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Mrs. Gierk 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 the 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

NOTE: The text of the joint communique was released at Kraków, Poland.

455

Remarks on Arrival at Helsinki, Finland.

July 29, 1975

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 action 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.

July 30

Gerald R. Ford, 1975

[456]

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:18 p.m. at Scutula Airport in response to remarks of welcome by Finnish President Urho Kekkonen. Later that evening, the President paid a courtesy call on President Kekkonen at the President's Palace.

456

Exchange With Reporters in Helsinki Following a Meeting With General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev of the Soviet Union.

July 30, 1975

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

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. 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?

THE PRESIDENT. 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?

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. What do you think?

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

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. What would you like it to accomplish, madam?

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

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. 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?

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. I think so, yes.

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

THE PRESIDENT. 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.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11:40 a.m. at the U.S. Embassy Residence. General Secretary Brezhnev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Earlier, the President had held a breakfast meeting with Prime Minister Harold Wilson of the United Kingdom.

During the course of the day, the President attended the morning and afternoon sessions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held a luncheon meeting with Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis of Greece, and attended a dinner hosted by President Kekkonen for heads of delegation attending the Conference.

457

Exchange With Reporters in Helsinki Following a Meeting With Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel of Turkey. July 31, 1975

THE PRIME MINISTER. We have reviewed our relations with the United States, Turkish-United States relations, and as far as Turkey is concerned, these relations are very valuable and we will do our best not to spoil these relations.

THE PRESIDENT. 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.

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

THE PRIME MINISTER. For the time being, we have stopped the activities, as you know.

Q. What are the possibilities of starting them again?

THE PRIME MINISTER. We will see.

Q. What does it depend upon?

THE PRIME MINISTER. I cannot tell you right now.

THE PRESIDENT. Good luck this morning.

REPORTER. Thank you, sir.

NOTE: The exchange began at 9:15 a.m. at the U.S. Embassy Residence.

During the course of the day, the President attended the morning and afternoon sessions of the Conference, and he held a luncheon meeting with Prime Minister Harold Wilson of the United King-

dom, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany, and President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France.

In the evening the President attended a reception hosted by Prime Minister Keijo Liinamaa for delegates to the Conference.

place to work. Morale is high and productivity excellent.

It is very unfortunate that some tough issues we have had to handle resulted in negative publicity which has beclouded the significant accomplishments of the last six years. Despite this you will find that our reputation for *performance* and *integrity* is excellent. Members of Congress from both sides of the aisle, businessmen, labor leaders, professionals (architects, engineers, etc.), other Federal agencies and GSA employees at all levels will attest to that fact.

Every assignment I have had in public service has been a tough one requiring difficult decisions. I accepted all assignments and made the tough decisions. I have no regrets in this regard because I always knew what I was getting into and tough decisions were necessary to get things done.

My career in public service has been exciting, challenging and rewarding. There have been some rough times and some frustrating moments. But I realize that you cannot really have one without the other.

I feel very fortunate to have been associated with you as Minority Leader, Vice President, and now as President. I think you are on the "right track" for America and that you will stay there.

Lastly, I want you to know that after 12 years in public service, I have great confidence in our democratic system of government. There were moments when I had my doubts, but overall, we have the best system known to man.

Respectfully,

ARTHUR F. SAMPSON
Administrator

✓ 459

Address in Helsinki Before the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. August 1, 1975 (Gerald Ford)

Mr. Chairman, 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 malingering 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.

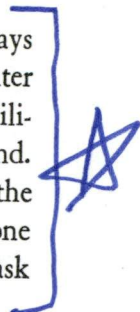
Military competition must be controlled. Political competition must be restrained. Crises must not be manipulated or exploited for unilateral advantages that could lead us again to the brink of war. The process of negotiation must be sustained, not at a snail's pace, but with demonstrated enthusiasm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

August 1

Gerald R. Ford, 1975

[459]

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 a 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 dialog between producers and consumers, between exporters and importers, between industrial 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.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. in Finlandia Hall. He was introduced by Walter Kieber, Foreign Minister of Liechtenstein and chairman of the plenary session of the Conference.

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was signed by the representatives of 35 nations participating in the Conference in a ceremony in Finlandia Hall at 5 p.m. on August 1, 1975. The text of the document is printed in the Bulletin of the Department of State (vol. LXXIII, p. 323).

Earlier in the day, the President met with Prime Minister Aldo Moro of Italy at the U.S. Embassy.

Following his address before the Conference, the President held a luncheon meeting with President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France. He then attended the afternoon session of the Conference and later met with Carlos Arias Navarro, President of the Government of Spain.

In the evening, the President attended a dinner with President Kekkonen on board the Finnish icebreaker *Urho*.

460

Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters on Board Air Force One en Route to Bucharest, Romania.

