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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

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President Ford Attends Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Visits Federal Republic of Germany and Eastern Europe

President Ford attended the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) at Helsinki July 30–August 1. En route he visited the Federal Republic of Germany (July 26–28) and Poland (July 28–29); after the conference he visited Romania (August 2–3) and Yugoslavia (August 3–4).

Following are remarks by President Ford and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and President Walter Scheel of the Federal Republic of Germany; remarks by President Ford and Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, and texts of a joint statement signed at Warsaw and a joint communique issued at Krakow; remarks by President Ford and Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at Helsinki; remarks by President Ford and Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel of Turkey at Helsinki; President Ford's address to the conference; and excerpts from a question-and-answer session with the press aboard Air Force One en route from Helsinki to Bucharest.¹

DEPARTURE, ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE, JULY 26

Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents dated August 4

Good morning. Mr. Vice President, Mr. Secretary of State: We leave today on a mission of peace and progress on behalf of all Americans. Tomorrow I will meet with our valued friends and allies in the Federal Republic of Germany. Later I will visit Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia to assure the peoples there of America's continuing affection and to seek additional improvement in our relations. And I will pursue increased cooperation and stability between the East as well as the West.

During my first trip to Europe as President, the Atlantic alliance—I vigorously

reaffirmed our solidarity with them and our purposes with them.

On this journey, I will meet in Helsinki with the leaders of 34 other nations. We will sign the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This conference represents useful progress in our continuing efforts to achieve a more stable and productive East-West relationship.

The provisions of the Helsinki declaration represent political as well as moral, not legal, commitments. U.S. policy supports, as I have supported through my entire public life, the aspirations for freedom and national independence of peoples everywhere. The results of this European Security Conference will be a step in that direction. The outcome of this Helsinki Conference remains to be tested; but whether it is a long stride or a short step, it is at least a forward step for freedom.

¹ Remarks and joint statements in Romania and Yugoslavia will be printed in the BULLETIN of Sept. 8.

This conference aims at expanding East-West contacts—more normal and healthier relations. This is in the best interest of the United States and of world peace.

If honored by all the signatories, the Helsinki declaration holds great promise. It can promote wider cooperation and greater security across the entire continent of Europe. This is of great importance to the United States and to all peoples. It is in this spirit and with these objectives that we take off.

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT FORD AND FEDERAL GERMAN CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, JULY 27²

Chancellor Schmidt

Ladies and gentlemen: I would like to repeat here how extremely thankful the German Federal Government is—and I believe that one can say the same for all our citizens—that the American President and the American Secretary of State are visiting us here on their way to Helsinki and to other European capitals. The visit is not yet over, and for that reason I can only report at the moment on our talks up to this point.

The two chiefs of government and the two foreign ministers spoke this morning about political problems of a general nature, which will also be discussed in Helsinki. Then in a somewhat larger group, in which, on the German side, the Federal Minister for Economics took part, we turned to problems of the world economy. We are convinced of the necessity of cooperation in the areas of economic policy, credit policy, and currency policy, since we are aware that the entire Western world's economy has come into severe difficulties as a result of the current recession.

The American President is somewhat more optimistic regarding the development of the American political economy than he

was when we last had the opportunity to speak with each other. But I assume that he will tell you that himself.

President Ford

Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen: Let me express on behalf of Mrs. Ford and myself our great gratitude for the warm reception that we have received from you and Mrs. Schmidt and from the German people.

It is a great privilege and pleasure for Mrs. Ford and myself, as well as my colleagues, to be in Germany, and I have appreciated very greatly the opportunity to meet with you this morning and to discuss with you and your associates the problems that you mentioned: the general political situation and the economic circumstances both in Europe as well as in the United States.

Let me say with great emphasis that all of us in the United States are deeply grateful for the wonderful contribution that people from your country have made in the history books of my country, and I should say that all of us, as we approach our Bicentennial in the United States, are most appreciative of the very generous gift given to the United States when President Scheel was in my country a few weeks ago.

The importance of discussions on the economic field, of course, are very, very vital. We in the United States are making a turn toward a healthier economy. We have bottomed out, as they say in the United States, and are slowly beginning an upturn in our economy.

We fully recognize that the economy of the United States is an integral part of the economy throughout the world, and particularly that of Western Europe. It is my intention, on behalf of the United States, to work very, very closely with you in Germany and the other European countries to make sure that the progress we are making is also progress that can come in Europe as well as the rest of the world.

We, of course, are on our way to the meet-

² Made to the press following a meeting at Bonn on July 27; Chancellor Schmidt spoke in German (texts from White House press releases (Bonn)).

ing in Helsinki where 35 nations will get together on the CSCE arrangements or agreements.

I believe that the Helsinki meeting can and will be a further step in achieving what we all want—the betterment of relations between East and West.

I am optimistic that the results achieved in Helsinki will be for the better. I look forward to my participation as a result of the long negotiations that have taken place.

Let me conclude my observations by saying that in the field of energy, in the economic field, in the political field, in the defense field, the policies of the United States will be closely aligned with those of your government, Mr. Chancellor, and I look forward to the further discussions that I will have with you here, as well as in Helsinki, so that your country and mine and the rest of the world will be the beneficiaries.

Thank you very, very much.

Questions and Answers

Q. What made the first meeting run a half hour past the scheduled time?

President Ford: The question was, what made the first meeting run 30 minutes past the scheduled time?

I guess the best answer is that we got so intrigued with the discussions on the various important matters that we forgot to look at the clock.

Chancellor Schmidt: Or the coffee was that good.

Q. Did you discuss the Turkey situation?

President Ford: Yes, I did bring the Chancellor up to date on the very unfortunate development in the House of Representatives last week. I indicated to the Chancellor that we were deeply disappointed and that we were working with some of the leaders in the House of Representatives trying to see whether or not it would be possible in this coming week for the House of Representa-

tives to reconsider the action that it took last week.

We have not come to any conclusion in that regard but we, of course—the Secretary of State and myself—are not only disappointed with the action, but I believe the American people will now see the net result of that action with the closing of the American bases in Turkey and with the Cyprus negotiations probably set back.

I am deeply disturbed and we will maximize our effort, as I told the Chancellor, to try and get a change in the House of Representatives.

Q. What action are you hoping to get?

President Ford: We have not come to any conclusion on that, because we haven't firmed up any course of action with the Democratic leadership in the House of Representatives; and of course they are crucial in this situation.

Q. Did the Chancellor make any specific recommendation in the economic field?

President Ford: The question is, did the Chancellor make any recommendations in the economic field? The Chancellor and I agreed that it was vitally important that the economic policies of Germany and the European Community be integrated with our own economic policies.

We will further discuss in the meetings that are coming up more of the specifics, but we did exchange information as to the circumstances not only in the United States but in Germany, and later today we will probably talk about what we might do for the further improvement of reciprocal efforts in this area.

Chancellor Schmidt: Mr. President, may I add a footnote to that one, please.

The President and I, as well as President Giscard [of France] and Prime Minister Wilson [of the United Kingdom], will have the opportunity in Helsinki to hold a special meeting with foreign ministers of these four countries; and the discussions of the last

few days, especially this morning's discussion, have been particularly useful, serving among other things to prepare for that meeting. And at every opportunity cooperation in overcoming the world economic recession will play a central role.

We European nations and the governments of these European nations know that the world economic recession can only be overcome if it is overcome on an international basis in the same manner by all participants—above all, when it is tackled in the same way by the industrial countries of the world. And that means that the economy of the United States of America—by far the largest, the most efficient and, as far as world trade is concerned, one of the most important economies, and as far as the finance and currency system of the world is concerned, by far the most important—that overcoming this worldwide recession is only possible if this most important economy of the Western world leads the way.

The overview which the American President has personally given us in regard to the latest developments in the American economy is one of the brightest aspects of the future development. But we don't, by any means, want to exaggerate our hope and our optimism; rather, we are both conscious of the fact that we—together with our other partners—will still have considerable difficulties to overcome.

Q. Mr. President, are you discussing offset during these talks?

President Ford: The question is, are we discussing offset?

I am sure that we will, but we haven't come to that point as yet.

Q. Mr. President, you have expressed your satisfaction with the result of the CSCE talks in Helsinki. Will you push forward now to get results at last in Vienna in the MBFR [mutual and balanced force reductions] talks?

President Ford: The MBFR talks in Vienna have been stalled for the last few months. I think once the CSCE meeting has been held in Helsinki we can now concentrate on

the MBFR talks. And of course in my discussions with Chancellor Schmidt we will see how we can coordinate our efforts in this very important area.

REMARKS TO MILITARY PERSONNEL, KIRSCHGOENS, JULY 27 (EXCERPT)³

I deeply appreciate the very high standards of performance and morale of our NATO forces as represented by the Germans and Americans here today, and I thank the Federal Republic and the State of Hesse for the warm, warm hospitality extended to me and to all Americans who are stationed here.

There is a very deep satisfaction for me in this meeting with all of you today. It is most rewarding to see firsthand this evidence of our two countries cooperating within NATO and for the common defense. It is you, together with the other forces of the alliance, who are making our collective security a reality.

As we pursue peace together, I am aware that not all of the problems in Europe and the world have been solved, and I am convinced that under present circumstances the best guarantee for peace is a very, very strong defense.

As President, speaking here in the presence of our allies, I affirm today that I will not allow our armed forces to be weakened under any circumstances. You deserve the best. You deserve the very best of equipment. And you deserve the strongest support of the citizens that you defend.

Chancellor Schmidt and myself will travel to Helsinki in the next few days to attend the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is not by accident, let me assure you, that I stopped here first to consult with our allies, nor that I now affirm our commitment to Berlin.

³ Made by President Ford at the annual picnic sponsored by the 1st Brigade, 3d Armored Division, and the German 13th Panzer Brigade; for the complete transcript, see Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents dated Aug. 4, 1975, p. 792.

I assure the people of Berlin from this military base, which you soldiers call "The Rock," that I stand behind this rock and behind our commitment to the freedom of Berlin.

Secretary Kissinger spoke for me when he affirmed our policy on his recent visit to Berlin. And our national unity and determination in this regard were voiced there earlier this year by Senators Humphrey and Scott.

Soldiers, of course, do not underestimate the importance of your mission and its meaning for the entire world. You are the defenders of peace, and you have my full and unqualified support and respect.

TOASTS BY PRESIDENT FORD AND FEDERAL GERMAN PRESIDENT SCHEEL, JULY 27⁴

President Scheel

Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, ladies and gentlemen: A few weeks ago at the splendid reception before the White House in Washington, I expressed the wish to soon be able to greet you here in Germany. To my delight, the international conference calendar has helped to make this wish come true so soon.

Today you are here. I bid you, Mrs. Ford, and your associates a warm welcome. You do know that you are highly appreciated and highly welcome guests in our country.

We know, ladies and gentlemen, that wherever the President of the United States goes in the world, his office follows him—the White House. My house has the color in common with yours. It is white, undoubtedly. However, it is too small to accommodate a festive party in your honor. This is why I invited you to this white boat.

Outside the banks are gliding by; things are in motion like the river. We may have

been cruising against the current. We have just turned around. At any rate, the further we go together on this truly European stream, the brighter the views.

This corresponds to a political hope and to a political goal. It is our hope, it is our goal, to create a solidly founded, strong Europe which, together with the United States of America, will secure a future of peace and freedom. The closer we come to Europe, the brighter the prospects.

Much has been achieved. The British people have clearly and for good decided in favor of Europe. European political cooperation has pointed up new possibilities to develop Europe institutionally. Yet much remains to be done.

All Western countries are struggling with economic problems at the present. But more and more, the view is gaining ground that individual countries by themselves cannot master these difficulties.

The talks which the Federal Government has conducted in the course of these past days make it clear that the willingness to make common efforts is on the rise.

Europe is moving in the direction of coordinating its different economic policies. This is another important step toward progress. Out of these very difficulties we gain insights and strengths to overcome these difficulties.

Europe by itself will not be able to master the economic problems of today. We can only be successful if we coordinate our efforts with those of the United States of America, and this cannot but strengthen the awareness of the benefits and the purpose of the Atlantic partnership on both sides of the Atlantic.

From the beginning, Atlantic cooperation was a requirement, as we all realize, for our security policy. Today, it is just as well, and in particular, a requirement for our economic policy.

Mr. President, you have come to our country at a very significant time. In a few days in Helsinki, the final phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will open. The negotiations in Geneva have

⁴ Given at a dinner hosted by President Scheel on board the M.S. *Drachenfels*; President Scheel spoke in German (text from White House press release (Bonn)).

set an example of the opportunities for constructive Western cooperation.

The negotiations have also shown—and your presence in Helsinki, Mr. President, will impressively demonstrate to the entire world—that America and Europe are inseparably linked, that one cannot talk about security and cooperation in Europe without including the United States. The Atlantic alliance is part and parcel of Western Europe.

The Helsinki Conference should constitute another step toward détente. The documents to be signed provide a frame which needs to be filled in the future by agreements and concrete behavior. Each signatory state will then be able to demonstrate what it understands by détente.

This is the yardstick by which it will be measured. Nobody could wish more fervently than the Germans that the hopes tied to the conference may be fulfilled.

Yet it is clear to us that no conference can guarantee our security. The Atlantic alliance remains the foundation of our security.

Mr. President, you have already visited with your compatriots in the Federal Republic. The presence of the American soldiers in the Federal Republic and in Berlin is the clearest and the most important expression of the fact that the security of the United States and of Europe do belong together inseparably.

For the West, there is only one security. The Federal Republic contributes to the best of its ability to safeguard the common security. The American contribution, however, is irreplaceable and will remain so. Even a comprehensive European union, which is the goal of the member states of the European Community, cannot do without this transatlantic link.

We owe thanks to the American Government for having held fast to this policy unwaveringly. This is why over 400,000 American citizens live among us as soldiers, civilian employees, and families.

You can be sure, Mr. President, that we, citizens and authorities alike, do what we can to make your compatriots feel at home

with us. They are our friends; they are our guests and the good comrades of the German soldiers.

Nevertheless they do live in a different country with a different language, and different customs, and over the long run that is not easy.

Therefore, permit me, Mr. President, to say to you, the highest representative of the American people, and to all Americans who are here in Germany for reasons of our common security, very simply and very warmly, thank you.

Mr. President, as you can see, we have many reasons to be glad about your visit. It makes us happy. Once again, a cordial welcome to the white boat.

President Ford

President Scheel and distinguished guests: Mr. President, you have spoken most generously and most farsightedly, as well as most eloquently, and I am pleased and honored to respond to such a gracious Rhineland on this beautiful river, which has witnessed the growth of German-American cooperation.

I think there is something especially significant that an American President is on this wonderful river that includes from the headwaters in Switzerland, to France, to Germany, the Netherlands, and to the Atlantic.

There is something that seems to bind us all together, and I could not help but notice during the day, and as we have been sailing here tonight, many passing ships, some bearing flags of different nations, that this great river, as a result, symbolizes our hope for expanding the flow of peaceful commerce and the exchange throughout the world.

Just as many solid bridges span the majestic Rhine, strong links of friendship unite our two nations. I experienced today, Mr. President, this friendship anew when I met with Chancellor Schmidt and his associates, the distinguished leaders of your government, and received the very warm welcome of so many citizens of your great country.

As we all know, our relationship is based

upon a tradition that is as old as the United States itself, which now approaches its 200th year of freedom and democracy.

Every American schoolchild knows how General von Steuben came to help George Washington win the American Revolution. All Americans are extremely proud of the infusion of German talents throughout the years into America, a nation of immigrants.

Today I had the privilege, as you mentioned, to visit the military forces of our country and of yours, working in partnership, playing in partnership, and enjoying a family relationship in partnership.

It was an inspiring afternoon for me to meet the officers, the men, on both sides, the German as well as the American. It is encouraging to me that they are working with a common zeal for a common purpose.

The commitment and the endeavor are very fundamental, as we know, to the security of the United States, to the Federal Republic and to Berlin, and to the entire Atlantic alliance.

I thank you for the very, very warm welcome which the German people have extended to me, to Mrs. Ford, and to our son Jack, but also to every American stationed here in the German Republic and their families.

Few people are more united than Americans and Germans in their support of the principles of independence, freedom, and self-determination.

Today we speak of both the East as well as the West with new emphasis on a common future. Much effort has gone into increasing contacts and cooperation among the peoples of Europe. We have made some significant advances.

The forthcoming meeting, as you have mentioned, in Helsinki offers hope for future progress. Obviously, we have much further to go.

Americans do look forward to continued cooperation, not only with the Federal Republic but with the peoples of Europe as a whole.

Mr. President, a little more than a month has passed since we enjoyed you and Mrs.

Scheel being in Washington and visiting us at the White House. The spirit prevailing among us today strongly reaffirms the genuine and continuing friendly relationship, the close relationship between our countries, our peoples, and our government.

If you will raise your glass with me, I would like to propose a particularly cordial *prosit* to President Scheel and to the Federal Republic of Germany.

ARRIVAL, WARSAW, JULY 28

White House press release (Warsaw) dated July 28

First Secretary Gierek⁵

The Right Honorable Mr. President, Madame Ford, ladies and gentlemen: On behalf of the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic, in the name of our people, I wish to welcome you, Mr. President, on the Polish soil. We are extending to you a welcome of most genuine cordiality, while I myself am particularly satisfied over our meeting again.

We are pleased to be able to play host to Mrs. Ford and persons accompanying you, and among them the Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger. The doors of Warsaw and of the entire country of ours stay wide open for you with traditional Polish hospitality.

This is not your first visit to Poland, but it is for the first time that you are visiting us as President of the United States of America, as a leader of the nation which for over two centuries our people have been linked to with numerous and strong ties, mutual friendship, and respect.

In your person, Mr. President, we welcome and extend greetings to the American people, with whom we desire to develop cooperation and share the happiness of peace.

During my visit to the United States, which indeed has left indelible memories of the hospitality accorded to me there, I found that desire shared on both sides, and that you, sir, are personally the advocate of

⁵ First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish.

friendly cooperation of our peoples and states. Your present visit to Poland is about the most eloquent testimony of that.

We are glad that while in this country you will be able to acquaint yourself with the great record of achievement of the Polish People's Republic, with her dynamic development, with our plans for the near and more distant future.

I am sure you will find, Mr. President, that the Polish people, who have rebuilt their country from the ravages of war with toil and self-sacrifice, are working perseveringly to build a strong, modern, and prosperous country worthy of both its best traditions and of its Socialist ideals and aspirations of today.

I am sure you will find also, Mr. President, that the most profound desire of our people is peace. You will see no ruins of Warsaw, which 30 years ago proved to be such a shocking experience to one of your predecessors, General Eisenhower.

Our capital has been restored to life, beautiful and modern. Yet the memory of the immensity of sacrifice and suffering remains, as does the desire impressed upon the hearts and minds—no more war.

Our people—and according to their will, also the authorities of the Polish People's Republic—conceive of the establishment of lasting peace as of the most important and supreme cause.

We are pleased that we are receiving you, Mr. President, on the eve of the final phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and only soon after the Soviet-American cooperation, one of paramount importance to the world peace, has been reaffirmed and the joint Soyuz-Apollo project crowned as it was with such a magnificent success.

You are arriving in Poland, Mr. President, at a time when the process of international détente is acquiring new dimensions, a process which our country, along with her Socialist allies and friends, deem to be one of great importance.

We are greeting you as a leader of the great nation which plays its important role in the world of today, and we trust it will be

making an even greater contribution to the cause of strengthening peace.

We are happy to see you in Poland, Mr. President. We are happy to see Mrs. Ford in Poland.

President Ford

Mr. First Secretary, Mrs. Gierek, Mr. Chairman of the Council of State, Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished hosts: Mrs. Ford and I are deeply grateful for your very cordial words of welcome. It is a great privilege and pleasure for me to return to Poland. Mrs. Ford and I had the privilege and honor of being here a number of years ago and spent some 11 days in Warsaw and in Poland, and we have fond memories of that wonderful experience.

During the 16 years since my first visit to your country, the friendly ties between our peoples have developed in a way that should provide us much mutual encouragement.

Building on a foundation laid nearly 200 years ago, when courageous Poles came to our shores and helped make American independence a reality, we have worked hard to broaden the scope of our common interests.

I am deeply gratified by the expansion of contacts between our two countries, by the rapid growth in trade, and by the new forms of bilateral cooperation which have been able to develop between our two nations.

During your visit to Washington last October, Mr. First Secretary, we signed the joint agreements of principles of U.S.-Polish relations, the joint statement of the development of economic and industrial cooperation, and our two countries, Mr. Secretary, entered into agreements on coal research, health, environmental protection, the avoidance of double taxation, and the cooperation in science and technology.

These agreements are the latest evidence, Mr. Secretary, of our ability to work together to improve the lives of our peoples, and I hope that we can achieve even greater cooperation during this visit.

I look forward to our discussions, Mr. Secretary. I am confident that in reviewing our relationships we can strengthen the tradition-

al friendship between our two peoples and improve the prospects for world peace.

I am also very anxious to share our thoughts about the future and to hear your views, Mr. Secretary, as we both prepare to participate in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki.

I believe that we will find areas in which both our countries can further contribute to the achievement of lasting peace and progress among all nations.

In conclusion, let me express the greetings I bring with me from all Americans, including the millions of our citizens who are so proud of their Polish background and their Polish heritage.

Niech żyje Polska. [Long Live Poland!]

TOASTS BY PRESIDENT FORD AND FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK, JULY 28⁶

First Secretary Gierek

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary of State, and ladies and gentlemen: Ten months ago when taking leave of you, Mr. President, in the Capital of the United States, I said that while retaining in my grateful memory our Washington meeting and talks, I would be looking forward to having your visit to Warsaw.

Today I am both honored and pleased to receive you in my country. Our people regard your visit, Mr. President, as a confirmation of the traditional friendly attitude of the American people toward Poland and the inaugural of further development of cooperation between our two countries.

The people of Poland see in it, also, an evidence of your personal involvement in the strengthening of Polish-American ties. Poles do appreciate it—of which they have given an expression in the welcome accorded to you.

It is with utmost pleasure that we are receiving Mrs. Ford in Poland. We are happy to have you here, Mr. Secretary of State,

⁶ Given at a luncheon hosted by First Secretary Gierek at Warsaw; First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish (text from White House press release (Warsaw)).

Dr. Kissinger. Your outstanding role in the American foreign policy is well known to us. We are glad, Mr. President, to be able to play host to all your collaborators who have come on this visit.

Mr. President, you are paying your visit to Poland just before a great event in the life of Europe—before the final decisive phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation. Indeed, it is of symptomatic significance.

It was Poland that some years ago put forward the idea of such a meeting and jointly with her allies in the political and defensive Warsaw Treaty launched an initiative to convene it.

These days, we are about to leave for Helsinki to approve and sign the decisions of the conference which is the common achievement and success of all the participating states of our continent, of the United States and Canada. The decisions of the conference shall be of paramount importance for the consolidation of peace in Europe, which rests on the foundation of the inviolability of the political and territorial order established as a result of the victory of nations over nazism, of the historic Potsdam decisions and post-war development.

The guiding idea of those decisions is strengthening of the feeling of security and development of international cooperation embracing all fields of life.

Europe has had a long and stormy history in which peaceful development interwove with acute conflicts and conquests of other continents. The two World Wars were unleashed on its territory. Today, both a historic necessity and an invaluable chance have emerged to establish lasting peace and make an active contribution of the whole of Europe to constructing universal peace.

That task lies in the vital and supreme interest of all European nations. Each of them can and should make its own contribution to the cause of peace and cooperation.

A particular role in this regard is played by our ally the Soviet Union. Whereas 30 years ago it carried the heaviest burden of struggle against nazism, today it spares no

effort to promote development of the process of détente and consolidate international security.

Likewise, the contribution of the United States is of great importance. Your country, Mr. President, lent its assistance to the peoples of Europe in their struggle against forces of aggression and barbarity. Today it can do much for the establishment of lasting peace on our continent.

We are fully appreciative of the engagement of the American Government in securing the success of the European conference. We are aware of the great weight of cooperation of the Soviet Union and the United States to save mankind from a new world war, to successfully shape the international situation.

We rejoice at the constructive dialogue between you, Mr. President, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev.

A turn for détente represents an outstanding beneficial change for all nations in their international relations. It is with the later process, with its permanent continuation, that we link our great hopes and growing optimism for the future of Europe and the world at large.

We also link it, Mr. President, with our plans for the further dynamic development of Poland, the implementation of which requires peace and broader cooperation—notable in the economic field—with other countries.

