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SECRETARY KISSINGER VISITS THE U.S.S.R., SOUTH ASIA, IRAN,
ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA, AND ITALY 701

TOWARD A GLOBAL COMMUNITY: THE COMMON CAUSE
OF INDIA AND AMERICA

*Address by Secretary Kissinger
Before the Indian Council on World Affairs 740*

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Secretary Kissinger Visits the U.S.S.R., South Asia, Iran, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Italy

*Secretary Kissinger visited the U.S.S.R., India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Romania, Yugoslavia, Italy, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Israel, and Tunisia October 23–November 9. Following are remarks by Secretary Kissinger and foreign leaders and texts of joint statements and communiques issued through his visit to Italy.*¹

THE VISIT TO THE U.S.S.R., OCTOBER 23–27

Remarks by Secretary Kissinger Upon Arrival, Moscow, October 23

Press release 435 dated October 23

I want to express my pleasure at being in Moscow again. We expect to have very full, very friendly, and very constructive talks as a continuation of the dialogue which has gone on for many years now and which we believe is of benefit to the people of our two countries and to all of the peoples of the world in the interests of peace.

Thank you.

Q. [*Inaudible*].

Secretary Kissinger: Ever since 1972 there have been regular consultations between the United States and the Soviet Union across the whole range of international issues, so we will review bilateral relations, international relations, in a friendly spirit and with

¹ Secretary Kissinger's address before the World Food Conference Nov. 5 and remarks made Nov. 5–9 and at Moscow Oct. 26 will appear in later issues of the BULLETIN.

the attitude of making a constructive contribution toward peace.

Q. *How would you evaluate the present state of Soviet-American relations?*

Secretary Kissinger: I think the present status of Soviet-American relations is good, and we are determined to improve it still further.

Q. *What kind of progress can be expected in the nearest future?*

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I'm here with the attitude of making progress in these talks. I'm also delighted that my wife is with me for the first time.

Q. *Thank you very much.*

Luncheon Hosted by Foreign Minister Gromyko, Moscow, October 24

Press release 436 dated October 24

Toast by Foreign Minister Gromyko

Mr. Secretary of State, Mrs. Kissinger, ladies and gentlemen: We express our satisfaction with the fact that the Secretary of State is once again on a visit to the Soviet Union and we have another opportunity to exchange views between the Secretary of State and our leaders on very important questions of international politics. You had your first conversation with Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party. He was pleased, together with my other colleagues, with this talk, and this is what I would like to say. This conversation was a very useful one with a very important

content. While there are still very important questions remaining to be discussed, I can say quite confidently that both sides are encouraged in these frank discussions and that this is in accord with the practice that has come into being between members of the Soviet Union and the United States.

Already on the basis of this discussion, I am sure that you have been able to draw the conclusion that the Soviet leadership on the whole and Leonid Brezhnev, our Secretary, is in favor of continuing the line that was initiated between our two countries. Achievements of great importance have been registered in Soviet-American relations. They are well known, and I will not go over them again. But now the main task is to continue the line jointly taken in these relations and develop and encourage these relations. The Soviet Government is still firmly in favor of continuing that line.

Leonid Brezhnev during that conversation expressed his satisfaction with the statements made by President Ford, who is in favor of developing Soviet-American relations and who is in favor of continuing that line. This is fully in accord with our own line of policy.

It goes without saying that this has indeed been emphasized on both sides; that further success—and we would like to say further and big successes—require efforts, and vigorous efforts, on both sides. We are prepared to make those efforts. I believe that if both sides display the determination to continue and advance along this path, both the United States and the Soviet Union and both the American people and the Soviet people can look confidently and optimistically into the future. As I said, there are still many more important questions to be discussed, questions of great importance, and it is therefore too early to speak or even hint at the possible outcome of these meetings. But I would like to express the hope that our meetings with you on these matters which are of immense interest for the entire world will lead to positive results.

We regret that this visit is all too brief, and once again you will not be able to see

very much outside of Moscow. As I see it, you still have certain doubts as to the existence of Leningrad. But we hope that after Mrs. Kissinger's trip to Leningrad, she will succeed in confirming to you that Leningrad does exist.

I would like to raise our glasses in a toast to the positive outcome of these meetings, to the strength of cooperation of the Soviet Union and the United States, of the joint interest in détente and the strengthening of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Toast by Secretary Kissinger

Mr. Foreign Minister, distinguished guests and friends, and Mrs. Gromyko: I have been asked as usual a very direct question by the Foreign Minister, which is to affirm the existence of Leningrad. All I can say is that we are in the preliminary stage of our negotiations. It is too early to draw a final conclusion, but we have talked in a constructive and positive manner and I think with good will on both sides we may achieve a reasonable conclusion. We cannot expect to make a unilateral concession—on so grave a question that must be on a mutual basis.

On behalf of Mrs. Kissinger and myself and my colleagues, let me thank you for the characteristically warm reception that we have received here in a country that based its views on the predominance of objective factors. Those of us who come from an earlier stage of ideological development can perhaps say a personal word: When we come to Moscow we no longer feel that we are among foreigners. We have been colleagues now through many difficult negotiations through many complicated periods in pursuit of a common objective. We are committed to improving relations between our two countries, to strengthen détente and thereby enhance peace for all the peoples of the world.

We speak with great frankness, and there are many occasions when we do not agree. But we are always animated by the desire to narrow our differences and to achieve our common purposes.

As we look back at the past two years,

there have been, of course, a few disappointments. But the main trend has been extremely positive. We have agreed on major principles, and we have achieved many specific agreements. We exchange ideas on all great problems with great frankness and generally with very positive results.

When I came to Washington, the Soviet Union was considered a permanent adversary. Today one can already say that the possibilities of war between our two countries have been reduced to negligible proportions and the tensions which were so characteristic of earlier periods have largely been stemmed. Now our objective is to give this condition a permanent and irreversible basis. Through all the ups and downs in our relations, through a change in administration, it has been a firm and continuing principle of American policy that the United States and Soviet Union have a very special responsibility for preserving the peace in the world and for contributing to the positive aspirations of mankind. This positive peace responsibility will be fostered with great energy by our administration. It is in this spirit that we conducted our first talks this morning with the General Secretary.

I fully agree with the evaluation of the Foreign Minister that the talks this morning were useful. It was a very good beginning. I agree with him further that with great efforts on both sides we can mark very considerable progress in the months ahead. I can pledge these efforts from the American side. We note the comments made by the Foreign Minister with respect to the Soviet side, so we realize the potentialities that are before us. This process of détente which we started and are now continuing will mark a historic change in people and a major advance toward a lasting peace. It is in this spirit that we will conduct not only these discussions but our entire relations.

It is in this spirit that I would like to propose a toast to the Foreign Minister, to the expansion of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, for the friendship between Soviet and American people, and to permanent peace.

Communique on the Visit to the U.S.S.R.²

As previously agreed, Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State of the United States of America and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, visited Moscow from October 23 to October 27.

He had discussions with Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Andrei A. Gromyko, Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

Taking part in the discussions on the Soviet side were:

The Ambassador of the USSR in the United States, A. F. Dobrynin
Assistant to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, A. M. Alexandrov
Member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, G. M. Korniyenko.

On the American side:

The Ambassador of the United States to the USSR, Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.
Officials of the Department of State: Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Arthur A. Hartman, Alfred A. Atherton, William G. Hyland, Winston Lord; and Jan M. Lodal and A. Denis Clift of the staff of the National Security Council.

In the course of the discussions, a thorough exchange of views took place on a wide range of issues concerning American-Soviet relations and on a number of current international problems.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that the relations between the USA and the USSR continue to improve steadily, in accordance with the course previously established.

In this connection they again emphasized the fundamental importance of the decisions taken as a result of the U.S.-Soviet summit meetings, and expressed their mutual determination to continue to make energetic efforts to ensure uninterrupted progress in U.S.-Soviet relations.

Particular attention was given to the problem of the further limitation of strategic arms. In their consideration of this problem the two sides were guided by the fundamental understanding with regard to developing a new long-term agreement which is to follow the Interim Agreement of May 26, 1972. Useful exchanges took place on the details involved in such an agreement. Discussions on these matters will continue.

The two sides noted that as a whole ties in various spheres between the USA and the USSR have been

² Issued at Moscow Oct. 27 (text from press release 442).

developing successfully. They agreed that full implementation of the agreements already concluded will open favorable prospects for further expansion of mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries.

The two sides continue to be concerned over the situation in the Middle East. They reaffirmed their determination to make efforts to find solutions to the key questions of a just and lasting settlement in the area. The two sides agreed that the early reconvening of the Geneva Conference should play a useful role in finding such a settlement.

Noting the progress achieved by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the two sides will continue to work actively for its successful conclusion at an early date. They also believe that it is possible to achieve progress at the talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The exchange of views was marked by a business-like and constructive spirit. Both sides consider it highly useful. In this connection they reaffirmed the positive value of the established practice of regular consultations between the two countries. Both sides emphasized the special importance of summit meetings for a constructive development of relations between the USA and the USSR. As has been announced, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, and L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, will hold a working meeting in the vicinity of Vladivostok at the end of November 1974.

THE VISIT TO INDIA, OCTOBER 27-30

Remarks by Secretary Kissinger Upon Arrival, New Delhi, October 27

Press release 443 dated October 27

Mr. Foreign Minister: This is my first visit to India as Secretary of State, but I have been here on several previous occasions to exchange ideas and to meet old friends. In the past year or so relations between India and the United States have improved considerably. The two greatest democracies in the world have rediscovered their common purposes and have exchanged ideas on an ever-increasing range of topics. It is to continue this exchange that I have gratefully accepted the invitation of the Indian Government, the Foreign Minister, to visit the subcontinent.

I look forward very much to my talks with Prime Minister Gandhi and with all the other

Ministers who have been kind enough to make time on their schedules. I come here at a time of great difficulties in the world but also of great opportunity. There is the possibility of building a new international system based on peace and justice and cooperation, values to which both of our countries have long since been dedicated.

I appreciate the warmth of your reception. I look forward to my talks; and I know that when I leave, the already strong relationships between India and the United States will, hopefully, be further strengthened.

Thank you.

Dinner Hosted by Y. B. Chavan, Minister of External Affairs, New Delhi, October 27

Press release 444 dated October 27

Toast by Foreign Minister Chavan

On behalf of the Government of India, I have great pleasure to extend a warm and cordial welcome to you and Mrs. Kissinger. I enjoyed meeting you in Washington a few weeks ago, and I am indeed happy that you were able to pay us an official visit and provide an opportunity to exchange views on important international problems and matters of bilateral interest.

India and the United States of America are both democratic countries with well-established traditions of representative government, social responsibility, and individual freedom. We have admired this creative genius of the American people and their contribution to human progress.

We are confident that our two countries can work together to create a better world in which men and women can realize their potential both as individuals and useful citizens and contribute to the development of society and welfare of mankind. It is also a unique feature of our relations that, in spite of occasional differences, we have been able to maintain dialogue and contact at all times and at all levels. This provides a good basis for our working together in the future also to promote mutual understanding, international peace, and progress.

Mr. Secretary, since your last visit to New

Delhi, far-reaching changes have taken place in this region. Out of the agony of the sub-continent, a new nation was born, underlining a historical truth that popular aspirations cannot be long suppressed. On the basis of the realities of the situation, we have been trying to build a new structure of peace, friendship, and cooperation in this region.

We note that your own country shares this view and has supported the Simla process of bilateral and peaceful normalization and reconciliation without external interference. It need hardly be stressed that peace is particularly essential to us and other countries of the region to meet the challenge of economic and social growth. We are fully conscious of our responsibilities and of the need to build friendship and cooperation with our neighbors. We have achieved this objective in our relations with most of our neighbors and hope to do the same with the remaining one or two governments.

Indo-American relations have improved in the last year or two. Although it would be idle to pretend that there are no differences between us, we both recognize the need for building up a mature and constructive relationship on the basis of equality, mutual respect, and mutual benefit. There is potential for strengthening our relations, and we look forward to our discussions with you on ways and means of furthering Indo-American understanding.

In today's world, no country can remain isolated or become totally self-sufficient in all its requirements. We are interested in promoting cooperation between India and America in various fields including trade, science, technology, education, and culture. I am confident that our discussions will enable us not only to remove past misunderstandings but also generate momentum for a better, more mature and realistic relationship in the months and years ahead.

Mr. Secretary, you are not a newcomer to India. However, since this is Mrs. Kissinger's first visit to our country, may I wish her a cordial welcome and a most pleasant stay here. In drawing up your program, we have taken particular care to insure that you, Mrs. Kissinger, have some opportunity to see

a bit of India. We hope you will come again and see more of our country. And we hope you, Mr. Secretary, would also come with her.

Toast by Secretary Kissinger

Mr. Foreign Minister, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: I am delighted to have been able to accept the invitation to visit your great country in order to renew long-standing friendships, to remove old misunderstandings, and to build a new and mature relationship. This trip has been prepared over a considerable period of time by your distinguished predecessor and by the two indefatigable Ambassadors that represent our two countries.

As for our Ambassador, I would like to point out to you that those of his dispatches that appear in the New York Times are only the tip of the iceberg of what I have to contend with. And, indeed, what saves me from more exposure in the New York Times is the limitation of space which is inevitably imposed by a daily newspaper. But suffice it to say that our Ambassador to New Delhi never lets me forget for a moment how important our relationship is and he has worked with great dedication, sharing my own conviction and President Ford's conviction of the importance that we attach to close ties with India. As for your Ambassador, my friend Tikki Kaul [Triloki Nath Kaul], he checks on me periodically—but I would like to request of you, Mr. Foreign Minister, that you change his instructions so that he needs to call on me only twice a week to make sure that I am not tilting the wrong way. I would like to pay tribute to his friendship and to his dedication.

In the United States in recent years, just as has India, we have had to make many adjustments to new conditions. We are interested in building a worldwide structure of peace in which all the nations feel they have a sense of participation, and a structure of peace which transcends the antagonisms of the period of the cold war and tries to draw on the dedication of all parts of the world.

In this structure of peace, the structure of peace in the subcontinent to which the Foreign Minister has referred plays, of course,

a crucial role. The United States strongly supports the Simla process. The United States feels that the development of peace in the subcontinent, free of outside interference, on the basis of equality and negotiation, is an essential precondition to peace in the world. And our relationship prospers to the precise extent that this process has taken root and has continued.

The Foreign Minister pointed out India's desire to extend cooperative relationships with the United States in many fields. We reciprocate this feeling, and in the work which we will do here, in the institutions which we plan to create, we see but the beginning of further cooperative ventures to the joint benefit of both of our nations, of the peoples of the subcontinent, and all of the people in the world.

I look forward very much to my talks here with the Prime Minister, with the Foreign Minister, and with his colleagues. I want you to know that I come here with good will to contribute to the building of a strong relationship between two great democracies sharing many similar ideals—two democracies, which, whatever their occasional differences on particular issues, have a common interest in a peaceful world, in a developing world, and in a cooperative world. It is with this attitude that my colleagues and I will conduct our talks. It is in this spirit that I would like to propose a toast to the Foreign Minister and to friendship between the Indian and American people.

**Dinner Hosted by Secretary Kissinger,
New Delhi, October 28**

Press release 448 dated October 29

Toast by Secretary Kissinger

Distinguished guests: Let me take this opportunity to welcome you at this elegant residence of our Ambassador, which reminds me of the house he lived in as a professor in Cambridge.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all our Indian friends for the remarkable hospitality that has been shown to us,

for the warmth with which Nancy and I have been received here, and for the friendship and cordiality of our talks, which cannot be reflected in official communiqués.

The Indian philosopher Kautilya listed the qualifications for a minister with the subtle ability for which Indians are known. These are the qualities of a minister as described by Kautilya: "native born"—that leaves me out already—"of high family; influential; well trained in the arts; possessed of foresight; wise; of strong memory; bold; eloquent; skillful; intelligent; possessed of enthusiasm, dignity, and endurance; pure in character; affable; firm in loyal devotion; endowed with excellent conduct, strength, health, bravery" and a few other things like that—"these are the qualifications of a ministerial officer." My staff will pass among you in a few minutes and certify that, except for the first quality, all of these are possessed by the Secretary of State. They will all say a few other things about the Secretary of State which I'd rather not hear. [Laughter.]

We have spent a very fruitful day today, Mr. Foreign Minister. We have had very good talks, and we have formed the Indo-American Commission, which I am confident will perform a significant service in the fields for which it has been designed.

But I believe that the real significance of this occasion is that we talked to each other for the first time in a long while free of complexes. We now understand that when we deal with each other the United States does not do favors to India but deals with India on the basis of a common interest. And we are not here to seek moral approbation from India, because we now realize that what ties us together is a common perception of the kind of world in which both of us can be secure and both of us can prosper.

These intangible qualities, I believe, will be even more important than the substantive results that have become apparent today or that will be reflected in the communiqué. The exchanges which I have had the pleasure of conducting with the Foreign Minister and the extended talks with the Prime Minister will be continued in the months ahead. We

will start the Subcommissions very soon.

We all look forward to the visit of the Foreign Minister—and we will arrange as relaxed and reflective a schedule for him as he has for me. So let me take this occasion to express the appreciation of myself and all of my colleagues for the manner in which we've been received, for the spirit that has animated our talks; to express the confidence that what we have started in these talks will be on a mature and enduring basis; and to look forward to renewing our acquaintance very soon in the United States. I'd like to propose a toast to the Foreign Minister.

Toast by Foreign Minister Chavan

Mr. Secretary of State, Mrs. Kissinger, Ambassador and Mrs. Moynihan: On my behalf and on behalf of my colleagues in the Government of India, let me take this opportunity to thank the Secretary of State and Mrs. Kissinger for giving this opportunity again of reconsidering the future of the commissions in a more useful manner.

Dr. Kissinger has been speaking of the very useful talks that we have had during the course of the day. I think he is right that these discussions we have had today were very frank and free of any conflicts, as he put it. I am sure it has helped us now and will continue to help us in the future to understand each other better. Naturally one can't say that there won't be difference in approaches, but at least we will try to understand why we prefer the way we do; but our emphasis will be to agree more and more on basic issues so that the understanding will be on a firmer foundation.