August 2, 1975

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION

REPORTER. [1.] 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?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I should get into the details of where we made progress, but the two sessions with Mr. Brezhnev and myself¹ 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 to be signed by the end of this year?

¹ In addition to their meeting on July 30, 1975, the President and General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev met at the Soviet Embassy in Helsinki on August 2, prior to the President's departure for Romania.

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U.S. President.
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6 PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

Jimmy Carter

1977

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK II—JUNE 25 TO DECEMBER 31, 1977



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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also at peace with itself, an America which is ready and able to cooperate wherever possible and to compete when necessary.

After a long period of doubt and turmoil here, we are finding our way back to the values that made us a great nation. And in this new spirit we are eager to work with all countries and all peoples in building the kind of world and the kind of world community that serves the individual and common needs of all.

We undertake this trip to express our own views clearly and proudly, but also to learn and to understand the opinions and the desires of others. We will try to represent our Nation and our people well, and I'll take the good will of America everywhere we go. Thank you very much.

THE VICE PRESIDENT. Mr. President, we wish you and Mrs. Carter well as you undertake this most important mission on behalf of our Nation. I know that I speak for everyone here and for the American people when I say you take with you not only our best wishes but our love as well. We know it'll be a successful journey, and we eagerly await your return.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:35 a.m. on the South Lawn of the White House. Following the remarks, the Presidential party proceeded to Andrews Air Force Base, Md., where they departed for Poland.

Warsaw, Poland

Remarks of the President and First Secretary Edward Gierek at the Welcoming Ceremony. December 29, 1977

THE FIRST SECRETARY. Mr. President, Madam Carter, ladies and gentlemen:

On behalf of the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic, in the name of our people, I greet you cordially, Mr. President, on the Polish soil.

We are happy to be able to play host to you and Mrs. Carter, as well as to per-

sons accompanying you. We are welcoming and greeting you, Mr. President, as the highest representative of the great American people for which we entertain our sentiments of friendship.

History has linked our two nations by manifold ties. They were molded by the great sons of the Polish people through their participation in the struggle for American independence. They were shaped by the scores of Polish emigrants who have contributed their significant and valuable share to the development and might of the United States. They have been further strengthened in our joint strife for the freedom of all peoples within the great anti-Nazi coalition.

Our desire is to cultivate those traditions in the present-day peaceful and friendly Polish-American cooperation.

We trust your visit will contribute to its further expansion, beneficial to our peoples and promoting the dearest cause to all nations, the cause of peace.

You are arriving in Poland, Mr. President, at a time when the process of international détente—so important as it is to all mankind and the world at large—has been again rejuvenated by the constructive dialog of states and the expectations of nations.

You no doubt understand, Mr. President, that to the people of Poland, which has so dreadfully experienced the atrocities of war, security is the supreme value, while life and peace is the fundamental right.

We view your present visit, Mr. President, as a reaffirmation of the friendly feelings of the American people towards Poland and an expression of the interest in our active peaceful policies. We see in it, too, a manifestation of your personal involvement in the further expansion of Polish-American cooperation in cultivat-

ing the traditional friendship between our nations.

We are glad, indeed, that we shall be able to acquaint you with the record of accomplishment of Socialist Poland, with its plans and aspirations with all that at a price of a relentless effort, painstaking and self-sacrificing labors our nation has built on the ruins and ashes.

Ours is the desire that your visit to Poland serve actions which link our peoples together and that it may engrave well in the good memories of yourself, Mr. President, Mrs. Carter, and the members of your party.

Welcome on the Polish soil, Mr. President, in the spirit of the Polish hospitality.

THE PRESIDENT. First Secretary Gierek, distinguished officials from Poland and from other nations, the people of Poland:

We are delighted to be in your great country. When I left the United States this morning, I told the people of my Nation that this journey reflects the diversity of a rapidly changing world. It is a world in which old ideological labels have lost their meaning and in which the basic goals of friendship, world peace, justice, human rights, and individual freedom loom more important than ever.

I am proud to begin this journey in Poland—friend of the United States since the time our Nation was founded. Poland is the ancestral home of more than six million Americans, partner in a common effort against war and deprivation.

Relations are changing between North and South, between East and West. But the ties between Poland and the United States are ancient and strong.

Not far from our home in the State of Georgia, a great patriot of both our nations, Casimir Pulaski, was mortally wounded while leading a cavalry legion

in the fight for American independence. The home of my son's wife is Pulaski County, Georgia, named for this hero from Poland.

Also, for his military skill and bravery, Thaddeus Kosciuszko won the respect of our first President, George Washington, during wartime. And for his commitment to freedom and justice, he won the admiration of our third President, Thomas Jefferson, in time of peace.

These brave men fought alongside Americans in the era which produced three of the great documents in the struggle for human rights. One was the Declaration of Independence from America. The second was the Declaration of the Rights of Man from France. And the third was the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791.