Mr. President, the people of Poland have had a long and very difficult history. Over the last two centuries, its chapters have been covered with heroic struggle for the right to independent existence.

In World War II, in which you too served, sir, showing your patriotism and battlefield gallantry, we lost over 6 million citizens and over 40 percent of our national property. It has been through the self-sacrificial toil of our own people and with the assistance of our unfailing friends, above all, of the Soviet Union, that we raised this country from ruins and have created for Poland a chance for

lasting security development and social progress.

Within her just and inviolable frontiers, linked as she is by the unbreakable alliance with her Socialist friends, Poland is looking forward to the future with confidence and optimism.

We would sincerely wish that our nation, so often harassed by wars and so many a time having to start life anew, could enjoy the blessings of a period of lasting peace. That is precisely what the Polish People's Republic views as her supreme objective of her activities in the international forum.

My country has made its important contribution to creating genuine conditions of security in Europe and to strengthening Europe's peaceful order. It contributed and continues to contribute its share to the process of international détente. Therefore it is with particular satisfaction that we shall welcome the Helsinki charter of European peace and shall actively pursue the implementation of its principles.

Mr. President, our common desire is the further expansion of Polish-American relations. We assess favorably their present state and dynamic growth.

The decisions and agreements which we arrived at in Washington last year have laid down good grounds for expansion of cooperation between our two countries, especially in the economic field. We regard it as a valuable element of the development of our own country and we trust it is likewise beneficial to the United States. Thus there exist favorable circumstances to go still further in its programming in the future.

Mr. President, in 1976 the United States will observe its Bicentennial. A significant contribution to the making and growth of the United States has been made by Poles. The memory of our two peoples is well aligned with dignified figures of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, who fought for the independence of both Poland and the United States.

In later times, hundreds of thousands of Poles who immigrated in search for their work and bread participated in laying the foundations of the American economic po-

tential. Numerous Polish names have permanently entered the history of American sciences and culture.

Today, millions of Americans of Polish extraction, as good citizens of the United States, work for its development and also maintain their emotional ties with the country of their forefathers. We take great satisfaction that ever more frequently they visit Poland and take pride in her accomplishments. They are surely glad with the present development of Polish-American relations, which you, Mr. President, promote with all your heart and determination.

I wish to raise this toast to your good health, Mr. President, to the good health of Mrs. Ford, to the good health of the Secretary of State, to the good health of all persons accompanying you, for the further successful development of Polish-American relations, to the success of the Helsinki Conference, to the successes in consolidating détente and peace.

President Ford

Mr. First Secretary, Mrs. Gierek, ladies and gentlemen: I am delighted on this occasion to be your guest, along with my son, and we regret that unfortunately Mrs. Ford could not be here, but she will, I am sure, be joining us later.

It is a great pleasure for me to return to this very great country in the center of Europe, a country which is so rich in tradition and so important to the contemporary world. I welcome this opportunity to reaffirm the U.S. commitment to friendship with Poland. And I am determined to strengthen that friendship.

When we met in Washington last October, Mr. Secretary, you and I pledged our countries to acquire a better knowledge of their respective achievements and values. Both nations can take great satisfaction in progress toward that goal. We have made vitally important advances in our bilateral relations.

This is in keeping with the spirit of the documents that we signed during the First Secretary's visit, and I am pleased to cite the

continuing efforts of both sides to increase trade and commerce, the visits and exchanges between our scientists, industrial and mining specialists, and agricultural experts, and the educational and cultural programs which each year enable more Poles and more Americans to know each other and to exchange ideas.

The United States recently presented the World of Franklin and Jefferson Bicentennial Exhibition in Warsaw. It vividly depicted America's past and Poland's long and close association with us.

You may remember one of Benjamin Franklin's remarks featured in the exhibition. According to Benjamin Franklin, human felicity is produced not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen as by little advantages that occur every day.

We have men and women of great vision in Poland and in America, but we realize that real progress in the relations between countries really comes from the millions who give form as well as substance to the aspirations of their governments.

Distinguished host, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in a toast to all Polish and American citizens, scholars, scientists, workers, farmers, writers, musicians, and others, who day by day are striving to develop the little advantages so important to the growing friendship between our countries.

At this time, may I offer a toast to you, Mr. Secretary, and to the Polish people.

JOINT STATEMENT SIGNED AT WARSAW JULY 28

White House press release (Warsaw) dated July 28

As a result of the conversations held by the President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, both sides agreed to the following Joint Statement.

I.

The President of the United States of America and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party reaffirm their determination to make their contribution to the

consolidation of détente, to the strengthening of international security, and to the development of bilateral relations to their mutual advantage, as defined in the course of their previous meetings and in accordance with the Joint Statement of Principles of United States-Polish Relations of 1974, as well as other agreements concluded by the two countries in recent years.

The President and the First Secretary welcome with satisfaction the convocation of the final stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on July 30th of this year in Helsinki. Both sides consider the convocation of the Conference a positive contribution to the continuing process of international détente and express their hope that it will be regarded as an historic event.

Both sides expressed their will to do all they can so that the results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, contained in the final document, become a genuine and strong stimulus for positively shaping relations among the participant states. They expressed their confidence that the implementation of the decisions by all the participants of the Conference would contribute to the further strengthening of peace in Europe and developing ever broader, all-round cooperation among them. Both sides are in full agreement that security in Europe is indivisible and that it remains closely linked with peace and security in the world as a whole.

Both sides note that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will be followed up by further meetings at the level of representatives appointed by the ministers for foreign affairs of participant states.

In the course of their exchange of views, both sides fully agreed that efforts to strengthen political détente in Europe should be supplemented by a process of military détente. In this context, the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic attach significant importance to the Vienna talks on the Mutual Reduction of Armed Forces and Armament in Central Europe and Associated Measures and expressed their will to achieve progress in these talks.

The Polish side expressed its full support for the dialogue and development of relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.—the two states which bear special responsibility for world peace. The Polish side voiced its belief that in particular the talks and the agreements concerning strategic arms limitation strengthen world peace and provide a sound basis for further limitations and reduction of strategic arms.

Both sides presented their respective views on the effectiveness of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and were in agreement as to the

fundamental importance of the Treaty for preventing the danger of proliferation of these weapons.

They also considered that the Conference on the Law of the Sea was very important for all countries of the world. Both sides expressed themselves in favor of making all possible efforts to bring this Conference to a successful conclusion next year, keeping in mind the just interests of all states.

They also reviewed matters related to the growing need to develop cooperation among states, notably in the field of raw materials, energy, and food. They reaffirmed their will to act, each side according to its own possibilities and priorities, toward alleviating and solving the existing problems. The two sides agreed that as a result of their bilateral cooperation in selected fields of energy, they can considerably contribute to the solution of these problems to the benefit of their own and other peoples.

The President and the First Secretary expressed themselves in favor of continuing, on all levels, efforts to promote international economic cooperation and to remove barriers and obstacles.

Both sides intend to work toward broadening international scientific cooperation. In this respect, the Polish side pointed to the significance of the Apollo-Soyuz program, seeing in it a symbol of the opportunities arising from joint efforts of nations for the good of all mankind in the era of international détente.

The President and the First Secretary confirmed their support for the United Nations and for the objectives and principles set out in its Charter.

The two sides reaffirmed the usefulness of their contacts and consultations to date and reaffirm their readiness to continue them on various levels and in various forums.

II.

During the talks, the President and the First Secretary reviewed US-Polish bilateral relations, noting with satisfaction the progress achieved, which corresponds to the interests of both nations and is in conformity with the long and rich traditions linking the peoples of the United States and Poland.

The two sides were unanimous in their judgment that the Statements signed on October 8, 1974, during the visit of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, to the United States, constitute a solid foundation for the further strengthening of peaceful and friendly cooperation between the United States and Poland and they were happy to note the successful implementation of the respective economic agreements.

Attaching particular weight to the growth of trade exchanges, both leaders considered a further

substantial increase in trade turnover between their two countries to be a feasible, realistic, and desirable goal. Both sides expressed their intention to act jointly in removing difficulties that may arise. They will lend particular support in this respect to the activities of the Joint US-Polish Trade Commission.

Both sides noted the further successful development of financial cooperation between the two countries and recognized its impact on the pace and scope of industrial co-production. They are resolved to encourage further cooperation between the firms and enterprises of both sides.

Emphasizing the great role of scientific and technical cooperation, both sides appraised positively the work done so far in putting into effect the Agreement on Funding of Cooperation in Science and Technology. They also expressed their support for its further expansion, especially in such fields as coal mining and coal processing, the protection of the environment, and transportation.

The two leaders also attached importance to the longstanding tradition of cooperation in the field of health protection, drugs, and biological materials. Under the program, joint research will be continued, including such fields as oncology, health problems related to food and drugs, and planning, delivery, and evaluation of health services, especially those to mothers and children.

The two sides believe that there exist broad possibilities that the traditional field of cooperation between both countries—trade in agricultural products—be broadened and supplemented by scientific and technical cooperation in agriculture, particularly in stockbreeding, production of fodders, technology of food preservation, and production of high-quality varieties of protein.

Mindful of the importance of the rational use of the food resources of the oceans, both sides will continue to cooperate in the field of fishing and maritime economy.

In seeking to broaden relations and contacts between the peoples of the United States and Poland, both sides shall continue to encourage tourism between them. They expressed their interest in further facilitating and developing air transportation between the two countries.

Both sides will encourage and facilitate all exchanges of people between the two nations in order that they may contribute to broader relations and better understanding. They will continue to promote cultural exchanges and will encourage further contacts and cooperation between civic, scientific, sports, and youth organizations, as well as between cities of both countries.

Both sides stressed the significance of historical traditions for the strengthening of friendship be-

tween the two nations. They pointed to the positive role played by Americans of Polish extraction in the enrichment of relations between the United States and Poland.

Both sides agreed that, in the spirit of the traditional friendship between the two nations, they will continue their efforts to solve humanitarian problems affecting their citizens.

III.

The President of the United States and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party expressed their profound satisfaction with the conversations they held and voiced their conviction that the results of these talks will be of great significance for further American-Polish cooperation.

WARSAW, July 28, 1975.

GERALD FORD

President of the United States of America

EDWARD GIEREK

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

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT KRAKOW JULY 29

White House press release (Krakow) dated July 29

1. The President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and Mrs. Ford made an official visit to Poland July 28–29, 1975, at the invitation of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, issued on behalf of the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic. The President was accompanied by the Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry A. Kissinger.

2. During the visit, the President held talks with First Secretary Gierek.

3. Plenary talks were also held with the participation of:

From the American side: The President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford; the Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry A. Kissinger; Ambassador of the United States of America in Warsaw Richard T. Davies; Deputy Assistant to the President Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft; Counselor of the Department of State Helmut Sonnenfeldt; Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Arthur A. Hartman; Senior Staff Member of the National Security Council A. Denis Clift, and Di-

rector Nicholas G. Andrews of the Office of Eastern European Affairs of the Department of State.

From the Polish side: The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek; the Chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski; the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Piotr Jaroszewicz; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stefan Olszowski; Member of the Secretariat and Head of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Ryszard Frelek; Director of the Chancellery of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Jerzy Waszczuk; First Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers Kazimierz Secomski; Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Romuald Spasowski; Undersecretary of State in the Office of the Council of Ministers and press spokesman of the Government Włodzimierz Janiurek; Ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in Washington Witold Trampeczynski; Director of Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jan Kinast.

4. The Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry A. Kissinger, held talks with Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski.

5. President Ford and the persons accompanying him viewed Warsaw and acquainted themselves with its reconstruction and development. The President of the City, Jerzy Majowski, accompanied them.

6. On the second day of the visit, the President of the United States of America went to Oswiecim (Auschwitz), where he laid a wreath at the International Monument and signed the Memorial Book.

7. President Ford visited Krakow. He was greeted in the central marketplace by the President of the City of Krakow, Jerzy Pekala. The President of the United States made a short speech to the assembled citizens. The President also visited the American Children's Hospital in Poland, at Prokocim near Krakow, which was built with the support of American funds.

8. The discussions and meetings which were held between the President and the First Secretary and their advisers took place in a friendly and constructive atmosphere and were characterized by mutual striving further to develop and strengthen relations between the United States and Poland. They reviewed U.S.-Polish relations and discussed international matters of mutual interest.

9. As a result of their talks, the President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, signed a Joint Statement on July 28.

10. President and Mrs. Ford expressed their gratitude to First Secretary and Mrs. Gierek for the cordial hospitality arranged for them. They

were grateful to all the Poles who gave them such a warm reception, traditional in Poland.

11. The President and the First Secretary expressed their conviction and desire for future visits at the highest level between the leaders of the two countries which would strengthen U.S.-Polish relations still more. It was agreed that specific arrangements would be made through diplomatic channels.

12. Warsaw, July 29, 1975.

GERALD FORD

President of the United States of America

EDWARD GIEREK

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

ARRIVAL, HELSINKI, JULY 29

White House press release (Helsinki) dated July 29

President Kekkonen, ladies and gentlemen: Mrs. Ford and our son Jack join me in expressing our very great pleasure in being in Finland on this occasion. I extend to the Finnish Government and to the Finnish people the warm friendship and the warm admiration of the United States and all Americans.

Finland is a most appropriate host for this final stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. I join the other participants so that together we will take another step in the building of a peaceful, cooperative, and mutually beneficial relationship among all of the countries of Europe.

This meeting in Helsinki can give new impetus to the process of détente. The provisions of the document we will sign must be translated into policies and actions by the participating states if we are to realize the promises of greater security and cooperation in Europe.

The United States will participate fully in this process. American security and well-being are tied to the security and to the stability of Europe.

While our agenda for the next few days will be full, Mr. President, I look forward with pleasure to seeing you and enjoying the renowned hospitality of Helsinki and Finland.

Thank you very much.

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT FORD AND GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV, JULY 30 ⁷

Q. Mr. Secretary, what were your talks about?

General Secretary Brezhnev: Our relations with America. You know, we have different kinds of relations—commercial, political. We centered our attention on the questions of strategic disarmament. We had very little time, so we had not enough time to finish the talks.

On the whole, our talks took place in a businesslike, friendly atmosphere.

Q. Mr. President, what were you talking with the General Secretary?

President Ford: I felt the bilateral discussions, the discussions concerning strategic arms limitation, the total atmosphere, was very constructive. It was businesslike, very friendly, and I am sure that when we meet again on Saturday further progress will materialize.

Q. Mr. General Secretary, you seem to be in an unusually good mood. Are you pleased to see the Security Conference beginning today?

General Secretary Brezhnev: What do you think?

Q. What do you think this conference will accomplish for the world?

General Secretary Brezhnev: What would you like it to accomplish, madam?

Q. I asked you the question. It is not fair to turn the question around.

General Secretary Brezhnev: I want peace and tranquillity to reign in Europe. I want all the nations of Europe to live at peace with each other, not to interfere in each other's domestic affairs where the sovereignty of each nation of Europe is assured. Is that a little achievement?

Q. You think there will be no interference with borders after this?

⁷ Made to the press following a meeting at the U.S. Embassy residence at Helsinki; General Secretary Brezhnev spoke in Russian (text from White House press release (Helsinki)).

General Secretary Brezhnev: I think so, yes.

Q. Mr. President, what are you wanting from this Helsinki Conference?

President Ford: I believe that the peace in Europe will be enhanced. I believe that the overall peace of the world will be encouraged and broadened. And it is my judgment that progress will be the net result.

The press: Thank you, Mr. President.

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT FORD AND TURKISH PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL, JULY 31 ⁸

Prime Minister Demirel: We have reviewed our relations with the United States, Turkish-U.S. relations, and as far as Turkey is concerned, these relations are very valuable and we will do our best not to spoil these relations.

President Ford: Let me reemphasize that I will continue my efforts to remove any roadblocks between the United States and Turkey because we feel good relations with Turkey are of utmost importance to Turkey and the United States and to the free world, to the world as a whole.

Q. What are the possibilities of keeping the monitoring equipment going in the bases in Turkey, the American radio?

Prime Minister Demirel: For the time being, we have stopped the activities, as you know.

Q. What are the possibilities of starting them again?

Prime Minister Demirel: We will see.

Q. What does it depend upon?

Prime Minister Demirel: I cannot tell you right now.

President Ford: Good luck this morning.

The press: Thank you, sir.

⁸ Made to the press following a breakfast meeting at the U.S. Embassy residence (text from White House press release (Helsinki)).

ADDRESS TO THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, AUGUST 1

Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents dated August 11

Mr. Chairman [Walter Kieber, Head of Government of Liechtenstein], my distinguished colleagues: May I begin by expressing to the Governments of Finland and Switzerland, which have been superb hosts for the several phases of this conference, my gratitude and that of my associates for their efficiency and hospitality.

Particularly to you, President Kekkonen, I must convey to the people of the Republic of Finland, on behalf of the 214 million people of the United States of America, a reaffirmation of the longstanding affection and admiration which all my countrymen hold for your brave and beautiful land.

We are bound together by the most powerful of all ties, our fervent love for freedom and independence, which knows no homeland but the human heart. It is a sentiment as enduring as the granite rock on which this city stands and as moving as the music of Sibelius. Our visit here, though short, has brought us a deeper appreciation of the pride, industry, and friendliness which Americans always associate with the Finnish nation.

The nations assembled here have kept the general peace in Europe for 30 years. Yet there have been too many narrow escapes from major conflict. There remains, to this day, the urgent issue of how to construct a just and lasting peace for all peoples.

I have not come across the Atlantic to say what all of us already know—that nations now have the capacity to destroy civilization and therefore all our foreign policies must have as their one supreme objective the prevention of a thermonuclear war. Nor have I come to dwell upon the hard realities of continuing ideological differences, political rivalries, and military competition that persist among us.

I have come to Helsinki as a spokesman for a nation whose vision has always been forward, whose people have always demanded that the future be brighter than the past, and whose united will and purpose at

this hour is to work diligently to promote peace and progress not only for ourselves but for all mankind.

I am simply here to say to my colleagues: We owe it to our children, to the children of all continents, not to miss any opportunity, not to mangle for one minute, not to spare ourselves or allow others to shirk in the monumental task of building a better and a safer world.

The American people, like the people of Europe, know well that mere assertions of good will, passing changes in the political mood of governments, laudable declarations of principles, are not enough. But if we proceed with care, with commitment to real progress, there is now an opportunity to turn our peoples' hopes into realities.

In recent years, nations represented here have sought to ease potential conflicts. But much more remains to be done before we prematurely congratulate ourselves.

Military competition must be controlled. Political competition must be restrained. Crises must not be manipulated or exploited for unilateral advantages that could lead us again to the brink of war. The process of negotiation must be sustained, not at a snail's pace, but with demonstrated enthusiasm and visible progress.

Nowhere are the challenges and the opportunities greater and more evident than in Europe. That is why this conference brings us all together. Conflict in Europe shakes the world. Twice in this century we have paid dearly for this lesson; at other times, we have come perilously close to calamity. We dare not forget the tragedy and the terror of those times.

Peace is not a piece of paper.

But lasting peace is at least possible today because we have learned from the experiences of the last 30 years that peace is a process requiring mutual restraint and practical arrangements.

This conference is a part of that process—a challenge, not a conclusion. We face unresolved problems of military security in Europe; we face them with very real differences in values and in aims. But if we deal with them with careful preparation, if we

focus on concrete issues, if we maintain forward movement, we have the right to expect real progress.

The era of confrontation that has divided Europe since the end of the Second World War may now be ending. There is a new perception and a shared perception of a change for the better, away from confrontation and toward new possibilities for secure and mutually beneficial cooperation. That is what we all have been saying here. I welcome and I share these hopes for the future.

The postwar policy of the United States has been consistently directed toward the rebuilding of Europe and the rebirth of Europe's historic identity. The nations of the West have worked together for peace and progress throughout Europe. From the very start, we have taken the initiative by stating clear goals and areas for negotiation.

We have sought a structure of European relations tempering rivalry with restraint, power with moderation, building upon the traditional bonds that link us with old friends, and reaching out to forge new ties with former and potential adversaries.

In recent years, there have been some substantial achievements.

We see the Four-Power agreement on Berlin of 1971 as the end of a perennial crisis that on at least three occasions brought the world to the brink of doom.

The agreements between the Federal Republic of Germany and the states of Eastern Europe and the related intra-German accords enable Central Europe and the world to breathe easier.

The start of East-West talks on mutual and balanced force reductions demonstrate a determination to deal with military security problems of the Continent.

The 1972 treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union to limit antiballistic missiles and the interim agreement limiting strategic offensive arms were the first solid breakthroughs in what must be a continuing long-term process of limiting strategic nuclear arsenals.

I profoundly hope that this conference will spur further practical and concrete results. It affords a welcome opportunity to widen

the circle of those countries involved in easing tensions between East and West.

Participation in the work of détente and participation in the benefits of détente must be everybody's business, in Europe and elsewhere. But détente can succeed only if everybody understands what détente actually is:

First, détente is an evolutionary process, not a static condition. Many formidable challenges yet remain.

Second, the success of détente, of the process of détente, depends on new behavior patterns that give life to all our solemn declarations. The goals we are stating today are the yardstick by which our performance will be measured.

The people of all Europe—and, I assure you, the people of North America—are thoroughly tired of having their hopes raised and then shattered by empty words and unfulfilled pledges. We had better say what we mean and mean what we say, or we will have the anger of our citizens to answer.

While we must not expect miracles, we can, and we do, expect steady progress that comes in steps—steps that are related to each other, that link our actions with words in various areas of our relations.

Finally, there must be an acceptance of mutual obligation. Détente, as I have often said, must be a two-way street. Tensions cannot be eased by one side alone. Both sides must want détente and work to achieve it. Both sides must benefit from it.

Mr. Chairman, my colleagues, this extraordinary gathering in Helsinki proves that all our peoples share a concern for Europe's future and for a better and more peaceful world. But what else does it prove? How shall we assess the results?

Our delegations have worked long and hard to produce documents which restate noble and praiseworthy political principles. They spell out guidelines for national behavior and international cooperation.

But every signatory should know that if these are to be more than the latest chapter in a long and sorry volume of unfulfilled declarations, every party must be dedicated to making them come true.

These documents which we will sign rep-

resent another step—how long or short a step only time will tell—in the process of détente and reconciliation in Europe. Our peoples will be watching and measuring our progress. They will ask how these noble sentiments are being translated into actions that bring about a more secure and just order in the daily lives of each of our nations and its citizens.

The documents produced here represent compromises, like all international negotiations, but these principles we have agreed upon are more than the lowest common denominator of governmental positions:

—They affirm the most fundamental human rights: liberty of thought, conscience, and faith; the exercise of civil and political rights; the rights of minorities.

—They call for a freer flow of information, ideas, and people; greater scope for the press; cultural and educational exchange; family reunification; the right to travel and to marriage between nationals of different states; and for the protection of the priceless heritage of our diverse cultures.

—They offer wide areas for greater cooperation: trade, industrial production, science and technology, the environment, transportation, health, space, and the oceans.

—They reaffirm the basic principles of relations between states: nonintervention, sovereign equality, self-determination, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers, and the possibility of change by peaceful means.

The United States gladly subscribes to this document because we subscribe to every one of these principles.

Almost 200 years ago, the United States of America was born as a free and independent nation. The descendants of Europeans who proclaimed their independence in America expressed in that declaration a decent respect for the opinions of mankind and asserted not only that all men are created equal but they are endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The founders of my country did not

merely say that all Americans should have these rights, but all men everywhere should have these rights. And these principles have guided the United States of America throughout its two centuries of nationhood. They have given hopes to millions in Europe and on every continent.

I have been asked why I am here today.

I am here because I believe, and my countrymen believe, in the interdependence of Europe and North America, indeed in the interdependence of the entire family of man.

I am here because the leaders of 34 other governments are here—the states of Europe and of our good neighbor Canada, with whom we share an open border of 5,526 miles along which there stands not a single armed soldier and across which our two peoples have moved in friendship and mutual respect for 160 years.

I can say without fear of contradiction that there is not a single people represented here whose blood does not flow in the veins of Americans and whose culture and traditions have not enriched the heritage which we Americans prize so highly.

When two centuries ago the United States of America issued a declaration of high principles, the cynics and doubters of that day jeered and scoffed. Yet, 11 long years later our independence was won and the stability of our Republic was really achieved through the incorporation of the same principles in our Constitution.

But those principles, though they are still being perfected, remain the guiding lights of an American policy. And the American people are still dedicated, as they were then, to a decent respect for the opinions of mankind and to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all peoples everywhere.

