence around the world, now requires a new horizon. As our bicentennial approaches, America must maintain the vigor of youth, earn the wisdom of maturity, and shun the weariness of old age.

Our next frontier is to find peace within ourselves.

Let us begin by restoring our self-confidence. In the past dozen years, we have lost one President through murder, another through Viet-Nam, and another through scandal. We have agonized through our longest and most inconclusive war. Our once-predominant strength has been challenged and our once-predominant dollar battered. We have

endured riots, assassinations, racial and generational confrontations, a cultural revolution, and Watergate.

Yet we have surmounted these traumas, showing a resiliency that inspires the envy of others. Our democratic institutions have come through unprecedented trials with fresh vitality. We have recorded historic international achievements even as we tailor our role to new conditions. We are still the most advanced nation in the world, on the frontiers of the most important revolutions of our era—in technology, agriculture, communications, health. America can go forward if Americans can again reach for shared perceptions and exult in shared purposes.

Alexis de Tocqueville, the 19th-century observer of the American scene, once wrote, “. . . it is especially in the conduct of their foreign relations that democracies appear to me decidedly inferior . . .” There is, he said, a “propensity that induces democracies to obey impulse rather than prudence, and to abandon a mature design for the gratification of a momentary passion.”

I believe we can prove De Tocqueville wrong.

To do so, we must live comfortably with both our limits and our possibilities. A people torn between excessive pride and excessive pessimism, a nation torn between expecting too much of power and being ashamed of it, cannot flourish in a world of competing values and linked destinies.

For most of our history we believed that America was good for the world. Recently we have reined in the excess involvement that flowed from this perspective.

But we must not now yield to the view that America is bad for the world. We need a steadier course.

As a mature nation we must learn that success is a process and not a final condition, that exertion is perpetual and must be an end in itself.

In this way America can thrive in an age of ambiguity.

In this way America can rediscover peace at home and fully contribute to peace in the world.

U.S. Opposes Participation of PLO in U.N. General Assembly Debate

Following is a statement made in the U.N. General Assembly on October 14 by U.S. Representative John Scali, together with the text of a resolution adopted by the Assembly that day.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR SCALI

USUN press release 135 dated October 14

It should be clear from many statements by my government over the past months and years that our vote today in no way reflects a lack of understanding or sympathy for the very real concerns and yearning for justice of the Palestinian people. Rather, it reflects our consistent conviction that the justice they seek will come only as part of a peace that is just for all the parties. This just peace must be negotiated with utmost care and must lead to an overall settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, at the heart of which we all recognize lies the Palestinian problem.

Our vote also reflects a deep concern that the resolution before us could be interpreted by some as prejudging that negotiating process and make a durable settlement more difficult to achieve. In that sense, the resolution could have the ultimate effect of working against the interests of a Palestinian settlement.

The world knows how tirelessly we have sought to move the Middle East from the scourge of war to the path of peace. For us to have voted other than we did would be inconsistent with and harmful to our efforts to help promote a just and lasting peace that takes into account the legitimate needs of all the states and peoples in the Middle East.

I should also like to express my government's profound concern over the resolution's departure from the longstanding precedent that only representatives of governments should be allowed to participate in plenary deliberations. Have we created a dangerous

precedent which may return to haunt this organization—perhaps cripple its effectiveness?

Mr. President, I want to make clear that the only basis for a just negotiated settlement is and must remain Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The resolution passed today cannot alter the basis, and our efforts will go forward in that established and widely accepted framework.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION ¹

The General Assembly,
Considering that the Palestinian people is the principal party to the question of Palestine,
Invites the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine in plenary meetings.

United Nations Documents: A Selected Bibliography

Mimeographed or processed documents (such as those listed below) may be consulted at depository libraries in the United States. U.N. printed publications may be purchased from the Sales Section of the United Nations, United Nations Plaza, N.Y. 10017.

World Population Conference

World Population Conference background papers:

Fertility trends in the world. Prepared by the U.N. Secretariat. E/CONF.60/CBP/16. April 3, 1974. 28 pp.

Demographic trends in the world and its major regions, 1950-1970. Prepared by the U.N. Secretariat. E/CONF.60/CBP/14. April 16, 1974. 35 pp.

World and regional population prospects. Prepared by the U.N. Secretariat. E/CONF.60/CBP/15. April 16, 1974. 33 pp.

International migration trends, 1950-1970. Prepared by the U.N. Secretariat. E/CONF.60/CBP/18. May 22, 1974. 28 pp.