Our shared experience in battle has also taught us the paramount importance of preventing war, which has brought devastation to Poland twice in this century. At the end of World War I, a great American, Herbert Hoover, came to Poland to help you ease the suffering of war and to observe the reestablishment of an independent Poland. Circumstances were different and the struggle was long, but Hoover said, and I quote, "If history teaches us anything, it is that from the unquenchable vitality of the Polish race, Poland will rise again from these ashes." And his prediction came true.

I have come not only to express our own views to the people of Poland but also to learn your opinions and to understand your desires for the future. Building on the historical ties between us, recognizing the new and changing realities of life, I look forward to strengthening Polish-American friendship on my visit here in Warsaw.

We deeply appreciate the warm welcome extended to us tonight by First Secretary Gierek and by the Polish people.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The exchange began at 10:40 p.m. at the Civilian Terminal, Okecie International Airport. First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF DECEMBER 30, 1977

Held in Warsaw, Poland

THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO POLAND

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. *Dzien dobry.*

It's a great honor for me to be here in Poland to reaffirm and to strengthen the historic and strong ties of friendship and mutual purpose which exist between our two countries. I have had very fruitful discussions with First Secretary Gierek and the other officials of Poland on bilateral questions, on questions involving NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, matters relating to SALT, mutual and balanced force reductions, and general commitments to peace in the future.

This morning I had a chance to visit memorials to the brave people of Poland, and particularly of Warsaw. I doubt that there is any nation on Earth which has suffered more from the ravages of war. In the Second World War the Nazis killed 800,000 people in Warsaw alone and 6 million Poles. And I was able to pay homage to their courage and bravery.

I also visited the Ghetto Monument, a memorial to Polish Jews who stood alone

to face the Nazis but who will forever live in the conscience of the world.

This afternoon I would like to answer questions from the reporters assembled here. There were a few who wanted to attend who were not permitted to come. Their questions will be answered by me in writing. And now I would be glad to respond to questions, beginning with Mr. Wojna [Ricrzd Wojna, Tribuna Ludu].

QUESTIONS

U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

Q [in Polish]. Mr. President, Poland and the entire world has attached great importance to the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Could you answer what is your assessment of the chance for a prompt conclusion on SALT talks and in other discussions on strategic matters, and how in this respect do you assess the latest pronouncement by Leonid Brezhnev in an interview for the Pravda Daily?

THE PRESIDENT. In the last few months, the United States and the Soviet Union have made great progress in dealing with a long list of important issues, the most important of which is to control the deployment of strategic nuclear weapons. We hope to conclude the SALT II talks this year, hopefully in the spring. We have resolved many of the major issues. A few still remain. We have made good progress in recent months.

At the same time, we have made progress for the first time in establishing principles on which there can be a total prohibition against all tests of nuclear explosives in the future. We've made progress on prohibiting additional military buildup in the Indian Ocean, recently commenced talks to reduce the sale of conventional weapons to other nations in the world. And I will pursue this same subject with President Giscard next week.

In addition, the Soviets and we are making progress in how we can prevent the use in the future of chemical and biological warfare, and we hope that we can reinstate progress in the mutual and balanced force reductions which have been stalemated in Vienna for a number of years. So, I would say that in summary I am very encouraged at the new progress that I have witnessed personally among our negotiators.

When Foreign Minister Gromyko was in Washington recently, in a few hours we resolved many of the difficult issues. Our negotiators are at work on all those subjects at this present time. There has been no cessation of effort. And I believe that 1978 will see a resolution of many of these issues.

Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

THE MIDDLE EAST

Q. Mr. President, are you likely to go to Egypt next Wednesday, and if you do, will it be primarily because President Sadat has urged you to go, or for some other purpose, or why?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have a standing invitation from President Sadat to visit Egypt that he extended to me on his trip to Washington. And he's reemphasized it several times since that date. We have had no discussions with President Sadat on that particular visit to Egypt while I'm on this trip. We will try to keep our schedule flexible. If it's mutually convenient and desirable, we would certainly consider it. But we have no plans at this time to stop in Egypt next Wednesday or any other time on this trip.

I might say that our own relations with the Arab nations, including, certainly, Egypt, are very good and harmonious. There has been no change in our own position relating to the Middle Eastern talks. And we communicate almost daily

with the Egyptian and Israeli leaders. And as you know, I will be meeting King Hussein in Tehran on our next stop on this trip.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. You said you often don't intend and don't desire to dictate the terms of a Middle East settlement.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. This is true.

Q. And yet President Sadat seems to think that you have pulled the rug out from under him and that you are in fact dictating terms when you are backing an Israeli military presence on the West Bank at Gaza after there would be a settlement.