To our fellow participants in this conference: My presence here symbolizes my country's vital interest in Europe's future. Our future is bound with yours. Our economic well-being, as well as our security, is linked increasingly with yours. The distance of geography is bridged by our common heritage and our common destiny. The United States therefore intends to participate fully

in the affairs of Europe and in turning the results of this conference into a living reality.

To America's allies: We in the West must vigorously pursue the course upon which we have embarked together, reinforced by one another's strength and mutual confidence. Stability in Europe requires equilibrium in Europe. Therefore I assure you that my country will continue to be a concerned and reliable partner. Our partnership is far more than a matter of formal agreements. It is a reflection of beliefs, traditions, and ties that are of deep significance to the American people. We are proud that these values are expressed in this document.

To the countries of the East: The United States considers that the principles on which this conference has agreed are part of the great heritage of European civilization, which we all hold in trust for all mankind. To my country, they are not clichés or empty phrases. We take this work and these words very seriously. We will spare no effort to ease tensions and to solve problems between us, but it is important that you recognize the deep devotion of the American people and their government to human rights and fundamental freedoms and thus to the pledges that this conference has made regarding the freer movement of people, ideas, information.

In building a political relationship between East and West, we face many challenges.

Berlin has a special significance. It has been a flashpoint of confrontation in the past. It can provide an example of peaceful settlement in the future. The United States regards it as a test of détente and of the principles of this conference. We welcome the fact that, subject to Four-Power rights and responsibilities, the results of CSCE apply to Berlin, as they do throughout Europe.

Military stability in Europe has kept the peace. While maintaining that stability, it is now time to reduce substantially the high levels of military forces on both sides. Negotiations now underway in Vienna on mutual and balanced force reductions so far have not produced the results for which I had hoped.

The United States stands ready to demonstrate flexibility in moving these negotiations forward, if others will do the same. An agreement that enhances mutual security is feasible—and essential.

The United States also intends to pursue vigorously a further agreement on strategic arms limitations with the Soviet Union. This remains a priority of American policy. General Secretary Brezhnev and I agreed last November in Vladivostok on the essentials of a new accord limiting strategic offensive weapons for the next 10 years. We are moving forward in our bilateral discussions here in Helsinki.

The world faces an unprecedented danger in the spread of nuclear weapons technology. The nations of Europe share a great responsibility for an international solution to this problem. The benefits of peaceful nuclear energy are becoming more and more important. We must find ways to spread these benefits while safeguarding the world against the menace of weapons proliferation.

To the other nations of Europe represented at this conference: We value the work you have done here to help bring all of Europe together. Your right to live in peace and independence is one of the major goals of our effort. Your continuing contribution will be indispensable.

To those nations not participating and to all the peoples of the world: The solemn obligation undertaken in these documents to promote fundamental rights, economic and social progress, and well-being applies ultimately to all peoples.

Can we truly speak of peace and security without addressing the spread of nuclear weapons in the world or the creation of more sophisticated forms of warfare? Can peace be divisible between areas of tranquillity and regions of conflict?

Can Europe truly flourish if we do not all address ourselves to the evil of hunger in countries less fortunate than we; to the new dimensions of economic and energy issues that underline our own progress; to the dialogue between producers and consumers, between exporters and importers, between in-

dustrial countries and less developed ones? And can there be stability and progress in the absence of justice and fundamental freedoms?

Our people want a better future. Their expectations have been raised by the very real steps that have already been taken—in arms control, political negotiations, and expansion of contacts and economic relations. Our presence here offers them further hope. We must not let them down.

If the Soviet Union and the United States can reach agreement so that our astronauts can fit together the most intricate scientific equipment, work together, and shake hands 137 miles out in space, we as statesmen have an obligation to do as well on earth.

History will judge this conference not by what we say here today, but by what we do tomorrow—not by the promises we make, but by the promises we keep.

QUESTION-AND-ANSWER SESSION ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE, AUGUST 2 (EXCERPTS)⁹

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us where you made progress on SALT, and do you think that we will have a SALT agreement by the end of the year?

President Ford: I don't think I should get into the details of where we made progress, but the two sessions with Mr. Brezhnev and myself resulted in progress. We have referred to the technicians in Geneva our areas of agreement, and they are going to work out the details.

I am encouraged—it was constructive and friendly—and our plans are no different today for any subsequent meetings than they were before.

Q. Mr. President, "progress" is a bit of a vague term. Can you characterize it as significant progress, minor progress, and specifically do you still hope for an agreement

⁹ Held by President Ford and Secretary Kissinger with the press pool aboard Air Force One en route from Helsinki to Bucharest; for the complete transcript, see Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents dated Aug. 11, 1975, p. 815.

to be signed by the end of this year?

President Ford: I would say the progress was encouraging, and that is also a word that could be qualified, but it was encouraging.

It is very difficult, these negotiations, where it requires mutual give-and-take, so if we want the end result, which is peace, a reduction of the arms burden, it requires some understanding on the part of the Soviet Union and its people, myself and our people. So, when I say "encouraging," I think we are edging toward that mutual objective.

Q. By the end of the year?

President Ford: Hopefully.

Q. Sir, you say you are sending the technicians to Geneva to complete the areas of agreement. What about the areas in which you have not yet reached agreement? What do you do with them?

President Ford: It is anticipated that Secretary Kissinger and Foreign Minister Gromyko will have at least two meetings where the areas of disagreement can be more clearly refined so that Mr. Brezhnev and myself, when we sit down at a final meeting, in case there has to be a resolution of the hard and final decisions, they will be clear cut and understandable.

Q. We have been told in the past of three basic areas of disagreement. One was verification, one was cruise missiles, and one was the Backfire bomber. Can you give us a rundown on where now you're making progress and where you still don't have agreement?

President Ford: Those are very important areas, but I think it would be unwise for me to try to identify the particular areas of dispute in those instances. They are very precarious and are crucial points, and this is where Mr. Gromyko and Dr. Kissinger will try to more fully identify the differing positions and give us an opportunity, Mr. Brezhnev and myself, to achieve some kind of an honorable settlement.

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned the give-and-take of negotiations. At Helsinki, did

the Russians demonstrate a willingness to give as much as to take?

President Ford: Yes, I think they, by past performance and the discussions of several days ago as well as today, indicated a forthcoming attitude. They, of course, have the same problem I have. They have to convince their people, as I have to convince the American people, that there is an area which is secure for all of us. So I would indicate that their attitude was forthcoming within their limits and responsibilities.

Q. Mr. President, are you satisfied that if the bases in Turkey remain closed down that you could still police the SALT One agreement? Are you talking about a new agreement, one that is going to make it much more difficult to police?

President Ford: The closing of the bases in Turkey by the congressional action makes it more difficult for us to adequately gather the necessary intelligence, which involves our security. There are, to some extent, alternative bases; but they would cost a great deal of money, and they would involve some other negotiations between other parties.

I just don't think the Congress understands the problem. They want to close the bases, they want it to cost more money, they want to handicap our capability, and it makes no sense at all.

Q. Well, you are going to propose building some new bases? Is that what they have to do, give these bases?

President Ford: No, I am going to continue my determined fight to remove the arms embargo, solve the Cyprus question, get our intelligence bases in Turkey reopened in full operation so that our security in the future is as good as it was in the past.

Q. Mr. President, do you find the Russians are prepared to talk now about negotiating reductions of arms in Europe, conventional arms, as well as nuclear; in other words, the negotiations known as mutual and balanced force reduction (MBFR)?

President Ford: I have read and listened to Mr. Brezhnev's speech. I was impressed

with speeches that were made by many others during the CSCE meetings. I am convinced that we can, now that the European Security Conference is over, that we can make more meaningful progress in MBFR.

Q. Did you discuss that in your conversations with him the second time?

President Ford: We discussed it in a very limited way because we concentrated on our SALT negotiations.

Q. Mr. President, you said earlier that you have to convince your people, as the Russians have to convince their people, of the wisdom of the SALT talks. Do you think that the American people need much convincing about SALT?

President Ford: I am convinced the American people want their President, their government, to make responsible and safe agreements. On the other hand, I do not believe the American people want their President to give more than he gets.

So, that is the basic problem in our negotiating process. I can assure you that we will not give more than we get, but I still feel that in the process of negotiations, compromise, we can end up with what is good for both peoples.

Q. Do the Soviets raise specific objections to some of the criticisms by Senator Jackson of the SALT agreements and the SALT negotiations when you are having these talks with them?

President Ford: We never discuss personalities. We discuss the issues. We discuss the facts. We discuss our security, the objective of peace, and obviously they discuss their security. We don't get into personalities on the American scene, or otherwise.

Q. Mr. President, at the conclusion of today's talks, you wished Secretary General Brezhnev good health. You negotiated with him over a period of five hours or more. How do you think his health is?

President Ford: I thought he looked very well this morning. In fact, I said it sincerely

because I did feel that he looked better—active and strong.

Q. Better than he did the last time that you saw him?

President Ford: I hate to compare, but I can only say that I thought he looked well and he acted strong and it was a very good face-to-face negotiation.

Q. Based on what happened today, do you expect the General Secretary will be in Washington this fall, as you intended all along?

President Ford: There is no change in our overall plan in this regard. We have not talked about details. The plan still is in effect.

Q. Is there anything new on the Middle East in terms of the possibility of an agreement between Israel and Egypt?

President Ford: I am very cautious, very cautious, more optimistic today than I was a few days ago, but I don't want to go any further than that.

Q. Would you say why you are more optimistic?

President Ford: No, I would not want to go into any specifics.

Henry, would you like to add anything on that?

Secretary Kissinger: We will have to wait. We will see Ambassador Eilts [Hermann F. Eilts, U.S. Ambassador to Egypt], who is meeting us in Belgrade, and we will then get a full report of the Egyptian reaction.

The mere fact that the dialogue is going on and is not being broken off gives us some hope that we can move it forward, but we have not yet had a formal Egyptian reply, which we will get tomorrow night, and then Eilts is coming back to Washington with us to wait for the Israeli reply to whatever it is that the Egyptians have. But we have not seen yet what the Egyptians have.

Q. Mr. President, in Washington a former Agriculture Department official testified that another big grain sale to the Soviet Union is going to drive up food prices by 10 per-

cent next year. I was wondering if that was a topic in your discussion with Mr. Brezhnev in Helsinki and exactly where the sale of U.S. grain to the Soviet Union now may stand?

President Ford: I noticed that Mr. [John A.] Schnittker had testified. I believe the sale of roughly 10 million tons of American agricultural commodities have been made, and I think this is good for the farmer.

I don't believe there will be any increase in food prices as a result. I think it is good from our point of view in the balance of trade. I think it is a tribute to the great productivity of the American farmer.

In the future, we have to be very alert to the weather conditions that happen in the next month. Every indication is we will have a bountiful harvest in America. If that happens, we are in a very good position: one, to make additional sales; number two, to protect the consumer; number three, to help our balance of payments.

But for the next month, I think we have to be very alert, and I will personally keep my finger on the situation. I will welcome recommendations of other people in my Administration. This is a matter that involves the farmer, the consumer, our foreign relations, and it is a matter that the President himself must watch very carefully.

Q. Sir, there is some feeling in Europe that the United States was not going along with any eagerness in this effort to get some sort of monetary or economic talks going. Were the Europeans trying to drag us into some sort of arrangement which, in order to help their economic recovery, might affect the way in which the United States is recovering?

President Ford: I am not going to discuss whether there will or won't be an economic conference. There was agreement that the recovery of Europe and the recovery of the United States were very closely intertwined. I was very happy to point out that our recovery was coming more quickly than theirs.

They were most interested in how we had

achieved this. They wanted us—and I agreed—to recognize that there was this interrelationship, this interdependence, and in the months ahead, we will keep a very close liaison because economic recovery for the free world—this includes more than the four countries—is vitally important to the political stability of the free world.

Q. What was your personal reaction to Mr. Brezhnev's speech, especially the controversial part where he talked about no country has a right to tell another country how to manage its internal affairs?

President Ford: Overall, I thought Mr. Brezhnev's speech was very moderate. I did notice that part of the speech. I thought, as he said that, that I as President or any other President would not want some other country telling us how to manage our domestic affairs.

I think each country has a certain sanctity of internal operations—we do, other countries do. I understand it. They can try to be suggestive, maybe persuasive, but I don't think we can assume the stature of telling another country what they should or should not do internally. I don't think they would want us to do it.

Q. Did you notice the section of President Ceaușescu's speech in which he complained about Radio Free Europe, and do you have any reaction to it?

President Ford: I listened very carefully to that part of the speech. He didn't complain, as I recollect, about Radio Free Europe.

Q. He didn't name it.

President Ford: But he said, and I noted it very carefully, other countries' radio activities are involved in other countries. We do have Radio Free Europe; we do have the Voice of America. But I understand that other countries, including neighboring Communist countries, also have radio signals that go into Romania, so I am not sure he was talking only about us.

Q. Mr. President, do you think the world is better today because you signed, or all

these nations signed, this document?

President Ford: Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I am absolutely confident, I am totally convinced, that because of 35 nations participating in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, Europe and the world are all better off.

I will know better two years from now whether our promises have been kept, but I detect very strongly a feeling and an attitude on the part of the leaders of these countries that the promises they made will be maintained.

Q. When you talked to the Embassy this morning, you talked about making sure that these promises were fulfilled. How do we go about enforcing CSCE?

President Ford: Persuasion, example. I believe that some of the unfortunate things that have happened in the last 20 years in Europe will not happen again because of the signing of the CSCE and the speeches that were made there. Those kinds of unfortunate events can be avoided in the future. CSCE was a great plus.

Q. Mr. President, do you feel at all defensive in a forum like this because of the problems of the Western alliance which are highly visible—Portugal's problems, the economic situation, the Greek-Turkish problem, all of which affect the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in one way or another—do you feel you are operating at a disadvantage as leader of the free world in that respect?

President Ford: I recognize we have problems, but look back at the problems of another era. Are they any worse than the economic problems in the 1950's? Are they any worse than the conflicts among Eastern European countries in the 1950's and 1960's? Are the problems today any more serious than the problems of the past?

I don't think so. They are different, but they are not worse, and when you now have the Conference on European Security and Cooperation there is a bulwark. I think it gives us strength to meet those problems.

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Secretary Kissinger's News Conferences at Helsinki July 30 and 31

NEWS CONFERENCE OF JULY 30

Press release 390 dated July 31

Secretary Kissinger: Let me make a few comments about today's events, and then I will open it for questions.

With respect to the Security Conference, you ladies and gentlemen can draw your own conclusions from the tone of the speeches that have so far been delivered.

It is our view that they reflect the attitude with which we, too, came to Helsinki, which is that in the progress toward easing tensions, the establishment of certain principles of conduct can play an extremely useful role.

We believe that the fate of human beings is more likely to be under conditions of relaxation of tension than under conditions of the cold war. So, while we do not look at the Security Conference as the end of the process but, rather, as the beginning of a relationship in which these principles will have to be applied and whose validity will be tested to the degree to which they are applied, we believe that the Security Conference represents a useful step on the road toward easing tensions and toward prevention of war, which must be one of the cardinal goals of all contemporary statesmanship.

In addition to the Security Conference, the President met today with Prime Minister Wilson [of the United Kingdom], with General Secretary [of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Leonid I.] Brezhnev and with Prime Minister Karamanlis [of Greece].

Our relationships with Great Britain have been close and based on very intimate confidence for decades. Therefore the President and the Prime Minister reviewed the international agenda, problems of the eastern

Mediterranean, the Middle East, of the economic conditions of the industrialized world, and exchanged ideas on what can be done jointly in these areas or else to keep each other informed of them.

The meeting with General Secretary Brezhnev was the first of two that will take place. The next one will be Saturday morning at 9 o'clock. In any assessment of the contemporary period, as speaker after speaker from East and West pointed out this afternoon and as we all believe, the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union is central for the maintenance of peace; and the restraint with which they handle their relationships, the ability to deal with the problems of armaments, as well as of political conflict, will determine whether progress is being made on the present agenda.

Subjects that were discussed today were primarily SALT [Strategic Arms Limitation Talks], the Middle East, and bilateral relations, including trade relations.

With respect to SALT, we have pointed out that the Soviet Union submitted to us, when Foreign Minister Gromyko and I met in Geneva some two weeks ago, its considerations on the issues outstanding in SALT, and we indicated that in our judgment progress was made at that meeting, especially in the area of verification. We have conveyed our considerations in response to the Soviet ideas, and the discussions will be continued on Saturday, hopefully leading to an agreement to implement the Vladivostok decisions.

With respect to the Middle East, it is clear that no final settlement can be achieved by either of the countries by itself, and it is, therefore, natural that periodically we exchange ideas and also, as cochairmen of the Geneva Conference, that we exchange ideas as to the appropriate time when that con-

ference might be reconvened and what procedures it might follow.

Of course we have a long list of bilateral issues. These and other topics will be discussed again when the President and the General Secretary meet on Saturday.

The meeting with Prime Minister Karamanlis brought us together with one of the outstanding leaders of our period. We have the highest regard for what Prime Minister Karamanlis faces and what he has accomplished. We wish the democratic Government of Greece well, and we will do what we can to strengthen it.

We of course believe, as the President has repeatedly stated, that domestic developments in the United States have complicated our ability to play a useful role. However, within these constraints, to the best of our ability, we will respond to the wishes of the parties with respect to a Cyprus settlement.

Of course, we are prepared to be helpful to Greece's attempts to develop its economy and other areas of its national life to the best of our abilities. It was a useful meeting which, as with the meeting with General Secretary Brezhnev, was conducted in a very friendly atmosphere.

We cannot assess what may be possible on Cyprus until we have also talked to the Turkish Prime Minister, which will take place at breakfast tomorrow.

Now, these are the major events of the day and our assessment of them. Now why don't I take your questions.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. Mr. Secretary, President Ford indicated there was progress today, and we assumed it was SALT, maybe even other subjects, and that further progress would be made on Saturday. Specifically, what was that progress, and does that mean that President Ford and Brezhnev may reach some sort of agreement on Saturday which would lead to a summit meeting in the fall in Washington?

Secretary Kissinger: I think it would be incorrect to claim any particular achievement today. It was a very useful discussion, but it was not designed to lead to any specific

conclusion. It was rather, in the area of SALT, a further elaboration of our response to the Soviet ideas which were given to me in Geneva. It was more in the nature of a general assessment, and it had always been understood that the meeting today would be of a kind to put the positions, each side's position before the other, rather than one in which conclusions would be reached.

Secondly, I do not know whether the discussion of SALT now lends itself to a particular announcement, even on Saturday, from which one could deduce that an agreement will certainly be reached.

Progress has been made. If that progress continues, and we hope it will be, we think the chances are good that an agreement can be reached, but when I said progress has been made, I am speaking over the last months, not necessarily today.

The fact that I don't claim progress for today is not something from which you should draw conclusions, because the discussion was not of a nature that would lend itself to a decision today.

Q. Mr. Secretary, have you given up hope now of the House reversing its action on the Turkish aid problem?

Secretary Kissinger: I think I have amply demonstrated my inability to predict the actions of the House. It is my understanding that there is an attempt being made today to see whether perhaps a modified version of the bill we submitted last week could be added on as an amendment to some other bill.

It would then have to pass the Senate, after which the House. I have not had a report as of the time that I left the office about where this stood. This was the plan last evening, and it seemed to be a rather chancy procedure because it required that certain rules be waived in both Houses and that it would move through both Houses with a rather rush procedure, so I really don't know any more what is the situation.

Q. Mr. Secretary, may I follow up on Helen's question about the possibility of Brezhnev's visit to Washington in October. Has that been finally decided on?

Secretary Kissinger: It has not yet been finally decided, but we are proceeding on the assumption that a visit by the General Secretary will take place this year and all the discussions this morning took place in that framework, but no specific date has been set. Of course it depends somewhat on how we are proceeding on the SALT discussions.

Q. Mr. Secretary, are the Russians content to allow the United States to continue its step-by-step effort?

Secretary Kissinger: My impression of the discussions this morning is that while the Soviet Union has indicated certain reservations about the possibility that the step-by-step approach can reach a final conclusion, it is not actively opposing the efforts that are now going forward.

Q. Mr. Secretary, on SALT you have repeated several times that progress was made in Geneva and other parts of the world. In that case, why was there no briefing at NATO after the last Geneva meeting with the explanation that there was not enough to brief about, as was usually the case?

Secretary Kissinger: We have received certain Soviet ideas on how to proceed. These ideas had to be analyzed by us first. As soon as they are being negotiated in a concrete way in Geneva and before any positions are put forward in Geneva there will be a briefing of NATO, and there has been an informal briefing of several of our allies.

Q. Mr. Secretary, how would you consider the chances of MBFR [mutual and balanced force reductions] after the Helsinki Conference is over and the documents have been accepted?

Secretary Kissinger: The United States has always attached importance to success in the MBFR negotiations, how we considered both SALT and MBFR of great importance, in finally, getting under control the spiral of arms.

In deference to the views of several of our allies, we have not linked the CSCE and the MBFR negotiations, but now that the CSCE negotiations are out of the way we share the

views of Prime Minister Wilson—that we should now make a very determined effort to make progress on MBFR.

I noted that in some of the speeches that were held from the Eastern side this afternoon that reference was made to MBFR as one of the important items on the agenda.

It is too early to tell what progress will in fact be made.

We have, in my view, completed the stage of technical explorations and what is needed now is some political decisions to move it forward.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in view of your skepticism about the House vote, what appeal will you make to Mr. Demirel to not move in on the American bases?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I don't know whether "skepticism" is the right word. I just have no clear judgment of what the situation in the House is, but events last week proved that I didn't have a clear judgment of what the situation in the House was then; so I don't think that judgment is decisive. All I have is a general account of what is going to be attempted, and I just don't want to claim anything for it.

Now, what can we offer Prime Minister Demirel? As I have stated before, the security arrangements between the United States and another country are presumably ultimately in the mutual interest of both countries. I did not believe that it was wise to cut off arms to Turkey, because it created the wrong impression about the nature of the relationship.

Equally, I believe that the closing of our bases in Turkey also gives the wrong impression—as if the bases were there for the unilateral benefit of the United States—and the United States cannot be in a position of pleading to be able to defend its allies even if this or that base is in the general interest.

Nevertheless we will discuss with the Prime Minister of Turkey what can be done to maintain the close relationship between Turkey and the United States, which is based on common interests, which is in the interests of the entire eastern Mediterranean; and

we will also make an effort to see whether we can be of any assistance in moving the Cyprus issue forward, keeping in mind that all these issues in some way affect each other.

So it is hard to predict what will come out of this meeting at this point. We have had no high-level exchange with the Turkish leaders since their decision to close the bases. We hope that the fundamental common interests of both sides will be understood, and we will see what we can do that will help Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus.

Q. Mr. Secretary, I have a followup question. Will you offer Demirel anything, or will you explore with him a new plan which may then be submitted to the House?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, I don't really think that the President of the United States should negotiate with a foreign leader as to how he should handle or how he should deal with the American Congress. What we can do is to talk about the common problems we have. From that, the President may distill an approach to the House, but we will not work out a joint approach with Turkey to the House.

At this moment, I do not expect that out of that meeting something will emerge, in addition to what I have already told you, that could be submitted to the House, but if I am wrong we will of course inform you of it.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there has been different information about the nature of the four-power European meeting that is going to take place. Some have expressed concern that economic problems will be discussed and the possibility of the creation of a four- or five-power economic directorate established. Today Italian spokesmen denied this. They said the United States has communicated to them that economic subjects will not be touched at all. Can you state what is the situation exactly?

Secretary Kissinger: The situation is that the four powers which have a special responsibility for Berlin that meet regularly at every NATO meeting decided to use their presence at the European Security Conference to meet on that issue. While they meet,

it is of course possible that other issues will also be discussed, and I would consider it possible—in fact, likely—that one of the several topics that will come up will concern economic matters; but basically it is an informal meeting of the four countries that have a special responsibility for Berlin and it was that symbolically and substantively important that these four countries meet.

I consider it extremely unlikely—in fact, I consider it impossible—that there will be an announcement of a directorate that will be set up for economic matters and, indeed, there is no intention of setting up a directorate for economic matters.

Q. Mr. Secretary, if I can go back to Turkey for a minute, is there anything specifically that you will be asking the Turkish Prime Minister to do? Will you, for example, be asking him to go back on their decision to close the bases, or will you be asking him to reach a compromise decision that would somehow allow us to continue to operate? What specifically can you tell us about what we are going to ask them?