We have agreed today to sign an agreement for establishing a Joint Commission and to deal with different aspects of administration, economic cooperation, cultural cooperation, educational cooperation, and I think that will help us to come constructively together to win the mature relationship that we have envisaged. That is much more important.

I think that Dr. Kissinger's visit certainly will prove to be a very important step in re-

discovering, if I may quote him again, the common purposes in the approaches of United States and India. And that is why I consider this visit a very important visit which is sort of a nice landmark in our relationship. I can assure you that we will continue the same dialogue in the same spirit with a view to achieve what we both of us desire. I must request you gentlemen to raise your glasses and offer a toast to Dr. Kissinger and Mrs. Kissinger.

News Conference by Secretary Kissinger, New Delhi, October 30

Press release 451 dated October 30

Kewal Singh, Secretary in the Ministry for External Affairs: Ladies and gentlemen, we have as you see this morning with us Dr. Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State for the United States of America, and perhaps the most eminent personality in the international diplomacy today. At one time with his very heavy schedule it seemed almost impossible if he'd be able to meet you, which he very much wanted to do. But as you all know, Dr. Kissinger has a flair for resolving the impossible. We are happy that he is here with us. The conference is exactly 30 minutes. After he has said a few words, you are welcome to shoot your questions. Before asking the questions, please kindly announce your name and the agency or the press you represent.

Thank you.

Secretary Kissinger: I want to express my appreciation and that of my colleagues for the extraordinarily warm receptions that we have received here. The talks were cordial, frank, and extremely useful. I think we have succeeded jointly in establishing a mature and good basis for the future relationship between India and the United States, and we also had enough opportunity to review world developments.

So, I believe we have turned a new page. On the part of the United States—my impression is, also on that of India—we will work with dedication and seriousness to give it a meaning that will be of benefit to both

of our peoples as well as to the peoples of the world.

Now I'll be glad to take your questions.

Q. How successful do you think your visit has been?

Secretary Kissinger: India and the United States are both major countries which are located of course in different parts of the world and do not necessarily have a complete identity of views on every subject. But in terms of the purpose that we set ourselves, which was to establish a basis for a new and mature relationship, I consider the trip completely successful.

Q. Is there any rethinking on the part of the U.S.A. on lifting or relaxing the embargo on supply of lethal weapons to Pakistan in light of Mr. Bhutto's threat that Pakistan would go nuclear if the U.S.A. did not resume arms supply?

Secretary Kissinger: I have had occasion to say in several meetings that I do not think it is appropriate for me to make statements that affect other countries of the subcontinent while I'm in New Delhi. Our current policy is well known. We have already stated that we would not participate in an arms race on the subcontinent. Beyond that I do not think it would be appropriate for me to go while I'm here.

Q. The two points which have emerged from the joint communique published today are that you made no direct reference to economic aid to India in your talks with C. Subramaniam [Minister of Finance] and that the question of the supply of food to India will be in accordance with the decision of the forthcoming World Food Conference at Rome. Now, I just wanted to know whether you in the course of your talks threw any hint about the possibility of the resumption of economic aid to India and food supplies on a bilateral basis irrespective of the decisions that might be taken at the World Food Conference in Rome?

Secretary Kissinger: Let me deal with this question in two parts. I think one of

the aspects of the relationship that is developing now between India and the United States is that we can talk to each other free of complexes. One of the complexes that has affected our relationship in the past has been who was asking whom for what, and secondly, whether the United States was doing anybody a favor by extending aid or other forms of cooperation.

Let me say first of all that when the United States undertakes a certain measure with respect to India, or any other country, it does so in its own interest as well as in the interests of the other country. Unless there is a joint interest there is no firm basis for common action. We have an interest in a stable, growing subcontinent; and therefore, when we discuss aid with India, it is not in the context of India asking us for a special favor but of defining joint objectives.

Now, the Commission that has been set up will provide an opportunity for discussing common objectives, in a realistic framework; and within that framework I am certain that the question of what measures can be taken by the United States to assist in the development of India in our joint interest will undoubtedly come up. In that context it also came up informally in some of the talks that were conducted.

With respect to the food problem, there are again two aspects. One is those measures which the United States takes as a country individually and those measures which it proposes that the world will take on a multilateral basis. At the World Food Conference, I intend to put before the other nations the entire U.S. approach to the world food problem—those steps that are taken on a national basis as well as those steps which are taken on a multilateral basis. Those steps which the United States is prepared to take on a national basis obviously do not have to wait for the decisions of the World Food Conference; and those steps will include, as far as the United States is concerned, a program of food assistance to India.

Q. I want to ask you a fundamental question: The U.S.A. and India are the two biggest democracies in the world. Naturally,

it was expected there should have been best cooperation between the two. But instead it happened to the contrary. I am not going into the reasons, but what surprises me is that your country has made up with the two biggest Communist countries of the world and also supported some of the dictatorial countries. On our side, too, we had come closer with Socialist Communist countries headed by the U.S.S.R. Does it mean that the democratic countries of the world had no real faith in the principle of democracy? I am aware that you can reply only for your side. Does it also mean that the U.S.A., the staunch believer in the democracy, does not want democracy to flourish in other parts of the world?

Secretary Kissinger: This is a question I hear occasionally at our press conferences in America, though stated with less eloquence. The United States has two categories of concerns in the world. One has to do with the problem of peace, security, and the avoidance of a holocaust. The second is influenced by the basic orientation of our values, in which of course our preference for democratic institutions plays a very important role.

Now, under ideal circumstances, those two strands of our policy should operate side by side. However, there are many circumstances in which a choice may have to be made. For example, the question of the prevention of nuclear war cannot wait for the emergence of democratic institutions in the Soviet Union, because when you have two countries capable of destroying human life you have a number of practical problems that arise. Similarly, it was our view that it was impossible to think of a peaceful international environment without an exchange of views and regular contacts between the United States and the People's Republic of China. This does not mean approbation of the domestic structure of these governments, but it does mean that there are certain practical problems that require solutions of an overwhelming importance.

In the area where we believe we have a

choice, our preference for democratic institutions and democratic governments ought to be clear; but there are these two strands of our policy which, for the sake of the peace of the world, have to be kept in view.

Q. Mr. Secretary, has India asked for food, and if so, how much; and what is it that the United States is prepared to give?

Secretary Kissinger: I do not like to have the question put in terms of: Has India asked for food? There have been discussions with respect to food, which would be difficult to reconstruct of exactly who initiated what, but there has been discussion as to the amount of food that the United States can make available.

As you know, the large surpluses which existed in the United States in the 1960's, both in terms of reserves as well as in terms of current production, have been substantially eroded, such that our food assistance to any country in the world now depends on our annual production and on our annual surplus. And given the worldwide shortage of food, this situation is rather tight. Because of the impact on the domestic market in the United States, we have had to make our decisions on a quarterly basis up to now. But we are now attempting to project them on an annual basis.

We have made some preliminary allocations, but we are reviewing all the allocations again, and I do not think a final judgment can be made until after I return to Washington. But I can say that we are reviewing the situation once again to see what the maximum is that the United States has available for this year, and after this year we hope to put it on a more long-term basis.

Q. Mr. Secretary, can you tell us the current view of the United States on Israel negotiating with the Palestinian Liberation Organization?

Secretary Kissinger: I have not had an opportunity to review the authoritative statements from the Rabat summit, nor have I had any formal communication from any of the participants or any communication from any of the participants at the Rabat

summit. The U.S. view as to the most effective way of negotiating has been stated previously, which is that it would be most effective if Israel negotiated with Jordan about the West Bank. We will now have to study the communique at Rabat to see what the implications are for future negotiations, and of course this depends very much on the views of all the parties and not just one of the parties.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, you have made many impossible things possible. I would like to know what is your secret of success in diplomacy?

Secretary Kissinger: Nothing is more dangerous than to claim success in diplomacy. I do not believe in statements of miraculous achievements. Anything that is done is the result of careful preparation and an enormous amount of detail, as well as the result of objective circumstances that exist, that cannot be created, that can only be used. But I appreciate the question.

Q. The joint communique states that the countries of the subcontinent could live without outside interference. But unfortunately, as America's record recently suggests, the interference in Chile, the coup in Cyprus, as recorded by congressional committee evidence suggests that America is interested in activities fomenting the overthrow of constitutionally elected governments. How does it reconcile with the high-minded principle enunciated in the joint communique? Not wholly, or alone in the Indian context either, we all know from Ambassador Moynihan's telegraphic cable to you.

Secretary Kissinger: As I have had occasion to say yesterday, Ambassador Moynihan sends me many cables of great eloquence designed to explain to me the point of view of Indians, and this is a point of view that you have just now repeated.

Now, in going through the particular events which you mention, no useful purpose would be served by going into each of the instances, except to point out that the United States did not foment the overthrow

of a constitutional government in Chile. That has been made sufficiently plain by the President. Secondly, the United States had nothing whatever to do with the coup in Cyprus; this is simply repeating totally unfounded propaganda. Thirdly, the United States is not engaged, directly or indirectly, in any attempt to influence the domestic situation in India. It has not authorized such a program; it is not engaged in such a program; and it has repeatedly pointed out that if any of its officials should ever be caught in an unauthorized action, we would take strong measures.

So, I reject the implication that the United States is engaged on a systematic basis in undermining any government and, particularly, constitutional governments. Exactly the opposite is true.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, what is the special mission and program of your latest visit to India, and also kindly tell us what is your latest assessment about India-America relations?

Secretary Kissinger: I agree with the assessment of your Prime Minister, who said that Indian-American relations are good and should be getting better. I agree that they are good. I believe that they are getting better, and our big problem now is—and I believe we will deal with it successfully—is to keep them on a steady basis, free of the fluctuations that have characterized them in the past.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, do you think that the Indo-Soviet treaty for peace and friendship comes in the way of Indo-American friendship? Secondly, on your way to Delhi you stopped over in Moscow. Did you sense any sense of disquiet and concern about your visit to India, or did they wish you success and Godspeed?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I don't think that Soviet leaders are given to excessively emotional statements when I arrive or depart. But of course the Soviet leaders knew that I was going to India from Moscow prior to my going to Moscow. I found no expres-

sion of disquiet or unhappiness; but I think the Soviet leaders should speak for themselves.

As for the United States, we are interested in India conducting an independent foreign policy in a subcontinent free of outside pressures. If India conducts such a foreign policy, as I believe it has, then with what other countries it may have treaties of consultation is the business of India and not a matter in which the United States would express an opinion. We do not consider the treaty as it exists now, and the manner in which it has been implemented, an obstacle to improved relations with the United States.

Q. You stated here, as you had previously at the United Nations, that the United States strongly favors an embargo on the export of nuclear explosive technology. What response did you receive from the Prime Minister?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, first of all this is not exactly a precise description of what the U.S. position is. The U.S. position is that countries in a position to export nuclear technology should do so in a manner that does not contribute to the spread of explosive and especially of weapons technology and that this should be done on a multi-lateral basis by all countries that have a capability to export nuclear technology.

I was, first of all, as our communique makes clear, assured that India had no intention to develop a weapons program, and I took occasion to welcome this statement. Secondly, we will consult with India, with other countries, about the safeguards which we consider useful and which we are prepared to apply also to ourselves; so this is not intended in any discriminatory sense against any one country. And I believe that we can have useful discussions on that basis.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, I asked you what the Prime Minister's response was.

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I have given you as much as I am prepared to do on this basis of a private conversation.

Q. We have come to know even from the American official sources that you gave a very careful listening whenever the Diego Garcia question arose in the talk. I want to know why not some clear expression came up from your side regarding this question and it remained only up to the listening point?

Secretary Kissinger: I don't know whether it is correct to say that there was no clear expression of views. I think there was an absence of identity of views on that subject. We respect the Indian point of view, and of course we have our own on that matter.

Q. During your visit in Rome, in addition to attending the Food Conference, are you planning to meet our President Leone to review the very heavy Italian political situation?

Secretary Kissinger: I expect to have dinner with President Leone. But the Italian political situation is too complicated for me to understand. This will not be one of the subjects of our discussion. [Laughter.]

Q. The U.S. President has said that what you did in Chile—namely, financing of opposition parties and papers and also strikes by labor and transport—it was according to the U.S.A. in the interests of the Chilean people. What guarantee is there that you will not do the same thing in India if the U.S.A. considers it to be in the interest of the Indian people?

Secretary Kissinger: First of all, it has been repeatedly denied that the United States supported strikes in Chile. I don't think this is the appropriate place to go into details of a subject which is more complex than has been possible to discuss through a series of isolated leaks. The assurance you have is that I have stated that the United States has not, and is not now, intervening in any manner whatsoever, for any purpose whatsoever, in the domestic affairs of India. This assurance will be of course maintained.

Q. In your speech to the Indian Council of World Affairs you linked the questions of

food with the energy crisis. Are you in fact saying that the United States cannot go on indefinitely providing massive food relief if countries in the Third World such as India do not support the American position—in fact your position—on the oil crisis?

Secretary Kissinger: First of all, we have talked in a number of forums about the problems of food and the problems of energy—not to link them as conditions to each other, but in order to emphasize that current problems have become global, that the world has become interdependent, and that national solutions to any of these problems are impossible. There can be no victors in a bloc approach to these issues, because even those who control the resources, be it of food or of energy, would become the victims of an economic collapse that assumes worldwide proportions. This is the basic theme that the United States is urging. We are not making our approach in Rome on food conditional on having our views met on energy. We are presenting them in parallel as illustrations of a general problem.

Now with respect to energy, I believe that India is perfectly capable of making up its own mind as to the impact of high energy prices without pressure tactics from the United States, because it is precisely countries like India which suffer most from an increase in both energy and in food and fertilizer prices. And therefore I don't believe that there is any need for me to give long lectures to Indian leaders about a matter that affects them so immediately. I have not asked for formal support from India at either the Food Conference or with respect to energy since I'm confident that India is perfectly capable of making up its own mind on that subject.

Q. Mr. Secretary, the Foreign Minister of India extended a cordial invitation to the distinguished lady accompanying you on this tour. May I extract a promise from you that whenever this distinguished lady prefers to come to India a second time, you would accompany her?

Secretary Kissinger: Thank you very much. I will, yes.

Remarks by Secretary Kissinger Broadcast on All-India Radio October 30³

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. I am happy to have this opportunity to speak to the people of India. I bring with me the best wishes of President Ford and the people of America.

Many believe that America and India are as different as two countries can be, because of geography, history, and stages of economic development. But I believe that because of our traditions, political systems, and human goals, we have much in common.

We were both once colonies, ruled from abroad. America won its independence almost 200 years ago in a long war. India won its independence just 26 years ago, also after a long struggle.

Our early years were spent in building one nation from many different states, each wanting to go its own way. In the same way, your country, with great success, has built one nation from what once were many separate provinces and princely states.

For our first 100 years and more the United States was a nation of farmers. Our people lived on small farms, in small villages and towns. Only gradually as we developed our industry did our cities grow. As eight out of ten Indians today live in the country, so was it in America until only a very short time ago.

I understand that there is an Indian proverb which says: When the Ganges flows, wash your hands. There is an American proverb very much like this, which comes from the tradition of our farmers: Make hay while the sun shines.

As I look at what has been achieved in India in the last 25 years, I think that you have indeed been "washing your hands as the Ganges flows." Great things have been achieved. Roads, dams, factories, irrigation, electricity, have spread through every state. Where once those with radios numbered thousands, today there are millions of radios on which you are hearing me tonight. There is,

³ Recorded by Secretary Kissinger before his departure from New Delhi (text from press release 454 dated Oct. 31).

I believe, another old saying, "The ocean fills up drop by drop"; so it is with progress.

As there has been progress within our two countries, so also has there been great progress recently in the relations between our two countries. It is to build stronger bonds between our peoples and governments that I have come to visit your country.

I have held very friendly and successful talks with Prime Minister Gandhi, Foreign Minister Chavan, and other Ministers and leaders of your country. Mrs. Kissinger and I have also had a chance to see some of your countryside and the great monuments of India's history in and around New Delhi. Mrs. Kissinger traveled to Agra as well to see and admire, as have millions of people in the past, the beautiful Taj Mahal. We have also met many Indians in different professions and occupations during our visit.

In all our conversations we have talked as good friends, not as diplomats or politicians. As good friends we have found many things on which we agree, many areas for cooperation, and many objectives we share. But also as good friends we have been completely honest and told each other where we disagree. Your leaders have discussed their problems and their differences with my country. I have done the same with them.

These talks have been very reassuring and very helpful. We have erased many past problems and agreed on future opportunities. We have reaffirmed the friendship which has existed between the Indian and American people and the basic interests we share. We have set a new course for the future.

Today we are both conscious of the ideals we have in common and the challenges we have in common:

—We are the world's two largest democracies. Both of us believe in the dignity and freedom and well-being of the individual person.

—We both have great natural resources and technical skills. There is much we can trade with one another and much we can learn from one another.

—Both our peoples have always felt a great concern for peace in the world. We

share an overriding interest in stability and economic development and justice.

Your government and mine agree that we should leave behind us feelings of dependence or suspicions of interference or assertions that either side is always right on every issue.

Therefore the United States wants to strengthen our relations with India:

—We established a new Indo-U.S. Joint Commission for economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation.

—The United States will, as our own resources allow, help India's economic development in ways which India itself thinks most appropriate and helpful. We will work together on a basis of mutual benefit.

—The leaders of our two countries are consulting more and more on the world's great political, security, and economic problems. The United States wants to know India's concerns on these international issues. We have much to contribute together.

We are encouraged as well by the improvement in relations among our many friends in this region. The United States strongly supports the efforts of all the countries in South Asia to resolve their differences peacefully, free of outside pressure or interference. The wisdom and courage of the leaders of South Asia and the initiative of India have resulted in progress toward the goal agreed upon by Pakistan and India at the Simla Conference in 1972: "The promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of a durable peace in the Subcontinent." We want stability and economic progress for South Asia just as the leaders of India and its neighbors do.