THE PRESIDENT. We don't back any Israeli military settlement in the Gaza Strip or on the West Bank. We favor, as you know, a Palestinian homeland or entity there. Our own preference is that this entity be tied in to Jordan and not be a separate and independent nation. That is merely an expression of preference which we have relayed on numerous occasions to the Arab leaders, including President Sadat when he was with me in Washington. I've expressed the same opinion to the Israelis, to King Hussein, and to President Asad, and also to the Saudi Arabians. We have no intention of attempting to impose a settlement. Any agreement which can be reached between Israel and her Arab neighbors would be acceptable to us. We are in a posture of expressing opinions, trying to promote intimate and direct negotiations and communications, expediting the process when it seems to be slow, and adding our good offices whenever requested. But we have no intention or desire to impose a settlement.

Let me go back to the Polish side. Yes, sir.

RELIGION

Q [in Polish]. I will speak Polish. Let me welcome you not only as the President

of the United States but as an eminent American Baptist. I am a Baptist myself. I am preoccupied with editing a Baptist magazine in Poland, and I would like to express my gladness that you have been elected to the post of the President of the United States, as a man, as a believer who is not ashamed of it and of his evangelical convictions. This prompts me to wish you and your family the best of the very best in 1978 and also in your activity in strengthening peace the world over.

And now over to our question. We all know that you are a practicing Christian, as every Baptist should be—as every good Baptist should be. And I would like to ask whether your religious convictions help you in executing the job of a President of such a big country. Can you quote an example in how the evangelical principles helped you in solving any complicated problem?

And the second question, we the Polish Baptists live in an extra-Catholic country, and on occasions we are discriminated against. As a believer, as a Baptist, can you influence the change of a situation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, the United States believes in religious freedom. And I'm very grateful for the degree of religious freedom that also exists in Poland.

Dr. Brzezinski, my national security adviser, and my wife, Rosalynn, had a visit with Cardinal Wyszynski this morning and did this as an expression of our appreciation for the degree of freedom to worship in this country.

This is a matter of conscience, as a Baptist and as an American leader. We believe in separation of church and state, that there should be no unwarranted influence on the church or religion by the state, and vice versa. My own religious convictions are deep and personal. I seek divine guidance when I make a difficult decision as President and also am sup-

ported, of course, by a common purpose which binds Christians together in a belief in the human dignity of mankind and in the search for worldwide peace—recognizing, of course, that those who don't share my faith quite often have the same desires and hopes.

My own constant hope is that all nations would give maximum freedom of religion and freedom of expression to their people, and I will do all I can, within the bounds of propriety, to bring that hope into realization.

POLISH AUTONOMY

Q. Mr. President, during those Presidential debates, in a celebrated exchange, President Ford claimed that Eastern Europe was not under Soviet domination. And you replied, "Tell it to the Poles." Well, now that you're here, is it your view that this domination will continue almost into perpetuity, or do you see a day when Poland may be actually free? And if so, how would that come about?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, this is obviously a decision for the Polish leaders and the Polish people to make. Our nation is committed to the proposition that all countries would be autonomous, they would all be independent, and they would all be free of unwanted interference and entanglements with other nations.

The Polish people have been bound very closely to the Soviet Union since the Second World War, and they belong to a Warsaw Pact military alliance, which is, of course, different from the NATO relationship to which we belong.

My own assessment within the European theater, Eastern European theater, is that here, compared to some other nations, there is a great religious freedom and otherwise, and I think this is a hope that we all share and cherish. I think this has been the origin of the Polish nation more than a thousand years ago, and

it's a deep commitment of the vast majority of the Polish people, a desire and a commitment not to be dominated.

Q. You don't deny that they are dominated here, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I've commented all I wish on that subject.

CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Q [in Polish]. Mr. President, what is the potential for realization of the Helsinki Final Act as an integral entity, especially in the view of the Belgrade meeting? And what is your opinion about Chancellor Schmidt's¹ proposal to repeat in one or another form the meeting on the top level?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the Helsinki agreement, which calls for cooperation and security in Europe and which has, as a so-called Third Basket component, an insistence upon maximum enhancement and preservation of human rights, is an agreement that is important to the Poles and also to our country and other signatories of that treaty.

We believe that the Belgrade conference has been productive. This is a question that must be approached on a multinational basis. The treaty terms provide for open and frank criticism of other signatories when standards are not met. There has been a free exchange of opinion between ourselves and the Soviet Union and indeed all the nations involved.

We hope that this session will come to a rapid and successful conclusion and that there will be repeated scheduled meetings based upon the Belgrade conference that would be held in the future so that all nations who participated in the Helsinki agreement and all those who didn't become signatories would have a constant reminder before them of the

¹Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany.

importance of cooperation, mutual security, the sharing of information, the recombination of families, free emigration, and the preservation of basic human rights.

So, I hope that this will be a continuing process scheduled repeatedly and that this issue of human rights will never be forgotten.

Yes, Judy [Judy Woodruff, NBC News].