Secretary Kissinger: The Turkish Government took the decision to close our bases knowing very well that we wanted to keep them open. Therefore it was not our failure to ask them to keep the bases open that made them close it; but indeed, on the day the decision was announced I, on behalf of the President, called Prime Minister Demirel urging restraint. So I think the issue of our bases in Turkey is not so simple as a formal American request to undo a decision that in itself had complicated causes both in our actions and in the domestic situation in Turkey.

What we would like to do is to discuss the sort of measures that might make it possible to put our relationship to Turkey on a new basis, and that in turn might make it easier for the Turkish Government to accede to what they know very well we are interested in in the common defense—namely, the re-opening of all or at least some of our essential bases in Turkey—but that in turn requires that we look at all of the issues that led to this state of affairs to see whether we

can bring about a radical solution rather than a stopgap one.

Q. Mr. Secretary, didn't Portugal come up in talks between President Ford and Secretary Brezhnev today, and is there any possibility of President Ford meeting Prime Minister Gonçalves on Saturday?

Secretary Kissinger: The issue of Portugal did not come up directly in the talks, but in a general way about the principles that each side should carry out.

Now, as I have pointed out already in a press conference in Washington, I think we should keep in mind that détente cannot be used as a means of asking the Soviet Union to take care of all of our problems on our side of the line and a correct analysis of the situation in Portugal should emphasize, or will emphasize, that many of the problems in Portugal have indigenous roots and others have to do with Western countries.

But I repeat what I have said previously—that a substantial activity by any outside country in Portugal would be considered inconsistent with the spirit and, indeed, the letter of the CSCE declarations.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you mentioned a modification of the embargo legislation. What is that modification?

Secretary Kissinger: I believe it is substantially the same as the one that was submitted last week with a proviso that a joint resolution of the Congress can veto sales above a certain figure. I believe it is \$25 million, but you have to check this. This is the compromise that was being talked about which would make it consistent with all the other new legislation about military sales, but it would give Congress the sense that it could get another crack at sales through a joint resolution.

Q. Did you advise the Greek Prime Minister of that arrangement at your meeting today, and what was his reaction?

Secretary Kissinger: There have been a series of absolutely misleading reports that we are attempting to ask the approval of the Greek Government. It should be clear that the Greek Government cannot approve, nor

should it be asked to approve, American domestic legislation, and it is clear also that for a Greek Prime Minister the question of selling arms to Turkey is not something that one can ask him for his approval.

At no time during the discussions, despite many reports that have been printed, did the Administration make this claim to any Congressman and, of course, at no time today did we ask Prime Minister Karamanlis to approve the lifting of the embargo on Turkey.

It is our view, the view of the U.S. Government—not the view of the Greek Government, necessarily—it is the view of the U.S. Government that the course we have recommended to the Congress is the best means of preserving the security in the eastern Mediterranean, in which both Greece and Turkey should be interested, and to make progress on Cyprus.

We do not say that this judgment is necessarily shared by other governments, but we are responsible for giving our judgment to the Congress, and the Greek Government deals with the U.S. Government, not with the U.S. Congress.

Q. Mr. Secretary, did Mr. Brezhnev indicate any interest in compromise on the issues of trade and immigration, and if so, what might be the general direction of such a compromise?

Secretary Kissinger: Well, we reviewed the discussions that the group of Senators had had in the Soviet Union, and we pointed out our judgment of what is required with respect to the trade legislation.

We have also had the view that progress in this field is more effective if it does not become a formal government-to-government matter but, rather, if it is understood by each side what the necessities are and that then decisions are made independently on that basis. So I think the requirements of progress in the Congress have been made clear by our Senators and have been confirmed by us.

Q. Mr. Secretary, if I could follow that up, the Senators, when they came back from Moscow, talked about a compromise under

which the credit ceiling of \$300 million would be lifted and there would be a period of several months under which Soviet behavior—

Secretary Kissinger: No, my impression in talking to the Senators is that there is an understanding that both of these issues should be dealt with simultaneously, but there is no possibility of doing it now until Congress returns, and it will be the intention of the Administration to work at it not as a contest with the Congress but in a cooperative manner. And so there are several months in which each side can look at their— Did I hear somebody say thank you?

The press: Thank you.

NEWS CONFERENCE OF JULY 31

Press release 392 dated August 1

Secretary Kissinger: Let me talk briefly about some of the meetings that took place today, and I will group them by subject.

We talked first about the breakfast of the President with Prime Minister Demirel [of Turkey], and then I had a brief meeting in the afternoon with Foreign Minister Bitsios [of Greece]. As you know, I had two meetings—a meeting with the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, a meeting with the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria—and then of course there was the four-power lunch [France, Federal Republic of Germany, United Kingdom, United States]. I will talk about them in this order, and then I will take your questions.

The meeting with the Prime Minister of Turkey—the President reviewed all aspects of the relationship between Turkey and the United States. Of course, also, they discussed in some detail the Cyprus question and possible means of negotiating a solution.

The relationship between the United States and Turkey, and the whole complex of issues involving Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, and the United States, is taking on the aspect of a Greek tragedy in the sense that each of the main actors, following perfectly understandable reasons and the laws of his

own nature, is bringing on consequences he cannot possibly intend.

We, as I pointed out yesterday, believe strongly that the security of the eastern Mediterranean requires good American relations with both Turkey and Greece. We believe, also, therefore, that a solution of the Cyprus problem is important. Indeed, it is crucial to this.

At the same time, the legislative actions that have been taken in the House of Representatives are reducing our influence and are making it more difficult in addition to jeopardizing, as the Secretary of Defense pointed out yesterday, the national security of the United States.

We reviewed the situation. We discussed those possibilities that are open to us under existing legislation, as well as various measures that are now before the Congress. I don't believe that a significant change in the situation was registered, except that both of the leaders—both President Ford and Prime Minister Demirel—expressed their strong desire to maintain the traditional friendship between Turkey and the United States and to restore the security relationship to the situation that existed before events of last week.

I reviewed in a bilateral meeting I had with Foreign Minister Bitsios the state of Cyprus negotiations. I expressed to him the U.S. willingness to be as helpful as we could, regardless of American legislative decisions. Also, we tried to assess what real possibilities existed.

I had a meeting with the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia and the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, and I expressed to both countries, both Foreign Ministers, that the United States has no—there is no obstacle on the U.S. side to an improvement in relations.

They expressed their strong desire to make progress in improving relations between the United States and their countries. We decided to start talks on scientific and technical exchanges and other subjects that might lead gradually to an improvement of our relationships.

With respect to the four-power lunch, the

atmosphere could not have been warmer and more constructive. And we think it is a very significant result of the many meetings that President Ford has had with these various leaders bilaterally and, of course, of their many contacts with each other, that an atmosphere of cordiality and confidence exists that goes back to the very best days of allied relationships.

We had a review of the European situation, particularly as it affected the status of Berlin. There was a discussion of the Middle East and prospects for negotiations in the Middle East, as well as the position the various countries might consider taking, with respect to issues that might come up at the United Nations affecting the Middle East. On these subjects we will have to have a further exchange of views.

The subject of Portugal was discussed, and I think the unanimous view was dismay at the prospects for pluralistic democracy in Portugal. There was a brief discussion of economic issues in which some of our friends pointed out to us their concern as to American interest rates. But most of the discussion really concerned the relationship between the economic situation and the political situation; that is to say, how the industrial democracies could convince their people that they were in control of their economic destinies.

No conclusions were reached. No decisions were taken. It was a discussion of the problem at the end of the general discussion which I have outlined. These were the major meetings that took place today in which the United States was involved, and now I will take your questions.

Q. Mr. Secretary, the German press officer briefing this afternoon said the Big Four meeting had reached conclusions on opposing any move to limit or expel Israel's role, or expel Israel from the United Nations; that you agreed to hold a conference in 1976 on currency problems and to prepare a conference including Japan, on interest rates. You say no conclusions were reached?

Secretary Kissinger: I have listed the topics that were discussed. With respect to the United Nations, each of the countries

represented has stated its view that it would oppose the expulsion or suspension of Israel from the United Nations or the expulsion or suspension of any other member for political reasons contrary to the charter. But no conclusions were reached as to the particular measures that will be taken, and the four countries decided to be in touch with each other. With respect to the monetary conference, there was no agreement reached to hold a monetary conference while I or the President was in the room.

Q. You seem to be leaving open an option.

Secretary Kissinger: I believe this must be based on a misunderstanding of either the German press officer or the translation from the German. There was no decision reached to hold a particular conference.

The subject matters were the ones I described. Individual members raised individual problems, but no conclusions were reached. And no decision was reached to hold a particular conference, which does not exclude that one could be held later. But no decision was reached to hold a conference now, and I did not even hear a proposal that one should be held on currency.

Q. Mr. Secretary, on the Turkish situation, there was a meeting today between the Turkish and Greek Foreign Ministers. Do you know anything about that meeting, whether they made any progress, and can you bring us up to date on what the situation is now in the House of Representatives regarding a vote?

Secretary Kissinger: I have heard only the Greek Foreign Minister's view as to the meeting with the Turkish Foreign Minister, and he did not feel that great progress was made, but I have not yet had an opportunity to talk to the Turkish Foreign Minister. I believe in any event these two Foreign Ministers ought to comment about their own meeting, and I should not comment about a meeting in which we did not participate.

As far as the situation in the House of Representatives is concerned, I am a little bit behind events. The latest information I have was at noon, in which the legislative people reported to the President about pri-

marily the situation in the Senate. The latest information—it was supposed to come up for a vote at two o'clock this afternoon, and it cannot move to the House until the Senate has acted, and there were various parliamentary issues about unanimous consent.

We have not a clear estimate as to what will happen in the House of Representatives. We do have a clear estimate, however, about the consequences of what has happened; and we continue to believe it is in the interest of the United States, in the interest of Turkey, in the interest of Greece, and in the interest of Cyprus, that the Congress act along the lines of our recommendations.

Q. Can I follow that up, Mr. Secretary. There was an impression this morning after the meeting that President Ford had with Demirel that the Turks might reconsider their actions on the U.S. bases or might go slow in taking them over in some way, in short, that they might have agreed with what you said yesterday about the value of these bases to NATO security. Did you find any cause for optimism in the session this morning between Ford and Demirel?

Secretary Kissinger: Our view has always been that our aid to Turkey is not a favor to Turkey any more than our bases in Turkey are a favor to the United States.

But, to answer your question specifically, we had no reason to believe, on the basis of the discussion this morning—even though we explored several possibilities—that there would be any prospect of a change in the closing down of American operations on these bases under present conditions.

I might add, incidentally, that one of the subjects that was also discussed between the Prime Minister and the President was the question of control of opium, in which the Turkish Prime Minister promised to do whatever was necessary to make sure that none of their poppy production would go into private channels, that all of it would be handled through Turkish governmental channels.

Q. Mr. Secretary, along those lines, some of your congressional critics in Washington, specifically Congressman Brademas and others, are raising questions as to why Pres-

ident Ford has not offered to waive \$50 million in foreign weapon sales to Turkey under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. Was that discussed today at all?

Secretary Kissinger: First of all, we have to be clear what it is that Congressman Brademas and Congressman Sarbanes have proposed to us. What they have proposed to us is that Turkey make some concessions first. After Turkey has made some concessions, they would hope still for the President to waive up to \$50 million of grant aid.

It is a subject that was discussed at some length between the President and Prime Minister Demirel, as it had been discussed in March, between myself and at that time the then Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, and as it was discussed on the visit of Assistant Secretary Hartman [Arthur A. Hartman, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs] in May, and as it was discussed on the occasion of my visit in May.

In other words, the proposal to waive \$50 million in grant aid has been put repeatedly to Turkey. The Turkish position has been that they do not want a gift of U.S. aid, that their objection is to the embargo of an ally with respect to purchases that Turkey had already made and with respect to the Turkish ability to buy American equipment for cash or credit. So Turkey has consistently refused this proposal as a question of principle because they feel that there is something contradictory about offering to give \$50 million for free while preventing them from buying, with their own money, American equipment or taking delivery of American equipment already purchased.

The President made an eloquent presentation of his authority in this, and he received the same answer that we had received on four previous occasions. It is absolutely incorrect to say that the United States has not attempted to use this possibility.

Q. Mr. Secretary, so we understand that precisely, did the President offer to waive the \$50 million in exchange for returning the control of the American bases over to the United States?

Secretary Kissinger: The President offered

this as a possibility in order to solve the problem that is posed by the bases, and it was not accepted.

Q. Mr. Secretary, is there any particular impression of significance of the Brezhnev speech?

Secretary Kissinger: We have not had an opportunity to analyze it with the various Kremlinologists, so our reaction is a relatively off-the-cuff reaction based on brief exchanges.

We thought that on the whole it was a moderate speech, and on the whole it was a conciliatory speech—which does not mean that we agree with every paragraph in it.

Q. Mr. Secretary, is there anything in the speech today—you say on the whole it sounded conciliatory—is there anything in the speech today that bothered you?

Secretary Kissinger: It depends what interpretation you give to certain phrases. For example, on the one hand, the phrase “there should be no interference in the domestic affairs, the internal affairs of other countries,” has positive elements if you look at some of the things that have happened in Europe in the past two decades.

On the other hand, you can interpret it in another way—with respect to the application of Basket 3. I am assuming that those principles that have been agreed to in the document will be lived up to in their entirety.

We have stated repeatedly that to us the document of the European Security Conference will be a criterion for how the implementation of the process of détente is working.

Q. Isn't it possible, though, sir, to put the interpretation on the Secretary's speech—when he says, “Don't dictate to us our internal affairs,” that he is saying in effect, “A pox on Basket 3”?

Secretary Kissinger: I have attempted to say—I have said—that, if that is the interpretation, we would not agree with it. Our assumption is that those obligations specifically undertaken in the European Security

Conference will be carried out; that to the extent they will not be carried out that would, of course, raise serious questions. We do not interpret it in this way. I admit, however, that that phrase is capable of ambiguous interpretation.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you mentioned yesterday that you were going to seek to put Turkish aid on a new basis and favored a radical rather than a stopgap solution. Could you explain what you meant yesterday, and whether that was offered to the Turks, and what they said?

Secretary Kissinger: What we believe and what we have believed for the last year—particularly since the negotiations started between the two sides—is that a global solution of the Cyprus problem would enable all of these elements that we are now discussing piecemeal to be dealt with in a coherent fashion.

One of the tragic aspects, as I view the situation, is that if the two sides could ever negotiate without artificial constraints, we judge the differences between the two sides to be not unbridgeable, but there are so many other elements that get involved—domestic situations, national pride, and other pressures—that have prevented a consecutive period of negotiation geared toward a rapid solution.

As far as U.S.-Turkish relationships are concerned, we continue to believe, as I said yesterday, that the fundamental security interests of Turkey and the United States require close association. But we have not found a way around the legislative obstacles that now exist.

Q. Are you talking about some sort of a conference on the subject of Cyprus-Greece-Turkey-U.S. relations, or some such thing, to settle all the issues at once?

Secretary Kissinger: We strongly support a rapid solution of the Cyprus issue, and we have repeatedly offered our good offices to both of the parties. And both of the parties, and especially the Greek side, have urged us to remain active.

As you may know, the President had an opportunity after dinner last night for an extended conversation with Archbishop Makarios. But one of the sad aspects of the present situation is the deadlock that has resulted before the negotiations have ever really got rolling.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you give us a curtain raiser on what the President is going to say tomorrow in view of the approach, the track he will take?

Secretary Kissinger: I think the President obviously should speak for himself and will speak for himself. Basically, I think the President's speech will put forward our view as to the nature of détente, the importance of détente, the nature of it, the significance of the European Security Conference, what needs to be done in the future to give it complete political meaning, and what other tasks are ahead of us in addition to what was done here.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you said the President made an eloquent presentation of the constraints that are operating on him?

Secretary Kissinger: No. I said with respect to Mr. Brokaw's [Tom Brokaw, NBC News] question, it was he made an eloquent presentation of the possibilities he has for waiving certain restrictions of the law in order to make clear that there was one limited area with respect to grant military aid in which he had discretion under existing law.

As Turkey has done on the previous occasions on which this was raised, they take the position that it is contradictory to be given for nothing certain amounts of aid while they are prohibited from taking possession of equipment they have already paid for and being prohibited to pay for their equipment.

They, in short, want the embargo lifted with respect to purchases. They do not particularly insist that it be lifted with respect to gifts, and we are in the paradoxical posi-

tion that we are pleading with them to take for nothing what they insist they want to pay for.

Q. Did you tell the Turkish Prime Minister that all of this was the fault of the Congress?

Secretary Kissinger: The President did not discuss whose fault it was. The President explained to the Prime Minister what authority he had under existing legislation and told the Prime Minister that he would be prepared to exercise that authority.

I hope we will not reach the point where various parts of the American Government, the executive or the legislative, go around to foreign governments to line up support against other branches of the government, and this is not the policy of the President nor the policy of any other member of the Administration.

Q. What are you going to do about Turkey now, Mr. Secretary, about the whole question, the bases and the Cyprus issue?

Secretary Kissinger: With respect to the bases, these are decisions now that Turkey must make and Turkey must decide how far it wants to go in eroding a relationship that must, in the long term, be as much in its interests as in ours.

With respect to Cyprus, we remain prepared to use our good offices. In addition to whatever the United States might do on a national basis, we have talked individually to several of the members of the European Community, and we would encourage action by the European Community to help solve the disputes between Greece and Turkey.

We are prepared to join them, or we are prepared to act separately. But we cannot, by ourselves, create entirely new conditions. So we believe that the conflict between Greece and Turkey is a disaster for both countries and is a disaster for the Western alliance. We hope that all parties concerned—within the United States, as well as in the eastern Mediterranean—will understand the larger interest involved.

Q. Mr. Secretary, are you certain that the Turks will still accept the quid pro quo for

returning the bases for military aid or have relations been exacerbated by the latest House vote so that they might, even if the House were to go ahead with this aid—

Secretary Kissinger: It is our impression that the situation is still recoverable; in other words, that the bases could be substantially restored if the House reversed itself.

In addition, the President has made clear in his many briefings to Congressmen—and he has also made it clear to all the parties here—that, if the Congress reverses itself, the United States would feel a particular moral obligation to accelerate progress on the Cyprus issue. But in any event, we will do our best, though our ability to be effective has been reduced.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there was a meeting today between Demirel and Soviet leader Brezhnev. Is there any danger here that if action is not reversed, that Turkey could go into some kind of relationship with the Soviet Union, military relationship?

Secretary Kissinger: I consider it extremely unlikely that Turkey would go into a military relationship with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, as the relationship between Turkey and the United States deteriorates, Turkey will look for other connections.

In my judgment, they are not necessarily or not in all likelihood going to be Soviet connections. They could be in other areas. In any event, when one looks at the situation in the Mediterranean, on one end the event in Portugal, it seems to us extremely risky, by American actions, to break up the security arrangements in the eastern Mediterranean. And I say this without choosing between Greece and Turkey, because we require the friendship of both and we consider both equally important.

Q. Mr. Secretary, if I may return to the conference for a moment and Mr. Brezhnev's speech, does it give you any pause when he praises the so-called "well-known humanistic policies of Lenin," which he wants to spread around the world?

Secretary Kissinger: This was an interpretation of Lenin, which I would not have

put first on the agenda if I had been asked to give a lecture. [Laughter.]

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you believe that the Soviet Union, because of Helsinki, will make some new move in Asia—whether the Soviet Union would propose an Asian collective security system?

Secretary Kissinger: The Soviet Union has not shared with me the future plans of its foreign policy; but if the Soviet Union is thinking of an Asian collective security system, it would be a conference without American participation.

Q. Mr. Secretary, how far is the United States prepared to go in preventing Israel from being thrown out of the United Nations?

Secretary Kissinger: The United States has expressed its very strong opposition to either the expulsion or the suspension of Israel from the United Nations. The United States objects to this on the grounds that it is in violation of the charter.

The United States will certainly take definite and clear actions should the United Nations take a vote in violation of the charter. What this action will be, I do not think it is appropriate for me now to discuss but we believe that such a decision by the United Nations would have serious consequences for the world organization.

Q. Mr. Secretary, we received some reports from various U.S. officials to the effect that the loss we have encountered in Turkey, as far as our intelligence-gathering capability, concerning missile developments and other military matters, is irreplaceable; and they speak in the most dire terms of what could happen if we do not in some way regain this capability in Turkey. Would you assess that for us?

Secretary Kissinger: We have briefed members of the House of Representatives and Senators as to the installations that are relevant to that issue. We believe these installations—under present circumstances it is hard to see how they could be replaced.

For me to attempt an assessment here is impossible because it involves highly classi-

fied security information. But the blow would be very serious, especially with respect to certain categories of information that impinge on verification problems.

Q. Mr. Secretary, Prime Minister Wilson today expressed concern about Portugal and you said it was greeted with dismay. Are the four powers any closer to trying to expel Portugal from NATO than they were before the Helsinki meeting?

Secretary Kissinger: No specific decision was made or indeed no particular procedures were discussed as to how the various countries could register their dismay, except to make sure that we would stay in close contact with each other. But it was recognized that events in Portugal are of profound consequence for NATO, for the political evolution

of Western Europe, and that they are incompatible in our present understanding of them with any concept of pluralistic democracy.

Q. Then you did discuss attempts to expel Portugal?

Secretary Kissinger: I thought I said we did not.

Q. You said no decision was made.

Secretary Kissinger: No. What I attempted to say was the relationship—the impact of Portugal on NATO under these conditions—was discussed, as it was discussed already in Brussels, but no specific proposal with respect to it was made. The meeting was primarily an analysis of the situation rather than a discussion of courses of action.

The press: Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Final Act¹

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which opened at Helsinki on 3 July 1973 and continued at Geneva from 18 September 1973 to 21 July 1975, was concluded at Helsinki on 1 August 1975 by the High Representatives of Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, the Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Yugoslavia.

During the opening and closing stages of the Conference the participants were addressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations as their guest of honour. The Director-General of UNESCO and the Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe addressed the Conference during its second stage.

During the meetings of the second stage of the Conference, contributions were received, and statements heard, from the following non-participating Mediterranean States on various agenda items: the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Israel, the Kingdom of

Morocco, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia.

Motivated by the political will, in the interest of peoples, to improve and intensify their relations and to contribute in Europe to peace, security, justice and co-operation as well as to rapprochement among themselves and with the other States of the world,

Determined, in consequence, to give full effect to the results of the Conference and to assure, among their States and throughout Europe, the benefits deriving from those results and thus to broaden, deepen and make continuing and lasting the process of détente,

The High Representatives of the participating States have solemnly adopted the following:

QUESTIONS RELATING TO SECURITY IN EUROPE

The States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe,

Reaffirming their objective of promoting better relations among themselves and ensuring conditions in which their people can live in true and lasting peace free from any threat to or attempt against their security;

Convinced of the need to exert efforts to make détente both a continuing and an increasingly viable and comprehensive process, universal in scope, and

¹ Signed at Helsinki on Aug. 1.

that the implementation of the results of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will be a major contribution to this process;

Considering that solidarity among peoples, as well as the common purpose of the participating States in achieving the aims as set forth by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, should lead to the development of better and closer relations among them in all fields and thus to overcoming the confrontation stemming from the character of their past relations, and to better mutual understanding;

Mindful of their common history and recognizing that the existence of elements common to their traditions and values can assist them in developing their relations, and desiring to search, fully taking into account the individuality and diversity of their positions and views, for possibilities of joining their efforts with a view to overcoming distrust and increasing confidence, solving the problems that separate them and co-operating in the interest of mankind;

Recognizing the indivisibility of security in Europe as well as their common interest in the development of co-operation throughout Europe and among themselves and expressing their intention to pursue efforts accordingly;

Recognizing the close link between peace and security in Europe and in the world as a whole and conscious of the need for each of them to make its contribution to the strengthening of world peace and security and to the promotion of fundamental rights, economic and social progress and well-being for all peoples;

Have adopted the following:

1.

(a) Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States

The participating States,

Reaffirming their commitment to peace, security and justice and the continuing development of friendly relations and co-operation;

Recognizing that this commitment, which reflects the interest and aspirations of peoples, constitutes for each participating State a present and future responsibility, heightened by experience of the past;

Reaffirming, in conformity with their membership in the United Nations and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, their full and active support for the United Nations and for the enhancement of its role and effectiveness in strengthening international peace, security and justice, and in promoting the solution of international problems, as well as the development of friendly relations and co-operation among States;

Expressing their common adherence to the principles which are set forth below and are in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, as well as their common will to act, in the application of these principles, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

Declare their determination to respect and put

into practice, each of them in its relations with all other participating States, irrespective of their political, economic or social systems as well as of their size, geographical location or level of economic development, the following principles, which all are of primary significance, guiding their mutual relations:

I. *Sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty*

The participating States will respect each other's sovereign equality and individuality as well as all the rights inherent in and encompassed by its sovereignty, including in particular the right of every State to juridical equality, to territorial integrity and to freedom and political independence. They will also respect each other's right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems as well as its right to determine its laws and regulations.