As India and America strengthen relations, we can better work side by side to resolve problems that concern all mankind.

Representatives of our two countries can cooperate in international meetings on extremely important problems that affect all nations regardless of their philosophies or social systems: international trade and commerce, energy resources, the oceans, the preservation of the environment and health of

this planet, and perhaps more important, ways to insure that there is sufficient food for the growing population of the world. Nations more and more depend on one another. They must help each other or everyone will suffer.

The United States is trying to reduce tensions and build cooperation with all countries in the world. We respect nonalignment. In recent years we have made great progress in our relations with both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. We are doing our best to control the arms race and to make the world a safer place. And improvement of our relations with any one country cannot be—and will not be—at the expense of any other countries. We believe that a world of peace is in every nation's interest. That is America's highest objective.

Last week the Hindu population of India celebrated the festival which commemorates the eternal and eventual triumph of good over evil—Dashahara. The Muslim people of India, at almost the same time, celebrated the inspiration of the Prophet in composing the Koran.

It is this kind of faith that can overcome great difficulties and that can help achieve our hopes. It is this kind of faith that can be found in the people of America and the people of India. It has been the basis of our achievements and of yours, and it will be in the years ahead.

Jai Hind.

Joint Communique Issued at the Conclusion of the Visit to India ⁴

At the invitation of the Government of India, the US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, paid an official visit to India from 27 to 30 October, 1974. The Secretary called on the President of India and held discussions with the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and other senior Ministers and officials of the Government of India. He conveyed to the President and the Prime Minister, President Ford's personal greetings and his satisfaction over the improvement in US-Indian relations. The cordial and frank nature of the discussions during the Secretary's visit reflected the desire and interest

of both countries in broadening the basis for their relationship and in strengthening the many contacts and ties between the Indian and American people.

During the discussions there was an exchange of views on various aspects of bilateral relations, the situation in South Asia and neighboring regions and a review of the global situation including the world economic situation.

The Indian side explained the initiative and steps it had taken under the Simla Agreement towards normalization, and for the establishment of durable peace and cooperative relations between the countries of the Subcontinent. The American side expressed its satisfaction at the initiative taken by the Prime Minister of India and the effort of other leaders of South Asia and at the progress that had been made in bringing about regional peace and cooperation and expressed their support for the Simla process. Both sides agreed that it was in the interest of all the countries of the region to live in peace and harmony on the basis of sovereign equality and without intervention by outside powers or attempts by such powers to gain positions of special privilege in the region.

The two sides expressed their satisfaction at the improvement that has taken place in their bilateral relations and agreed that based on their democratic traditions, structure of government and past relationship, there was considerable scope for further strengthening of bilateral relations. Both sides affirmed that there is no conflict of national interests and that Indo-American relations are based on the principles of equality, mutual respect and mutual understanding.

The two sides agreed that it was desirable to promote cooperation between the two countries and that the agreement to set up an Indo-US Joint Commission which Secretary Kissinger and Foreign Minister Chavan signed on October 28 marked a significant step forward in building a framework for more mature and meaningful relations and active cooperation. They expressed confidence that the Joint Commission would facilitate contacts and exchanges in the fields of trade and commerce, economic cooperation, science and technology, education and culture and other fields. The first meeting of the Joint Commission was held in New Delhi on 28 October 1974 and the next meeting will be held in Washington early next year. It was also agreed that Sub-Commissions would soon be established and begin their regular meetings in New Delhi and Washington.

The Secretary reviewed recent developments toward a lasting peace in the Middle East. The Indian side welcomed the progress so far achieved. Both sides expressed the hope that a just and lasting peace will be achieved on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The Secretary reviewed progress to date in implementing the Paris Accords on Indo-China. Both

⁴ Issued at New Delhi on Oct. 29 (text from press release 449 dated Oct. 30).

sides expressed the hope that just and lasting peace would be established in Indo-China on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the states of the region without any outside interference.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that series of agreements which have helped to reduce tension in Europe. They expressed satisfaction at the process of decolonization in Africa and expressed the hope that this process will be accelerated.

In reviewing the international situation, both sides expressed satisfaction that relaxation of tensions and development of cooperation are becoming the main characteristics of international life. They expressed their strong support for further efforts to reduce international tensions and build a global détente. On disarmament matters the Secretary described current US-Soviet efforts to accelerate progress in reaching agreements on strategic arms limitation. Both sides expressed their support for the realization of concrete measures in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. The Secretary also discussed US concern over the implications for regional and global stability of nuclear proliferation. The Indian side reiterated its consistent position that the highest priority in international efforts should be accorded to nuclear disarmament and that in order to achieve international peace and stability, all proliferation of nuclear weapons should be stopped. The Indian side also affirmed India's policy not to develop nuclear weapons and to use nuclear technology for peaceful purposes only. The US side welcomes the Government of India's affirmation in this regard. There was mutual recognition of the need of putting nuclear technology to constructive use, particularly for developing countries, and of ensuring that nuclear energy does not contribute to any proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In reviewing the current international economic situation and the rising prices of food, fertilizer, fuel, industrial materials and technology both sides agreed that cooperative efforts by governments were called for to prevent further deterioration of the world economic structure to the detriment of both the developed and the developing nations. The two sides noted the serious situation developing in the most seriously affected countries as a result of rising prices and the paucity of resources now available to them. They expressed the hope that the forthcoming World Food Conference in Rome will find a way of conserving world food stocks and making them available to the most seriously affected developing nations on more favorable terms. They also agreed to exchange views and technology on a bilateral and multilateral basis in order to achieve increase in national food production and ensuring the necessary inputs of energy, fertilizers, technology, etc.

The US Secretary of State thanked the Government of India for their cordiality and warm hospi-

tility and invited the Minister of External Affairs of India to pay an official visit to the USA. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

The Prime Minister conveyed an invitation for President Ford to visit India in 1975, and Secretary Kissinger accepted the invitation on behalf of the President.

THE VISIT TO BANGLADESH, OCTOBER 30-31

Remarks by Secretary Kissinger to the Press, Dacca, October 30⁵

Secretary Kissinger: Ladies and gentlemen, I first of all want to express my appreciation to the Prime Minister and to all of his associates for the very warm reception that we have received here.

I have long admired the Prime Minister. It isn't often that one has the privilege of meeting someone who has been the father to his country and who created a nation out of his convictions. We had a very good talk in New York in which I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance for the first time, and we continued our talk here.

We had a brief review of the international situation and then the Prime Minister explained to me his aspirations for his people and for his country—and Bangladesh wouldn't exist if the Prime Minister were not a man of vast conceptions. We reviewed those, and I expressed to the Prime Minister that the United States, ever since the independence of Bangladesh, has believed very strongly in the progress and development of Bangladesh and we will do what is within our capabilities to help with the problems of food and with the problems of development.

In the afternoon I reviewed some of those specific problems with the Foreign Minister, and I hope we can make some progress toward straightening out some of the difficulties. We discussed in general terms then the larger aspirations of Bangladesh with the Prime Minister, who also took the occasion to invite President Ford to visit Bangladesh.

⁵ Made following a meeting with Prime Minister Rahman (text from press release 455 dated Oct. 31).

Q. Sir, what are the difficulties?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, the difficulties are not difficulties between our two countries, but problems in development, problems in the better utilization of American resources that have been made available, and matters of this kind. It isn't often that I have the pleasure of visiting a country with which we have no difficulties. Of course the Prime Minister said he will talk with you after I have left, and I do not know what he is going to say. [Laughter.]

Q. Sir, in what way can the United States assist in resolving these difficulties you are referring to?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, one of the problems of Bangladesh is of course the problem of food, and that has two aspects: the food that has to be imported, but in the long term the food that can be grown inside the country. This requires fertilizer, technical assistance of various kinds; and it is in this area where the long-term hope for Bangladesh resides and where the United States, I think, can be helpful in various ways. And we also believe that flood control is one of the areas in which we can cooperate.

Q. Sir, did you discuss subcontinental relations?

Secretary Kissinger: Yes, we discussed relations on the subcontinent, and I expressed my respect for the Prime Minister's generosity of spirit in contributing to a peaceful evolution on the subcontinent, and the United States of course supports the process of negotiations between the countries on the subcontinent and hopes for a full normalization of relations among all the states here.

Q. Your Excellency, can we then hope for some solution of the existing problems between Bangladesh and Pakistan in respect to the division of assets and resources and the repatriation of Pakistanis?

Secretary Kissinger: The Prime Minister of course had explained these problems to me eloquently already in New York, and we reviewed them again here, and I will have an occasion to discuss them in Islamabad, where I am going tomorrow. But I have made it a

practice not to make any predictions about one country while I am visiting another country.

Q. Are you taking any proposals from here to discuss in Islamabad?

Secretary Kissinger: No. The Prime Minister explained his general point of view to me, and I have no specific proposals. I am not acting as mediator, but as a friend.

Q. Will you use your good offices in this respect to persuade Pakistan to come to an understanding with Bangladesh to solve the remaining problems?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I will explain what I have learned here.

Q. Your Excellency, did (indistinct) with India with Pakistan?

Secretary Kissinger: We did not discuss it, but in principle we are not averse to it, and this is a matter that we are prepared to take up.

Q. Your Excellency, are you convinced that the economy of Bangladesh is viable?

Secretary Kissinger: I think that Bangladesh—I am not an economist, but I think that there is great potential in this country, but as in many of the developing countries, there is a need for resources to begin the process of development, and the problem is to do it on a sufficient scale so that one is not simply going from crisis to crisis.

Q. In view of the reports that former President Nixon is critically ill, might this alter your current travel plans?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I do not want to speculate on an eventuality that I hope will never arise.

**Dinner Hosted by Foreign Minister Hossain,
Dacca, October 30**

Press release 456 dated October 31

Toast by Foreign Minister Hossain

It gives me great pleasure to extend on behalf of the Government and people of Bangladesh a warm welcome to you, to Mrs. Kissinger, and to the members of your dele-

gation, on your first visit to Bangladesh. We are indeed happy that you have found time, despite your many preoccupations, to come to Bangladesh soon after the recent meeting in Washington between President Ford and our Prime Minister Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and our meeting in New York, when we were able to note with satisfaction the steady development of friendly relations between our two countries. Your visit to Bangladesh will contribute toward further development of the friendly relations which we both value.

The Bengalee people have known of the good will and friendly feelings that the American people have for them. Indeed, we recall with appreciation the sympathy and support of the people of the United States, including many of their representatives in Congress, during the difficult days of our liberation struggle. We therefore welcomed the establishment of relations between our governments soon after liberation and gratefully acknowledge the valuable economic assistance extended to us since liberation by the Government of the United States.

The emergence of sovereign, independent Bangladesh was a fulfillment of the aspiration of the Bengalee people to live in freedom. Independence meant for them an opportunity to recover from centuries of neglect and exploitation. The luxuriant green of Bangladesh reflects the innate fertility of our land. Yet today our people are prey to starvation and suffer from the scourges of poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment.

Our highest priority upon independence has been to harness the resources with which nature had endowed us and which remained unexploited due to the investments necessary for their development having been denied in the past. Our fertile land, given investments in irrigation and inputs, has the latent potential for a three- to four-fold increase in food production, which, together with proper development of our other resources including deposits of natural gas, our forests, and our fisheries, would provide the foundations of a self-reliant economy. This task has been made enormously difficult by the impact of global

inflation, which has resulted in a steep escalation of the cost of development. The situation has been further aggravated by the devastating floods that we experienced this year.

The limits of endurance of a people have hardly been tested as those of the people of Bangladesh. Yet they have demonstrated, and continue to demonstrate, their strong determination to contend against adversity and to build a better future for themselves.

There is no doubt that the material assistance we have received from friendly countries, including the United States, has provided valuable support for the efforts of our people. Indeed, such support and assistance will continue to be of importance to our efforts to build a better life for our people.

We have steadfastly pursued an independent, nonaligned foreign policy, seeking to develop friendly relations with all countries on the basis of respect for sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. We have remained committed to the pursuit of peace in our subcontinent, in our region, and in the world. We have therefore appreciated, Mr. Secretary of State, your efforts for the promotion of détente and the easing of tensions in different parts of the world. It is our hope that lasting peace may be established in the Middle East in consonance with the just aspirations of our Arab brethren, including the people of Palestine.

We, who represent the poor and underprivileged majority of mankind, look forward to the creation of an enduring structure of peace in the world so that valuable resources may be released for promotion of the welfare of the people of the world. Involved as we are in fighting continuing battles in the global war against hunger, we have appreciated the contribution you have made in focusing attention on the problem of food and in proposing a world conference on this subject. It is our hope that this conference will result in a meaningful program of action to meet one of the most urgent problems of our times.

Consistently with our commitment to peace, we have striven to promote normalization of relations and the establishment

of durable peace in our subcontinent. We are fortunate in having the best of relations with our immediate neighbors. We have made our maximum contribution toward promoting normalization of relations with Pakistan. We remain ready to move forward toward this goal through solution of the remaining outstanding problems on the basis of discussions, in a spirit of fair play and mutual accommodation. We note with satisfaction that the Government of the United States has appreciated our efforts to promote the process of normalization in our subcontinent.

Mr. Secretary of State, your visit has provided a valuable opportunity to hold useful discussions, which will undoubtedly contribute toward further development of friendship and understanding between our two countries. We have appreciated your assurance that your great country will continue to extend valuable assistance to us in promoting the welfare of our people. I am confident that the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the United States of America and Bangladesh will continue to grow to the mutual benefit of our two governments and peoples.

Excellency, ladies and gentlemen, may I now request you to join me in a toast to the health, long life, and happiness of His Excellency Mr. Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States of America, to the health, long life, and happiness of our honored guest, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State of the United States of America, and Mrs. Kissinger, and to the well-being and prosperity of the people of the United States of America.

Toast by Secretary Kissinger

Mr. Foreign Minister, Mrs. Hossain, distinguished guests: When I saw all these microphones brought and placed in front of us, I said to my friend the Foreign Minister that one of us had better say something intelligent and I am glad to know that he has already relieved me of any burdens that I may have with his eloquent toast. It is of

course difficult to respond to someone who speaks English better than I do.

I would like to express my great pleasure at being the first Secretary of State to visit Bangladesh, and it is a particular privilege for me because your Foreign Minister, whom I knew at Harvard, gave me an opportunity to renew my acquaintance with him first in New York and then here, and several other former colleagues from Harvard have also been invited to this occasion. But, above all, I am moved to be here because it is not often that one can visit a country whose courage and suffering earned its independence in a so-recent past and which symbolizes so much the necessities of our period.

Bangladesh has gone, in 10 years, from dependence to independence and now to interdependence. In the last century, when new nations came into being they thought they could then live a self-contained existence; and given the economies of that period, that was a reasonable aspiration. But Bangladesh came into being, as your Foreign Minister has pointed out, after centuries of suffering, at the precise moment when no nation could by its own methods achieve the aspirations of its people. All nations, however rich, however long established, have had to learn to live with the reality that all of us can achieve our objectives only by a common effort or not at all.

And so this country has found itself in a situation of increasing population, in a world of rising prices, and having to establish a basis for development and prosperity. The American people have always shared the aspirations for the independence and progress of Bangladesh and we have been able to contribute, to some small extent, to the realization of Bangladesh's hopes. We believe very strongly that a world in which children go hungry is an intolerable world and all of us, and all nations, face the problem of what to do about the challenge of food. Of course surplus countries can help, but the ultimate solution must be in increasing the productivity of the deficit countries,

and we agree with the Foreign Minister that in this respect the potential of Bangladesh has only begun to be tapped. The United States continues to be ready to cooperate with the deficit countries and especially with established friends like Bangladesh in achieving this aspiration.

In our talks this afternoon, we had an opportunity to discuss the whole range of development efforts of Bangladesh and to see in what way the efforts of other countries could be mobilized to help realize the aspirations of the people of this beautiful country. We agree that it is better to make a major effort than to stagger on from crisis to crisis overcoming only the symptoms.

As for the international goals stated by the Foreign Minister, they are compatible with the aspirations of my country for a world of diversity based on respect for national dignity and operating on the principles of equality and mutual accommodation. We hope that whatever disagreements remain on the subcontinent can be resolved in that same spirit, and we have applauded the generosity of spirit which Bangladesh has contributed to the negotiations that have been taking place in this area. The United States, whenever it can, will use its influence for a just and equitable peace, including, of course, in the critical area of the Middle East, and we know that those countries that cannot always participate directly in the negotiations will sustain us with their good wishes.

So, I want to say that my visit here has been too short. I have been touched by the warmth of Bengalee hospitality. I have been delighted to renew my acquaintance with so many old friends and to have met so many new ones. I was particularly pleased to have my talks with the Prime Minister, who had made a profound impression already when we met in New York and who had a very good and, I believe, very fruitful talk with President Ford.

So in bringing you the good wishes of our President I would like to propose a toast to the President of Bangladesh, to the Prime

Minister, to the Foreign Minister, and to the enduring friendship of our two peoples.

Joint Communique Issued at the Conclusion of the Visit to Bangladesh⁶

At the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the United States Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, accompanied by Mrs. Kissinger, visited the People's Republic of Bangladesh on October 30 and 31, 1974. During his stay the Secretary of State was received by the President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Mr. Mohammadullah, the Prime Minister, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and the Foreign Minister, Dr. Kamal Hossain. The President of Bangladesh expressed his pleasure at this visit, the first by an American Secretary of State to Bangladesh. On the evening of October 30 the Foreign Minister hosted a dinner and cultural presentation for the Secretary and Mrs. Kissinger.

The visit of the Secretary of State provided further opportunity to continue the discussions which started during the recent visit of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister to the United States at the time of the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations.

The discussions were held in a cordial atmosphere reflecting the warmth in relations between Bangladesh and the United States. Subjects of discussion included the prospects for world peace, particularly in the Middle East, détente and the economic issues now affecting all the nations of the world.