HUMAN RIGHTS

Q. Mr. President, then how satisfied are you that your concept of the preservation of human rights is currently being honored here in Poland?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that our concept of human rights is preserved in Poland, as I've said, much better than (some)² other European nations with which I'm familiar. There is a substantial degree of freedom of the press exhibited by this conference this afternoon—a substantial degree of freedom of religion, demonstrated by the fact that approximately 90 percent of the Polish people profess faith in Christ; and an open relationship between Poland and our country and Poland and Western European countries in trade, technology, cultural exchange, student exchange, tourism.

So, I don't think there's any doubt that the will of the Polish people for complete preservation and enhancement of human rights is the same as our own.

Q. What steps, then, do you believe should be taken here in Poland to come closer to reaching your concept?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think Poland shares with us a commitment, which is sometimes embarrassing for us and them, to have our own faults publicized evocatively at conferences like the one in Belgrade, where there's a free and open discussion and criticism and a singular point-

²Printed in the White House Press Office transcript.

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ing out of violations of high standards of human rights preservation. We have been criticized at Belgrade, sometimes legitimately; sometimes, I think, mistakenly. The same applies to nations in Eastern Europe and to the Soviet Union.

And I think this is the best thing that we can do at this point, is to continue to insist upon a rigid enforcement and interpretation of the human rights section of the Helsinki agreement.

ENERGY

Q [in Polish]. Mr. President, the Polish Radio.

The United States is facing an energy crisis which is also an international problem. How can you see the possibilities of solving that crisis, like a multilateral conference, a European conference or bilateral agreements, and are you of the opinion that the cooperation between the United States and Poland in this respect is possible?

THE PRESIDENT. One of the worst domestic problems that we have is the overconsumption and waste of energy. I have no doubt that every country I visit on this tour will be pressing us on the question of what will the United States do to save energy and not to import too much of very scarce oil, in particular, which is available on the world markets. We are addressing this as a top priority among domestic issues.

Poland is, as you know, self-sufficient in both hard coal and also brown coal, which is increasing in production in Poland itself. We call it lignite in our own country. One of the things that we can do is on a worldwide basis to try to hold down unnecessary demand for oil and natural gas, therefore providing stable prices.

Another is to consume those energy sources which we have most available in our country and in yours, coal; shift to

permanent sources of energy, primarily those derived from solar power; and share research and development information and commitments, a subject which I was discussing early today with First Secretary Gierek.

How to burn lignite coal so that it will have minimum effect on the environment and also have maximum heat derivation is a question of importance to you and to us. We are now shifting to the production and consumption of lignite coal in our own country, for instance, and so are you.

So, I think sharing, on an international basis, of data and technological advantages and progress in the energy field and conservation of scarce energy sources for all nations would be the two basic things which we could do jointly.

Q. Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, sir?

Q [in Polish]. I have got one question.

THE PRESIDENT. Go right ahead.

Q. Can I?

THE PRESIDENT. Go ahead.

Q. May I?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

U.S.-POLISH RELATIONS

Q. What is involved in the entity of Polish-American cooperation, so far, and what is your opinion as far as this cooperation, between Poland and the United States is concerned, and how in the light of today's talks can you see the prospects for the development of such cooperation as well as what the United States wants to do to contribute to this development?

THE PRESIDENT. We already have a good relationship with Poland in cultural exchange, in technological and scientific cooperation, and in rapidly growing level of trade.

About 4 years ago we had a total trade with Poland of only about \$500 million. In 1978, the level of trade will probably exceed \$1 billion.

I have just informed First Secretary Gierek that in addition to the \$300 million in commodity credit grain sales that has been authorized by our own country, that we will increase that by \$200 million more worth of food and feed grains.

Poland has had a devastating and unprecedented 4 years of crop failure because of adverse weather conditions; 3 years of drought, the last year, of excessive floods. We, on the other hand, have had very good and bountiful harvests. And we want to share our grain with Poland on legal credit terms which have already been established by our government.

I think another thing that Poland can help with is to improve even further the better relationships that we are working out with the Soviet Union. Poland is a nation that has good communications and cooperation with the nations in Western Europe—with Germany, Belgium, Holland, France and others—and also are an integral part of the Warsaw Pact nations. And I think this ease of communication and this natural and historical friendship is a basis on which Poland can provide additional cooperation and communication between ourselves and the Soviet Union.

I don't say this to insinuate that we have a lack of communication now. But Poland's good offices can be of great benefit to us.

Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. President, in your discussions earlier today with First Secretary Gierek and other Polish leaders, did they in your mind express any viewpoints on international questions that diverged in tone or substance from the viewpoints generally expressed by the Soviet Union?

THE PRESIDENT. We discussed a wide range of subjects. I didn't detect any significant differences of opinion between ourselves and the Polish leaders, and we

did not go into detail on matters that now are not resolved between ourselves and the Soviets.