The availability of demographic statistics around the world. Prepared by the Statistical Office of the United Nations. E/CONF.60/CBP/27. May 22, 1974. 28 pp.

¹ U.N. doc. A/RES/3210 (XXIX); adopted by the Assembly on Oct. 14 by a vote of 105 to 4 (U.S.), with 20 abstentions.

U.S. and Poland Sign Agreements During Visit of First Secretary

Following are Department announcements issued October 8 concerning agreements between the United States and Poland signed that day.

INCOME TAX CONVENTION

Press release 398D dated October 8

Secretary of State Kissinger and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic Stefan Olszowski signed on October 8 at Washington an income tax convention between the United States and the Polish People's Republic.

The tax convention seeks to promote economic and cultural relations between the two countries by removing tax barriers to the flow of investment.

The new treaty is similar to other recent U.S. tax conventions. It incorporates the same basic principles with respect to the taxation of business income, personal service income, and income from investments and includes provisions for nondiscriminatory tax treatment and for reciprocal administrative cooperation.

Under the new convention, profits derived by a resident of either country would be subject to tax by the other country only to the extent that the profits are attributable to a "permanent establishment" in that other country. Employees would not be taxable by the other country on their personal service income unless the services were performed there during a stay lasting longer than six months of the year. The rates of tax imposed on dividends, interest, and royalties derived by residents of the other country would be reciprocally limited to 15 percent on portfolio dividends, 5 percent on dividends from a shareholding of 10 percent or more, zero (exemption) on interest, and 10 percent on royalties and film rentals. In the absence of the convention, the U.S. tax rate would be 30 percent of the gross amount, and the Polish

tax, imposed at graduated rates, also reaches 30 percent of the gross amount.

The tax convention is subject to approval by the U.S. Senate. It would take effect as of January 1, 1974, and would remain in force for a minimum of five years. It then would continue in force indefinitely, unless terminated by either nation.

AGREEMENT ON FUNDING OF COOPERATION IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Press release 398A dated October 8

Secretary of State Kissinger and Deputy Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic Dr. Mieczyslaw Jagielski signed on October 8 at Washington an agreement between the Governments of the United States and Poland providing for joint funding of their cooperative program in science and technology.

The agreement grew out of discussions held by President Nixon and Secretary of State Rogers in Warsaw in 1972 and is in furtherance of the U.S.-Polish agreement on cooperation in science and technology signed on October 31, 1972.

The new agreement provides for the establishment of the Marie Sklodowska Curie Fund. The U.S. share in the Fund, most of which was previously allocated for research in Poland, will be 558 million zlotys (one official exchange rate is \$1.00 = 19.92 zlotys). While most of this sum has already been earmarked, this total includes new zlotys for joint energy research. Under this agreement, the Government of Poland will match this 558 million zlotys, which we own from earlier U.S. Public Law 480 programs, with an equal sum. Before the new agreement, the research was funded entirely by U.S.-owned zlotys. The joint funding agreement will extend to December 31, 1981. A joint U.S.-Polish Board will establish the broad areas of research to be financed by the Fund.

At least one-third of the amount is to be used to finance energy and energy-related research. The Fund will also be used to finance ongoing and new research projects in medicine, health, environmental protection, agri-

culture, transportation, and other fields. Some of these projects are also the subject of the agreement for cooperation in coal research, the agreement on cooperation in the field of health, and the agreement on environmental protection, all signed October 8.

The agreement strengthens the basis of the cooperative efforts of the scientists of the two countries which have been underway since the early 1960's. Some examples of ongoing research include investigations relating to brain damage, evaluation of soybean protein concentrate additives, development of frost- and drought-resistant hybrid plants, reclamation of alkaline ash piles to reduce pollution while producing a usable product, and further research relating to important Polish contributions to the theory of gravity. The most important new research will be in the fields of coal utilization and coal extraction.

AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN HEALTH

Press release 398E dated October 8

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Caspar Weinberger and Deputy Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic Dr. Mieczyslaw Jagielski signed on October 8 at Washington an agreement between the Governments of the United States and Poland to promote cooperation in the field of health. Attending the ceremony were Polish United Workers' Party First Secretary Edward Gierk and Secretary of State Kissinger.

The agreement established a Joint Committee for Cooperation in the Field of Health to determine the mechanisms and policy for the program under the agreement. The Joint Committee will serve to direct an expanded program of cooperative activities, including the exchange of junior and senior scientists, the facilitation of direct institute-to-institute relationships, the exchange of scientific and technical publications, the organization of joint scientific symposia and conferences, and the exchange of equipment, drugs, and biologicals.