Secretary Kissinger and Foreign Minister Hossain noted with particular satisfaction that the cordial relations between their two countries were developing satisfactorily to the mutual benefit of both. They agreed that the progress which has been made towards reconciliation among the nations of the Subcontinent since the events of 1971 is encouraging, and expressed the hope that the process of normalization will continue. Both governments took particular pleasure in noting the repatriation of about 230,000 persons between Bangladesh and Pakistan up to June of this year under the aegis of the UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees]. Both sides expressed the hope that all remaining issues would be satisfactorily resolved through negotiations for the benefit of the peoples of the Subcontinent and in the interest of peace, stability and progress in the region.

The Government of Bangladesh expressed appreciation for the assistance the United States has provided during the last three years, including recent bilateral agreements signed in Dacca covering food-

⁶ Issued at Dacca on Oct. 30 (text from press release 457 dated Oct. 31).

grain and fertilizer loans amounting to approximately \$60 million worth of assistance. In addition, the substance of the discussions at the Aid-to-Bangladesh Meeting on October 24 and 25 in Paris was reviewed. Both sides agreed that this meeting represented a constructive development for the future of Bangladesh. The Bangladesh side expressed great satisfaction that the United States Government would assist Bangladesh within its capacity and that the United States would look forward to being an active participant in the efforts of the Aid-to-Bangladesh consortium to contribute to the future development of Bangladesh.

Both sides expressed the desire of their governments to continue their contacts and promote exchange at all levels aimed at the further development of friendly relations between the United States and Bangladesh.

THE VISIT TO PAKISTAN, OCTOBER 31- NOVEMBER 1

Dinner Hosted by Prime Minister Bhutto, Rawalpindi, October 31

Press release 459 dated November 1

Toast by Prime Minister Bhutto

Ladies and gentlemen: I have a written text of a speech in my pocket and I can take it out and read it. But it would be a dull conclusion to a very warm visit. So if you will bear with me, I would like to depart from the text and say a few words only which come sincerely from my heart. And since they come from my heart, this toast and this speech is not for Dr. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, but for Mrs. Kissinger, for one of two reasons. Firstly because they have been recently married; and she can say: "Well, you cannot say we have been recently married. We've been married for a few weeks or a few months." But a person like me, having been married for 20 years, would say, What are a few weeks or a few months? Especially when you travel so much, and Dr. Kissinger goes all over the world, leaving you behind in Washington, D.C., drab and dreary Washington, D.C. But you can read his books when he is gone. So this is a toast for Mrs. Kissinger and not for the Secretary of State. I re-

member fondly "Waltzing Matilda," but we prefer tilting Kissinger. But they say that Dr. Kissinger doesn't tilt anymore—but why did he get married?

We welcome you to Pakistan, Dr. Kissinger and Mrs. Kissinger. Your visit here is too short. But I know how terribly busy you are looking after your global responsibilities, and global responsibilities for a great power mean a lot to all of us because it means a world of peace and a world of stability. And we are all anxious to have peace and stability.

We know the great contributions your country has made and you have made as the exponent of your country's foreign policy for the achievement of a world equilibrium without an idealistic approach to world affairs. But when I say that it has not been idealistic, it does not mean that it has been devoid of idealism. Idealism can never be forgotten in this pragmatic world.

We who are your admirers would like you to be considered as a modern Metternich. But the difference is that Metternich's nation had lost the war and Metternich came after a Napoleon. You are casting and evolving the foreign policy of a great country without a war and as a victorious nation.

The economic and political situation is saturated. In a saturated economic and political situation, profound changes are difficult to achieve.

After the First World War and the Second World War it was possible to have a new international order, because you had to build a new international order on the ashes of war and on the debris of war. But when you have to evolve a new international economic and social order without war, without a clean slate, it is a more ingenious effort, and it requires more patience and more understanding of the whole international community.

What with the energy crisis, what with international inflation, what with the situation in Europe and in the Middle East and the situation evolving throughout the world—where are you going to pull the pulley and leave the structure intact? The pulleys have to be pulled, and yet the structure has to be kept intact. This is why your job is unen-

vious, and that is why you will have to devise new methods. You will have to bring to bear your full imagination, imagination of your great people. You have to have the forbearance of the pyramids.

You'll have to negotiate with different powers, different countries, different peoples, with conflicting interests and with different positions. And you have to waltz out of that situation like "Waltzing Matilda." Now, that's why we feel sorry for you—that on the one hand, you represent the greatest power on earth; on the other hand, you are incapacitated by the very power that you hold. We who come from smaller countries can express our views. We can express our views more freely. But these views do not have an affect on the changes in the international structure.

You have just come from India and Bangladesh. Believe me, we will be happy if your visit to India is successful and if your visit to Bangladesh is successful. You might say, is it not strange that Pakistan should say that, Pakistan with her differences with India, historical, way back God knows to when, time immemorial, thousands of years if not hundreds? But we say this is a new world. This is a different world. And we accept your position. We accept your big role in world affairs. You have come from Bangladesh, which was a part of our country. It is no longer a part of our country. Otherwise, three years ago, you would have come from East Pakistan into West Pakistan. Now they are separate. We wish them well. We would like them to prosper. We would like them to be happy, because in the subcontinent the biggest task we have is to face poverty and misery. If we can find a just solution to our problems—and we know that you will be happy if we can find these solutions—we would be very happy.

We have had very useful discussions today. I am happy with those discussions; I am very satisfied. Now the journalists, they will badger you tomorrow. I don't want the journalists to badger Dr. Kissinger. He has got enough problems as it is. And therefore, I'd like to tell the journalists that why do you want to trouble him unnecessarily and ask him silly

questions, pointed questions, "box items." Forget the box items, the small questions, forget the headlines. I say I am satisfied, and I speak now as a representative of Pakistan, and when I say I am satisfied, well then, that's enough.

And why should we expect results instantaneously? Results don't come instantaneously. We are not going into a cafeteria to order a hamburger. The question is that we have had discussions and I am satisfied with these discussions. That's good enough. It's the tip of the iceberg, and you shouldn't expect immediate results, or spontaneous, instantaneous decisions. Those days are gone. Those days no longer exist.

So I would say don't bother about the journalists. You go to Kabul. Say hello to Daoud for me and tell him that we'd like to be friends with them, and when you go after that to Iran, please give our warmest regards and affection and respects to His Majesty the Shah of Iran, with whom we have very close and cordial relations. And we wish you a very good journey to Rome, where we hope you will rest a little; and if your speech is still unwritten we have an excellent man in the Ministry of Agriculture, Mr. [Malik] Bucha, who can write a very good speech for you if you want him to write that speech.

So go back to the United States feeling satisfied with what you have achieved. And you have achieved a great deal. The fact that you have gone to India, the fact that you have gone to all these countries and come to us—we feel satisfied, we feel happy with your visit here. We wish you and Mrs. Kissinger to come again and stay a little longer in our country. You are always welcome; your leaders are always welcome.

And finally, ladies and gentlemen, I would like you to join me in a toast to Dr. Kissinger and his charming wife, Mrs. Kissinger, to our friendship with the United States of America—which is not a new friendship. It's an old friendship, it is over a generation, and it is a constant friendship. It has not gone through ups and downs. It has gone up and up, and there is no question of its going through ups and downs; because when you

have fundamental friendship, it doesn't go down—it goes up or it stays steady.

Toast by Secretary Kissinger

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Bhutto, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: I wish, Mr. Prime Minister, you had pulled the speech from your pocket and read something pedantic and bureaucratic—which is what is usually prepared for one—because then my difficulty in following one of the more eloquent men of our times would not be so great. Of course the Prime Minister knows very well that his remarks about the press were not designed to calm them down, they were an incitement to riot. [Laughter.]

I appreciate the very warm remarks, and coming to this country is always returning to old friends. This is my second visit here as Secretary of State, and I met the Prime Minister for the first time under circumstances that were very difficult for Pakistan.

I admired his wisdom in that difficult period. And I could see how he had rebuilt a nation from a situation that could not have been more complex. And having lived through that period with him for a few days, I would like to remark on the generosity of spirit that was reflected in what he said about the relationship of Pakistan to India and to Bangladesh.

There is sometimes speculation of what I do when I go on these trips. And there are some articles that claim that I tell everybody what they would like to hear. The fact is that I try to tell everybody exactly the same thing. When I was in India, I pointed out that the United States believed in the process of peaceful accommodation in the subcontinent, that it welcomed the negotiations that were going on, and that it strongly favored a peaceful solution. But I also said there, as I say here, that the United States has an interest in a secure and unified and independent and sovereign Pakistan. And on this basis I believe that peace on the subcontinent can be achieved for the benefit of all of its people.

I appreciate very much, Mr. Prime Minister, your observations about the international

scene, because it is true that what the world faces today is how to build a peaceful international order for which there is no precedent. And in the absence of catastrophe, for which there is no immediate impetus, it is moreover a peaceful order which cannot be based simply on the equilibrium of power, because that is too dangerous. But also without an equilibrium, life is too insecure. But it must also reflect a sense of justice, where all the nations feel that they have a stake in maintaining that new international system.

Despite differences of ideology and despite differences in history, the United States is trying to do its bit in bringing about in this world conditions of a degree of interdependence which is unique in history. I have been speaking about the problem of interdependence for the last year. And I thought that I had been in the forefront of those who had coined this concept. But then I came across this speech of the Prime Minister, who as usual said the same thing more eloquently than I did. He said:

The world today is very different than the world in which Pakistan emerged as an independent nation 26 years ago. The passage of time has witnessed a gradual but perceptible transformation in the minds of men and their vision of the world. Competing ideologies no longer cause the fear or inspire the fervor that characterized the era of the Cold War. Above all, there is a greater perception of global unity and interdependence—a concern for using the world's riches more beneficially and sharing them more equitably—and a concept of justice and fairness transcending national frontiers.

Mr. Prime Minister, these views reflect exactly our attitude. And I have taken the liberty of quoting you because, when the formal talks are over and when one speaks of specific issues here and there, one tends to forget that the only reliable guarantee of nations dealing with each other is whether they have the same perception of the world and the same general objective with respect to the nature of peace.

I have appreciated in our talks today, Mr. Prime Minister, that we did not get lost in trivialities and spoke about the essentials. I share your feeling that the talks were useful

and that, as always, we talked as old friends and as constant friends. And I know that whenever we will come back here or whenever an American Secretary of State or President comes here, he will be meeting old and reliable friends.

And it is in this spirit that I would like to propose a toast to the Prime Minister and Mrs. Bhutto, to the people of Pakistan, and to the friendship between Pakistan and the United States.

Joint Communiqué Issued at the Conclusion of the Visit to Pakistan ⁷

At the invitation of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the United States Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, visited Pakistan from October 31 to November 1. Secretary Kissinger held comprehensive discussions with the Prime Minister and Minister of State [for Foreign Affairs and for Defense] Aziz Ahmed on Pakistan-United States bilateral relations and on a broad range of other international issues. The discussions took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect, in keeping with the special friendship and close ties that exist between Pakistan and the United States.

The Secretary conveyed to the Prime Minister, President Ford's personal greetings and reiterated the President's desire to maintain and expand the close and friendly relations which have traditionally existed between the two nations. The Prime Minister warmly reciprocated President Ford's message and welcomed the President's assurances that the U.S. would continue to support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a strong, secure and prosperous Pakistan as an important element in the maintenance of international peace, and that this would remain an important principle of American foreign policy. The Prime Minister and the Secretary agreed that mutual respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs was essential for peaceful relations among all states.

The Prime Minister reviewed with the Secretary the efforts the Government of Pakistan has made to restore peace and bolster stability in the South Asian region. The Secretary expressed U.S. admiration of the Prime Minister's efforts to normalize Pakistan's relations with India and Bangladesh. He told the Prime Minister that the visits he had recently completed to New Delhi and Dacca had heightened his awareness of the importance of the normalization process and his confidence in its continued progress.

⁷ Issued at Islamabad on Oct. 31 (text from press release 460).

He expressed his particular satisfaction with the progress Pakistan and India had made in moving forward together toward the implementation of the provisions of the 1972 Simla Agreement.

The Prime Minister called the Secretary's attention to the proposal for a nuclear weapons free zone in South Asia which Pakistan has sponsored in the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. They took note of the adverse implications for stability of nuclear proliferation and agreed that renewed efforts should be made to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

The Prime Minister expressed his government's continued appreciation for the economic assistance the U.S. has over the years provided Pakistan. He welcomed the United States Government's decision to furnish approximately 100,000 tons of wheat under Public Law 480 program to help meet Pakistan's immediate needs. The Secretary assured the Prime Minister that the U.S. would continue to give careful consideration to Pakistan's additional requirements.

The Prime Minister and the Secretary took note of the increasing world economic interdependence and expressed concern over the steep rise in price levels of essential goods. They stressed the need for cooperative endeavors by all the governments concerned to prevent further aggravation of the world economic situation. They hoped that the forthcoming World Food Conference in Rome would succeed in taking necessary steps to stabilize the food situation and especially to mitigate the serious food shortages faced by the most seriously affected developing countries.

The Secretary welcomed the initiatives being taken by the Government of Pakistan designed to achieve self-sufficiency in food for Pakistan itself and to expand Pakistan's food exports to deficit countries. He noted that the U.S. has been assisting the Government of Pakistan's expanded agricultural research efforts and pledged further U.S. assistance in such high priority areas as fertilizer production and water resources utilization.

The Prime Minister and the Secretary reviewed the efforts now going forward to bring about further progress toward a just and lasting solution to the problems of the Middle East. The Prime Minister commended the Secretary for the initiatives he had taken during his recent visit to Middle Eastern capitals and urged him to continue these valuable efforts.

The Secretary expressed his deep appreciation to the Prime Minister for the warm hospitality he and his colleagues had again received in Pakistan. He and the Prime Minister agreed that the discussions they had held had been most useful and they looked forward to meeting again to exchange views. In this connection, Secretary Kissinger delivered an invitation to Prime Minister Bhutto from President Ford

to visit with him in Washington at a mutually convenient date within the first three months of the coming year. The Prime Minister accepted the invitation with pleasure. The Prime Minister conveyed an invitation for President Ford to visit Pakistan in 1975, and Secretary Kissinger accepted the invitation on behalf of the President.

THE VISIT TO AFGHANISTAN, NOVEMBER 1

Joint Statement Issued at the Conclusion of Secretary Kissinger's Discussions⁸

United States Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, paid an official visit to the Republic of Afghanistan on November 1, 1974, at the invitation of the Government of Afghanistan. During his stay he was received by the Head of State and Prime Minister, Mohammad Daoud and met Mr. Mohammad Naim [adviser to the Prime Minister] and Deputy Foreign Minister Waheed Abdullah. He had lunch with the Head of State and Prime Minister Mohammad Daoud.

The two sides conducted frank discussions on a wide range of issues in the friendly atmosphere that characterizes U.S.-Afghan relations. The topics included bilateral relations, recent developments in the Near East and South Asia region, progress in international détente, and the mutual interests of both nations of securing a peaceful, stable, and cooperative world. The Afghan side informed Secretary Kissinger of its views and position on a number of international issues including the situation prevailing in the region to which Afghanistan belongs. Secretary Kissinger informed the Afghan side of his discussions with other governments in the region. They agreed that the way to find lasting, durable and peaceful solutions to existing problems and differences between states is through constructive and thorough discussions among all sides concerned.

Both sides expressed pleasure at the warm and friendly relations between their governments. In expressing his appreciation for this opportunity to visit Afghanistan, the Secretary affirmed his admiration for progress being made by the government and people of the Republic of Afghanistan. Secretary Kissinger also conveyed to President Daoud warm personal wishes from President Ford.

The Afghan and American sides stressed the importance of international cooperation in the field of economic and technical development and its major role in strengthening international stability and peace. The Afghan side expressed its pleasure at the contribution towards this end being made by the United States in Afghanistan through bilateral economic, technical, and educational cooperation.

⁸ Issued at Kabul on Nov. 1 (text from press release 462).

The Secretary expressed the continuing desire of the United States to cooperate with the Republic of Afghanistan in achieving its economic development goals. In this connection the Secretary informed the Afghan side that he will ask a senior official of the U.S. Agency for International Development to visit Afghanistan in the near future to review with the Afghan authorities joint programs and progress in bringing projects to fruition.

THE VISIT TO IRAN, NOVEMBER 1-3

News Conference by Secretary Kissinger and Minister Ansary, Tehran, November 2

Press release 464 dated November 2

Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance Hushang Ansary: Gentlemen, we have just emerged from a meeting with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and his distinguished colleagues. At this meeting let me start by saying we have expressed our pleasure and privilege at the opportunity to have the Secretary here in Iran and to discuss matters of mutual interest, not only with His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah as was done last night, but also here at this Ministry in connection with the various aspects of our cooperation between the United States and Iran.

I took the opportunity at the meeting with the Secretary to express our great appreciation for the good work he has done and is continuing in connection with peacemaking efforts in the Middle East. We have followed his itinerary very closely, and we are highly appreciative of his personal contributions, which have been great, in bringing about conditions to create peace and stability in the area, as we have always felt in this country it is high time that the people of the region in this part of the world disengage themselves from the problems of confrontation and, instead, embark on extensive programs of economic development and social reform that should be aimed at raising the standard of living and insuring welfare and prosperity for the people of these countries. In that respect, we have expressed not only our appreciation for the great contributions of the Secretary of State but also wished him continued success in his efforts.

May I say also that we are very pleased that, concurrent with the visit of the Secretary, agreement has been reached on the formation of a Joint Commission at ministerial level to oversee and supervise the development of relations between the countries in many areas of special interest, including political and economic, scientific, cultural, and other subjects of interest. We are gratified that the Secretary personally has agreed to co-chair the Commission, and we are certain that as a result of the talks that we had this morning, the Commission should be able to make important contributions to the development of relations between the two countries, a relationship that has traditionally been very close and will continue to be close, taking its inspiration from the wishes of His Imperial Majesty and the leaders of your country, the United States. With that brief remark, ladies and gentlemen, may I now give you the Secretary of State.