For instance, the details of the SALT negotiations and the comprehensive test ban were not discussed by me and Mr. Gierek. So, I would say that we found no disharmonies of any significance between ourselves and the Poles, or between the Poles and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Gierek did express a concern that there might be a bilateral agreement between Israel and Egypt in the Middle East, to the exclusion of the other Arab countries. This is an opinion also held by the Soviet Union. It's an opinion also held by us and by Israel and Egypt.

I pointed out to Mr. Gierek that had the Egyptians and Israelis wanted to seek a solution only for the Sinai region and the Egyptian-Israeli relationship, they could probably already have consummated such an agreement. But President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin do not want such an agreement. I pointed out this to Mr. Gierek and he was relieved to hear this.

He also was quite concerned about the lack of progress on the mutual and balanced force reductions, which have been stalemated in Vienna for years. He pointed out that the primary responsibility lay on the shoulders of the United States and the Soviet Union.

This is not exactly the case, because we consult very closely with our NATO allies before any common opinion or proposition is put forward. I hope to relieve this stalemate shortly. And we are consulting closely with the Germans and others in the Western European theater and also with the Soviets on this matter.

He was very pleased that we want to reduce international sales of conventional weapons. This is a subject on which we have just begun to talk with the Soviet Union, and perhaps Poland is ahead of the Soviet Union in this particular sub-

ject. But I hope that they will be amenable to that same suggestion.

So, the answer is, I don't know of any disagreements between the Poles and the Soviets that came out this morning, nor do I know any significant disagreements that came out between ourselves and the Poles.

Yes, sir.

TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Q [in Polish]. Mr. President, the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, has put forward a suggestion recently that the Eastern and Western countries renounce the neutron bomb together. Would you be ready to accept such a proposal?

THE PRESIDENT. One of the disturbing failures up until this point in nuclear weaponry has been a complete absence of discussions concerning tactical or theater nuclear weapons. The only discussions that have ever been held between ourselves and the Soviets related only to strategic weapons, those that can be fired from one continent to another or from the sea into a continent.

I would hope that as a result of the SALT II talks we might agree with the Soviets to start addressing the question of the so-called tactical nuclear weapons, of which the enhanced radiation or neutron bomb would be one.

This weapon is much less destabilizing in its effect, if it should be deployed, than, for instance, some of the advanced new Soviet weapons like the SS-20 missile, which is much more destructive than any weapon held by the NATO allies and has a much greater range.

So, my hope is that in general we can reduce the threat of nuclear destruction in the European area. There are now several thousand tactical nuclear weapons already deployed on both sides in the European theater. And the whole matter must

be addressed in its entirety, rather than one weapon at the time.

We would not deploy the neutron bomb or neutron shells unless it was an agreement by our NATO allies. That's where the decision will be made. But there are other new weapons, including the SS-20, much more threatening to the balance that presently exists.

Yes, sir.

POLISH EMIGRATION

Q. Mr. President, you said that you have agreed to expand the agricultural credits to Poland.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. In talking with us the other day, your advisers have linked that with a human rights concern, namely, that the reunification of families between the Eastern and Western blocs be improved in Poland. Have the Poles agreed to do that? Have they given you any satisfaction that this, too, would be done?

THE PRESIDENT. One of the first subjects which I discussed with First Secretary Gierek in our private talks today was the reunification of families between Poland and the United States. In the last 4 years there have been about 15,000 Poles who have been permitted to emigrate to our country. We still have about 250 families—we call them nuclear families, that is, a father, mother, and children—who desire to be unified, and permission has not yet been obtained.

First Secretary Gierek said that he would give his own personal attention to alleviating this problem. And he directed his Foreign Minister and I directed our Secretary of State to proceed with this discussion during this afternoon. Their assurance was that our concern would be alleviated.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

NOTE: President Carter's twenty-second news conference began at 5:30 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Victoria Hotel in Warsaw, Poland. It was broadcast live via satellite on radio and television in the United States and was taped for broadcast later that evening in Poland.

Several of the reporters spoke in Polish, and their questions were translated by an interpreter.

Earlier in the day, the President attended a working luncheon with First Secretary Gierek at the Parliament Building.

Warsaw, Poland

*Toasts of the President and
First Secretary Gierek at a State
Dinner. December 30, 1977*

THE FIRST SECRETARY. *Dear Mr. President, dear Mrs. Carter, ladies and gentlemen:*

I wish to express, Mr. President, our satisfaction of your visit to Poland. I rest assured that together with the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic, it is indeed shared by the entire people of Poland.

We take great pleasure in seeing Mrs. Carter in our midst. We also welcome prominent members of the party accompanying you on this visit.

In your visit, Mr. President, we see a reaffirmation of the friendly feelings of the American people for the people of Poland and a reflection of the intentions to further expand cooperation between our two countries. Indeed, these feelings and intentions enjoy our full reciprocity as the expansion of Polish-American cooperation remains in keeping with the tradition of friendship between our two peoples.