Within the framework of international law, all the participating States have equal rights and duties. They will respect each other's right to define and conduct as it wishes its relations with other States in accordance with international law and in the spirit of the present Declaration. They consider that their frontiers can be changed, in accordance with international law, by peaceful means and by agreement. They also have the right to belong or not to belong to international organizations, to be or not to be a party to bilateral or multilateral treaties including the right to be or not to be a party to treaties of alliance; they also have the right to neutrality.

II. *Refraining from the threat or use of force*

The participating States will refrain in their mutual relations, as well as in their international relations in general, from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations and with the present Declaration. No consideration may be invoked to serve to warrant resort to the threat or use of force in contravention of this principle.

Accordingly, the participating States will refrain from any acts constituting a threat of force or direct or indirect use of force against another participating State. Likewise they will refrain from any manifestation of force for the purpose of inducing another participating State to renounce the full exercise of its sovereign rights. Likewise they will also refrain in their mutual relations from any act of reprisal by force.

No such threat or use of force will be employed as a means of settling disputes, or questions likely to give rise to disputes, between them.

III. *Inviolability of frontiers*

The participating States regard as inviolable all one another's frontiers as well as the frontiers of all States in Europe and therefore they will refrain

now and in the future from assaulting these frontiers.

Accordingly, they will also refrain from any demand for, or act of, seizure and usurpation of part or all of the territory of any participating State.

IV. *Territorial integrity of States*

The participating States will respect the territorial integrity of each of the participating States.

Accordingly, they will refrain from any action inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations against the territorial integrity, political independence or the unity of any participating State, and in particular from any such action constituting a threat or use of force.

The participating States will likewise refrain from making each other's territory the object of military occupation or other direct or indirect measures of force in contravention of international law, or the object of acquisition by means of such measures or the threat of them. No such occupation or acquisition will be recognized as legal.

V. *Peaceful settlement of disputes*

The participating States will settle disputes among them by peaceful means in such a manner as not to endanger international peace and security, and justice.

They will endeavour in good faith and a spirit of co-operation to reach a rapid and equitable solution on the basis of international law.

For this purpose they will use such means as negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement or other peaceful means of their own choice including any settlement procedure agreed to in advance of disputes to which they are parties.

In the event of failure to reach a solution by any of the above peaceful means, the parties to a dispute will continue to seek a mutually agreed way to settle the dispute peacefully.

Participating States, parties to a dispute among them, as well as other participating States, will refrain from any action which might aggravate the situation to such a degree as to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and thereby make a peaceful settlement of the dispute more difficult.

VI. *Non-intervention in internal affairs*

The participating States will refrain from any intervention, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating State, regardless of their mutual relations.

They will accordingly refrain from any form of armed intervention or threat of such intervention against another participating State.

They will likewise in all circumstances refrain from any other act of military, or of political, economic or other coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by another participating State of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind.

Accordingly, they will, inter alia, refrain from direct or indirect assistance to terrorist activities, or to subversive or other activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another participating State.

VII. *Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief*

The participating States will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

They will promote and encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development.

Within this framework the participating States will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practise, alone or in community with others, religion or belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience.

The participating States on whose territory national minorities exist will respect the right of persons belonging to such minorities to equality before the law, will afford them the full opportunity for the actual enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and will, in this manner, protect their legitimate interests in this sphere.

The participating States recognize the universal significance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for which is an essential factor for the peace, justice and well-being necessary to ensure the development of friendly relations and co-operation among themselves as among all States.

They will constantly respect these rights and freedoms in their mutual relations and will endeavour jointly and separately, including in co-operation with the United Nations, to promote universal and effective respect for them.

They confirm the right of the individual to know and act upon his rights and duties in this field.

In the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the participating States will act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They will also fulfill their obligations as set forth in the international declarations and agreements in this field, including inter alia the International Covenants on Human Rights, by which they may be bound.

VIII. *Equal rights and self-determination of peoples*

The participating States will respect the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, acting at all times in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the relevant norms of international law, including those relating to territorial integrity of States.

By virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, all peoples always have the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status, without external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development.

The participating States reaffirm the universal significance of respect for and effective exercise of equal rights and self-determination of peoples for the development of friendly relations among themselves as among all States; they also recall the importance of the elimination of any form of violation of this principle.

IX. *Co-operation among States*

The participating States will develop their co-operation with one another and with all States in all fields in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In developing their co-operation the participating States will place special emphasis on the fields as set forth within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, with each of them making its contribution in conditions of full equality.

They will endeavour, in developing their co-operation as equals, to promote mutual understanding and confidence, friendly and good-neighbourly relations among themselves, international peace, security and justice. They will equally endeavour, in developing their co-operation, to improve the well-being of peoples and contribute to the fulfilment of their aspirations through, inter alia, the benefits resulting from increased mutual knowledge and from progress and achievement in the economic, scientific, technological, social, cultural and humanitarian fields. They will take steps to promote conditions favourable to making these benefits available to all; they will take into account the interest of all in the narrowing of differences in the levels of economic development, and in particular the interest of developing countries throughout the world.

They confirm that governments, institutions, organizations and persons have a relevant and positive role to play in contributing toward the achievement of these aims of their co-operation.

They will strive, in increasing their co-operation as set forth above, to develop closer relations among themselves on an improved and more enduring basis for the benefit of peoples.

X. *Fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law*

The participating States will fulfil in good faith their obligations under international law, both those obligations arising from the generally recognized principles and rules of international law and those obligations arising from treaties or other agreements, in conformity with international law, to which they are parties.

In exercising their sovereign rights, including the right to determine their laws and regulations, they will conform with their legal obligations under international law; they will furthermore pay due re-

gard to and implement the provisions in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

The participating States confirm that in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the United Nations under the Charter of the United Nations and their obligations under any treaty or other international agreement, their obligations under the Charter will prevail, in accordance with Article 103 of the Charter of the United Nations.

All the principles set forth above are of primary significance and, accordingly, they will be equally and unreservedly applied, each of them being interpreted taking into account the others.

The participating States express their determination fully to respect and apply these principles, as set forth in the present Declaration, in all aspects, to their mutual relations and co-operation in order to ensure to each participating State the benefits resulting from the respect and application of these principles by all.

The participating States, paying due regard to the principles above and, in particular, to the first sentence of the tenth principle, "Fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law", note that the present Declaration does not affect their rights and obligations, nor the corresponding treaties and other agreements and arrangements.

The participating States express the conviction that respect for these principles will encourage the development of normal and friendly relations and the progress of co-operation among them in all fields. They also express the conviction that respect for these principles will encourage the development of political contacts among them which in turn would contribute to better mutual understanding of their positions and views.

The participating States declare their intention to conduct their relations with all other States in the spirit of the principles contained in the present Declaration.

(b) *Matters related to giving effect to certain of the above Principles*

(i) *The participating States,*

Reaffirming that they will respect and give effect to refraining from the threat or use of force and convinced of the necessity to make it an effective norm of international life,

Declare that they are resolved to respect and carry out, in their relations with one another, inter alia, the following provisions which are in conformity with the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States:

—To give effect and expression, by all the ways and forms which they consider appropriate, to the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force in their relations with one another.

—To refrain from any use of armed forces inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of

the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States, against another participating State, in particular from invasion of or attack on its territory.

—To refrain from any manifestation of force for the purpose of inducing another participating State to renounce the full exercise of its sovereign rights.

—To refrain from any act of economic coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by another participating State of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind.

—To take effective measures which by their scope and by their nature constitute steps towards the ultimate achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

—To promote, by all means which each of them considers appropriate, a climate of confidence and respect among peoples consonant with their duty to refrain from propaganda for wars of aggression or for any threat or use of force inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations and with the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States, against another participating State.

—To make every effort to settle exclusively by peaceful means any dispute between them, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security in Europe, and to seek, first of all, a solution through the peaceful means set forth in Article 33 of the United Nations Charter.

To refrain from any action which could hinder the peaceful settlement of disputes between the participating States.

(ii) The participating States,

Reaffirming their determination to settle their disputes as set forth in the Principle of Peaceful Settlement of Disputes;

Convinced that the peaceful settlement of disputes is a complement to refraining from the threat or use of force, both being essential though not exclusive factors for the maintenance and consolidation of peace and security;

Desiring to reinforce and to improve the methods at their disposal for the peaceful settlement of disputes;

1. Are resolved to pursue the examination and elaboration of a generally acceptable method for the peaceful settlement of disputes aimed at complementing existing methods, and to continue to this end to work upon the "Draft Convention on a European System for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes" submitted by Switzerland during the second stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, as well as other proposals relating to it and directed towards the elaboration of such a method.

2. Decide that, on the invitation of Switzerland, a meeting of experts of all the participating States will be convoked in order to fulfil the mandate described in paragraph 1 above within the framework and

under the procedures of the follow-up to the Conference laid down in the chapter "Follow-up to the Conference".

3. This meeting of experts will take place after the meeting of the representatives appointed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the participating States, scheduled according to the chapter "Follow-up to the Conference" for 1977; the results of the work of this meeting of experts will be submitted to Governments.

2.

Document on confidence-building measures and certain aspects of security and disarmament

The participating States,

Desirous of eliminating the causes of tension that may exist among them and thus of contributing to the strengthening of peace and security in the world;

Determined to strengthen confidence among them and thus to contribute to increasing stability and security in Europe;

Determined further to refrain in their mutual relations, as well as in their international relations in general, from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations and with the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States as adopted in this Final Act;

Recognizing the need to contribute to reducing the dangers of armed conflict and of misunderstanding or miscalculation of military activities which could give rise to apprehension, particularly in a situation where the participating States lack clear and timely information about the nature of such activities;

Taking into account considerations relevant to efforts aimed at lessening tension and promoting disarmament;

Recognizing that the exchange of observers by invitation at military manoeuvres will help to promote contacts and mutual understanding;

Having studied the question of prior notification of major military movements in the context of confidence-building;

Recognizing that there are other ways in which individual States can contribute further to their common objectives;

Convinced of the political importance of prior notification of major military manoeuvres for the promotion of mutual understanding and the strengthening of confidence, stability and security;

Accepting the responsibility of each of them to promote these objectives and to implement this measure, in accordance with the accepted criteria and modalities, as essentials for the realization of these objectives;

Recognizing that this measure deriving from political decision rests upon a voluntary basis;

Have adopted the following:

I

Prior notification of major military manoeuvres

They will notify their major military manoeuvres to all other participating States through usual diplomatic channels in accordance with the following provisions:

Notification will be given of major military manoeuvres exceeding a total of 25,000 troops, independently or combined with any possible air or naval components (in this context the word "troops" includes amphibious and airborne troops). In the case of independent manoeuvres of amphibious or airborne troops, or of combined manoeuvres involving them, these troops will be included in this total. Furthermore, in the case of combined manoeuvres which do not reach the above total but which involve land forces together with significant numbers of either amphibious or airborne troops, or both, notification can also be given.

Notification will be given of major military manoeuvres which take place on the territory, in Europe, of any participating State as well as, if applicable, in the adjoining sea area and air space.

In the case of a participating State whose territory extends beyond Europe, prior notification need be given only of manoeuvres which take place in an area within 250 kilometres from its frontier facing or shared with any other European participating State, the participating State need not, however, give notification in cases in which that area is also contiguous to the participating State's frontier facing or shared with a non-European non-participating State.

Notification will be given 21 days or more in advance of the start of the manoeuvre or in the case of a manoeuvre arranged at shorter notice at the earliest possible opportunity prior to its starting date.

Notification will contain information of the designation, if any, the general purpose of and the States involved in the manoeuvre, the type or types and numerical strength of the forces engaged, the area and estimated time-frame of its conduct. The participating States will also, if possible, provide additional relevant information, particularly that related to the components of the forces engaged and the period of involvement of these forces.

Prior notification of other military manoeuvres

The participating States recognize that they can contribute further to strengthening confidence and increasing security and stability, and to this end may also notify smaller-scale military manoeuvres to other participating States, with special regard for those near the area of such manoeuvres.

To the same end, the participating States also recognize that they may notify other military manoeuvres conducted by them.

Exchange of observers

The participating States will invite other participating States, voluntarily and on a bilateral

basis, in a spirit of reciprocity and goodwill towards all participating States, to send observers to attend military manoeuvres.

The inviting State will determine in each case the number of observers, the procedures and conditions of their participation, and give other information which it may consider useful. It will provide appropriate facilities and hospitality.

The invitation will be given as far ahead as is conveniently possible through usual diplomatic channels.

Prior notification of major military movements

In accordance with the Final Recommendations of the Helsinki Consultations the participating States studied the question of prior notification of major military movements as a measure to strengthen confidence.

Accordingly, the participating States recognize that they may, at their own discretion and with a view to contributing to confidence-building, notify their major military movements.

In the same spirit, further consideration will be given by the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to the question of prior notification of major military movements, bearing in mind, in particular, the experience gained by the implementation of the measures which are set forth in this document.

Other confidence-building measures

The participating States recognize that there are other means by which their common objectives can be promoted.

In particular, they will, with due regard to reciprocity and with a view to better mutual understanding, promote exchanges by invitation among their military personnel, including visits by military delegations.

* * *

In order to make a fuller contribution to their common objective of confidence-building, the participating States, when conducting their military activities in the area covered by the provisions for the prior notification of major military manoeuvres, will duly take into account and respect this objective.

They also recognize that the experience gained by the implementation of the provisions set forth above, together with further efforts, could lead to developing and enlarging measures aimed at strengthening confidence.

II

Questions relating to disarmament

The participating States recognize the interest of all of them in efforts aimed at lessening military confrontation and promoting disarmament which are designed to complement political détente in Europe and to strengthen their security. They are convinced of the necessity to take effective measures in these fields which by their scope and by their nature con-

stitute steps towards the ultimate achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and which should result in strengthening peace and security throughout the world.

III

General considerations

Having considered the views expressed on various subjects related to the strengthening of security in Europe through joint efforts aimed at promoting détente and disarmament, the participating States, when engaged in such efforts, will, in this context, proceed, in particular, from the following essential considerations:

—The complementary nature of the political and military aspects of security;

—The interrelation between the security of each participating State and security in Europe as a whole and the relationship which exists, in the broader context of world security, between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean area;

—Respect for the security interests of all States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe inherent in their sovereign equality;

—The importance that participants in negotiating fora see to it that information about relevant developments, progress and results is provided on an appropriate basis to other States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and, in return, the justified interest of any of those States in having their views considered.

CO-OPERATION IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMICS, OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND OF THE ENVIRONMENT

The participating States,

Convinced that their efforts to develop co-operation in the fields of trade, industry, science and technology, the environment and other areas of economic activity contribute to the reinforcement of peace and security in Europe and in the world as a whole,

Recognizing that co-operation in these fields would promote economic and social progress and the improvement of the conditions of life,

Aware of the diversity of their economic and social systems,

Reaffirming their will to intensify such co-operation between one another, irrespective of their systems,

Recognizing that such co-operation, with due regard for the different levels of economic development, can be developed, on the basis of equality and mutual satisfaction of the partners, and of reciprocity permitting, as a whole, an equitable distribution of advantages and obligations of comparable scale, with respect for bilateral and multilateral agreements,

Taking into account the interests of the develop-

ing countries throughout the world, including those among the participating countries as long as they are developing from the economic point of view; reaffirming their will to co-operate for the achievement of the aims and objectives established by the appropriate bodies of the United Nations in the pertinent documents concerning development, it being understood that each participating State maintains the positions it has taken on them; giving special attention to the least developed countries,

Convinced that the growing world-wide economic interdependence calls for increasing common and effective efforts towards the solution of major world economic problems such as food, energy, commodities, monetary and financial problems, and therefore emphasizes the need for promoting stable and equitable international economic relations, thus contributing to the continuous and diversified economic development of all countries,

Having taken into account the work already undertaken by relevant international organizations and wishing to take advantage of the possibilities offered by these organizations, in particular by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, for giving effect to the provisions of the final documents of the Conference,

Considering that the guidelines and concrete recommendations contained in the following texts are aimed at promoting further development of their mutual economic relations, and convinced that their co-operation in this field should take place in full respect for the principles guiding relations among participating States as set forth in the relevant document,

Have adopted the following:

1. Commercial Exchanges

General provisions

The participating States,

Conscious of the growing role of international trade as one of the most important factors in economic growth and social progress,

Recognizing that trade represents an essential sector of their co-operation, and bearing in mind that the provisions contained in the above preamble apply in particular to this sector,

Considering that the volume and structure of trade among the participating States do not in all cases correspond to the possibilities created by the current level of their economic, scientific and technological development,

are resolved to promote, on the basis of the modalities of their economic co-operation, the expansion of their mutual trade in goods and services, and to ensure conditions favourable to such development;

recognize the beneficial effects which can result for the development of trade from the application of most favoured nation treatment;

will encourage the expansion of trade on as broad a multilateral basis as possible, thereby endeavouring to utilize the various economic and commercial possibilities;

recognize the importance of bilateral and multi-

lateral intergovernmental and other agreements for the long-term development of trade;

note the importance of monetary and financial questions for the development of international trade, and will endeavour to deal with them with a view to contributing to the continuous expansion of trade;

will endeavour to reduce or progressively eliminate all kinds of obstacles to the development of trade;

will foster a steady growth of trade while avoiding as far as possible abrupt fluctuations in their trade;

consider that their trade in various products should be conducted in such a way as not to cause or threaten to cause serious injury—and should the situation arise, market disruption—in domestic markets for these products and in particular to the detriment of domestic producers of like or directly competitive products; as regards the concept of market disruption, it is understood that it should not be invoked in a way inconsistent with the relevant provisions of their international agreements; if they resort to safeguard measures, they will do so in conformity with their commitments in this field arising from international agreements to which they are parties and will take account of the interests of the parties directly concerned;

will give due attention to measures for the promotion of trade and the diversification of its structure;

note that the growth and diversification of trade would contribute to widening the possibilities of choice of products;

consider it appropriate to create favourable conditions for the participation of firms, organizations and enterprises in the development of trade.

Business contacts and facilities

The participating States,

Conscious of the importance of the contribution which an improvement of business contacts, and the accompanying growth of confidence in business relationships, could make to the development of commercial and economic relations,

will take measures further to improve conditions for the expansion of contacts between representatives of official bodies, of the different organizations, enterprises, firms and banks concerned with foreign trade, in particular, where useful, between sellers and users of products and services, for the purpose of studying commercial possibilities, concluding contracts, ensuring their implementation and providing after-sales services;

will encourage organizations, enterprises and firms concerned with foreign trade to take measures to accelerate the conduct of business negotiations;

will further take measures aimed at improving working conditions of representatives of foreign organizations, enterprises, firms and banks concerned with external trade, particularly as follows:

—by providing the necessary information, including information on legislation and procedures relating to the establishment and operation of permanent representation by the above mentioned bodies;

—by examining as favourably as possible requests

for the establishment of permanent representation and of offices for this purpose, including, where appropriate, the opening of joint offices by two or more firms;

—by encouraging the provision, on conditions as favourable as possible and equal for all representatives of the above-mentioned bodies, of hotel accommodation, means of communication, and of other facilities normally required by them, as well as of suitable business and residential premises for purposes of permanent representation;

recognize the importance of such measures to encourage greater participation by small and medium sized firms in trade between participating States.

Economic and commercial information

The participating States,

Conscious of the growing role of economic and commercial information in the development of international trade,

Considering that economic information should be of such a nature as to allow adequate market analysis and to permit the preparation of medium and long term forecasts, thus contributing to the establishment of a continuing flow of trade and a better utilization of commercial possibilities,

Expressing their readiness to improve the quality and increase the quantity and supply of economic and relevant administrative information,

Considering that the value of statistical information on the international level depends to a considerable extent on the possibility of its comparability,

will promote the publication and dissemination of economic and commercial information at regular intervals and as quickly as possible, in particular:

—statistics concerning production, national income, budget, consumption and productivity;

—foreign trade statistics drawn up on the basis of comparable classification including breakdown by product with indication of volume and value, as well as country of origin or destination;

—laws and regulations concerning foreign trade;

—information allowing forecasts of development of the economy to assist in trade promotion, for example, information on the general orientation of national economic plans and programmes;

—other information to help businessmen in commercial contacts, for example, periodic directories, lists, and where possible, organizational charts of firms and organizations concerned with foreign trade;

will in addition to the above encourage the development of the exchange of economic and commercial information through, where appropriate, joint commissions for economic, scientific and technical co-operation, national and joint chambers of commerce, and other suitable bodies;

will support a study, in the framework of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, of the possibilities of creating a multilateral system of notification of laws and regulations concerning foreign trade and changes therein;

will encourage international work on the har-

monization of statistical nomenclatures, notably in the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

Marketing

The participating States,

Recognizing the importance of adapting production to the requirements of foreign markets in order to ensure the expansion of international trade,

Conscious of the need of exporters to be as fully familiar as possible with and take account of the requirements of potential users,

will encourage organizations, enterprises and firms concerned with foreign trade to develop further the knowledge and techniques required for effective marketing;

will encourage the improvement of conditions for the implementation of measures to promote trade and to satisfy the needs of users in respect of imported products, in particular through market research and advertising measures as well as, where useful, the establishment of supply facilities, the furnishing of spare parts, the functioning of after sales services, and the training of the necessary local technical personnel;

will encourage international co-operation in the field of trade promotion, including marketing, and the work undertaken on these subjects within the international bodies, in particular the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

2. Industrial co-operation and projects of common interest

Industrial co-operation

The participating States,

Considering that industrial co-operation, being motivated by economic considerations, can

—create lasting ties thus strengthening long-term overall economic co-operation,

—contribute to economic growth as well as to the expansion and diversification of international trade and to a wider utilization of modern technology,

—lead to the mutually advantageous utilization of economic complementarities through better use of all factors of production, and

—accelerate the industrial development of all those who take part in such co-operation,

propose to encourage the development of industrial co-operation between the competent organizations, enterprises and firms of their countries;

consider that industrial co-operation may be facilitated by means of intergovernmental and other bilateral and multilateral agreements between the interested parties;

note that in promoting industrial co-operation they should bear in mind the economic structures and the development levels of their countries;

note that industrial co-operation is implemented by means of contracts concluded between competent organizations, enterprises and firms on the basis of economic considerations;

express their willingness to promote measures designed to create favourable conditions for industrial co-operation;

recognize that industrial co-operation covers a number of forms of economic relations going beyond the framework of conventional trade, and that in concluding contracts on industrial co-operation the partners will determine jointly the appropriate forms and conditions of co-operation, taking into account their mutual interests and capabilities;

recognize further that, if it is in their mutual interest, concrete forms such as the following may be useful for the development of industrial co-operation: joint production and sale, specialization in production and sale, construction, adaptation and modernization of industrial plants, co-operation for the setting up of complete industrial installations with a view to thus obtaining part of the resultant products, mixed companies, exchanges of "know-how", of technical information, of patents and of licences, and joint industrial research within the framework of specific co-operation projects;

recognize that new forms of industrial co-operation can be applied with a view to meeting specific needs;

note the importance of economic, commercial, technical and administrative information such as to ensure the development of industrial co-operation;

Consider it desirable:

—to improve the quality and the quantity of information relevant to industrial co-operation, in particular the laws and regulations, including those relating to foreign exchange, general orientation of national economic plans and programmes as well as programme priorities and economic conditions of the market; and

—to disseminate as quickly as possible published documentation thereon;

will encourage all forms of exchange of information and communication of experience relevant to industrial co-operation, including through contacts between potential partners and, where appropriate, through joint commissions for economic, industrial, scientific and technical co-operation, national and joint chambers of commerce, and other suitable bodies;

consider it desirable, with a view to expanding industrial co-operation, to encourage the exploration of co-operation possibilities and the implementation of co-operation projects and will take measures to this end, *inter alia*, by facilitating and increasing all forms of business contacts between competent organizations, enterprises and firms and between their respective qualified personnel;

note that the provisions adopted by the Conference relating to business contacts in the economic and commercial fields also apply to foreign organizations, enterprises and firms engaged in industrial co-operation, taking into account the specific conditions of this co-operation, and will endeavour to ensure, in particular, the existence of appropriate working conditions for personnel engaged in the implementation of co-operation projects;

consider it desirable that proposals for industrial co-operation projects should be sufficiently specific

and should contain the necessary economic and technical data, in particular preliminary estimates of the cost of the project, information on the form of co-operation envisaged, and market possibilities, to enable potential partners to proceed with initial studies and to arrive at decisions in the shortest possible time;

will encourage the parties concerned with industrial co-operation to take measures to accelerate the conduct of negotiations for the conclusion of co-operation contracts;

recommend further the continued examination—for example within the framework of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe—of means of improving the provision of information to those concerned on general conditions of industrial co-operation and guidance on the preparation of contracts in this field;

consider it desirable to further improve conditions for the implementation of industrial co-operation projects, in particular with respect to:

—the protection of the interests of the partners in industrial co-operation projects, including the legal protection of the various kinds of property involved;

—the consideration, in ways that are compatible with their economic systems, of the needs and possibilities of industrial co-operation within the framework of economic policy and particularly in national economic plans and programmes;

consider it desirable that the partners, when concluding industrial co-operation contracts, should devote due attention to provisions concerning the extension of the necessary mutual assistance and the provision of the necessary information during the implementation of these contracts, in particular with a view to attaining the required technical level and quality of the products resulting from such co-operation;

recognize the usefulness of an increased participation of small and medium sized firms in industrial co-operation projects.