Secretary Kissinger: Mr. Minister, ladies and gentlemen, after reading some of the accounts about the Iranian-American relationships over recent weeks, I think it is important to emphasize that I've come here to visit old and trusted and steady friends. All of my colleagues and I have been very grateful for the traditionally cordial and warm reception we have had here. I have had the privilege of spending over two hours with His Imperial Majesty last evening, and this morning the Minister of Finance and I, as well as our associates, had a very full exchange about the Commission that we have agreed to set up—but a Commission that makes sense only within the framework of compatible views about the future evolution of this area and of the world economy.

So all our talks here have been very positive and with an attitude that we share a common destiny. I think the communique speaks for itself, and I see no point in reviewing it. But it makes clear that a considerable amount of attention was devoted to a review of the international situation, in which we always benefit from His Majesty's advice and perceptions.

Another important part of our discussions both last evening and this morning was de-

voted to the future of the world and how to master some of the current dislocations. With respect to the related problems of energy, food, and inflation, there is a clear recognition on both sides that the stability and progress of the industrialized world as well as the development of the least developed parts of the world are essential to maintaining all that has been achieved in the last generation and equally essential to the future peace and stability of the whole world.

It was in this context—that of the general economic set of relationships—that the question of oil prices was discussed in a constructive and positive spirit and with a sense of hopeful evolution with respect to the contribution that can be made to the objective that I previously stated. Our Iranian friends have, in addition, a full recognition of the crucial importance of the problem of food, and we have discussed several methods by which our two countries can cooperate in meeting the needs of the world for additional food and for additional resources to produce more food.

And finally, we discussed in this context the necessity of mastering the world inflation, because none of these problems can be dealt with on an isolated basis. Within the next month we will set up subgroups in various fields including those that have been mentioned by the Minister of Finance and myself, which have been assured of the highest level attention in both countries, charged with preparing, hopefully, within six months, major advances in these fields for another meeting of the Joint Commission, which we plan to hold in Washington, though we will not be able to match the hospitality—and you will have to keep in mind that we have a shorter history in which to learn these civilized methods.

So, we are very pleased with our meeting here, and I would like to express my appreciation and to convey the greetings of President Ford, who hopes to make the acquaintance of His Imperial Majesty very soon.

Q. Mr. Secretary, will you take some questions?

Secretary Kissinger: Yes.

Q. Put maybe overly simply, the United States favors lower oil prices, and Iran has favored higher oil prices. Based on your visit here, do you think there will be any narrowing of the views on prices?

Secretary Kissinger: I think of course the statement of the issue, as you yourself said, is overly simple. I think that you of course all have to keep in mind that Iran cannot make these decisions unilaterally and will have to consult its partners in OPEC [Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries] about any conclusions that it may reach with respect to oil prices. I think the views with respect to the linked problems of oil prices and inflation have been brought closer.

Q. The suggestion of that, sir, is that you would hope that Iran at some point in the near future would use its influence in the direction of lowering prices. Is that correct?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, as I've tried to explain on a number of occasions, the oil price problem has many aspects. When prices have been rising, there are many other things that can be done other than immediately lowering them. But, first of all, some of you will have an opportunity to meet with His Imperial Majesty. Secondly, I do not think it would be appropriate for me to go into details except to say that we had a constructive and positive talk on the subject and that our views have been brought closer.

Q. Mr. Secretary, are you hopeful that in the medium run that oil prices might be reduced?

Secretary Kissinger: I'm hopeful that the impact of oil prices on the world economy can be brought under control, and I believe that this requires, on the other side, some recognition of the impact of the inflation of the world on the oil-producing countries. But I think in that framework progress is possible.

Q. But in the immediate future, do you anticipate any further rise in oil prices, perhaps not a very great one, but a further rise as a result of the OPEC meeting in Vienna?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I think we should wait until we see what His Imperial Majesty will propose at the OPEC meeting. Of course the hope of the United States is that further rises can be avoided.

Q. Mr. Secretary, did you discuss with the Shah the prospects for a possible meeting between producers and the consumers anytime soon?

Secretary Kissinger: Yes, we discussed the initiatives that have been made with respect to meetings of producers and consumers. I explained to His Imperial Majesty the general American approach to the problem of the dialogues. We, in any event, will remain in close contact with His Majesty, as we traditionally do, to make sure that we understand each other's views. The United States is not opposed to a dialogue between consumers and producers, and the problem is to conduct it in such a manner that it will achieve the desired results for both parties.

Q. Mr. Secretary, on the Middle East, did you have a considerable discussion with the Shah on this issue, and would you tell us whether there is any fundamental difference in U.S. and Iranian views?

Secretary Kissinger: I had an extensive discussion with His Imperial Majesty on the Middle East and benefited from his evaluation of the situation. I believe that, as has been the case in the past, our analysis is substantially congruent.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what is the American view on His Imperial Majesty's proposal for a fixed price of just under \$10?

Secretary Kissinger: We are not, in principle, opposed to the idea of a fixed price, but we are studying it further.

Q. Mr. Secretary, has the question of food supply been linked with the question of energy supply?

Secretary Kissinger: No, the issue of food supply has not been linked with the issue of energy supply. But on the other hand, there is an inherent connection between the will-

ingness of the world to take a global view to one problem and the ability of the world to take a global view to the other problem. This is not a question of a condition; this is a question of the approach.

We will proceed with our food policy without reference to any decisions that have been made or will be made. But any thoughtful person must recognize that reality establishes a connection between the ability of the world to deal globally with its problems in various fields.

But I would also like to add that, at least as far as Iran and the United States are concerned, this is not a problem.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what is the U.S. view on the role that Iran should play in the Indian Ocean?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, as you know, I'm trying to curb the missionary spirit in our bureaucracy, and therefore I'm trying to reduce our natural propensity of telling other people what to do. But Iran, by virtue of its resources, its political cohesion, and its perception of itself, can play a significant and stabilizing role. It has already attempted to contribute, and not without success, to easing relations between several of its neighbors, and I believe that this is a role it can continue to play.

In the field of agriculture, for example, Iran can make a major contribution to enhancing the productivity of other countries in the Indian Ocean, and we discussed various methods by which our technology and the Iranian resources can combine to bring this about, which will become apparent during and after the World Food Conference. So we consider that Iran's role in the Indian Ocean is a constructive one and one which we tend to support.

Q. Mr. Secretary, can you tell us whether the United States is moving toward a reassessment of its attitudes toward the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and whether this subject came up—

Secretary Kissinger: I have to tell you, Mr. Minister, this is the press that travels with

me that normally sees me on background, and now they are trying to ask on the record all the questions to which they have already heard my answers on background. [Laughter.] As I've pointed out to you gentlemen previously—

Minister Ansary: They were wondering if you'd changed your mind—

Secretary Kissinger: No, they want to get it on the record. As I pointed out to you gentlemen previously, I will probably visit the Middle East next week in order to assess and to talk to the participants at the Rabat summit and to other countries in the area that for obvious reasons were not at the Rabat summit about their conclusions with respect to recent events. The United States is not, at this moment, undertaking a reassessment of its policy; after I return from the area, naturally, the President and his senior advisers will consider the overall situation.

But I do not expect a change in American policy.

Q. Mr. Secretary, following up on Mr. Koppel's [Ted Koppel, ABC News] question about the Indian Ocean, did you discuss with the Shah the prospect of an American base on the island of Diego Garcia? Could you tell us a little about that?

Secretary Kissinger: I will answer that question, but I think you gentlemen have to recognize that I cannot in this press conference give a full account of a four-hour discussion with the Shah. We did not discuss this issue. But could we have some questions from the Iranian journalists present?

Q. Yes. Mr. Secretary, could you kindly tell me if there is any chance of Iranian investment in American companies, like Iranian investment in Germany's Krupp Company?

Secretary Kissinger: It is not an issue that came up directly, but it is the sort of issue that would be addressed by the Joint Commission. I can say that in principle we have no objection to this.

Q. Mr. Secretary, will the work of the Joint Commission be limited to the bilateral

relations, or will you be doing things together in turn?

Secretary Kissinger: Now, the work of the Commission will include such problems as possible investment in third countries, for example, and it will address itself, I believe, also to what can be contributed through our bilateral relations to the regional development in, for example, the Indian Ocean.

Q. Mr. Secretary, did the question of arms deliveries to Iran come up, and if so, in what context?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, as you know, we have an ongoing arms relationship with Iran, and one or two issues in connection with this came up tangentially. There there is no policy issue that requires a great deal of consideration at this moment.

Q. Mr. Secretary, at the outset you said that the Joint Commission only makes sense in the light of the compatible views of the two countries on the world economy. Do you consider, after your talks, that both nations have a compatible view now on the world economy?

Secretary Kissinger: I said that His Imperial Majesty and I discussed how essential it was for the industrial nations to maintain their stability, their possibility for progress, for maintaining the kind of earth that brought us to the present situation, or that brought us not to the present situation but brought about the evolution of the whole post-World War II period; and secondly, also, the necessity of helping the least developed countries. I believe, with respect to those objectives and to the objectives of bringing about global solutions to the problems of energy, food, and inflation, the objectives of the United States and Iran can be said to be substantially compatible.

Q. Mr. Secretary, does what you have said on oil previously mean that you now expect Iran to support efforts to hold the line on oil prices?

Secretary Kissinger: I don't think I should be any more specific than I have been, and I

think that you will just have to wait to see what position Iran will take.

Q. Mr. Secretary, nevertheless, in speaking of the United States and leaving Iran out of it, you said that the hope of the United States is that further rises can be avoided. What happens to our hope for lower prices?

Secretary Kissinger: Before you can have lower prices, you have to have stable prices.

Q. Mr. Secretary, Iran has proposed this unitary price of \$9.85 in the gulf. Do you regard this as a true weighted average reflecting current rates in the gulf, or as an increase?

Secretary Kissinger: I was warned before I got here under no circumstances to get myself involved in a detailed discussion of oil prices, because my Iranian counterpart would be infinitely more competent than I and would overwhelm me with statistics. So I'm not prepared to go into a discussion of what price would be considered the correct price by the United States or a price from which indexing might be considered appropriate. But it is one of the problems that has to be discussed.

Q. Can we ask, perhaps, the question from Mr. Ansary? How would Iran regard an arbitration of the present oil price?

Minister Ansary: Well, as you know, His Imperial Majesty has proposed that he would be prepared to link the price of oil with the rate of inflation in the industrial countries. Once you link the two together, they can move in either direction together.

Q. Mr. Minister, when you say once you link them together they can move in either direction, do you believe that, in a period when there is massive world inflation, it is realistic to expect a downward trend in oil prices linked to a downward trend in other commodity prices?

Minister Ansary: I stand on my statement that the idea is to link the two together. Once you do that, they both have the same destiny. Now, whether it's realistic or not depends on

the approach that we all make to the problem, toward inflation.

Q. Mr. Ansary, I wasn't challenging your statement by any means, sir. I was seeking further amplification of it.

Minister Ansary: As you know, we're all concerned with the rampant inflation with which the world has been faced. This proposal was made initially by His Imperial Majesty in the context of his desire for the entire community of nations to cooperate in lowering the rate of inflation, which is only beneficial to the entire world community.

Q. Mr. Minister, does Iran want to mate the two at the present levels, when the price of oil is artificially high, or would it be willing to go back to some previous index level from previous years?

Minister Ansary: All I can say is that linking can only take place at the time you talk about it. There was no question of making the link retroactive.

Q. Mr. Secretary, did you and His Majesty specifically discuss his plan for indexing and for linking 20 or 30 commodities to the price of oil? And if so, I assume you're familiar with the criticism of that, that it amounts to institutionalizing inflation. Did that come up?

Secretary Kissinger: Yes, that came up, and I will have to stand on what I said; I cannot go into more detail about it. I repeat what I said, that what we discussed was within the context of considering the impact on the world economy, especially on the industrialized nations as well as on the least developed nations, of the energy crisis, as well as the impact, on the producers, of inflation.

Now, obviously it is in neither side's interest to build an institutionalized system that accentuates the tendencies on both sides. And some means will have to be found to take account of these objectives, and I left the meeting with some encouragement that an evolution in a constructive direction was possible. Now, what form this will take, one will have to await Iran's proposals at the OPEC

meetings and other discussions that may take place.

Minister Ansary: Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. I think since the Secretary has to leave for the airport immediately in about five minutes from now, we'll close the meeting. Thank you very much.

Joint Communique Issued at the Conclusion of the Visit to Iran ⁹

At the invitation of the Government of Iran the Secretary of State of the United States, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, visited Iran November 1-3, 1974. The visit was another expression of long-standing close and friendly relations between the two countries and their interest in further strengthening the ties between them.

During the visit Dr. Kissinger was received by His Imperial Majesty, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, Shahanshah of Iran. Secretary Kissinger conveyed to His Majesty the warm personal greetings of President Ford, together with the President's expressions of appreciation for His Majesty's leadership and statesmanlike role in world affairs. His Majesty and the Secretary of State reviewed the international situation and discussed matters of bilateral interest in the spirit of mutual respect and understanding that has long characterized U.S.-Iranian relations. Dr. Kissinger also met with Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Abbas Ali Khalatbary and Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance Hushang Ansary.

In their review of the international situation the two sides expressed satisfaction with the progress toward global détente and agreed on the need for further efforts to reduce tensions. The two sides also noted their close similarity of views on regional security issues. The U.S. side expressed its continuing support for Iran's programs to strengthen itself and to work cooperatively with its neighbors in the Persian Gulf and wider Indian Ocean regions. It also stated appreciation for Iranian efforts to promote peaceful solutions to disputes among its neighbors. The Iranian side explained its concept of increasing economic cooperation among the countries on the Indian Ocean littoral. Both sides reaffirmed their continued support of CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] and the contribution which it makes to regional security and economic development.

Secretary Kissinger described the efforts the United States is making in search of a lasting peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Secretary reaffirmed the determination of the United

⁹ Issued at Tehran on Nov. 2 (text from press release 463).

States to press its efforts to help maintain the momentum of the negotiations begun earlier this year. The Iranian side reaffirmed its support for the peace-making efforts of the United States.

The two sides engaged in a full, constructive and friendly discussion of the global petroleum price and supply question in the context of a review of the overall world economic situation. The two sides also reviewed other aspects of the world economic situation and agreed on the need for cooperative efforts to check inflation and avert the common misfortune of a major economic crisis. The Iranian side explained its programs of bilateral financial assistance to other countries and its proposal for a new multilateral organization to aid developing countries. The American side welcomed Iran's far-sighted policies in this respect. The two sides agreed to cooperate in global and regional programs to eliminate the world food deficit. The two sides agreed to form a U.S.-Iran Joint Commission designed to increase and intensify the ties of cooperation that already exist between the two countries. It was decided that the U.S. Secretary of State and the Iranian Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance would serve as the co-chairmen of the Commission. The first meeting of the Joint Commission, which was held November 2, laid out a broad program of cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, defense, scientific, and technological fields. Joint working groups will be formed to carry out the work of the Commission and to enlist the energies and skills of governmental and private institutions in fulfilling the aims of the Commission. The next meeting of the Commission will be held in Washington next year.

A major element in the work of the Joint Commission will be a program in the field of nuclear energy, especially power generation, for which an agreement for cooperation is now under discussion. Meanwhile, contracts have been signed under which the United States is to provide enriched fuel for two power reactors. Contracts for fuel for six additional reactors will be signed in the near future. Iran will be discussing construction of the reactors with American firms. The Iranian side has also expressed interest in participating in a proposed commercial uranium enrichment facility to be built in the United States. The two sides were in full agreement on the need for better national and international controls over nuclear materials to prevent them from falling into irresponsible hands. They further agreed that every effort should be made to discourage further national development of nuclear weapons capabilities building on the principles of the Non-Proliferation Treaty to which both are parties.

Among other fields in which cooperation is already underway and will be further expanded are joint ventures with Iran in the fields of agriculture, the development of petrochemical and electronics industries, as well as animal husbandry, telecommunications, highway construction, geology, space tech-

nology, education and social services. Other fields of cooperation will be developed as the work of the Joint Commission progresses.

THE VISIT TO ROMANIA, NOVEMBER 3-4

Remarks by Secretary Kissinger to the Romanian Press, Bucharest, November 3

Press release 465 dated November 4

Q. Your visit in Romania—the talks you have had and the contacts you made. Maybe you'll comment on them?

Secretary Kissinger: The United States attaches considerable importance to its friendly relations with Romania. We have exchanged ideas over the years on a variety of subjects, and this is a continuation of the dialogue about international affairs and possibilities of the economic cooperation between Romania and the United States.

Q. How do you characterize the talks you have had with the President?

Secretary Kissinger: I consider the talks I have had with the President constructive, wide ranging, and friendly.

Q. How do you see the development of American-Romanian relations?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I am hopeful that with the passage of the trade bill in the next month or so we will be able to extend most-favored-nation status to Romania, which would give new impetus to our economic relations. Our political relations have already been good, and we will maintain the close contact that has characterized them, so I think we are in a period which will show even more improvement in our relations.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what is in your opinion the most controversial issue of the world which, if resolved quickly, would insure lasting peace in the world?

Secretary Kissinger: There are several issues, but the Middle East problem is certainly one of the most difficult ones.

Q. How precise could you be about your

scheduled trip to the Middle East? How do you see the continued prospects for negotiations after the Arab summit?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, we have announced today that I will be visiting Cairo, Riyadh, Amman, Damascus, and Jerusalem starting Tuesday, and the purpose of the trip is to assess the significance of the Arab summit for peace negotiations in the Middle East. As far as the United States is concerned, our position is clear. We will do our utmost to promote a just and lasting peace in the Middle East within the framework of the relevant Security Council resolutions, and we will work with the parties that are interested to bring about such a peace.

Q. What is the U.S. position for the European Security Conference?

Secretary Kissinger: The United States favors the completion of the European Security Conference as expeditiously as it can be arranged, and we support the negotiations that are going on and take an active part in them.