It is in the interest of our two countries. It helps deepen détente and shape up

constructive international relations. Rich and noble are the traditions we jointly refer to. Poles were among the first settlers on the American soil. In the American struggle for independence, a splendid chapter has been written by Kosciuszko, Pulaski, and other great Polish patriots, for whom the cause of freedom of their own land was inseparably linked with that of all peoples.

It can be assumed with all certainty that from the outset of and all through the Bicentennial of the United States, which, along with the American people, we marked here with friendly observances, a significant share to the expansion of the American economy, civilization, and culture has been contributed by Poles.

We are glad that today the overwhelming majority of the multimillion masses of Americans of Polish extraction as good United States citizens keep maintaining their sentimental and cultural ties with the land of their ancestors, that they wish favorable development of cooperation with the Polish People's Republic. The people of Poland are also cognizant of our common struggle in the great anti-Nazi coalition.

Mr. President, I trust that the paramount cause guiding us mutually is the consolidation of peace. The Polish people in particular only too well know both its price and value, for wasn't it so that the city of Warsaw—which we have risen from the ashes—had been doomed to total extinction? For its heroic resistance, for its contribution for the victory of nations over the fascists, our nation paid the price of more than 6 million human lives, of the loss of over 40 percent of the national wealth.

It paid the price of most cities turned to ruins and thousands of villages reduced to ashes. The memory of those tragic experiences impressed forever in the Polish minds and hearts imposes the loftiest of obligations upon us to do all in

our power to ensure security and peaceful development.

It is with lasting peace, the joy of which we want to share with all other countries of Europe and the world, that we are linking our aspirations, our plans and expectations, for today and for tomorrow. Hence, it is only natural and understandable, Mr. President, that we view with due attention and support warmly actions which serve that great and supreme cause to all nations.

The key factor of the process of détente we perceive in relations between your country, Mr. President, and the Soviet Union. The dialog between the two big powers determines the climate, the overall climate, of international relations in saving mankind from a nuclear holocaust.

This is why theirs is a special responsibility for world peace. Hence, our profound satisfaction over the incipient progress in the talks on offensive strategic arms limitation. Hence our hopes, in fact shared by the broadest public opinion, for a prompt new agreement, as well as for positive results of discussions between the two powers on other important questions.

Together with its Socialist allies and friends, Poland spares no effort to consolidate the process of détente and make it irreversible, for détente is the only alternative. It indeed represents a great chance of our times. Its proper utilization depends in particular on containing the arms race, which weighs heavily upon international relations, wastes economic resources, and poses great threats.

I am sure you are aware, Mr. President, that Poland has always attached special significance to preventing proliferation of nuclear armaments. We have been advancing our own initiatives to this effect, which have enjoyed general recognition.

Today, when the danger of proliferation of those armaments and the introduction of new kinds of weapons of mass destruction is greater than ever before, we are bound to appeal for moderation for the containment of the dangerous phenomenon, for the strengthening and extension of the system of treaties to protect against it.

Remembering, as we do, what you, yourself, Mr. President, have been saying on that matter, we trust it will be given the maximum of attention. By the same token, we lend our full support to the initiative made by Leonid Brezhnev to conclude an agreement to mutually renounce the production of neutron weapons.

Poland proceeds from the principle of full and integrated implementation of the decisions and recommendations of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, which we treat as the magna carta of peace in Europe. Guided by its principles, we are favorably shaping up our bilateral relations with all states, signatories of the Final Act to take efforts to achieve positive results of the Belgrade meeting.

Progress in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe would, too, no doubt, serve to strengthen the general sense of security.

There is much to be said, Mr. President, of the climate of international relations. There is need for mutual understanding and trust; only in such circumstances there can be progress in constructive and friendly international cooperation.

Dear Mr. President, we are glad that you share our desire of continuation of the positive processes in Polish-American relations. Our constructive discussions today have confirmed this.

In recent years, important joint statements, agreements, and contracts were signed between our two countries. They do provide a good basis for further mutually beneficial cooperation. Our economic relations have dynamically expanded. As you know, we attach special significance to them and wish to continue expanding them. Our scientific and technical exchanges have grown, constantly enriching is our cultural cooperation, as is the growing tourist traffic, more frequent, our contact serving to get our respective nations to know better and bring them closer together.

It gives me satisfaction to expect that your visit will effect in a further growth of Polish-American cooperation.

Mr. President, we are sorry you are visiting us for such a short time. We would certainly wish that you could get to know our country better, a country of great progress and, at the same time, still overcoming century-old underdevelopment.

Following the gravest tragedy in its own history, our nation has made a choice which offers it lasting safeguards of independence, sovereignty, and security, which provides for the best premises for development. These premises comprise its own ever more growing potential of present-day Poland, its alliances with the Soviet Union and other friends.