This agreement is a reaffirmation and strengthening of the successful bilateral co-

operation which has been ongoing less formally for the last 12 years. Since 1962, U.S. and Polish scientists have undertaken numerous cooperative research programs in a broad range of health areas, including those related to maternal and child health, cardiovascular diseases, cancer, alcoholism, occupational and environmental health, neurologic and psychiatric disorders, rehabilitation, and infectious diseases. There are now 89 ongoing research projects, of which 16 were approved this past June.

Joint research activities have served to increase direct exchange and information sharing between scientists of the two countries and have resulted in some significant medical advances. One notable example is a project in which HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service collaborated with doctors at the Konstancin Rehabilitation Center near Warsaw, leading to the development at that center of a technique for immediate postsurgical fitting of artificial legs which thereby makes it possible for a patient to walk within a short period of time after surgery. This technique has subsequently been adopted in the United States. This medical cooperation also recently included the development of the Krakow hospital for mothers and children, now considered one of the most dynamic of such institutions in Poland.

JOINT STATEMENT ON DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE

Press release 398B dated October 8

Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter and First Deputy Minister of Trade and Maritime Economy of the Polish People's Republic Henryk Kisiel signed on October 8 at Washington a joint statement on the development of agricultural trade between the United States and Poland. Attending the ceremony were Polish United Workers' Party First Secretary Edward Gierek and Secretary of State Kissinger. The statement was negotiated at the fourth session of the U.S.-Polish Joint Commission for Trade, which took place in Washington September 9-10.

Under provisions of the joint statement, the two countries have agreed to exchange agricultural economic information—including forward estimates of supply and demand—to facilitate the growth of bilateral trade, to encourage the signing of long-term purchasing agreements between Polish foreign trade enterprises and private U.S. exporters, to develop further the cooperation between veterinary services which has assisted the two countries in increasing trade turnover, and to continue to treat imports in each country in accordance with the most-favored-nation principle under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The two countries also agreed to form a permanent working group within the framework of the Joint Trade Commission to exchange views on economic and trade matters and to explore areas for possible cooperation in various fields of agriculture. In addition, both countries expressed support of the upcoming multilateral trade negotiations and agreed that the joint statement will in no way prejudice or modify existing undertakings under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The statement notes that U.S.-Polish agricultural trade spans a period of some 50 years and has benefited the economies of both countries. In fiscal year 1974, U.S. agricultural exports to Poland reached the record level of \$306 million. Polish agricultural exports to the United States include hams and canned beef. Poland is America's largest agricultural trading partner in Eastern Europe.

AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Press release 398F dated October 8

The United States and Poland concluded on October 8 at Washington an agreement to expand and intensify cooperation between the two countries in environmental protection and pollution abatement. Russell E. Train, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and Professor Witold Trampeczynski, Polish Ambassador to the

United States, representing the Polish Ministry of Land Economy and Environmental Protection, signed the agreement. Attending the ceremony were Polish United Workers' Party First Secretary Edward Gierek and Secretary of State Kissinger.

The new agreement implements a more general accord signed in October 1972 which established a policy of cooperation in many fields of science and technology. The new agreement provides for future cooperation in a wide range of matters related to protecting and improving the environment. Of special interest are water and air pollution, prevention of further environmental degradation, the effects of pollutants on human, plant, and animal life, noise abatement, controlling pollution associated with transportation, radiation, and municipal and industrial wastes. The agreement calls for joint scientific and technical research, the exchange of specialists, data, and documents, and the organization of conferences and symposia.

Administrator Train hailed the agreement as both an environmental and a political milestone. "It represents an irresistible process now underway to systematize and implement a multilateral and global approach to man's stewardship of the Earth," Mr. Train said. He added that the agreement also "marks the high point of cordial relations that have developed between the United States and Poland over the past two decades." Mr. Train stated that the agreement exemplified a new spirit of international cooperation and concern about environmental matters.

AGREEMENT FOR COOPERATION IN COAL RESEARCH

Press release 398C dated October 8

The United States and Poland concluded on October 8 at Washington an agreement to cooperate in energy research and development, with particular emphasis on coal utilization and coal extraction. Kent Frizzell, Solicitor, Department of the Interior, and

Benon Stranz, Deputy Minister of Mining and Power of the Polish People's Republic, signed the agreement. Attending the ceremony were Polish United Workers' Party First Secretary Edward Gierek and Secretary of State Kissinger.