Q. There is much talk lately about new economic order in the world. How would you comment on that?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I have to comment favorably, because I made some of these speeches. I believe that the combination of the energy crisis, the food crisis, and inflation in many countries produces the need for global solutions in a number of fields. I'm going to the World Food Conference in Rome on Tuesday, and I plan to make some statements of the American position with respect to worldwide agricultural problems, and I think there is a necessity to organize ourselves to meet these needs.

Q. Your Excellency, what are the roles of the small and middle-sized countries in solving the international problems?

Secretary Kissinger: We are living in a world now where the superpowers can, and should, no longer attempt to control all decisions, because power is more diffused, and you cannot build a lasting peace except on the

agreement of all of the countries that will be affected by it.

Dinner Hosted by President Ceausescu, Bucharest, November 3

Press release 466 dated November 4

Toast by President Ceausescu

I would like to express my satisfaction for the visit Secretary of State Kissinger is making to Romania, and I hope that this will mark a new stage in the development of cooperation between our countries. This is the second visit which the Secretary of State is making to Romania. I hope that his third visit will take place soon, together with President Ford.

I toast the good cooperation between our countries, and I wish the U.S. Secretary of State success in his activity and good health.

To the President of the United States.

Toast by Secretary Kissinger

I had the privilege to visit Romania five years ago, when I accompanied President Nixon. We had then one of the most important talks I have ever had in the company of the President, talks with consequences which extended far beyond the scope of our bilateral discussions. It was then that the basis for the development of very cordial and friendly relations between our countries was established. We exchanged views on many subjects and pledged cooperation in many fields. The United States, under the new administration, is resolved to continue this policy which was initiated on the occasion of that visit.

Now that there are good prospects for the trade bill to be passed by Congress, I am sure that we will soon grant Romania most-favored-nation status. Consequently the economic relations between our countries will be given a new impetus. I hope that we can find a mutually convenient time for President Ford's visit as soon as possible, and I believe we will be able to achieve that.

I am sure that my visit, and especially the meeting of the two Presidents, will acceler-

ate the development of our relations. It is in this spirit that I invite you to toast the friendship between Romania and the United States.

To President Ceausescu's health.

Joint Communiqué Issued at the Conclusion of the Visit to Romania¹⁰

At the invitation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania George Macovescu, Secretary of State of the United States of America Henry A. Kissinger, with Mrs. Kissinger, paid an official visit to Romania on November 3-4, 1974. The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu received Secretary Kissinger, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania George Macovescu also held talks with Secretary of State Kissinger. They had cordial and constructive exchanges of view both on bilateral relations as well as on various international issues of mutual interest. It was determined with satisfaction that a high degree of agreement exists on these matters, reflected in the continuing good and mutually beneficial relations between the two countries.

Both sides reaffirmed the importance attached by the two governments to the principles set forth in the joint declaration of the Presidents of the two states on December 5, 1973. Noting the favorable prospects for further development of relations between the two countries, they agreed that those principles—together with the joint declaration on economic, industrial and technical cooperation—provide a sound basis for implementing and expanding long-term cooperation between the two countries in all areas.

The two sides noted with satisfaction the recent growth in trade between the two countries and resolved to act to promote widened economic cooperation. The two sides agreed that introducing most-favored-nation status into bilateral economic relations as soon as possible is an important factor for developing cooperation between the U.S. and Romania in this field. The two sides agreed to the early opening of negotiations on a trade agreement. They also agreed to negotiate an agreement on long-term economic cooperation.

Previous experience in cultural exchanges and scientific and technical cooperation was evaluated and prospects for further expansion were deemed favorable. A new long-term agreement on cultural, scientific and technical cooperation is soon to be negotiated.

In accordance with the joint declaration of December 5, 1973, the two sides reaffirmed their intention

¹⁰ Issued at Bucharest on Nov. 4 (text from press release 467).

to contribute to the solution of problems of a humanitarian nature.

In discussions marked by an open and friendly spirit on the main international problems of common interest, both sides underlined that solutions to the problems currently facing the world community must be pursued by peaceful means and negotiation without use of force or threat of force on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty, and juridical equality of all states, whatever their size or social, political and economic system. They also emphasized the need for efforts to move toward a world in which each nation can freely choose and develop its own political, social, economic and cultural life.

Special attention was paid to European security and cooperation. Both sides reaffirmed their determination to work constructively for an early and successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as an important stage in the process of building better understanding and cooperation between participating countries, in order to assure conditions where each is able to live in peace and security.

Both sides underlined their continued determination to strive for effective disarmament measures which strengthen the peace and security of all peoples.

In connection with the Middle East situation, both sides favorably noted the accords already reached. However, the need was underlined for continuing efforts to reach a just and lasting peace in this region.

The two sides underlined the need for a lasting political settlement of the Cyprus problem in keeping with the interests of the Cypriot people and all sides concerned and with international peace and understanding.

Current problems of the world economic situation were examined in the context of growing international interdependence. Stress was put on the need for finding solutions to the problems affecting the countries of the world, particularly those involving food, energy, population, and development. In this connection, emphasis was placed on the importance of conducting economic relations on an equitable basis.

Both sides agreed on the need to give effective support to the United Nations in strengthening world peace and developing international cooperation.

Both sides affirmed the importance of intensifying the contacts and consultations at all levels which characterize relations between the two countries, noting that these contribute both to increased mutual understanding between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United States of America, and to the strengthening of the cause of world peace. In this connection, President Nicolae Ceausescu renewed his invitation to President Ford to visit Romania. Secretary Kissinger stated that President Ford ac-

cepts the invitation with pleasure. It was agreed that the visit will take place at the earliest possible date.

Secretary Kissinger expressed appreciation for the cordial reception he was accorded in Romania as well as for the full exchange of views during his visit in Bucharest.

THE VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA, NOVEMBER 4

Remarks by Secretary Kissinger Upon Arrival, Belgrade

Press release 468 dated November 4

Mr. Foreign Minister, ladies and gentlemen: This is my first visit to Yugoslavia in four years. A country with which we have had friendly and cordial relations for almost the entire postwar period, Yugoslavia with its fierce spirit of independence and its independent policy has made a significant contribution to world peace. I look forward to exchanging ideas with the Foreign Minister, with President Tito, and with all of their colleagues in the spirit of frankness and cordiality that has always marked our relationship.

Thank you very much.

Remarks by President Tito and Secretary Kissinger ¹¹

President Tito

We had today very good talks with the Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger. The Secretary of State had talks before that with our Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. The talks were concerned with bilateral relations and also international problems, mostly the Middle East. As regards bilateral relations, we of course agreed to continue to develop and expand them. Current relations so far also are not bad; as regards international problems, especially the Middle East, concern was expressed on both sides because of the stagnation that is there. Much depends on the Government of the United States, which so far was the main influence in the

¹¹ Made at the conclusion of their meeting on Nov. 4 (text from press release 476).

carrying out of the disengagement and for a peaceful solution of the conflict between the Arab states and Israel. The Secretary of State will soon visit again this region, and he will know best what this situation is and what there is to do.

The discussions we had were very useful, and I am very glad Secretary Kissinger visited Yugoslavia, and on many things we discussed, our positions were identical.

Secretary Kissinger

I wanted to thank the President for the very cordial reception he has had for me and the very frank and friendly talks that we had. The President and I as well as his associates reviewed the bilateral relations between our two countries. I agreed completely with what the President said. Those relations were good to begin with and we decided to strengthen them through consultations and other means.

With respect to international problems, we reviewed several of them and special emphasis was paid to the Middle East. We, the United States, would like to do our best to prevent any stalemate from developing. This requires that all of the parties on both sides understand the special necessities of the other and make an effort to bring their positions closer to each other.

It is for this purpose that I am going to the Middle East to see whether useful negotiations can be conducted and in what manner, and I pledge that the United States will do its utmost to improve matters in the Middle East to a just and lasting peace.

Altogether I would evaluate my visit here very useful, contributing to mutual understanding and to the strengthening of our relationship.

Joint Statement at the Conclusion of the Visit to Yugoslavia ¹²

At the invitation of the Vice President of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Milos Minic, the Secretary of State

¹² Issued at Belgrade on Nov. 4 (text from press release 475).

of the United States of America, Henry A. Kissinger, together with his wife, paid an official visit to Yugoslavia on November 4, 1974.

The President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito received Secretary of State Henry Kissinger who, on that occasion, conveyed to the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia a message from the President of the United States of America Gerald Ford. The President of the Republic entertained Henry Kissinger, together with his wife and associates, at lunch. Mr. Kissinger was also received by the President of the Federal Executive Council Dzemal Bijedic. Vice President and Federal Secretary Minic and Secretary of State Kissinger held talks concerning all questions of interest to the two countries.

The talks held during these meetings in an atmosphere of friendship and openness, covered the most important international questions and bilateral relations between the two countries. Special attention was devoted to crisis areas in the world, such as the Near East and Cyprus. The two sides put forth their views about the paths towards a settlement of these and other outstanding world problems, affirmed the importance of continued regular contacts and consultations at all levels in various fields of mutual interest, and stressed the benefit these provide to increased understanding and mutual respect for one another's viewpoints and positions.

On the basis of the progress achieved at the Conference on European Security and Cooperation for preserving and consolidating peace in Europe and for further advancement of all-round constructive cooperation among European states, the two sides stressed their mutual interest in continued coordination of efforts to attain acceptance of basic principles for inter-European cooperation and security, and an early and successful conclusion of that conference.

The two sides gave special attention to current problems in the sphere of international economic developments and relations. Recognizing the fundamental interdependence of all nations and peoples, the two sides agreed that real peace and stability in the world could come only with significant progress towards solution of the pressing problems facing mankind in the fields of international economic relations, world economy, and economic development. They agreed further that lasting solutions to these problems could be found only on the basis of respect for independence, sovereignty, equality and non-interference among all states regardless of whether they have similar or different social, economic or political systems.

Reaffirming the necessity for widespread cooperation based on equality of all members of the international community on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in settling outstanding international problems, it was recognized

that Yugoslavia's policy of non-alignment makes an active contribution to greater understanding among peoples and the search for peaceful solution to international problems and conflicts.

Both sides assessed that bilateral cooperation between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the United States of America is developing favorably, and stressed the interest and readiness for its further advancement and expansion, especially in the spheres of economic, financial and scientific-technological cooperation, as well as in joint investments. They emphasized particularly the importance of the agreement under which United States and Yugoslav firms are cooperating in construction of Yugoslavia's first nuclear power plant.

They also confirmed their readiness to actively encourage further expansion of cultural cooperation and expressed their expectation that the participation of Yugoslavia at the forthcoming bicentennial of the United States of America will contribute to the deepening of understanding between the peoples of the two countries. They also emphasized the significance of the contribution to the development of the United States of America by U.S. citizens of Yugoslav extraction who represent a strong link of lasting friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Attaching extraordinary importance to the principles contained in the joint statement signed October 30, 1971 during President Tito's visit to the United States on which mutual relations of the two countries are based, as well as to the messages exchanged between Presidents Tito and Ford reaffirming these principles, the Vice President of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Milos Minic and the Secretary of State Henry Kissinger noted that these are the documents which, for Yugoslav-American relations, constitute a lasting basis of stable friendly relations and broad, mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries.

THE VISIT TO ITALY, NOVEMBER 4-5

Dinner Hosted by President Giovanni Leone, Rome, November 4

Press release 478 dated November 5

Toast by President Leone

Since this is the third time I have had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Kissinger, I would like to say that the cards between us are on the table, there is no bluffing, so it is useless to prepare speeches which won't be read and then thrown in the wastebasket—one speaks

extemporaneously. Mr. Kissinger played the last trick upon me when he gave me and Foreign Minister Moro a wonderful lunch. He had sent in a draft of his speech, but later he dropped it and spoke also of other things not on the draft. But, thank God, having some experience as a lawyer, I succeeded in answering him on the same plane. So this time we haven't even tried to play the traditional respectable diplomatic practice of exchanging speeches, refining the adjectives, changing the commas, and modifying the phrases. And then, how could one follow the rule, even such a noble rule, when the subject of the meeting is Mr. Kissinger, who revolutionized diplomacy and travels so generously, with dedication, with sacrifice, as a messenger of peace, as we welcome him once more here at the Quirinale Palace?

This is the third time we've met: exactly five months ago, Mr. Kissinger, July 5; two meetings in Rome, one of which is this one; and, in between, my official visit to the United States accompanied by Foreign Minister Moro. And today's meeting—a meeting which we requested and which you have so kindly accepted and welcomed—is a meeting which is due to the World Food Conference, which will open tomorrow and to which you will contribute your thought and the vigor and strength of the nation you represent. Well, that conference will make clear to the minds of all the responsible leaders of all countries how dramatic their commitment is at a truly significant and interesting moment in the evolution of history.

For years now studies have been made—and Italy gave its contribution with the Club of Rome, [Aurelio] Peccei, and others—and also in recent conferences as the one in Romania—for a very long time the dramatic plight forecast for humankind at the eve of next century has been studied the world over. This conference must therefore realize what are the responsibilities of the more developed countries and which country in this regard has a major responsibility—and that is your country, but also my country, although to a lesser extent—in supplying political will, moral strength, determination, tools, struc-

tures, and means to overcome the world's hunger.

Before receiving you, Mr. Kissinger, I met with Argentina's Foreign Minister; and we remarked with great regret that Argentina is not able to export its meat, while there is a meat shortage in other world areas, which means that there is lack of organization. I also met Mr. Waldheim [United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim], who called attention to the importance of this conference, saying what I will take the liberty of saying tomorrow in bringing my country's welcome to the conference; that is, that this is a matter of political decision and will therefore involve cooperation, coordination, collaboration among all the people of the world.

President Ford and you, Mr. Kissinger, have launched that word "cooperation," and you are its herald in your trips throughout all the world's regions. And indeed the two pillars of Italian foreign policy respond to this purpose, to this aim of cooperation: the Atlantic alliance, whose role you, we, and all the member nations have always thought of as a defensive one as well as one of evolution, progress, and détente; and Europe, where we are struggling—with, unfortunately, moments of arrest, which sadden and worry us—to shape in this old and great continent, which still has something to say and has to work in the light of its great tradition, in order to shape a united political institution which would go against no one, and specially not against America, but instead would pose itself ahead of and at the side of America to work together for détente, for peace, for the progress of the world's people.

Mr. Secretary, Mr. Kissinger, in your trip you have traveled over three continents, Europe, Asia, and Africa, a trip which was to end here in Italy—as we were saying earlier in private—and you were longing for perhaps a day of rest in Italy or in the United States, while this is only a pause because international developments still require the vigorous contribution of the United States, a contribution of poise, of strength, of loyalty, of vigor and will. And tomorrow, after a tiring day, you will resume your journey, a

very noble pilgrimage for peace and for the construction of world solidarity.

You will be accompanied by our heartfelt best wishes as well as by the reaffirmation from me personally—and tomorrow you will hear this repeated by our Foreign Minister and our Prime Minister when you meet but who now here join me in welcoming you—of the renewed statement of Italy's loyalty to its friendship, the statement that, in the difficult fabric of international détente, Italy is at the side of the United States, of course in the minor position that her possibilities, her capacity, and her international weight permit. These statements will accompany you in your mission for détente, and whatever you do for détente on the world level among the major powers, whatever you do in the Middle East to pick up again the threads of peace—that peace which we were following with great interest, which we thought was forthcoming, and which kindles so much trepidation in spirits the world over—you will be accompanied by our trust and our sympathy.

With these feelings we welcome you in warmth and friendship to this palace. And we have the pleasure to welcome Mrs. Kissinger, whom you, her husband, when we met in Washington promised to take to see the 700-room palace. And I answered: I haven't counted them yet, and I don't believe that the years that God will allow me, if he will let me complete my turn, will be enough to count them. But I also added: My bedroom is very small. These rooms are for the guests only, and especially when the guests are as charming as you, Mr. and Mrs. Kissinger. These doors are wide open. These lights recapture their old splendor. These halls relive the great moments in Italy's life in order to say to you that we—as friends and allies, as a people proud of their freedom, their independence, and their history—we look at your country with sympathy, with great trust, with confident expectation.

With these feelings, I ask you, gentlemen, to join me in raising our glasses to the health of the U.S. President, Mr. Ford, and his

gracious wife, to whom we send a special greeting of best wishes, as well as to the health of Mr. Kissinger, to the success of his mission, to the gracious Mrs. Kissinger, to the friendship of our two peoples.

Toast by Secretary Kissinger

Mr. President: You made some very friendly remarks about the purposes of my trip, the solidarity between Italy and the United States, and it is true: When I come to Italy I feel that I am not in a foreign country, that I am with friends who share a common destiny.

We face in the West right now a profound crisis, and the crisis is not energy or inflation; it is whether the nations with similar traditions and common values can work together to master their destiny. If the nations of the West work together as they have for the past generation, then the problems that we now face can be turned into opportunities and we can begin a whole new period of creativity; and that is what the United States is trying to do, together with its friends in Europe, at this moment.

So, occasionally I am asked whether the United States will help Italy in its difficulties. But that is the wrong way of putting the question. Of course we will work together to solve our difficulties. But we are not helping Italy; we are helping ourselves. There is no part of the Western community that can have setbacks without affecting every other part. And that is the attitude with which we will work together.

The President spoke of the World Food Conference, and it is again my destiny that I have to follow him on this biggest platform. And it will turn out that he is saying very much what I am trying to express less eloquently—that is, I will express it less eloquently. He is absolutely right. The problem of food is not a technical problem. It is ridiculous that there should be surpluses in some areas, shortages in some other areas. It is therefore entirely a question of political will and political imagination. This is the opportunity we have at the World Food Confer-

ence; and it is appropriate that it should meet in Rome, which throughout its long and glorious history has had to look at the relationship among nations, and in Italy, with its tradition of humanity and compassion. And, selfishly, I am glad it is in Italy, because it gives me an opportunity to see my friends with whom it is always a pleasure to exchange ideas and from whom we always profit.