Projects of common interest

The participating States,

Considering that their economic potential and their natural resources permit, through common efforts, long-term co-operation in the implementation, including at the regional or sub-regional level, of major projects of common interest, and that these may contribute to the speeding-up of the economic development of the countries participating therein,

Considering it desirable that the competent organizations, enterprises and firms of all countries should be given the possibility of indicating their interest in participating in such projects, and, in case of agreement, of taking part in their implementation,

Noting that the provisions adopted by the Conference relating to industrial cooperation are also applicable to projects of common interest,

regard it as necessary to encourage, where appro-

priate, the investigation by competent and interested organizations, enterprises and firms of the possibilities for the carrying out of projects of common interest in the fields of energy resources and of the exploitation of raw materials, as well as of transport and communications;

regard it as desirable that organizations, enterprises and firms exploring the possibilities of taking part in projects of common interest exchange with their potential partners, through the appropriate channels, the requisite economic, legal, financial and technical information pertaining to these projects;

consider that the fields of energy resources, in particular, petroleum, natural gas and coal, and the extraction and processing of mineral raw materials, in particular, iron ore and bauxite, are suitable ones for strengthening long-term economic co-operation and for the development of trade which could result;

consider that possibilities for projects of common interest with a view to long-term economic co-operation also exist in the following fields:

—exchanges of electrical energy within Europe with a view to utilizing the capacity of the electrical power stations as rationally as possible;

—co-operation in research for new sources of energy and, in particular, in the field of nuclear energy;

—development of road networks and co-operation aimed at establishing a coherent navigable network in Europe;

—co-operation in research and the perfecting of equipment for multimodal transport operations and for the handling of containers;

recommend that the States interested in projects of common interest should consider under what conditions it would be possible to establish them, and if they so desire, create the necessary conditions for their actual implementation.

3. Provisions concerning trade and industrial co-operation

Harmonization of standards

The participating States,

Recognizing the development of international harmonization of standards and technical regulations and of international co-operation in the field of certification as an important means of eliminating technical obstacles to international trade and industrial co-operation, thereby facilitating their development and increasing productivity,

reaffirm their interest to achieve the widest possible international harmonization of standards and technical regulations;

express their readiness to promote international agreements and other appropriate arrangements on acceptance of certificates of conformity with standards and technical regulations;

consider it desirable to increase international co-operation on standardization, in particular by supporting the activities of intergovernmental and other appropriate organizations in this field.

The participating States,

Considering that the prompt and equitable settlement of disputes which may arise from commercial transactions relating to goods and services and contracts for industrial co-operation would contribute to expanding and facilitating trade and co-operation,

Considering that arbitration is an appropriate means of settling such disputes,

recommend, where appropriate, to organizations, enterprises and firms in their countries, to include arbitration clauses in commercial contracts and industrial co-operation contracts, or in special agreements;

recommend that the provisions on arbitration should provide for arbitration under a mutually acceptable set of arbitration rules, and permit arbitration in a third country, taking into account existing intergovernmental and other agreements in this field.

Specific bilateral arrangements

The participating States,

Conscious of the need to facilitate trade and to promote the application of new forms of industrial co-operation,

will consider favourably the conclusion, in appropriate cases, of specific bilateral agreements concerning various problems of mutual interest in the fields of commercial exchanges and industrial co-operation, in particular with a view to avoiding double taxation and to facilitating the transfer of profits and the return of the value of the assets invested.

4. Science and technology

The participating States,

Convinced that scientific and technological co-operation constitutes an important contribution to the strengthening of security and co-operation among them, in that it assists the effective solution of problems of common interest and the improvement of the conditions of human life,

Considering that in developing such co-operation, it is important to promote the sharing of information and experience, facilitating the study and transfer of scientific and technological achievements, as well as the access to such achievements on a mutually advantageous basis and in fields of co-operation agreed between interested parties,

Considering that it is for the potential partners, i.e. the competent organizations, institutions, enterprises, scientists and technologists of the participating States to determine the opportunities for mutually beneficial co-operation and to develop its details,

Affirming that such co-operation can be developed and implemented bilaterally and multilaterally at the governmental and non-governmental levels, for example, through intergovernmental and other agreements, international programmes, co-operative proj-

ects and commercial channels, while utilizing also various forms of contacts, including direct and individual contacts,

Aware of the need to take measures further to improve scientific and technological co-operation between them,

Possibilities for improving co-operation

Recognize that possibilities exist for further improving scientific and technological co-operation, and to this end, express their intention to remove obstacles to such co-operation, in particular through:

- the improvement of opportunities for the exchange and dissemination of scientific and technological information among the parties interested in scientific and technological research and co-operation including information related to the organization and implementation of such co-operation;

- the expeditious implementation and improvement in organization, including programmes, of international visits of scientists and specialists in connexion with exchanges, conferences and co-operation;

- the wider use of commercial channels and activities for applied scientific and technological research and for the transfer of achievements obtained in this field while providing information on and protection of intellectual and industrial property rights;

Fields of co-operation

Consider that possibilities to expand co-operation exist within the areas given below as examples, noting that it is for potential partners in the participating countries to identify and develop projects and arrangements of mutual interest and benefit:

Agriculture

Research into new methods and technologies for increasing the productivity of crop cultivation and animal husbandry; the application of chemistry to agriculture; the design, construction and utilization of agricultural machinery; technologies of irrigation and other agricultural land improvement works;

Energy

New technologies of production, transport and distribution of energy aimed at improving the use of existing fuels and sources of hydroenergy, as well as research in the field of new energy sources, including nuclear, solar and geothermal energy;

New technologies, rational use of resources

Research on new technologies and equipment designed in particular to reduce energy consumption and to minimize or eliminate waste;

Transport technology

Research on the means of transport and the technology applied to the development and operation of international, national and urban transport networks including container transport as well as transport safety;

Physics

Study of problems in high energy physics and plasma physics; research in the field of theoretical and experimental nuclear physics;

Chemistry

Research on problems in electrochemistry and the chemistry of polymers, of natural products, and of metals and alloys, as well as the development of improved chemical technology, especially materials processing; practical application of the latest achievements of chemistry to industry, construction and other sectors of the economy;

Meteorology and hydrology

Meteorological and hydrological research, including methods of collection, evaluation and transmission of data and their utilization for weather forecasting and hydrology forecasting;

Oceanography

Oceanographic research, including the study of air/sea interactions;

Seismological research

Study and forecasting of earthquakes and associated geological changes; development and research of technology of seism-resisting constructions;

Research on glaciology, permafrost and problems of life under conditions of cold

Research on glaciology and permafrost; transportation and construction technologies; human adaptation to climatic extremes and changes in the living conditions of indigenous populations;

Computer, communication and information technologies

Development of computers as well as of telecommunications and information systems; technology associated with computers and telecommunications, including their use for management systems, for production processes, for automation, for the study of economic problems, in scientific research and for the collection, processing and dissemination of information;

Space research

Space exploration and the study of the earth's natural resources and the natural environment by remote sensing in particular with the assistance of satellites and rocket-probes;

Medicine and public health

Research on cardiovascular, tumour and virus diseases, molecular biology, neurophysiology; development and testing of new drugs; study of contemporary problems of pediatrics, gerontology and the organization and techniques of medical services;

Environmental research

Research on specific scientific and technological problems related to human environment.

Forms and methods of co-operation

Express their view that scientific and technological co-operation should, in particular, employ the following forms and methods:

—exchange and circulation of books, periodicals and other scientific and technological publications and papers among interested organizations, scientific and technological institutions, enterprises and scientists and technologists, as well as participation in international programmes for the abstracting and indexing of publications;

—exchanges and visits as well as other direct contacts and communications among scientists and technologists, on the basis of mutual agreement and other arrangements, for such purposes as consultations, lecturing and conducting research, including the use of laboratories, scientific libraries, and other documentation centres in connexion therewith;

—holding of international and national conferences, symposia, seminars, courses and other meetings of a scientific and technological character, which would include the participation of foreign scientists and technologists;

—joint preparation and implementation of programmes and projects of mutual interest on the basis of consultation and agreement among all parties concerned, including, where possible and appropriate, exchanges of experience and research results, and correlation of research programmes, between scientific and technological research institutions and organizations;

—use of commercial channels and methods for identifying and transferring technological and scientific developments, including the conclusion of mutually beneficial co-operation arrangements between firms and enterprises in fields agreed upon between them and for carrying out, where appropriate, joint research and development programmes and projects;

consider it desirable that periodic exchanges of views and information take place on scientific policy, in particular on general problems of orientation and administration of research and the question of a better use of large-scale scientific and experimental equipment on a co-operative basis;

recommend that, in developing co-operation in the field of science and technology, full use be made of existing practices of bilateral and multilateral co-operation, including that of a regional or sub-regional character, together with the forms and methods of co-operation described in this document;

recommend further that more effective utilization be made of the possibilities and capabilities of existing international organizations, intergovernmental and non-governmental, concerned with science and technology, for improving exchanges of information and experience, as well as for developing other forms of co-operation in fields of common interest, for example:

—in the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, study of possibilities for expanding multilateral co-operation, taking into account models for projects and research used in various international organizations; and for sponsoring conferences, symposia, and study and working groups such as those which would bring together younger scientists and technologists with eminent specialists in their field;

—through their participation in particular international scientific and technological co-operation programmes, including those of UNESCO and other

international organizations, pursuit of continuing progress towards the objectives of such programmes, notably those of UNISIST [World Science Information System] with particular respect to information policy guidance, technical advice, information contributions and data processing.

5. Environment

The participating States,

Affirming that the protection and improvement of the environment, as well as the protection of nature and the rational utilization of its resources in the interests of present and future generations, is one of the tasks of major importance to the well-being of peoples and the economic development of all countries and that many environmental problems, particularly in Europe, can be solved effectively only through close international co-operation,

Acknowledging that each of the participating States, in accordance with the principles of international law, ought to ensure, in a spirit of co-operation, that activities carried out on its territory do not cause degradation of the environment in another State or in areas lying beyond the limits of national jurisdiction,

Considering that the success of any environmental policy presupposes that all population groups and social forces, aware of their responsibilities, help to protect and improve the environment, which necessitates continued and thorough educative action, particularly with regard to youth,

Affirming that experience has shown that economic development and technological progress must be compatible with the protection of the environment and the preservation of historical and cultural values; that damage to the environment is best avoided by preventive measures; and that the ecological balance must be preserved in the exploitation and management of natural resources,

Aims of co-operation

Agree to the following aims of co-operation, in particular:

—to study, with a view to their solution, those environmental problems which, by their nature, are of a multilateral, bilateral, regional or sub-regional dimension; as well as to encourage the development of an interdisciplinary approach to environmental problems;

—to increase the effectiveness of national and international measures for the protection of the environment, by the comparison and, if appropriate, the harmonization of methods of gathering and analyzing facts, by improving the knowledge of pollution phenomena and rational utilization of natural resources, by the exchange of information, by the harmonization of definitions and the adoption, as far as possible, of a common terminology in the field of the environment;

—to take the necessary measures to bring environmental policies closer together and, where appropriate and possible, to harmonize them;

—to encourage, where possible and appropriate, national and international efforts by their interested

organizations, enterprises and firms in the development, production and improvement of equipment designed for monitoring, protecting and enhancing the environment.

Fields of co-operation

To attain these aims, the participating States will make use of every suitable opportunity to co-operate in the field of environment and, in particular, within the areas described below as examples:

Control of air pollution

Desulphurization of fossil fuels and exhaust gases; pollution control of heavy metals, particles, aerosols, nitrogen oxides, in particular those emitted by transport, power stations, and other industrial plants; systems and methods of observation and control of air pollution and its effects, including long-range transport of air pollutants;

Water pollution control and fresh water utilization

Prevention and control of water pollution, in particular of transboundary rivers and international lakes; techniques for the improvement of the quality of water and further development of ways and means for industrial and municipal sewage effluent purification; methods of assessment of fresh water resources and the improvement of their utilization, in particular by developing methods of production which are less polluting and lead to less consumption of fresh water;

Protection of the marine environment

Protection of the marine environment of participating States, and especially the Mediterranean Sea, from pollutants emanating from land-based sources and those from ships and other vessels, notably the harmful substances listed in Annexes I and II to the London Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by the Dumping of Wastes and Other Matters; problems of maintaining marine ecological balances and food chains, in particular such problems as may arise from the exploration and exploitation of biological and mineral resources of the seas and the sea-bed;

Land utilization and soils

Problems associated with more effective use of lands, including land amelioration, reclamation and recultivation; control of soil pollution, water and air erosion, as well as other forms of soil degradation; maintaining and increasing the productivity of soils with due regard for the possible negative effects of the application of chemical fertilizers and pesticides;

Nature conservation and nature reserves

Protection of nature and nature reserves; conservation and maintenance of existing genetic resources, especially rare animal and plant species; conservation of natural ecological systems; establishment of nature reserves and other protected landscapes and areas, including their use for research, tourism, recreation and other purposes;

Improvement of environmental conditions in areas of human settlement

Environmental conditions associated with trans-

port, housing, working areas, urban development and planning, water supply and sewage disposal systems; assessment of harmful effects of noise, and noise control methods; collection, treatment and utilization of wastes, including the recovery and recycling of materials; research on substitutes for non-biodegradable substances;

Fundamental research, monitoring, forecasting and assessment of environmental changes

Study of changes in climate, landscapes and ecological balances under the impact of both natural factors and human activities; forecasting of possible genetic changes in flora and fauna as a result of environmental pollution; harmonization of statistical data, development of scientific concepts and systems of monitoring networks, standardized methods of observation, measurement and assessment of changes in the biosphere; assessment of the effects of environmental pollution levels and degradation of the environment upon human health; study and development of criteria and standards for various environmental pollutants and regulation regarding production and use of various products;

Legal and administrative measures

Legal and administrative measures for the protection of the environment including procedures for establishing environmental impact assessments.

Forms and methods of co-operation

The participating States declare that problems relating to the protection and improvement of the environment will be solved on both a bilateral and a multilateral, including regional and sub-regional, basis, making full use of existing patterns and forms of co-operation. They will develop co-operation in the field of the environment in particular by taking into consideration the Stockholm Declaration on the Human Environment, relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe Prague symposium on environmental problems.

The participating States are resolved that co-operation in the field of the environment will be implemented in particular through:

- exchanges of scientific and technical information, documentation and research results, including information on the means of determining the possible effects on the environment of technical and economic activities;

- organization of conferences, symposia and meetings of experts;

- exchanges of scientists, specialists and trainees;

- joint preparation and implementation of programmes and projects for the study and solution of various problems of environmental protection;

- harmonization, where appropriate and necessary, of environmental protection standards and norms, in particular with the object of avoiding possible difficulties in trade which may arise from efforts to resolve ecological problems of production processes and which relate to the achievement of certain environmental qualities in manufactured products;

- consultations on various aspects of environmental protection, as agreed upon among countries concerned, especially in connexion with problems which could have international consequences.

The participating States will further develop such co-operation by:

- promoting the progressive development, codification and implementation of international law as one means of preserving and enhancing the human environment, including principles and practices, as accepted by them, relating to pollution and other environmental damage caused by activities within the jurisdiction or control of their States affecting other countries and regions;

- supporting and promoting the implementation of relevant international Conventions to which they are parties, in particular those designed to prevent and combat marine and fresh water pollution, recommending States to ratify Conventions which have already been signed, as well as considering possibilities of accepting other appropriate Conventions to which they are not parties at present;

- advocating the inclusion, where appropriate and possible, of the various areas of co-operation into the programmes of work of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, supporting such co-operation within the framework of the Commission and of the United Nations Environment Programme, and taking into account the work of other competent international organizations of which they are members;

- making wider use, in all types of co-operation, of information already available from national and international sources, including internationally agreed criteria, and utilizing the possibilities and capabilities of various competent international organizations.

The participating States agree on the following recommendations on specific measures:

- to develop through international co-operation an extensive programme for the monitoring and evaluation of the long-range transport of air pollutants, starting with sulphur dioxide and with possible extension to other pollutants, and to this end to take into account basic elements of a co-operation programme which were identified by the experts who met in Oslo in December 1974 at the invitation of the Norwegian Institute of Air Research;

- to advocate that within the framework of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe a study be carried out of procedures and relevant experience relating to the activities of Governments in developing the capabilities of their countries to predict adequately environmental consequences of economic activities and technological development.

6. Co-operation in other areas

Development of transport

The participating States,

Considering that the improvement of the conditions of transport constitutes one of the factors essential to the development of co-operation among them,

Considering that it is necessary to encourage the development of transport and the solution of existing problems by employing appropriate national and international means,

Taking into account the work being carried out on these subjects by existing international organizations, especially by the Inland Transport Committee of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe,

note that the speed of technical progress in the various fields of transport makes desirable a development of co-operation and an increase in exchanges of information among them;

declare themselves in favour of a simplification and a harmonization of administrative formalities in the field of international transport, in particular at frontiers;

consider it desirable to promote, while allowing for their particular national circumstances in this sector, the harmonization of administrative and technical provisions concerning safety in road, rail, river, air and sea transport;

express their intention to encourage the development of international inland transport of passengers and goods as well as the possibilities of adequate participation in such transport on the basis of reciprocal advantage;

declare themselves in favour, with due respect for their rights and international commitments, of the elimination of disparities arising from the legal provisions applied to traffic on inland waterways which are subject to international conventions and, in particular, of the disparity in the application of those provisions; and to this end invite the member States of the Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine, of the Danube Commission and of other bodies to develop the work and studies now being carried out, in particular within the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe;

express their willingness, with a view to improving international rail transport and with due respect for their rights and international commitments, to work towards the elimination of difficulties arising from disparities in existing international legal provisions governing the reciprocal railway transport of passengers and goods between their territories;

express the desire for intensification of the work being carried out by existing international organizations in the field of transport, especially that of the Inland Transport Committee of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, and express their intention to contribute thereto by their efforts;

consider that examination by the participating States of the possibility of their accession to the different conventions or to membership of international organizations specializing in transport matters, as well as their efforts to implement conventions when ratified, could contribute to the strengthening of their co-operation in this field.

Promotion of tourism

The participating States,

Aware of the contribution made by international tourism to the development of mutual understanding among peoples, to increased knowledge of other

countries' achievements in various fields, as well as to economic, social and cultural progress,

Recognizing the interrelationship between the development of tourism and measures taken in other areas of economic activity,

express their intention to encourage increased tourism on both an individual and group basis in particular by:

—encouraging the improvement of the tourist infrastructure and co-operation in this field;

—encouraging the carrying out of joint tourist projects including technical co-operation, particularly where this is suggested by territorial proximity and the convergence of tourist interests;

—encouraging the exchange of information, including relevant laws and regulations, studies, data and documentation relating to tourism, and by improving statistics with a view to facilitating their comparability;

—dealing in a positive spirit with questions connected with the allocation of financial means for tourist travel abroad, having regard to their economic possibilities, as well as with those connected with the formalities required for such travel, taking into account other provisions on tourism adopted by the Conference;

—facilitating the activities of foreign travel agencies and passenger transport companies in the promotion of international tourism;

—encouraging tourism outside the high season;

—examining the possibilities of exchanging specialists and students in the field of tourism, with a view to improving their qualifications;

—promoting conferences and symposia on the planning and development of tourism;

consider it desirable to carry out in the appropriate international framework, and with the co-operation of the relevant national bodies, detailed studies on tourism, in particular:

—a comparative study on the status and activities of travel agencies as well as on ways and means of achieving better co-operation among them;

—a study of the problems raised by the seasonal concentration of vacations, with the ultimate objective of encouraging tourism outside peak periods;

—studies of the problems arising in areas where tourism has injured the environment;

consider also that interested parties might wish to study the following questions:

—uniformity of hotel classification; and

—tourist routes comprising two or more countries;

will endeavour, where possible, to ensure that the development of tourism does not injure the environment and the artistic, historic and cultural heritage in their respective countries;

will pursue their co-operation in the field of tourism bilaterally and multilaterally with a view to attaining the above objectives.

Economic and social aspects of migrant labour

The participating States,

Considering that the movements of migrant

workers in Europe have reached substantial proportions, and that they constitute an important economic, social and human factor for host countries as well as for countries of origin,

Recognizing that workers' migrations have also given rise to a number of economic, social, human and other problems in both the receiving countries and the countries of origin,

Taking due account of the activities of the competent international organizations, more particularly the International Labour Organisation, in this area,

are of the opinion that the problems arising bilaterally from the migration of workers in Europe as well as between the participating States should be dealt with by the parties directly concerned, in order to resolve these problems in their mutual interest, in the light of the concern of each State involved to take due account of the requirements resulting from its socio-economic situation, having regard to the obligation of each State to comply with the bilateral and multilateral agreements to which it is party, and with the following aims in view:

to encourage the efforts of the countries of origin directed towards increasing the possibilities of employment for their nationals in their own territories, in particular by developing economic co-operation appropriate for this purpose and suitable for the host countries and the countries of origin concerned;

to ensure, through collaboration between the host country and the country of origin, the conditions under which the orderly movement of workers might take place, while at the same time protecting their personal and social welfare and, if appropriate, to organize the recruitment of migrant workers and the provision of elementary language and vocational training;

to ensure equality of rights between migrant workers and nationals of the host countries with regard to conditions of employment and work and to social security, and to endeavour to ensure that migrant workers may enjoy satisfactory living conditions, especially housing conditions;

to endeavour to ensure, as far as possible, that migrant workers may enjoy the same opportunities as nationals of the host countries of finding other suitable employment in the event of unemployment;

to regard with favour the provision of vocational training to migrant workers and, as far as possible, free instruction in the language of the host country, in the framework of their employment;

to confirm the right of migrant workers to receive, as far as possible, regular information in their own language, covering both their country of origin and the host country;

to ensure that the children of migrant workers established in the host country have access to the education usually given there, under the same conditions as the children of that country and, furthermore, to permit them to receive supplementary education in their own language, national culture, history and geography;

to bear in mind that migrant workers, particularly those who have acquired qualifications, can by re-

turning to their countries after a certain period of time help to remedy any deficiency of skilled labour in their country of origin;

to facilitate, as far as possible, the reuniting of migrant workers with their families;

to regard with favour the efforts of the countries of origin to attract the savings of migrant workers, with a view to increasing, within the framework of their economic development, appropriate opportunities for employment, thereby facilitating the reintegration of these workers on their return home.