The agreement grew from mutual recognition that both countries need to make more effective use of their substantial solid fuel resources to meet their growing energy demands, and in a manner that will be environmentally satisfactory. It is an important new development in international energy cooperation.

The United States and Poland each have intensive research and development programs to extract coal more efficiently and to convert the product into a clean fuel at reasonable costs. Many of these programs have common objectives. Through the new cooperation agreement, unnecessary duplication of research efforts will be avoided, valuable technologies will be shared, and new solutions will be sought to meet the universal demand for cleaner energy supplies.

As a first step toward the agreement, the United States and Poland last summer exchanged teams of coal research experts to study the energy research programs now underway in the two countries. These technical reviews showed that fuller cooperation could profitably be undertaken in coal liquefaction, coal gasification, magnetohydrodynamics, coal preparation, and improved coke manufacture.

Coal extraction research areas to be studied jointly cover the principles of mine planning and design, methane drainage and utilization from underground workings, subsidence prediction and control, automation of longwall systems, and the control of rock, coal, and gas outburst and the collapse of mineshafts.

This agreement will be implemented by joint research, the organization of joint symposia and seminars, exchange of research scientists and research results, and other forms of cooperation as needed to fulfill the requirements of the cooperation.

Current Treaty Actions

MULTILATERAL

Automotive Traffic

Customs convention on the temporary importation of private road vehicles. Done at New York June 4, 1954. Entered into force December 15, 1957.
Accession deposited: Chile, August 15, 1974.

Aviation

Convention for the suppression of unlawful seizure of aircraft. Done at The Hague December 16, 1970. Entered into force October 15, 1971. TIAS 7192.

Ratification deposited: Federal Republic of Germany, October 11, 1974.¹

Containers

International convention for safe containers (CSC), with annexes. Done at Geneva December 2, 1972.²

Accession deposited: German Democratic Republic, (with statements and a declaration), September 27, 1974.

Pollution

International convention for the prevention of pollution from ships, 1973, with protocols and annexes. Done at London November 2, 1973.²

Signature: Poland (subject to ratification), October 2, 1974.

Protocol relating to intervention on the high seas in cases of marine pollution by substances other than oil. Done at London November 2, 1973.²

Signature: Poland (subject to ratification), October 2, 1974.

Telecommunications

Telegraph regulations, with appendices, annex, and final protocol. Done at Geneva April 11, 1973. Entered into force September 1, 1974.³

Notification of approval: Canada, July 10, 1974; Rwanda, July 16, 1974; Spain, July 8, 1974.

Telephone regulations, with appendices and final protocol. Done at Geneva April 11, 1973. Entered into force September 1, 1974.³

Notification of approval: Canada, July 10, 1974; Rwanda, July 16, 1974; Spain, July 8, 1974.

BILATERAL

Bangladesh

Loan agreement for financing manufacture and acquisition by Bangladesh of fertilizer, pesticides, and other agricultural inputs, with annex. Signed at Dacca September 19, 1974. Entered into force September 19, 1974.

¹ Applicable to Berlin (West), subject to understandings.

² Not in force.

³ Not in force for the United States.

International Committee of the Red Cross

Amendment to the grant agreement of November 1, 1973, to provide assistance to refugees, displaced persons, and war victims in the Republic of Viet-Nam, Laos, and the Khmer Republic. Effected by U.S. letter of July 30, 1974. Entered into force July 30, 1974.

Agreement amending the grant agreement of November 1, 1973, to provide assistance to refugees, displaced persons, and war victims in the Republic of Viet-Nam, Laos, and the Khmer Republic. Signed at Geneva and Washington August 22 and September 6, 1974. Entered into force September 6, 1974.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs

Press release 424 dated October 15

The Department's establishment of a Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs became effective on October 14. The new Bureau, which is conformable with Public Law 93-126 of October 18, 1973, will bring together the Department's activities and responsibilities relating to all international scientific, technological, and environmental affairs including weather matters, the oceans, atmosphere, outer space, fisheries, wildlife, conservation, health, population, and associated subjects. It will be headed by an Assistant Secretary.

Pending the appointment of the Assistant Secretary, Thomas A. Clingan, Jr., who is Deputy Assistant Secretary for Oceans and Fisheries Affairs, will be the Acting Assistant Secretary. Within the Bureau, John V. N. Granger will be Deputy Assistant Secretary for Scientific and Technological Affairs, and Christian A. Herter, Jr., will be Deputy Assistant Secretary for Environmental and Population Affairs. Dr. Granger and Mr. Herter have hitherto been the senior officers in the Bureau of International Scientific and Technological Affairs.