So, I would like to propose a toast to the President of Italy, and to the permanent friendship between Italy and the United States, and to Mrs. Leone.

**Dinner Hosted by Foreign Minister Aldo Moro,
Rome, November 5**

Press release 479 dated November 5

Toast by Foreign Minister Moro

Mr. Secretary of State: First of all I wish to tell you how happy I am that your presence in Rome for the World Food Conference offered us the opportunity for this our latest meeting, allowing us to resume the constructive dialogue that we happily began with you a little more than a month ago in Washington. You come here at the end of a long trip during which you stopped in several capitals of Eastern Europe and Asia, displaying there your keen diplomatic activity for rapprochement among peoples. And from Rome you begin another delicate and difficult mission, for which we wish you the best success.

Italy, because of her position at the center of the Mediterranean area and of her active participation in the European Community, is extremely interested in stability and harmony within these areas of vital interest. And to these problems others are added today, complex and serious problems, created by the economic crisis which has heightened interdependence among states, making closer cooperation urgent.

I can reaffirm to you on this occasion that Italy, in the spirit of the Atlantic Declaration of last June, which confirmed the validity for security and peace of the political course our

two countries have followed for a quarter century and strengthened their traditional links, will give her constructive contribution to any effort aiming at consolidating an equitable and stable international order.

For this purpose, the exchange of views between the United States and Italy are very useful, as always, and we expect to continue them on the occasion of other meetings in the international forums in which, as allied and friendly countries, we both develop our common action for the security and peace of all the world's peoples.

Mr. Secretary of State, the tribute I wish to pay you today stems not from a matter of etiquette but from deeply felt conviction in praise of your untiring work, your exceptional tenacity, your clear vision of facts, your farsighted understanding of the close but not exclusive links which unite us and other peoples to your great country; we particularly value the capacity and will to safeguard and develop, through turbulent political events, the great principles of freedom and independence which underlie the birth, the tasks, and the destiny of the American nation.

With this hope, I am pleased to raise my glass to the success of your mission, to your personal well-being and the well-being of the gracious Mrs. Kissinger, and to the deep friendship which unites the American and Italian peoples.

Toast by Secretary Kissinger

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: It is a very great pleasure for me to have this opportunity to see all my friends again on such a pleasant occasion.

The Foreign Minister is in the process of seeing whether a government can be formed, and after he has begun to explain to me the nuances and complexities, I don't know why it is that I am going to the Middle East. He seems to me much better qualified to handle that situation. But seriously, I have had the privilege of working for many years now with the Foreign Minister, and the principles of Atlantic solidarity based on European

unity have always been at the basis of his foreign policy. I remember many occasions when Italy contributed importantly to the success of our common efforts, such as for example, at the Washington Energy Conference last February and in the conclusion of the Atlantic Declaration to which the Foreign Minister referred.

I recall these events because, no matter who is President of the United States or what government is in power in Italy, the friendship and solidarity of our two peoples are basic factors of international politics. We consider ourselves part of the same family, and we seek our solutions not on the basis of what one can do for the other, but on the basis on what both can do for the common good. Whenever I talk to Italian leaders, we speak free of complexes and neither of us has the need to prove anything to the other.

So, in the difficult period that now exists in the world—an economic crisis and political difficulties in many countries—once again Italy and the United States have a common destiny. One of the most important problems that the world faces is that the nations of the West, who at the end of the Second World War through their unity achieved progress, once again manage to establish solidarity in the face of the crisis which we now confront. And having developed their solidarity, they can then work together on the basis of the interdependence of the whole world. This will be our attitude in the United States with respect to working with Italy to overcome present difficulties. I know that our friendship will lead to cooperation in the Atlantic world as well as in the world at large.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank, also on behalf of my wife, the Foreign Minister for the extraordinarily cordial reception we have had here and to tell to all our Italian friends that here we always feel at home, which means, to your sorrow perhaps, that you may have to attend many such lunches in the months ahead.

And it is in this spirit that I would like to propose a toast to my friend, the Foreign Minister, and to the friendship of the Italian and American people.

President Ford's News Conference of October 29

Following are excerpts relating to foreign policy from the transcript of a news conference held by President Ford in the Briefing Room at the White House on October 29.¹

Q. Mr. President, I have a two-part question on foreign affairs. Number one, the emergence of the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] in the Middle East, how does this affect our position regarding the Middle East? And the second part, also on foreign affairs, negative reports out of Japan and anti-American feelings and items like that, whether you are reconsidering going to Japan.

President Ford: Let me answer the second question first. No developments in Japan have changed my attitude. I intend to go to Japan, as has been planned for some time.

The decision by the Arab nations to turn over the negotiating for the West Bank to the PLO may or may not—at this stage we aren't certain what impact it will have on our role in the Middle East.

We of course feel that there must be movement toward settlement of the problems between Israel and Egypt on the one hand, between Israel and Jordan or the PLO on the other, and the problems between Israel and Syria in the other category.

We have not had an opportunity yet to make any firm decision on what impact there will be from this Arab decision. I can only say that we think it is of maximum importance that continued movement toward peace on a justifiable basis in the Middle East is vital to that area of the world, and probably to the world as a whole.

Q. Mr. President, since Secretary Kissinger has been to Moscow, do you have any optimistic outlook now on the SALT agreement?

¹ For the complete transcript, see Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents dated Nov. 4, 1974.

President Ford: I believe that the Secretary's discussions with the General Secretary, Mr. Brezhnev, were very constructive. Some of the differences, as I understand it, between their view and ours have been narrowed. And as a result of the progress that was made in Moscow the announcement was made that I would meet with Mr. Brezhnev in Vladivostok the latter part of November. We hope that each step will mean more progress and that we will end up with a SALT Two agreement.

Q. Mr. President, your Press Secretary, Mr. Nessen, has hinted or implied that you may be considering limiting oil imports; that is, limiting imports of Arab oil if necessary to make your goal of cutting oil imports by 1 million a day, perhaps in the form of a dollar limit on imports. Are you considering it? Is this a live possibility?

President Ford: Our first objective is to cut the 6-million-barrels-per-day imports of crude oil by 1 million barrels. We believe that with the energy conservation recommendations we have made that objective can be accomplished.

However, if there isn't the saving of 1 million barrels per day of oil imports by voluntary action, we will of course move to any other alternative, including the possibility of mandatory limitations, to achieve that result. That is essential from the point of view of our economy, our balance of payments, et cetera.

Q. Mr. President, in Oklahoma City, you said that overwhelming victories in Congress this fall by the opposition party, being the Democrats, would seriously jeopardize world peace. This is our first chance to question you on that. I was wondering if you would elaborate on that. Did you mean it in the sense that some Democrats accused you of demagoguery or is this consistent with your original announced policy that you were going to try to unify the country after Water-gate?

President Ford: I think the facts that I referred to involved the conflict we had with a majority of the Members of the House and Senate over the limitations and restrictions they put on the continuing resolution.

Those limitations and restrictions on that particular piece of legislation, in my judgment and in the judgment of the Secretary of State, will make it more difficult for the United States to help the Greeks. It will make it more difficult for us to work to bring about a negotiated settlement in the Cyprus matter. That congressional limitation will not help our relations with Turkey.

I point out that both the United States and Turkey are members of NATO and if our relationship with Turkey is destroyed or harmed, it will hurt our interest as well as NATO's.

Secondly, we do have an agreement with Turkey as to some military installations and those installations are important for both Turkey and ourselves; and if, through congressional action, we undercut our relationship with Turkey, hurt our relations with NATO, hurt the Greeks, because it will make it more difficult for a settlement of the Cyprus matter, then I think the Congress has made a mistake; and if a Congress that is more prone to do that is elected on November 5, it will make our efforts much harder to execute and implement foreign policy to build for peace and maintain the peace.

As Mr. Nessen explained in a subsequent press conference, I was referring as much to Republicans as I was to Democrats who don't cooperate in giving a President of the United States an opportunity to meet the day-to-day problems that are involved in foreign policy.

A President has to be able to act. He has to be able to work with allies and with some potential adversaries; and if the Congress is going to so limit a President, whether he is a Democrat or Republican, that he has no flexibility, in my opinion, the opportunity for a successful foreign policy is harmed considerably.

Toward a Global Community: The Common Cause of India and America

Address by Secretary Kissinger¹

I am honored to be invited to address such a distinguished gathering; for the basic objective of this organization—to comprehend, communicate, and help shape the state of world affairs—has been the central purpose of my own life since long before I served in government. And I since have found that the statesman, too, has no more important task.

Former President Radhakrishnan once said:

Life becomes meaningful only when we grasp the character of the age we live in, see its significance, understand the objectives it sets for us and strive to realize them.

The fundamental reality of our age is that we live in a world inextricably linked by interdependent economies and universal aspirations, by the speed of communications and the specter of nuclear war. The political lesson of our age is that the national interest can no longer be defined or attained in isolation from the global interest, and the moral challenge of our age is to free ourselves from the narrow perception of the nation-state and to shape a conception of global community.

The three years since I was last in New Delhi have seen profound changes in the relationship between India and the United States, in the whole region, and in the world.

On my last trip to South Asia I paid my first visit to Peking. On this trip I have visited Moscow. Moving about among capitals only recently considered hostile is a new pattern for the United States. It signified

¹ Made before the Indian Council on World Affairs at New Delhi on Oct. 28 (text from press release 445).

the transition from a bipolar world locked in confrontation and seemingly destined for some final encounter to the new world of dispersed power and reduced tension.

This changed environment is more complex and therefore, for some, less assuring. Yet we see it as a world of hope. For the process of détente among major powers has not made the world more complex; it merely signifies that leaders have recognized its complexity. Those who ought always to have known how serious is man's predicament have learned how little benefit confrontation brings and how absolute is the need for cooperation.

This has not been an effortless transition for the American people. Nor is it without difficulties in other nations of the world, for it requires coming to terms with less simple views of right and wrong, of the possible and the ideal, than have permeated political thinking for a generation.

This new American view, it is appropriate to acknowledge, owes much to an old vision of India's national leaders. Jawaharlal Nehru perceived the impermanence of the postwar world—into which India was born—of frozen hostility between the superpowers and their insistent efforts to enlist other nations on one side or the other. Under Nehru and since India sought to deflect, to moderate, and to redirect those forces. This was the origin of the concept of nonalignment.

It is not necessary to debate now whether the United States should have welcomed the concept at that time in order to agree that in the present world it is for nations such as India an altogether understandable and practical position. The United States accepts

nonalignment. In fact, America sees a world of free, independent, sovereign states as being decidedly in its own national interest. Support of national independence and of the diversity that goes with it has become a central theme of American foreign policy.

Nowhere is this clearer than with respect to South Asia, where a fifth of mankind lives. In testimony before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee six weeks ago, I stated this principle of American foreign policy in explicit terms:

We do not look at the subcontinent as being composed of some countries that are clients of China, others that are clients of the Soviet Union, others that should be clients of the United States. We believe that we can have productive relationships with all of them. And we believe also, specifically with respect to India, that our relations are in a stage of dramatic improvement.

The warming of our bilateral relations has been increasingly manifest for some time. It began inevitably as the Simla process began, and it has proceeded and strengthened as that process has proceeded and strengthened. For it was conflict within the subcontinent that brought the involvement of outsiders in the first place. And correspondingly, the region's political capacity to resolve regional conflict has, to a considerable degree, diminished outside involvement. President Ford has asked me to affirm that the United States strongly supports the efforts of peaceful settlement on the subcontinent, free of imposition or pressure or outside interference. We want political stability and economic success for South Asia. That is what we believe South Asians hope for and what the rest of the world should hope for as well.

The statesmanship of all of South Asia's leaders has been at the heart of this process. It has taken great courage to persevere toward the goal agreed upon by Pakistan and India at the Simla Conference in 1972: "The promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of a durable peace in the Subcontinent."

The size and position of India give it a special role of leadership in South Asian and world affairs. They confer on it at the

same time the special responsibility for accommodation and restraint that strength entails. The United States recognizes both these realities. They are wholly compatible with the close friendships and special bonds we have with all the nations of the region. As we wish South Asia well, we wish India well.

Thus a more mature and durable relationship is emerging between India and the United States—one which leaves behind the peaks and valleys of the past.

Both India and the United States still consider themselves youthful nations. The restlessness, the striving, and the ideals of our people attest to the reality of that image. But a basic quality of youth—enthusiasm unseasoned by experience—often caused us to assume or expect too much. We are two great nations of independent judgment and perspective; often our zeal and moral convictions have led us into disagreements with a passion that might not have been present had we not been conscious of similar ideals.

For a quarter of a century our relations tended to oscillate between high expectation and deep suspicion. The low point occurred in 1971 when a basic disagreement flowed from different political judgments. We faced these differences candidly; that crisis is now behind us. We have surmounted past strains and moved ahead with promise. We can now build our relationship free of past distortions and conscious of the interests and values we share.

From the events of the past—from our experience with the world as well as yours—we have both developed a more balanced view. Both of us independently have come to temper our zeal and understand limitations on our ability to bend the world to our expectations. In parallel with this, in our relations with each other we both stress the basic compatibility of our interests. This promises to provide a durable basis for cooperation and friendship.

For our new relationship to thrive, a great deal depends on our mutual understanding. Nations face different problems and different opportunities; their perspectives and power inevitably vary. Let me therefore briefly

sketch America's broader purposes, especially as they have evolved in recent years in a changing international environment.

America's Purposes

Around the world today, the new and the old coexist in uneasy equilibrium. The frozen international landscape of the past quarter century has begun to thaw, but we have yet to put a durable structure of cooperation in its place. A new era of stability has begun in Europe and Asia, while chronic disputes in the Middle East and Indochina still endanger regional and global peace. The United States and the Soviet Union have perceived a common interest in avoiding nuclear holocaust, while some potential for conflict persists and the arsenals of the two sides continue to grow. The United States and the People's Republic of China have succeeded in overcoming two decades of estrangement, but important differences in philosophy remain. And as the old blocs among old powers decline, new blocs among new nations threaten to emerge.

The United States sees its central task today as helping the world to shape a new pattern of stability, justice, and international cooperation. We have rejected the old extremes of world policeman and isolation. But we recognize that America's principles, strength, and resources impose upon us a special responsibility.

Our goal is to move toward a world where blocs and balances are not dominant; where justice, not stability, can be our overriding preoccupation; where countries consider cooperation in the global interest to be in their national interest. For all that has been achieved, we must realize that we have taken only the first hesitant steps on a long and arduous road.

The United States has three principal policy objectives.

First, America has sought to foster a new spirit of responsibility and restraint among all powers.

The cornerstone of our foreign policy is—as it has been for a generation—our partnership with our Atlantic allies and Japan. These

bonds have served both the world's peace and its prosperity. Our cooperation provided a solid foundation for efforts to reduce tensions with our adversaries. It has enabled us to contribute to world economic growth. And the nations which provide the industrial, financial, and technological sinews of the global economy now share a heavy collective responsibility to concert their efforts in a time of global economic stress.

In the last five years the United States has also sought to put its relations with the Communist powers on a new and steady basis.

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, man's fears of holocaust and his hopes for peace have turned on the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Never before have two nations had the physical ability to annihilate civilization. Never before has it been so important that the two nuclear giants maintain close contact with one another to avoid conflicts which would menace other nations as much as themselves.

Progress has been achieved in our relationship with the Soviet Union which would have been unthinkable a decade ago. We take the easing of tensions for granted only at the risk of the return of confrontation. In my discussions in Moscow I stated yet again the determination of the American Government to maintain the momentum of the process of détente and was assured by the Soviet leaders that they shared this intention. The United States will persevere to reduce military competition with the Soviet Union in all its aspects; to insure that our political competition is guided by principles of restraint, especially in moments of crisis; and to move beyond restraint to cooperation in helping find lasting solutions to chronic conflicts.

America's relations with the People's Republic of China are also of fundamental importance. There cannot be a stable peace in Asia—or in the world—without a pattern of peaceful international relationships that includes this powerful and talented nation. It was essential to end a generation of mutual isolation and hostility.

Yet rapprochement with the People's Re-

public of China is not sought at the expense of any other nations; on the contrary, it attempts to serve a wider purpose. The principles of the Shanghai communique commit our two nations to respect the independence, sovereignty, and integrity of all countries as we work to improve our own relationships.

Our relations with the nonaligned countries are another pillar of our foreign policy. No accommodation among countries, however powerful, can be durable if negotiated over the heads of others or if an attempt is made to impose it on others. Our attitude toward the nonaligned will be based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, and shared endeavors and on the premise that all countries have a stake in a peaceful world. Condominium, hegemony, spheres of influence, are historically obsolete and morally and politically untenable.

It is a corollary of this, however, that bloc diplomacy of any kind is anachronistic and self-defeating. We see a danger of new patterns of alignment that are as artificial, rigid, and ritualistic as the old ones. The issues the world faces are so urgent that they must be considered on their merits, on the basis of their implications for humanity and for world peace—rather than on some abstract notion of ideological or bloc advantage. In a real sense the world is no longer divided between East and West, North and South, developed and developing, consumer and producer. We will solve our problems together, or we will not solve them at all.

Limiting the Dangers of the Atom

Second, America seeks to limit and ultimately to reduce nuclear weapons competition.

The relaxation of international tensions cannot survive an unrestrained arms race by the two strongest nuclear powers. And international stability will be seriously jeopardized by the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This is why the United States has made it a major objective to bring about a more stable nuclear environment.

The Strategic Arms Limitations Talks are

among the most crucial negotiations ever conducted. The agreements already signed by the United States and the Soviet Union represent a major step toward strategic stability. They placed a permanent limit on defensive weapons and an interim limit on offensive nuclear weapons. Our task now is to control the qualitative as well as quantitative advance of weapons. We seek a long-term agreement which would establish stable ceilings and other restraints, from which we could begin the long-sought process of arms reductions. Progress in this direction was made during my recent talks in Moscow.

At the same time, a world in which an ever-increasing number of nations possess nuclear weapons vastly magnifies the risks of both regional and global conflict. And proliferation complicates—if it does not inhibit—international cooperation in the peaceful uses of the atom.