Training of personnel

The participating States,

Conscious of the importance of the training and advanced training of professional staff and technicians for the economic development of every country,

declare themselves willing to encourage co-operation in this field notably by promoting exchange of information on the subject of institutions, programmes and methods of training and advanced training open to professional staff and technicians in the various sectors of economic activity and especially in those of management, public planning, agriculture and commercial and banking techniques;

consider that it is desirable to develop, under mutually acceptable conditions, exchanges of professional staff and technicians, particularly through training activities, of which it would be left to the competent and interested bodies in the participating States to discuss the modalities—duration, financing, education and qualification levels of potential participants;

declare themselves in favour of examining, through appropriate channels, the possibilities of co-operating on the organization and carrying out of vocational training on the job, more particularly in professions involving modern techniques.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

The participating States,

Conscious of the geographical, historical, cultural, economic and political aspects of their relationship with the non-participating Mediterranean States,

Convinced that security in Europe is to be considered in the broader context of world security and is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean area as a whole, and that accordingly the process of improving security should not be confined to Europe but should extend to other parts of the world, and in particular to the Mediterranean area,

Believing that the strengthening of security and the intensification of co-operation in Europe would stimulate positive processes in the Mediterranean region, and expressing their intention to contribute towards peace, security and justice in the region, in which ends the participating States and the non-participating Mediterranean States have a common interest,

Recognizing the importance of their mutual economic relations with the non-participating Mediterranean States, and conscious of their common interest in the further development of co-operation,

Noting with appreciation the interest expressed by the non-participating Mediterranean States in the Conference since its inception, and having duly taken their contributions into account,

Declare their intention:

—to promote the development of good-neighbourly relations with the non-participating Mediterranean States in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, on which their relations are based, and with the United Nations Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and accordingly, in this context, to conduct their relations with the non-participating Mediterranean States in the spirit of the principles set forth in the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States;

—to seek, by further improving their relations with the non-participating Mediterranean States, to increase mutual confidence, so as to promote security and stability in the Mediterranean area as a whole;

—to encourage with the non-participating Mediterranean States the development of mutually beneficial co-operation in the various fields of economic activity, especially by expanding commercial exchanges, on the basis of a common awareness of the necessity for stability and progress in trade relations, of their mutual economic interests, and of differences in the levels of economic development, thereby promoting their economic advancement and well-being;

—to contribute to a diversified development of the economies of the non-participating Mediterranean countries, whilst taking due account of their national development objectives, and to co-operate with them, especially in the sectors of industry, science and technology, in their efforts to achieve a better utilization of their resources, thus promoting a more harmonious development of economic relations;

—to intensify their efforts and their co-operation on a bilateral and multilateral basis with the non-participating Mediterranean States directed towards the improvement of the environment of the Mediterranean, especially the safeguarding of the biological resources and ecological balance of the sea, by appropriate measures including the prevention and control of pollution; to this end, and in view of the present situation, to co-operate through competent international organizations and in particular within the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP);

—to promote further contacts and co-operation with the non-participating Mediterranean States in other relevant fields.

In order to advance the objectives set forth above, the participating States also declare their intention of maintaining and amplifying the contacts and dialogue as initiated by the CSCE with the non-participating Mediterranean States to include all

the States of the Mediterranean, with the purpose of contributing to peace, reducing armed forces in the region, strengthening security, lessening tensions in the region, and widening the scope of co-operation, ends in which all share a common interest, as well as with the purpose of defining further common objectives.

The participating States would seek, in the framework of their multilateral efforts, to encourage progress and appropriate initiatives and to proceed to an exchange of views on the attainment of the above purposes.

CO-OPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS

The participating States,

Desiring to contribute to the strengthening of peace and understanding among peoples and to the spiritual enrichment of the human personality without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Conscious that increased cultural and educational exchanges, broader dissemination of information, contacts between people, and the solution of humanitarian problems will contribute to the attainment of these aims,

Determined therefore to co-operate among themselves, irrespective of their political, economic and social systems, in order to create better conditions in the above fields, to develop and strengthen existing forms of co-operation and to work out new ways and means appropriate to these aims,

Convinced that this co-operation should take place in full respect for the principles guiding relations among participating States as set forth in the relevant document,

Have adopted the following:

1. Human Contacts

The participating States,

Considering the development of contacts to be an important element in the strengthening of friendly relations and trust among peoples,

Affirming, in relation to their present effort to improve conditions in this area, the importance they attach to humanitarian considerations,

Desiring in this spirit to develop, with the continuance of détente, further efforts to achieve continuing progress in this field

And conscious that the questions relevant hereto must be settled by the States concerned under mutually acceptable conditions,

Make it their aim to facilitate freer movement and contacts, individually and collectively, whether privately or officially, among persons, institutions and organizations of the participating States, and to contribute to the solution of the humanitarian problems that arise in that connexion,

Declare their readiness to these ends to take measures which they consider appropriate and to conclude agreements or arrangements among themselves, as may be needed, and

Express their intention now to proceed to the implementation of the following:

(a) Contacts and Regular Meetings on the Basis of Family Ties

In order to promote further development of contacts on the basis of family ties the participating States will favourably consider applications for travel with the purpose of allowing persons to enter or leave their territory temporarily, and on a regular basis if desired, in order to visit members of their families.

Applications for temporary visits to meet members of their families will be dealt with without distinction as to the country of origin or destination: existing requirements for travel documents and visas will be applied in this spirit. The preparation and issue of such documents and visas will be effected within reasonable time limits; cases of urgent necessity—such as serious illness or death—will be given priority treatment. They will take such steps as may be necessary to ensure that the fees for official travel documents and visas are acceptable.

They confirm that the presentation of an application concerning contacts on the basis of family ties will not modify the rights and obligations of the applicant or of members of his family.

(b) Reunification of Families

The participating States will deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family, with special attention being given to requests of an urgent character—such as requests submitted by persons who are ill or old.

They will deal with applications in this field as expeditiously as possible.

They will lower where necessary the fees charged in connexion with these applications to ensure that they are at a moderate level.

Applications for the purpose of family reunification which are not granted may be renewed at the appropriate level and will be reconsidered at reasonably short intervals by the authorities of the country of residence or destination, whichever is concerned; under such circumstances fees will be charged only when applications are granted.

Persons whose applications for family reunification are granted may bring with them or ship their household and personal effects; to this end the participating States will use all possibilities provided by existing regulations.

Until members of the same family are reunited meetings and contacts between them may take place in accordance with the modalities for contacts on the basis of family ties.

The participating States will support the efforts of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies concerned with the problems of family reunification.

They confirm that the presentation of an application concerning family reunification will not modify the rights and obligations of the applicant or of members of his family.

The receiving participating State will take appropriate care with regard to employment for persons from other participating States who take up permanent residence in that State in connexion with family reunification with its citizens and see that they are afforded opportunities equal to those enjoyed by its own citizens for education, medical assistance and social security.

(c) Marriage between Citizens of Different States

The participating States will examine favourably and on the basis of humanitarian considerations requests for exit or entry permits from persons who have decided to marry a citizen from another participating State.

The processing and issuing of the documents required for the above purposes and for the marriage will be in accordance with the provisions accepted for family reunification.

In dealing with requests from couples from different participating States, once married, to enable them and the minor children of their marriage to transfer their permanent residence to a State in which either one is normally a resident, the participating States will also apply the provisions accepted for family reunification.

(d) Travel for Personal or Professional Reasons

The participating States intend to facilitate wider travel by their citizens for personal or professional reasons and to this end they intend in particular:

—gradually to simplify and to administer flexibly the procedures for exit and entry;

—to ease regulations concerning movement of citizens from the other participating States in their territory, with due regard to security requirements.

They will endeavour gradually to lower, where necessary, the fees for visas and official travel documents.

They intend to consider, as necessary, means—including, in so far as appropriate, the conclusion of multilateral or bilateral consular conventions or other relevant agreements or understandings—for the improvement of arrangements to provide consular assistance.

* * *

They confirm that religious faiths, institutions and organizations, practising within the constitutional framework of the participating States, and their representatives can, in the field of their activities, have contacts and meetings among themselves and exchange information.

(e) Improvement of Conditions for Tourism on an Individual or Collective Basis

The participating States consider that tourism contributes to a fuller knowledge of the life, culture and history of other countries, to the growth of understanding among peoples, to the improvement of contacts and to the broader use of leisure. They

intend to promote the development of tourism, on an individual or collective basis, and, in particular, they intend:

—to promote visits to their respective countries by encouraging the provision of appropriate facilities and the simplification and expediting of necessary formalities relating to such visits;

—to increase, on the basis of appropriate agreements or arrangements where necessary, co-operation in the development of tourism, in particular by considering bilaterally possible ways to increase information relating to travel to other countries and to the reception and service of tourists, and other related questions of mutual interest.

(f) Meetings among Young People

The participating States intend to further the development of contacts and exchanges among young people by encouraging:

—increased exchanges and contacts on a short or long term basis among young people working, training or undergoing education through bilateral or multilateral agreements or regular programmes in all cases where it is possible;

—study by their youth organizations of the question of possible agreements relating to frameworks of multilateral youth co-operation;

—agreements or regular programmes relating to the organization of exchanges of students, of international youth seminars, of courses of professional training and foreign language study;

—the further development of youth tourism and the provision to this end of appropriate facilities;

—the development, where possible, of exchanges, contacts and co-operation on a bilateral or multilateral basis between their organizations which represent wide circles of young people working, training or undergoing education;

—awareness among youth of the importance of developing mutual understanding and of strengthening friendly relations and confidence among peoples.

(g) Sport

In order to expand existing links and co-operation in the field of sport the participating States will encourage contacts and exchanges of this kind, including sports meetings and competitions of all sorts, on the basis of the established international rules, regulations and practice.

(h) Expansion of Contacts

By way of further developing contacts among governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations and associations, including women's organizations, the participating States will facilitate the convening of meetings as well as travel by delegations, groups and individuals.

2. Information

The participating States,

Conscious of the need for an ever wider knowledge and understanding of the various aspects of life in

other participating States,

Acknowledging the contribution of this process to the growth of confidence between peoples,

Desiring, with the development of mutual understanding between the participating States and with the further improvement of their relations, to continue further efforts towards progress in this field,

Recognizing the importance of the dissemination of information from the other participating States and of a better acquaintance with such information,

Emphasizing therefore the essential and influential role of the press, radio, television, cinema and news agencies and of the journalists working in these fields,

Make it their aim to facilitate the freer and wider dissemination of information of all kinds, to encourage co-operation in the field of information and the exchange of information with other countries, and to improve the conditions under which journalists from one participating State exercise their profession in another participating State, and

Express their intention in particular:

(a) Improvement of the Circulation of, Access to, and Exchange of Information

(i) Oral Information

—To facilitate the dissemination of oral information through the encouragement of lectures and lecture tours by personalities and specialists from the other participating States, as well as exchanges of opinions at round table meetings, seminars, symposia, summer schools, congresses and other bilateral and multilateral meetings.

(ii) Printed Information

—To facilitate the improvement of the dissemination, on their territory, of newspapers and printed publications, periodical and non-periodical, from the other participating States. For this purpose:

they will encourage their competent firms and organizations to conclude agreements and contracts designed gradually to increase the quantities and the number of titles of newspapers and publications imported from the other participating States. These agreements and contracts should in particular mention the speediest conditions of delivery and the use of the normal channels existing in each country for the distribution of its own publications and newspapers, as well as forms and means of payment agreed between the parties making it possible to achieve the objectives aimed at by these agreements and contracts;

where necessary, they will take appropriate measures to achieve the above objectives and to implement the provisions contained in the agreements and contracts.

—To contribute to the improvement of access by the public to periodical and non-periodical printed publications imported on the bases indicated above. In particular:

they will encourage an increase in the number of places where these publications are on sale;

they will facilitate the availability of these periodical publications during congresses, conferences,

official visits and other international events and to tourists during the season;

they will develop the possibilities for taking out subscriptions according to the modalities particular to each country;

they will improve the opportunities for reading and borrowing these publications in large public libraries and their reading rooms as well as in university libraries.

They intend to improve the possibilities for acquaintance with bulletins of official information issued by diplomatic missions and distributed by those missions on the basis of arrangements acceptable to the interested parties.

(iii) *Filmed and Broadcast Information*

—To promote the improvement of the dissemination of filmed and broadcast information. To this end:

they will encourage the wider showing and broadcasting of a greater variety of recorded and filmed information from the other participating States, illustrating the various aspects of life in their countries and received on the basis of such agreements or arrangements as may be necessary between the organizations and firms directly concerned;

they will facilitate the import by competent organizations and firms of recorded audio-visual material from the other participating States.

The participating States note the expansion in the dissemination of information broadcast by radio, and express the hope for the continuation of this process, so as to meet the interest of mutual understanding among peoples and the aims set forth by this Conference.

(b) *Co-operation in the Field of Information*

—To encourage co-operation in the field of information on the basis of short or long term agreements or arrangements. In particular:

they will favour increased co-operation among mass media organizations, including press agencies, as well as among publishing houses and organizations;

they will favour co-operation among public or private, national or international radio and television organizations, in particular through the exchange of both live and recorded radio and television programmes, and through the joint production and the broadcasting and distribution of such programmes;

they will encourage meetings and contacts both between journalists' organizations and between journalists from the participating States;

they will view favourably the possibilities of arrangements between periodical publications as well as between newspapers from the participating States, for the purpose of exchanging and publishing articles;

they will encourage the exchange of technical information as well as the organization of joint research and meetings devoted to the exchange of experience and views between experts in the field of the press, radio and television.

(c) *Improvement of Working Conditions for Journalists*

The participating States, desiring to improve the conditions under which journalists from one participating State exercise their profession in another participating State, intend in particular to:

—examine in a favourable spirit and within a suitable and reasonable time scale requests from journalists for visas;

—grant to permanently accredited journalists of the participating States, on the basis of arrangements, multiple entry and exit visas for specified periods;

—facilitate the issue to accredited journalists of the participating States of permits for stay in their country of temporary residence and, if and when these are necessary, of other official papers which it is appropriate for them to have;

—ease, on a basis of reciprocity, procedures for arranging travel by journalists of the participating States in the country where they are exercising their profession, and to provide progressively greater opportunities for such travel, subject to the observance of regulations relating to the existence of areas closed for security reasons;

—ensure that requests by such journalists for such travel receive, in so far as possible, an expeditious response, taking into account the time scale of the request;

—increase the opportunities for journalists of the participating States to communicate personally with their sources, including organizations and official institutions;

—grant to journalists of the participating States the right to import, subject only to its being taken out again, the technical equipment (photographic, cinematographic, tape recorder, radio and television) necessary for the exercise of their profession;*

—enable journalists of the other participating States, whether permanently or temporarily accredited, to transmit completely, normally and rapidly by means recognized by the participating States to the information organs which they represent, the results of their professional activity, including tape recordings and undeveloped film, for the purpose of

*While recognizing that appropriate local personnel are employed by foreign journalists in many instances, the participating States note that the above provisions would be applied, subject to the observance of the appropriate rules, to persons from the other participating States, who are regularly and professionally engaged as technicians, photographers or cameramen of the press, radio, television or cinema. [Footnote in original.]

publication or of broadcasting on the radio or television.

The participating States reaffirm that the legitimate pursuit of their professional activity will neither render journalists liable to expulsion nor otherwise penalize them. If an accredited journalist is expelled, he will be informed of the reasons for this act and may submit an application for re-examination of his case.

3. Co-operation and Exchanges in the Field of Culture

The participating States,

Considering that cultural exchanges and co-operation contribute to a better comprehension among people and among peoples, and thus promote a lasting understanding among States,

Confirming the conclusions already formulated in this field at the multilateral level, particularly at the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Europe, organized by UNESCO in Helsinki in June 1972, where interest was manifested in the active participation of the broadest possible social groups in an increasingly diversified cultural life,

Desiring, with the development of mutual confidence and the further improvement of relations between the participating States, to continue further efforts toward progress in this field,

Disposed in this spirit to increase substantially their cultural exchanges, with regard both to persons and to cultural works, and to develop among them an active co-operation, both at the bilateral and the multilateral level, in all the fields of culture,

Convinced that such a development of their mutual relations will contribute to the enrichment of the respective cultures, while respecting the originality of each, as well as to the reinforcement among them of a consciousness of common values, while continuing to develop cultural co-operation with other countries of the world,

Declare that they jointly set themselves the following objectives:

(a) to develop the mutual exchange of information with a view to a better knowledge of respective cultural achievements,

(b) to improve the facilities for the exchange and for the dissemination of cultural property,

(c) to promote access by all to respective cultural achievements,

(d) to develop contacts and co-operation among persons active in the field of culture,

(e) to seek new fields and forms of cultural co-operation,

Thus *give expression* to their common will to take progressive, coherent and long-term action in order to achieve the objectives of the present declaration; and

Express their intention now to proceed to the implementation of the following:

Extension of Relations

To expand and improve at the various levels co-operation and links in the field of culture, in particular by:

—concluding, where appropriate, agreements on a bilateral or multilateral basis, providing for the extension of relations among competent State institutions and non-governmental organizations in the field of culture, as well as among people engaged in cultural activities, taking into account the need both for flexibility and the fullest possible use of existing agreements, and bearing in mind that agreements and also other arrangements constitute important means of developing cultural co-operation and exchanges;

—contributing to the development of direct communication and co-operation among relevant State institutions and non-governmental organizations, including, where necessary, such communication and co-operation carried out on the basis of special agreements and arrangements;

—encouraging direct contacts and communications among persons engaged in cultural activities, including, where necessary, such contacts and communications carried out on the basis of special agreements and arrangements.

Mutual Knowledge

Within their competence to adopt, on a bilateral and multilateral level, appropriate measures which would give their peoples a more comprehensive and complete mutual knowledge of their achievements in the various fields of culture, and among them:

—to examine jointly, if necessary with the assistance of appropriate international organizations, the possible creation in Europe and the structure of a bank of cultural data, which would collect information from the participating countries and make it available to its correspondents on their request, and to convene for this purpose a meeting of experts from interested States;

—to consider, if necessary in conjunction with appropriate international organizations, ways of compiling in Europe an inventory of documentary films of a cultural or scientific nature from the participating States;

—to encourage more frequent book exhibitions and to examine the possibility of organizing periodically in Europe a large-scale exhibition of books from the participating States;

—to promote the systematic exchange, between the institutions concerned and publishing houses, of catalogues of available books as well as of pre-publication material which will include, as far as possible, all forthcoming publications; and also to promote the exchange of material between firms publishing encyclopaedias, with a view to improving the presentation of each country;

—to examine jointly questions of expanding and improving exchanges of information in the various

fields of culture, such as theatre, music, library work as well as the conservation and restoration of cultural property.

Exchanges and Dissemination

To contribute to the improvement of facilities for exchanges and the dissemination of cultural property, by appropriate means, in particular by:

—studying the possibilities for harmonizing and reducing the charges relating to international commercial exchanges of books and other cultural materials, and also for new means of insuring works of art in foreign exhibitions and for reducing the risks of damage or loss to which these works are exposed by their movement;

—facilitating the formalities of customs clearance, in good time for programmes of artistic events, of the works of art, materials and accessories appearing on lists agreed upon by the organizers of these events;

—encouraging meetings among representatives of competent organizations and relevant firms to examine measures within their field of activity—such as the simplification of orders, time limits for sending supplies and modalities of payment—which might facilitate international commercial exchanges of books;

—promoting the loan and exchange of films among their film institutes and film libraries;

—encouraging the exchange of information among interested parties concerning events of a cultural character foreseen in the participating States, in fields where this is most appropriate, such as music, theatre and the plastic and graphic arts, with a view to contributing to the compilation and publication of a calendar of such events, with the assistance, where necessary, of the appropriate international organizations;

—encouraging a study of the impact which the foreseeable development, and a possible harmonization among interested parties, of the technical means used for the dissemination of culture might have on the development of cultural co-operation and exchanges, while keeping in view the preservation of the diversity and originality of their respective cultures;

—encouraging, in the way they deem appropriate, within their cultural policies, the further development of interest in the cultural heritage of the other participating States, conscious of the merits and the value of each culture;

—endeavouring to ensure the full and effective application of the international agreements and conventions on copyrights and on circulation of cultural property to which they are party or to which they may decide in the future to become party.

Access

To promote fuller mutual access by all to the achievements—works, experiences and performing arts—in the various fields of culture of their countries, and to that end to make the best possible efforts, in accordance with their competence, more particularly:

—to promote wider dissemination of books and artistic works, in particular by such means as:

facilitating, while taking full account of the international copyright conventions to which they are party, international contacts and communications between authors and publishing houses as well as other cultural institutions, with a view to a more complete mutual access to cultural achievements;

recommending that, in determining the size of editions, publishing houses take into account also the demand from the other participating States, and that rights of sale in other participating States be granted, where possible, to several sales organizations of the importing countries, by agreement between interested partners;

encouraging competent organizations and relevant firms to conclude agreements and contracts and contributing, by this means, to a gradual increase in the number and diversity of works by authors from the other participating States available in the original and in translation in their libraries and bookshops;

promoting, where deemed appropriate, an increase in the number of sales outlets where books by authors from the other participating States, imported in the original on the basis of agreements and contracts, and in translation, are for sale;

promoting, on a wider scale, the translation of works in the sphere of literature and other fields of cultural activity, produced in the languages of the other participating States, especially from the less widely-spoken languages, and the publication and dissemination of the translated works by such measures as:

encouraging more regular contacts between interested publishing houses;

developing their efforts in the basic and advanced training of translators;

encouraging, by appropriate means, the publishing houses of their countries to publish translations;

facilitating the exchange between publishers and interested institutions of lists of books which might be translated;

promoting between their countries the professional activity and co-operation of translators;

carrying out joint studies on ways of further promoting translations and their dissemination;

improving and expanding exchanges of books, bibliographies and catalogue cards between libraries;

—to envisage other appropriate measures which would permit, where necessary by mutual agreement among interested parties, the facilitation of access to their respective cultural achievements, in particular in the field of books;

—to contribute by appropriate means to the wider use of the mass media in order to improve mutual acquaintance with the cultural life of each;

—to seek to develop the necessary conditions for migrant workers and their families to preserve their links with their national culture, and also to adapt themselves to their new cultural environment;

—to encourage the competent bodies and enterprises to make a wider choice and effect wider distribution.

bution of full-length and documentary films from the other participating States, and to promote more frequent non-commercial showings, such as premières, film weeks and festivals, giving due consideration to films from countries whose cinematographic works are less well known;

—to promote, by appropriate means, the extension of opportunities for specialists from the other participating States to work with materials of a cultural character from film and audio-visual archives, within the framework of the existing rules for work on such archival materials;

—to encourage a joint study by interested bodies, where appropriate with the assistance of the competent international organizations, of the expediency and the conditions for the establishment of a repertory of their recorded television programmes of a cultural nature, as well as of the means of viewing them rapidly in order to facilitate their selection and possible acquisition.

Contacts and Co-operation

To contribute, by appropriate means, to the development of contacts and co-operation in the various fields of culture, especially among creative artists and people engaged in cultural activities, in particular by making efforts to:

—promote for persons active in the field of culture, travel and meetings including, where necessary, those carried out on the basis of agreements, contracts or other special arrangements and which are relevant to their cultural co-operation;

—encourage in this way contacts among creative and performing artists and artistic groups with a view to their working together, making known their works in other participating States or exchanging views on topics relevant to their common activity;

—encourage, where necessary through appropriate arrangements, exchanges of trainees and specialists and the granting of scholarships for basic and advanced training in various fields of culture such as the arts and architecture, museums and libraries, literary studies and translation, and contribute to the creation of favourable conditions of reception in their respective institutions;

—encourage the exchange of experience in the training of organizers of cultural activities as well as of teachers and specialists in fields such as theatre, opera, ballet, music and fine arts;

—continue to encourage the organization of international meetings among creative artists, especially young creative artists, on current questions of artistic and literary creation which are of interest for joint study;

—study other possibilities for developing exchanges and co-operation among persons active in the field of culture, with a view to a better mutual knowledge of the cultural life of the participating States.

Fields and Forms of Co-operation

To encourage the search for new fields and forms of cultural co-operation, to these ends contributing to the conclusion among interested parties, where necessary, of appropriate agreements and arrange-

ments, and in this context to promote:

—joint studies regarding cultural policies, in particular in their social aspects, and as they relate to planning, town-planning, educational and environmental policies, and the cultural aspects of tourism;

—the exchange of knowledge in the realm of cultural diversity, with a view to contributing thus to a better understanding by interested parties of such diversity where it occurs;

—the exchange of information, and as may be appropriate, meetings of experts, the elaboration and the execution of research programmes and projects, as well as their joint evaluation, and the dissemination of the results, on the subjects indicated above;

—such forms of cultural co-operation and the development of such joint projects as:

international events in the fields of the plastic and graphic arts, cinema, theatre, ballet, music, folklore, etc.; book fairs and exhibitions, joint performances of operatic and dramatic works, as well as performances given by soloists, instrumental ensembles, orchestras, choirs and other artistic groups, including those composed of amateurs, paying due attention to the organization of international cultural youth events and the exchange of young artists;

the inclusion of works by writers and composers from the other participating States in the repertoires of soloists and artistic ensembles;

the preparation, translation and publication of articles, studies and monographs, as well as of low-cost books and of artistic and literary collections, suited to making better known respective cultural achievements, envisaging for this purpose meetings among experts and representatives of publishing houses;

the co-production and the exchange of films and of radio and television programmes, by promoting, in particular, meetings among producers, technicians and representatives of the public authorities with a view to working out favourable conditions for the execution of specific joint projects and by encouraging, in the field of co-production, the establishment of international filming teams;

the organization of competitions for architects and town-planners, bearing in mind the possible implementation of the best projects and the formation, where possible, of international teams;

the implementation of joint projects for conserving, restoring and showing to advantage works of art, historical and archaeological monuments and sites of cultural interest, with the help, in appropriate cases, of international organizations of a governmental or non-governmental character as well as of private institutions—competent and active in these fields—envisaging for this purpose:

periodic meetings of experts of the interested parties to elaborate the necessary proposals, while bearing in mind the need to consider these questions in a wider social and economic context;

the publication in appropriate periodicals of articles designed to make known and to compare, among the participating States, the most significant achievements and innovations;

a joint study with a view to the improvement and possible harmonization of the different sys-

tems used to inventory and catalogue the historical monuments and places of cultural interest in their countries;

the study of the possibilities for organizing international courses for the training of specialists in different disciplines relating to restoration.