The new Bureau's responsibilities for technological affairs will include atomic energy and energy-related research and development, space technology, and other advanced technological developments except those which are defense related. Its functions are to include the development of comprehensive and coherent U.S. policy in its designated areas of concern. It will be the central point of contact on such matters with other U.S. Government agencies and will provide foreign policy guidance and coordina-

tion for the execution of international scientific and technological programs.

In oceans and fisheries the new Bureau will assume the responsibilities of the Coordinator of Ocean Affairs and Special Assistant for Fisheries and Wildlife. These include numerous bilateral agreements and international organizations dealing with fisheries and marine science. The creation of the new Bureau will give greater emphasis to the importance of the difficult problems encountered in these areas. The Bureau will also permit a greater focus on certain wildlife, conservation, and marine pollution matters which had been dealt with by separate offices and which will now be together within the Bureau.

By amalgamating the handling of oceans, environmental, scientific, and technological problems hitherto assigned to separate units, the new Bureau is designed to give new weight to the consideration and administration of our increasing involvement in science and environment-associated matters relating to foreign affairs.

PUBLICATIONS

1949 "Foreign Relations" Volume on Germany and Austria Released

Press release 372 dated September 23 (for release September 30)

The Department of State released on September 30 "Foreign Relations of the United States," 1949, volume III, "Council of Foreign Ministers; Germany and Austria." The "Foreign Relations" series has been published continuously since 1861 as the official record of American foreign policy. The volume now released is the first to be published of nine volumes documenting American foreign policy during the year 1949.

This volume of 1,324 pages presents documentation—hitherto unpublished and of the highest classification—on the problems of divided Germany and Austria. Primary emphasis is on relations among the four occupying powers, the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany, resolution of the Berlin crisis, the complicated issues of reparations and restitution from Germany, and efforts to negotiate a treaty on the status of Austria. The volume also includes comprehensive documentation on the meetings at Paris of the quadripartite Council of Foreign Ministers as well as on efforts to maintain the independence and integrity of Austria, President Truman, Secretary of State Acheson, and such personages as

Ernest Bevin, Robert Schuman, Andrei Vyshinsky, Konrad Adenauer, John J. McCloy, Lucius D. Clay, Robert D. Murphy, and Lewis W. Douglas figure prominently in the events documented in the volume.

The "Foreign Relations" volumes are prepared by the Historical Office, Bureau of Public Affairs. Volume III for 1949 (Department of State publication 8752; GPO cat. no. S1.1:949/v. III) may be purchased for \$14.55 (domestic postpaid). Checks or money orders should be made payable to the Superintendent of Documents and sent to the U.S. Government Bookstore, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Check List of Department of State

Press Releases: October 14–20

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of Press Relations, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Releases issued prior to October 14 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 372 of September 23, 398A–398F of October 8, 399 of October 10, 404 of October 10, 405, 407, and 408 of October 11, and 412 of October 12.

No.	Date	Subject
414	10/15	Kissinger: departure, Aqaba, Oct. 12.
415	10/15	Kissinger, Allon: arrival, Tel Aviv, Oct. 12.
416	10/15	Kissinger, Allon: departure, Tel Aviv, Oct. 13.
417	10/15	Kissinger, Saqqaf: departure, Riyadh, Oct. 13.
418	10/15	Kissinger: arrival, Cairo, Oct. 14.
419	10/15	Kissinger, Sadat: remarks following meeting, Oct. 14.
420	10/15	Kissinger: departure, Cairo, Oct. 14.
421	10/15	Kissinger: departure, Damascus, Oct. 14.
422	10/15	Kissinger: arrival, Algiers, Oct. 14.
423	10/15	Kissinger: departure, Algiers.
424	10/15	Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs established, Oct. 14.
425	10/15	Kissinger: arrival, Rabat.
426	10/15	Kissinger: departure, Rabat.
†427	10/16	Kissinger: Alfred E. Smith dinner, New York.
428	10/16	Kissinger: arrival, Washington, Oct. 15.
†429	10/18	Notice of time for filing claims against Egypt by U.S. nationals.
*430	10/18	Rush sworn in as Ambassador to France (biographic data).
*431	10/18	Easum to visit nine African countries.

* Not printed.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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