Last month at the United Nations I proposed a comprehensive global effort. The United States is of the view that countries capable of exporting nuclear technology should agree to common restraints on a multilateral basis which would further the peaceful, but inhibit the military, uses of nuclear power.

We take seriously India's affirmation that it has no intention to develop nuclear weapons. But India of course has the capability to export nuclear technology; it therefore has an important role in this multilateral endeavor.

Needless to say, the United States does not ask other countries for restraint on the export of nuclear materials and technology which it is not prepared to apply to itself. We will work vigorously with others on the practical steps which should be taken to limit the dangers of the atom while furthering its potential for human good.

Global Cooperation To Meet Global Problems

A third objective of American policy is to build global cooperation to meet unprecedented global problems.

The traditional agenda of international affairs—the balance among major powers,

the security of nations—no longer defines our perils or our possibilities. To some extent we have mastered many of the familiar challenges of diplomacy. Yet suddenly we are witnessing a new threat to the governability of national societies and to the structure of international stability. A crisis threatens the world's economic system. The industrialized nations see decades of prosperity in jeopardy; the developing countries see hopes for development and progress shattered or postponed indefinitely. And even the newly wealthy oil producers are beginning to perceive that their recent gains will be swept away in a global crisis.

The dangers are as self-evident for the United States as they are for India and other countries; rates of inflation unknown in the past quarter century, financial institutions staggering under the most massive and rapid movements of reserves in history, and profoundly disturbing questions about the ability to meet man's most fundamental needs for energy and food.

This is not a conventional political problem which can be dealt with by conventional diplomacy or on the basis of conventional premises of social and economic theory. It affects all countries and groups. There is no gain for one at the expense of another. Piecemeal solutions offer no hope; a global enterprise is imperative. No nation or bloc of nations can impose its narrow interests without tearing the fabric of international cooperation. Whatever our ideological belief or social structure, we are part of a single international system on which our national objectives depend. Our common destiny is now not a slogan; it is an unmistakable reality.

The United States is prepared to dedicate itself in practical ways to this global effort. At the World Food Conference next week we will offer a comprehensive program as our contribution to freeing mankind from the eternal struggle for sustenance. We recognize that America's agricultural productivity, advanced technology, and tradition of assistance represent a major obligation. We know that we cannot speak of the global responsibility

of others without practicing global responsibility ourselves. America pioneered in development assistance, particularly with respect to food; we are determined to step up our past contributions. We will increase our production at home so there will be more food available for shipment abroad. And we will help developing nations increase their own production, which is the only long-term solution to the problem.

The magnitude of the world's food needs—and the redistribution of the world's wealth—imply that others must enlist in the fight against famine. The United States will work cooperatively with other exporters, with food importers, and with those countries in a position to help finance increased food production in the developing countries.

But it is an objective fact that we cannot meet man's need for food, much less insure economic and social advance, without coming to grips with the energy crisis. Higher oil prices directly affect food prices by increasing the costs of fertilizer, of operating agricultural machinery, and of transporting food to deficit areas. This in turn contributes to the more general economic crisis of inflation and stagnation which will surely doom the ability of the economically advanced countries to fulfill their obligations to the less well endowed. Both consumers and producers have a parallel stake in a global economy that is stable and growing. The economic progress of 30 years has brought the goal of universal well-being closer; today's crisis puts it in jeopardy. This is why the United States has emphasized global interdependence and seeks cooperative global solutions.

The United States and India

The American purposes I have described are, we believe, consistent with India's purposes. We are nations whose values and aspirations are so similar that our disputes are often in the nature of a family quarrel. We have no conflict of interest, no basic animosity or disagreement that keeps us apart. And we face a world in crisis and transition that compels us to work together.

We are both democracies, with all that implies for the kinds of decisions we are able to make. The leaders of a democracy can only sustain policies which their electorate will support. If there are no general rules as to what such policies are likely to be, there are specific limitations as to what they cannot be. It is clear that our relationship cannot be based—in either country—on the dependence of one on the other. Nor can our relationship survive constant criticism of one by the other in all international forums. There must be a sense of common purposes in at least some endeavors. To India-American relations, equality and mutual respect are more than doctrines of international law; they are political necessities.

In the past year or two we have removed major obstacles to an improved relationship. Our energies are now focused on the positive content of our relationship. Even more importantly, we find once again that as two great nations we share certain aspirations for the world at large; we share a concern for cooperative solutions to man's fundamental needs.

The present crisis confronting both developed and developing nations reveals all too clearly the world's past failure to address global problems on a truly cooperative basis. India and the United States have much to contribute. The world's best minds must be mobilized; and India has the third largest pool of scientific talent, while the United States has the first. We must apply the great economic strength of our two nations; the United States has the largest industrial output in the world and India the 10th largest. Our economies are complementary; the fact that India is only the 26th largest trading partner of the United States reveals what potential is yet untapped.

The Joint Commission we are establishing—for scientific, cultural, and economic cooperation—provides a new means to match our resources with our challenges. It is the symbol of the new area of equality, and the United States stands ready to expand the concept of the joint commission into other areas.

We share a concern for economic development.

It is impossible to visit South Asia without being deeply affected by the plight of so many of the peoples of this region. Individual hopes for survival and national aspirations for development have been dealt a cruel blow by the crises in energy, food, and inflation.

The American people want to be helpful, while avoiding the dependence we both reject. Earlier this year, the United States wrote off the largest amount of foreign debt ever canceled in history. This year the United States will launch a modest bilateral aid program. A substantial portion of our multilateral aid already comes to India. Our new food program, which I will outline at the World Food Conference next week, will be of particular relevance to India.

We share a concern for world peace.

Neither India nor the United States will ever be satisfied with a world of chronic conflicts, uneasy truces, and offsetting blocs. We have a joint interest in a comprehensive, institutionalized peace, based not merely on a balance of forces but on a sense of justice.

In recent months our dialogue on the entire range of global concerns has assumed a new frequency and depth. Our consultation has defined areas where we agree and narrowed those where we do not. We have found anew the basis for collaboration in many areas.

Tagore wrote with foresight:

During the evolution of the nation the moral culture of brotherhood was limited by geographic boundaries, because at that time those boundaries were true. Now they have become imaginary lines of tradition divested of the qualities of real obstacles. So the time has come when man's moral nature must deal with this fact with all seriousness or perish.

The time has come for nations to act on this vision. Let there be hope rather than despair, creativity rather than disarray. The recognition and understanding of our problems are clearly emerging; we have the technical means to solve them. And the urgency of our tasks impels us.

Half a century ago, Mahatma Gandhi wrote

that we must launch "experiments with truth." In this spirit, let us resolve to strengthen the new beginnings between India and America. Let us build a relationship that can endure and serve common ends for a long time. Let us make our contribution to help mankind match its capacity to its challenges for the benefit of our two peoples and of all mankind.

TREATY INFORMATION

U.S. and India Agree To Establish Joint Commission on Cooperation

Following is the text of an agreement signed at New Delhi on October 28 by Secretary Kissinger and Y. B. Chavan, Minister for External Affairs of the Republic of India.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA TO ESTABLISH A JOINT COMMISSION ON ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, SCIENTIFIC, TECHNOLOGICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL COOPERATION.

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of India,

Guided by a common desire to strengthen further the friendly relations between their two countries,

Determined to explore the possibilities of fostering mutually advantageous cooperation between them in the economic, commercial, scientific, technological, educational and cultural fields,

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of India hereby constitute a Joint Commission on Economic, Commercial, Scientific, Technological, Educational and Cultural Cooperation.

Article 2

The tasks of the Commission may include the following:

1. In the field of economic and commercial cooperation:

(a) to review matters concerning economic and commercial relations between the two countries;

(b) to identify and investigate areas for closer cooperation, to make joint studies in areas of common interest and to recommend programs concerning economic growth and development through mutual cooperation;

(c) to recommend measures and activities to stimulate two-way trade between the two countries consistent with their international obligations, which may include *inter alia* the sending of trade promotion missions and trade delegations;

(d) to promote possibilities of increased investment consistent with the investment policies of the two countries; and

(e) to explore possibilities of enhanced cooperation between financial, industrial and commercial institutions and organisations.

2. In the field of scientific and technological cooperation:

(a) to review and recommend plans for cooperation between the two countries and measures for their implementation and coordination, which may include *inter alia* the exchange of specialists and information and the organisation of bilateral seminars on problems of common interest;

(b) to identify common scientific and technological problems and to formulate and recommend joint research programs which might lead to application of results in industry, agriculture, health and other fields; and

(c) to explore possibilities of enhanced scientific and technical cooperation between the two Governments, their agencies and other institutions in the two countries.

3. In the field of education and cultural cooperation:

(a) to review and recommend programs, plans and priorities for cooperative efforts to facilitate the interchange of people, materials and ideas in the broad fields of education, scholarship, and such areas of cultural endeavour as performing arts, fine arts, libraries and museums, sports and mass communications; and

(b) to review periodically the progress and functioning of existing programmes and arrangements, making recommendations as may be appropriate.

4. The Commission may also consider matters arising in the course of the implementation of the agreements between the two countries in force from time to time in the fields of economic, commercial, scientific, technological, educational and cultural cooperation including those which may be signed hereafter and make recommendations for the successful fulfillment of those agreements.

5. The Commission shall also be competent to review other problems that might arise in the implementation of this Agreement and other related matters that might be brought up by either party.

Article 3

The Commission shall consist of representatives of the two Governments with the representation of each government headed by an official of ministerial or cabinet rank.

The Commission may appoint subcommissions and other bodies as may be necessary to deal with specific issues or fields of cooperation and to make appropriate progress reports.

Article 4

The Commission shall hold its meetings not less than once a year. Meetings of the Commission shall be held in each country alternately. The Commission may invite to such meetings, as may be mutually agreed, the required number of experts and advisers. Special meetings of the Commission may be convened by mutual agreement.

Article 5

Within its areas of competence, the Commission may submit mutually agreed findings or proposals to the respective Governments.

Article 6

Administrative expenses incidental to the meetings of the Commission and its Subcommissions shall be borne by the country in which the meeting is held. Each Government shall bear the expenses of its own representation at the meetings of the Commission and its Subcommissions, including the expenses of travel to such meetings as well as board and lodging and other personal expenses of its representatives. All procedural and administrative matters not provided for herein shall be determined by the Commission or its Subcommissions upon the mutual consent of the two sides.

Article 7

This Agreement shall remain in force, subject to the right of either Government to terminate it upon notification to the other Government in writing of its intention to do so, such notification being made not later than six months prior to the proposed date of termination of the Agreement. Unless otherwise agreed, the termination of this Agreement or of the activities of the Commission shall not affect the validity or duration of any other agreements entered into by the two Governments in the fields of economic, commercial, scientific, technological, educational or cultural cooperation.

Article 8

This Agreement shall come into force from the date of signature hereof.

DONE in New Delhi on October 28, 1974, in two original copies each in English and Hindi, both texts being equally authentic.

HENRY A. KISSINGER
Secretary of State

Y. B. CHAVAN
*Minister for External
Affairs*

On behalf of the Govern-
ment of the United
States of America

On behalf of the Govern-
ment of the Republic
of India

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Biological Weapons

Convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons and on their destruction. Done at Washington, London, and Moscow April 10, 1972.¹

Ratification deposited: Turkey, November 5, 1974.

Coffee

Agreement amending and extending the international coffee agreement 1968. Approved by the International Coffee Council at London April 14, 1973. Entered into force October 1, 1973. TIAS 7809.

Notification that constitutional procedures completed: El Salvador, September 2, 1974; Rwanda, September 13, 1974.

Conservation

Convention on international trade in endangered species of wild fauna and flora, with appendices. Done at Washington March 3, 1973.¹

Signature: Chile, September 16, 1974.

Ratification deposited: Sweden, August 20, 1974.

Consular Relations

Vienna convention on consular relations. Done at Vienna April 24, 1963. Entered into force March 19, 1967; for the United States December 24, 1969. TIAS 6820.

Accession deposited: New Zealand, September 10, 1974.

Optional protocol to the Vienna convention on consular relations concerning the compulsory settlement of disputes. Done at Vienna April 24, 1963. Entered into force March 19, 1967; for the United States December 24, 1969. TIAS 6820.

Accession deposited: New Zealand, September 10, 1974.

Containers

International convention for safe containers (CSC), with annexes. Done at Geneva December 2, 1972.¹

¹ Not in force.

Approval deposited: France (with reservation), October 21, 1974.

Fisheries

Protocol to the international convention for the Northwest Atlantic fisheries (TIAS 2089), relating to amendments to the convention. Done at Washington October 6, 1970. Entered into force September 4, 1974.

Proclaimed by the President: October 23, 1974.²

Finance

Articles of agreement of the International Finance Corporation. Done at Washington May 25, 1955. Entered into force July 20, 1956. TIAS 3620.

Signatures and acceptances deposited: Cameroon, October 1, 1974; Western Samoa, June 28, 1974.

Articles of agreement of the International Development Association. Done at Washington January 26, 1960. Entered into force September 24, 1960. TIAS 4607.

Signature and acceptance deposited: Western Samoa, June 28, 1974.

Load Lines

International convention on load lines, 1966. Done at London April 5, 1966. Entered into force July 21, 1968. TIAS 6331, 6629, 6720.

Accession deposited: Malta, September 11, 1974.

Acceptance deposited: Venezuela, October 15, 1974.

Phonograms

Convention for the protection of producers of phonograms against unauthorized duplication of their phonograms. Done at Geneva October 29, 1971. Entered into force April 18, 1973; for the United States March 10, 1974. TIAS 7808.

Notification from World Intellectual Property Organization that ratification deposited: Spain, May 24, 1974.

Pollution

International convention for the prevention of pollution from ships, 1973, with protocols and annexes. Done at London November 2, 1973.¹

Signatures: German Democratic Republic, October 21, 1974;^{3 4} Spain, September 20, 1974.^{3 5}

Terrorism—Protection of Diplomats

Convention on the prevention and punishment of crimes against internationally protected persons, including diplomatic agents. Done at New York December 14, 1973.¹

Signatures: Czechoslovakia, October 11, 1974;⁶ Rwanda, October 15, 1974.

Whaling

Amendments to paragraphs 1, 11-15, 21, 24(b),(c) to the schedule to the international whaling convention. Adopted at London June 28, 1974. Entered into force October 2, 1974.

Wheat

Protocol modifying and extending the wheat trade convention (part of the international wheat agreement) 1971. Done at Washington April 2, 1974. Entered into force June 19, 1974, with respect to certain provisions; July 1, 1974, with respect to other provisions.

Ratification deposited: Israel, November 7, 1974.

BILATERAL

Chile

Agreement for sales of agricultural commodities, with related notes. Signed at Santiago October 25, 1974. Entered into force October 25, 1974.

India

Agreement to establish a Joint Commission on Economic, Commercial, Scientific, Technological, Educational and Cultural Cooperation. Signed at New Delhi October 28, 1974. Entered into force October 28, 1974.

Khmer Republic

Agreement amending the agreement for sales of agricultural commodities of August 10, 1974. Effected by exchange of notes at Phnom Penh October 25, 1974. Entered into force October 25, 1974.

Turkey

Agreement relating to payment to the United States of the net proceeds from the sale of defense articles by Turkey. Effected by exchange of notes at Ankara October 9 and 10, 1974. Entered into force October 10, 1974, effective July 1, 1974.

¹ Not in force.

² With an understanding.

³ Subject to ratification.

⁴ With a statement.

⁵ Does not accept Annexes III, IV and V (Optional Annexes).

⁶ With reservation.

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**Check List of Department of State
Press Releases: November 4-10**

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

Releases issued prior to November 4 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 435 of October 23, 436 of October 24, 442-444 of October 27, 445 of October 28, 448 of October 29, 449 and 451 of October 30, 454-457 and 460 of October 31, 459, 461, and 462 of November 1, and 463 and 464 of November 2.

No.	Date	Subject	No.	Date	Subject
465	11/4	Kissinger: remarks to Romanian press, Bucharest, Nov. 3.	†477	11/5	Kissinger: World Food Conference, Rome.
466	11/4	Kissinger, Ceausescu: exchange of toasts, Nov. 3.	478	11/5	Kissinger, Leone: exchange of toasts, Nov. 4.
467	11/4	U.S.-Romania joint communique.	479	11/5	Kissinger, Moro: exchange of toasts.
468	11/4	Kissinger: arrival, Belgrade.	†480	11/5	Kissinger: arrival, Cairo.
*469	11/4	Death of Joseph W. Reap.	†481	11/6	Kissinger, Sadat: news conference, Cairo.
*470	11/4	Secretary's Advisory Committee on Private International Law Study Group on Arbitration, New York, Nov. 26.	†482	11/6	Kissinger: departure, Cairo.
*471	11/4	Study Group 1, U.S. National Committee for CCITT, Nov. 26.	*483	11/6	National Review Board for the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West, Honolulu, Dec. 9-10.
*472	11/4	Study Group 9, U.S. National Committee for CCIR, Dec. 4.	†484	11/7	Kissinger, Saqqaf: remarks, Riyadh, Nov. 6.
*473	11/4	U.S. National Committee for CCIR, Dec. 5.	*485	11/7	Kissinger: arrival, Amman, Nov. 6.
†474	11/4	U.S.-India Joint Commission, Sub-commission for Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. members.	†486	11/7	Kissinger: departure, Amman.
			*487	11/7	Program for the official visit of Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, Nov. 9-13.
			†488	11/8	Kissinger: departure, Damascus, Nov. 7.
			†489	11/8	Kissinger, Allon: arrival, Jerusalem, Nov. 7.
			*490	11/8	Kissinger, Allon: remarks, Jerusalem, Nov. 7.
			†490A	11/8	Kissinger, Allon: exchange of toasts.
			†491	11/8	Kissinger, Allon: departure, Jerusalem.
			†492	11/8	Kissinger: arrival, Tunis.

* Not printed.
† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.