* * *

National minorities or regional cultures. The participating States, recognizing the contribution that national minorities or regional cultures can make to co-operation among them in various fields of culture, intend, when such minorities or cultures exist within their territory, to facilitate this contribution, taking into account the legitimate interests of their members.

4. Co-operation and Exchanges in the Field of Education

The participating States,

Conscious that the development of relations of an international character in the fields of education and science contributes to a better mutual understanding and is to the advantage of all peoples as well as to the benefit of future generations,

Prepared to facilitate, between organizations, institutions and persons engaged in education and science, the further development of exchanges of knowledge and experience as well as of contacts, on the basis of special arrangements where these are necessary,

Desiring to strengthen the links among educational and scientific establishments and also to encourage their co-operation in sectors of common interest, particularly where the levels of knowledge and resources require efforts to be concerted internationally, and

Convinced that progress in these fields should be accompanied and supported by a wider knowledge of foreign languages,

Express to these ends their intention in particular:

(a) *Extension of Relations*

To expand and improve at the various levels co-operation and links in the fields of education and science, in particular by:

—concluding, where appropriate, bilateral or multilateral agreements providing for co-operation and exchanges among State institutions, non-governmental bodies and persons engaged in activities in education and science, bearing in mind the need both for flexibility and the fuller use of existing agreements and arrangements;

—promoting the conclusion of direct arrangements between universities and other institutions of higher education and research, in the framework of agreements between governments where appropriate;

—encouraging among persons engaged in education and science direct contacts and communications, including those based on special agreements or arrangements where these are appropriate.

(b) *Access and Exchanges*

To improve access, under mutually acceptable con-

ditions, for students, teachers and scholars of the participating States to each other's educational, cultural and scientific institutions, and to intensify exchanges among these institutions in all areas of common interest, in particular by:

—increasing the exchange of information on facilities for study and courses open to foreign participants, as well as on the conditions under which they will be admitted and received;

—facilitating travel between the participating States by scholars, teachers and students for purposes of study, teaching and research as well as for improving knowledge of each other's educational, cultural and scientific achievements;

—encouraging the award of scholarships for study, teaching and research in their countries to scholars, teachers and students of other participating States;

—establishing, developing or encouraging programmes providing for the broader exchange of scholars, teachers and students, including the organization of symposia, seminars and collaborative projects, and the exchanges of educational and scholarly information such as university publications and materials from libraries;

—promoting the efficient implementation of such arrangements and programmes by providing scholars, teachers and students in good time with more detailed information about their placing in universities and institutes and the programmes envisaged for them; by granting them the opportunity to use relevant scholarly, scientific and open archival materials; and by facilitating their travel within the receiving State for the purpose of study or research as well as in the form of vacation tours on the basis of the usual procedures;

—promoting a more exact assessment of the problems of comparison and equivalence of academic degrees and diplomas by fostering the exchange of information on the organization, duration and content of studies, the comparison of methods of assessing levels of knowledge and academic qualifications, and, where feasible, arriving at the mutual recognition of academic degrees and diplomas either through governmental agreements, where necessary, or direct arrangements between universities and other institutions of higher learning and research;

—recommending, moreover, to the appropriate international organizations that they should intensify their efforts to reach a generally acceptable solution to the problems of comparison and equivalence between academic degrees and diplomas.

(c) *Science*

Within their competence to broaden and improve co-operation and exchanges in the field of science, in particular:

To increase, on a bilateral or multilateral basis, the exchange and dissemination of scientific information and documentation by such means as:

—making this information more widely available to scientists and research workers of the other participating States through, for instance, participation in international information-sharing programmes or through other appropriate arrangements;

—broadening and facilitating the exchange of samples and other scientific materials used particularly for fundamental research in the fields of natural sciences and medicine;

—inviting scientific institutions and universities to keep each other more fully and regularly informed about their current and contemplated research work in fields of common interest.

To facilitate the extension of communications and direct contacts between universities, scientific institutions and associations as well as among scientists and research workers, including those based where necessary on special agreements or arrangements, by such means as:

—further developing exchanges of scientists and research workers and encouraging the organization of preparatory meetings or working groups on research topics of common interest;

—encouraging the creation of joint teams of scientists to pursue research projects under arrangements made by the scientific institutions of several countries;

—assisting the organization and successful functioning of international conferences and seminars and participation in them by their scientists and research workers;

—furthermore envisaging, in the near future, a "Scientific Forum" in the form of a meeting of leading personalities in science from the participating States to discuss interrelated problems of common interest concerning current and future developments in science, and to promote the expansion of contacts, communications and the exchange of information between scientific institutions and among scientists;

—foreseeing, at an early date, a meeting of experts representing the participating States and their national scientific institutions, in order to prepare such a "Scientific Forum" in consultation with appropriate international organizations, such as UNESCO and the ECE;

—considering in due course what further steps might be taken with respect to the "Scientific Forum".

To develop in the field of scientific research, on a bilateral or multilateral basis, the co-ordination of programmes carried out in the participating States and the organization of joint programmes, especially in the areas mentioned below, which may involve the combined efforts of scientists and in certain cases the use of costly or unique equipment. The list of subjects in these areas is illustrative; and specific projects would have to be determined subsequently by the potential partners in the participating States, taking account of the contribution which could be made by appropriate international organizations and scientific institutions:

—*exact and natural sciences*, in particular fundamental research in such fields as mathematics, physics, theoretical physics, geophysics, chemistry, biology, ecology and astronomy;

—*medicine*, in particular basic research into cancer and cardiovascular diseases, studies on the diseases endemic in the developing countries, as well

as medico-social research with special emphasis on occupational diseases, the rehabilitation of the handicapped and the care of mothers, children and the elderly;

—*the humanities and social sciences*, such as history, geography, philosophy, psychology, pedagogical research, linguistics, sociology, the legal, political and economic sciences; comparative studies on social, socio-economic and cultural phenomena which are of common interest to the participating States, especially the problems of human environment and urban development; and scientific studies on the methods of conserving and restoring monuments and works of art.

(d) Foreign Languages and Civilizations

To encourage the study of foreign languages and civilizations as an important means of expanding communication among peoples for their better acquaintance with the culture of each country, as well as for the strengthening of international co-operation; to this end to stimulate, within their competence, the further development and improvement of foreign language teaching and the diversification of choice of languages taught at various levels, paying due attention to less widely-spread or studied languages, and in particular:

—to intensify co-operation aimed at improving the teaching of foreign languages through exchanges of information and experience concerning the development and application of effective modern teaching methods and technical aids, adapted to the needs of different categories of students, including methods of accelerated teaching; and to consider the possibility of conducting, on a bilateral or multilateral basis, studies of new methods of foreign language teaching;

—to encourage co-operation between institutions concerned, on a bilateral or multilateral basis, aimed at exploiting more fully the resources of modern educational technology in language teaching, for example through comparative studies by their specialists and, where agreed, through exchanges or transfers of audio-visual materials, of materials used for preparing textbooks, as well as of information about new types of technical equipment used for teaching languages;

—to promote the exchange of information on the experience acquired in the training of language teachers and to intensify exchanges on a bilateral basis of language teachers and students as well as to facilitate their participation in summer courses in languages and civilizations, wherever these are organized;

—to encourage co-operation among experts in the field of lexicography with the aim of defining the necessary terminological equivalents, particularly in the scientific and technical disciplines, in order to facilitate relations among scientific institutions and specialists;

—to promote the wider spread of foreign language study among the different types of secondary education establishments and greater possibilities of choice between an increased number of European languages; and in this context to consider, wherever appropriate, the possibilities for developing the re-

recruitment and training of teachers as well as the organization of the student groups required;

—to favour, in higher education, a wider choice in the languages offered to language students and greater opportunities for other students to study various foreign languages; also to facilitate, where desirable, the organization of courses in languages and civilizations, on the basis of special arrangements as necessary, to be given by foreign lecturers, particularly from European countries having less widely-spread or studied languages;

—to promote, within the framework of adult education, the further development of specialized programmes, adapted to various needs and interests, for teaching foreign languages to their own inhabitants and the languages of host countries to interested adults from other countries; in this context to encourage interested institutions to co-operate, for example, in the elaboration of programmes for teaching by radio and television and by accelerated methods, and also, where desirable, in the definition of study objectives for such programmes, with a view to arriving at comparable levels of language proficiency;

—to encourage the association, where appropriate, of the teaching of foreign languages with the study of the corresponding civilizations and also to make further efforts to stimulate interest in the study of foreign languages, including relevant out-of-class activities.

(e) *Teaching Methods*

To promote the exchange of experience, on a bilateral or multilateral basis, in teaching methods at all levels of education, including those used in permanent and adult education, as well as the exchange of teaching materials, in particular by:

—further developing various forms of contacts and co-operation in the different fields of pedagogical science, for example through comparative or joint studies carried out by interested institutions or through exchanges of information on the results of teaching experiments;

—intensifying exchanges of information on teaching methods used in various educational systems and on results of research into the processes by which pupils and students acquire knowledge, taking account of relevant experience in different types of specialized education;

—facilitating exchanges of experience concerning the organization and functioning of education intended for adults and recurrent education, the relationships between these and other forms and levels of education, as well as concerning the means of adapting education, including vocational and technical training, to the needs of economic and social development in their countries;

—encouraging exchanges of experience in the education of youth and adults in international understanding, with particular reference to those major problems of mankind whose solution calls for a common approach and wider international co-operation;

—encouraging exchanges of teaching materials—including school textbooks, having in mind the possibility of promoting mutual knowledge and facilitating the presentation of each country in such books—as well as exchanges of information on technical innovations in the field of education.

* * *

National minorities or regional cultures. The participating States, recognizing the contribution that national minorities or regional cultures can make to co-operation among them in various fields of education, intend, when such minorities or cultures exist within their territory, to facilitate this contribution, taking into account the legitimate interests of their members.

FOLLOW-UP TO THE CONFERENCE

The participating States,

Having considered and evaluated the progress made at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe,

Considering further that, within the broader context of the world, the Conference is an important part of the process of improving security and developing co-operation in Europe and that its results will contribute significantly to this process,

Intending to implement the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference in order to give full effect to its results and thus to further the process of improving security and developing co-operation in Europe,

Convinced that, in order to achieve the aims sought by the Conference, they should make further unilateral, bilateral and multilateral efforts and continue, in the appropriate forms set forth below, the multilateral process initiated by the Conference,

1. *Declare their resolve, in the period following the Conference, to pay due regard to and implement the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference:*

(a) *unilaterally, in all cases which lend themselves to such action;*

(b) *bilaterally, by negotiations with other participating States;*

(c) *multilaterally, by meetings of experts of the participating States, and also within the framework of existing international organizations, such as the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe and UNESCO, with regard to educational, scientific and cultural co-operation;*

2. *Declare furthermore their resolve to continue the multilateral process initiated by the Conference:*

(a) *by proceeding to a thorough exchange of views both on the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act and of the tasks defined by the Conference, as well as, in the context of the questions dealt with by the latter, on the deepening of their mutual relations, the improvement of security and the development of co-operation in Europe, and*

the development of the process of détente in the future;

(b) by organizing to these ends meetings among their representatives, beginning with a meeting at the level of representatives appointed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. This meeting will define the appropriate modalities for the holding of other meetings which could include further similar meetings and the possibility of a new Conference;

3. The first of the meetings indicated above will be held at Belgrade in 1977. A preparatory meeting to organize this meeting will be held at Belgrade on 15 June 1977. The preparatory meeting will decide on the date, duration, agenda and other modalities of the meeting of representatives appointed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs;

4. The rules of procedure, the working methods and the scale of distribution for the expenses of the Conference will, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to the meetings envisaged in paragraphs 1 (c), 2 and 3 above. All the above-mentioned meetings will be held in the participating States in rotation. The services of a technical secretariat will be provided by the host country.

The original of this Final Act, drawn up in English, French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish, will be transmitted to the Government of the Republic of Finland, which will retain it in its archives. Each of the participating States will receive from the Government of the Republic of Finland a true copy of this Final Act.

The text of this Final Act will be published in each participating State, which will disseminate it and make it known as widely as possible.

The Government of the Republic of Finland is requested to transmit to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the text of this Final Act, which is not eligible for registration under Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations, with a view to its circulation to all the members of the Organization as an official document of the United Nations.²

The Government of the Republic of Finland is also requested to transmit the text of this Final Act to the Director-General of UNESCO and to the Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

Wherefore, the undersigned High Representatives of the participating States, mindful of the high political significance which they attach to the results of the Conference, and declaring their determination to act in accordance with the provisions contained in the above texts, have subscribed their signatures below:³

The Federal Republic of Germany:

HELMUT SCHMIDT, *Federal Chancellor*

The German Democratic Republic:

ERICH HONECKER, *First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany*

The United States of America:

GERALD R. FORD, *President of the United States of America*

The Republic of Austria:

BRUNO KREISKY, *Federal Chancellor*

The Kingdom of Belgium:

LEO TINDEMANS, *Prime Minister*

The People's Republic of Bulgaria:

TODOR JIVKOV, *First Secretary, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria and President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria*

Canada:

PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU, *Prime Minister*

The Republic of Cyprus:

HIS BEATITUDE ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS III, *President of the Republic of Cyprus*

Denmark:

ANKER JORGENSEN, *Prime Minister*

Spain:

CARLOS ARIAS NAVARRO, *Head of the Government*

The Republic of Finland:

URHO KEKKONEN, *President of the Republic*

The French Republic:

VALÉRY GISCARD D'ESTAING

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

THE RT. HON. HAROLD WILSON, O.B.E., M.P., F.R.S., *First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*

The Hellenic Republic:

CONSTANTIN CARAMANLIS, *Prime Minister*

² Journal no. 80/bis of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, July 18, 1975, reported that the delegate of Finland had on that day informed the committee of the intention of his government to send the following letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations:

"SIR, I have the honour to inform you that the High Representatives of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe have requested the Government of the Republic of Finland to transmit to you the text of the Final Act of the Conference signed at Helsinki on [1 August 1975].

"I have also been asked to request you, Mr. Secretary General, to arrange for the circulation of this Final Act to Member States of the Organization as an official document of the United Nations, and to draw your attention to the fact that this Final Act is not eligible, in whole or in part, for registration with the Secretariat under Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations, as would be the case were it a matter of a treaty or international agreement, under the aforesaid Article.

"Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration."

³ The final act was signed in alphabetical order according to the French spelling of the names of the countries.

The Hungarian People's Republic:

JANOS KADAR, *First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Member of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic*

Ireland:

LIAM COSGRAVE, *Prime Minister*

Iceland:

GEIR HALLGRIMSSON, *Prime Minister*

The Italian Republic:

ALDO MORO, *Prime Minister of the Italian Republic and in his capacity as President in office of the Council of the European Communities*

The Principality of Liechtenstein:

WALTER KIEBER, *Head of Government*

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg:

GASTON THORN, *Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs*

The Republic of Malta:

DOM MINTOFF, *Prime Minister, Minister for Commonwealth and Foreign Affairs*

The Principality of Monaco:

ANDRE SAINT-MLEUX, *Minister of State, President of the Government Council, Representing H.S.H. the Prince of Monaco*

Norway:

TRYGVE BRATTELI, *Prime Minister*

The Kingdom of the Netherlands:

J.M. DEN UYL, *Prime Minister*

Polish People's Republic:

EDWARD GIEREK, *First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Worker's Party*

Portugal:

FRANCISCO DA COSTA GOMES, *President of the Republic*

The Socialist Republic of Romania:

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, *President of the Socialist Republic of Romania*

San Marino:

GIAN LUIGI BERTI, *Secretary of State for Foreign and Political Affairs*

The Holy See:

Son Excellence Monseigneur AGOSTINO CASAROLI, *Secretary of the Council for Church Public Affairs, Special Delegate of His Holiness Pope Paul VI*

Sweden:

OLOF PALME, *Prime Minister*

The Swiss Confederation:

PIERRE GRABER, *President of the Confederation, Head of the Federal Political Department*

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:

GUSTAV HUSAK, *Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic*

The Republic of Turkey:

SULEYMAN DEMIREL, *Prime Minister*

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

L. BREJNEV, *General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU*

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia:

JOSIP BROZ TITO, *President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*

President Ford Urges Action on Lifting Turkish Arms Embargo

Following are statements by President Ford issued on July 24 and 25, together with the text of a message sent on July 28 by President Ford to Speaker of the House Carl Albert.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT FORD, JULY 24

White House press release dated July 24

I am deeply disappointed by the refusal of the House of Representatives to partially lift the embargo on the shipment of arms to Turkey. It is my strong conviction that this negative vote can only do the most serious and irreparable damage to the vital national security interests of the United States, including our normally excellent relations with the Government of Turkey, U.S. security interests in the Atlantic alliance and the eastern Mediterranean, and U.S. efforts to assist the Governments of Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus to reach a just and equitable Cyprus settlement. It will also seriously affect important interests elsewhere.

I and members of my Administration worked hard to persuade Members of the House of Representatives that vital national defense interests are at stake in this issue. I am very proud of those 206 Members of Congress of both parties, as well as the Members of the Senate who supported a similar measure, for casting their votes in the national interest. I deeply appreciate the efforts of the bipartisan leadership of the Congress and the members of the House and Senate Committees on International Relations and Foreign Affairs who supported the legislation. I will continue to make every

effort to assist in achieving an equitable settlement of the Cyprus dispute. I will work to reassure our allies Turkey and Greece of our continuing desire to maintain strong and effective relationships with them despite this setback. I hope the House of Representatives will reconsider its failure to act affirmatively.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT FORD, JULY 25

White House press release dated July 25

I deeply regret the announcement of the Government of Turkey to suspend all American activities at joint U.S.-Turkish defense installations and to take over control and supervision of these important installations.

I repeatedly warned the House of Representatives of extremely serious consequences, such as this, if the United States failed to restore military sales and credits to our Turkish allies. I again want to praise those House Members of both parties who voted in the national interest. Now, as a result of yesterday's 223-206 vote in the House of Representatives, Turkey has today announced actions which I believe will work to the detriment of critically important U.S. security interests.

In view of these damaging developments, I urge the House of Representatives to reconsider its refusal to restore the traditional U.S.-Turkish defense relationship. Prompt, affirmative action by the House of Representatives is essential to the vital national defense interests of the United States, our partners in the eastern Mediterranean, and our allies in the Atlantic alliance.

TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE, JULY 28

White House press release dated July 28

JULY 28, 1975.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The consequences of the House action in failing to lift the arms embargo on Turkey are now becoming apparent. As President of the United States my responsibility for the na-

tional security and conduct of foreign affairs have led me to urge in the strongest terms that the House lift the embargo. Despite the House action and subsequent events, I do not believe that the situation is irretrievable today.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the major installations we will lose in Turkey if we cannot remedy the action. Their loss would seriously downgrade our capabilities in major areas of national security. These installations are not replaceable.

In reviewing the debates of the last several months, any fairminded person would agree that there is not a fundamental dispute on the objective of achieving a peaceful and equitable solution to the tragic Cyprus problem. The Congress has chosen means to accomplish that end which in my judgment would not only delay and impede a Cyprus settlement but, as now can be seen clearly, cause a disastrous deterioration in our security relations with Turkey and in the Eastern Mediterranean in general. In addition, these effects will certainly not make for an improvement in relations between Greece and Turkey, without which a Cyprus settlement is not possible.

My Administration has been and will continue to pursue the cause of a just and peaceful settlement in Cyprus. But I must emphasize in the strongest terms how seriously hobbled our efforts will be if the embargo against Turkey is maintained.

I, therefore, urge through you, Mr. Speaker, the immediate reconsideration of last week's House action. Only if we preserve our vital security relations with Turkey will I be able usefully to assist the parties in the area toward better relations.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

94th Congress, 1st Session

Vietnam Humanitarian Assistance and Evacuation Act of 1975. Report of the House Committee on International Relations, together with dissenting, minority, and additional views, to accompany H.R. 6096; H. Rept. 94-155; April 18, 1975; 25 pp. Conference report; H. Rept. 94-176; April 28, 1975; 11 pp.

Enabling the United States to Render Assistance to, or in Behalf of, Certain Migrants and Refugees. Report of the House Committee on the Judiciary to accompany H.R. 6755. H. Rept. 94-197. May 9, 1975. 14 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

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.

Ratification deposited: Kuwait, July 31, 1975.

Genocide

Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. Done at Paris December 9, 1948. Entered into force January 12, 1951.¹

Notification of succession: The Bahamas, August 5, 1975.

Oil Pollution

International convention for the prevention of pollution of the sea by oil, 1954, as amended. Done at London May 12, 1954. Entered into force July 26, 1958; for the United States December 8, 1961. TIAS 4900, 6109.

Acceptance deposited: Austria, May 19, 1975.

Racial Discrimination

International convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. Done at New York December 21, 1965. Entered into force January 4, 1969.¹

Notification of succession: The Bahamas, August 5, 1975.

Wheat

Protocol modifying and further extending the wheat trade convention (part of the international wheat agreement) 1971 (TIAS 7144, 7988). Done at Washington March 25, 1975. Entered into force June 19, 1975, with respect to certain provisions

and July 1, 1975, with respect to other provisions.
Ratification deposited: Brazil, August 8, 1975.

BILATERAL

Australia

Agreement relating to the limitation of imports from Australia of fresh, chilled or frozen meat of cattle, goats, and sheep, except lambs, during calendar year 1975. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington May 16 and June 20, 1975. Entered into force June 20, 1975.

Chile

Agreement for sales of agricultural commodities relating to the agreement of October 25, 1974 (TIAS 7993). Signed at Santiago July 31, 1975. Entered into force July 31, 1975.

Czechoslovakia

Agreement extending the air transport agreement of February 28, 1969, as amended and extended (TIAS 6644, 7356, 7881). Effected by exchange of notes at Prague June 17 and July 29, 1975. Entered into force July 29, 1975; effective June 1, 1975.

Korea

Agreement relating to trade in cotton, wool and man-made fiber textiles, with annexes. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington June 26, 1975. Entered into force June 26, 1975; effective October 1, 1974.

Agreement relating to trade in cotton textiles with annex, as amended. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington December 30, 1971. Entered into force December 30, 1971. TIAS 7250, 7310, 7496. *Terminated:* October 1, 1974.

Agreement concerning trade in wool and man-made fiber textile products with annexes, as amended. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington January 4, 1972. Entered into force January 4, 1972; effective October 1, 1971. TIAS 7499, 7632. *Terminated:* October 1, 1974.

Luxembourg

Agreement amending Annex B of the mutual defense assistance agreement of January 27, 1950. Effected by exchange of notes at Luxembourg May 20 and July 11, 1974. Entered into force July 11, 1974.

¹ Not in force for the United States.

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Check List of Department of State Press Releases: August 11-17

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

No.	Date	Subject
†408	8/11	Kissinger: American Bar Association, Montreal.
†408A	8/12	Kissinger: introductory remarks, Montreal, Aug. 11.
*409	8/13	Ad hoc groups of Advisory Committee on Law of the Sea, fall 1975.
*410	8/13	Shipping Coordinating Committee Subcommittee on Safety of Life at Sea, working group on training and watchkeeping, Sept. 10.
†411	8/14	Kissinger: Southern Commodities Conference, Birmingham, Ala.
†411A	8/14	Hayes, Seibels, Allen, Sparkman, Kissinger: introductory remarks, Birmingham.
†411B	8/14	Kissinger: questions and answers, Birmingham.
†412	8/14	Kissinger: news conference, Birmingham.
†413	8/17	Kissinger: news conference, Vail, Colo.

* Not printed.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.