Today Poland belongs to the group of countries of the world which are having the greatest development scale as far as production in industry is concerned. And for the last 7 years, we are maintaining very high indices of further growth.

There has been a tremendous revival, biological revival, of our people. In the current decade, the age of maturity is being reached by 7 million of young Polish girls and boys. We ensure to all of them education and work. We have created just, democratic, socio-political condi-

tions. We are implementing the fullest possible code of socio-economic and political rights.

In maintaining and cultivating all what has been most precious in our national tradition, we are enriching contemporary life of Poles by new, profoundly humanistic contents.

Our greatest achievement is the moral and political unity of our people, in which we perceive the paramount safeguard for successful implementation of all noble aspirations of Poles and also a dignified place of our country among other states of Europe and the world.

Mr. President, tomorrow you will be leaving Poland, departing for other countries. May I be permitted to express my conviction that the impressions you will be taking with you from the first leg of your trip and, first of all, the friendly feelings of the Polish people to the American people and our strivings to peace and cooperation will stay in your good memory for long.

I wish to propose a toast and ask all those present to join me to drink to you, Mr. President, and Mrs. Carter, to the successes of the great American people, to the further expansion of friendly Polish-American relations.

THE PRESIDENT. *First Secretary and Mrs. Gierek, distinguished leaders in politics, the military, music, drama, art, poetry, education, science, engineering:*

We are very proud to be here in Poland and to have had a chance to meet with and to learn from First Secretary Gierek. We have already become close personal friends. He has taught me things that I can use in my own Nation. He has this afternoon discussed with me—and tonight—how he proposes to have a balance of trade in Poland. He sells hare or rabbits to adjacent countries for a lease

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in hunting preserves, and the rabbits are trained to return to Poland. [Laughter]

When I was running for President of the United States for 2 years, I met hundreds of thousands of Americans of Polish ancestry. I saw very quickly that they had a deep love for the United States and, simultaneously, for Poland. They recognize the historical ties which have bound our nations together since the very origins of our country. They have a natural hospitality inherited from their ancestors, and this made us look forward to this trip with great anticipation.

Our country has observed closely the distinguished Poles who have affected world history and our own Nation—ancient and modern scientists like Copernicus and Madam Curie, favorite authors like Joseph Conrad, musicians, Artur Rubinstein, who still loves Poland very deeply, and one of the greatest engineers of all time, Admiral Hyman Rickover, who developed the peaceful use of atomic power.

We have much to learn from Poland—how to use coal, and particularly brown coal, efficiently in this day of short energy supplies. We share cultural and scientific and engineering knowledge.

A hundred and twenty thousand Americans each year come back to visit their homeland here. And today I have seen at firsthand at your memorials a demonstration of affection for those who suffered so bravely in recent wars.

Georgia's capital city of Atlanta was completely destroyed in war, as was the city of Warsaw. But although we have suffered greatly, no other nation has borne such suffering as Poland. In the World War, six million Poles died—800,000 in Warsaw alone. Poles were the first people to fight the horrors of Nazism and

earn the admiration and appreciation of the world. You were the ones who demonstrated a deep commitment to human rights, a belief in the value of human freedom and human life.

You have seen the horrible consequences of racial hatred when the Polish Jews were exterminated by Nazi terrorists. From these terrible experiences, valuable lessons have been learned. There is a tendency for those in the West to distrust those nations in the East. Sometimes, perhaps, you distrust our motives and our judgment. Sometimes we feel that you might be a danger to us as the NATO allies face the Warsaw Pact nations. But I know in more vivid terms than before that nations like your own and like the Soviet Union, which have suffered so deeply, will never commence a war unless there is the most profound provocation or misunderstanding brought about by lack of communication.

We also want peace and would never start a war except by mistake, when we didn't understand the motives and attitudes and desire for peace on the part of our potential adversaries.

I am pleased to know that there is increasing communication, consultation, and cooperation between the Socialist nations and the nations of the West. Although we belong to different military alliances, our hunger for peace is the same. We are working closely with the Soviet leaders to eliminate the constant and horrible threat of atomic destruction. This is an extremely complicated and technical discussion, but good motivations and common purposes can resolve those differences.

I have every expectation that this next year will bring success. We will do our utmost to realize this dream. We want to prevent the development of new and more

powerful weapons and also to prevent any tests of atomic explosions. We want to prevent nations which do not presently have atomic explosions from desiring those capabilities. We want to reduce the sale of conventional weapons to nations around the world. And we want to seek in every possible way closer communications, better trade, closer friendship between our countries.

Poland and your leaders have an ability and experience to look knowledgeably both to the East and to the West, and you can contribute greatly to the mutual efforts of ourselves and the Soviet Union to reach those agreements which we both desire.

The ancient alliance between the United States and Poland in peace and war has given our people good lives. We have helped to establish and to maintain the independence of one another. This sharing of culture, blood kinship, and close cooperation in the past can give us a basis for even better future together.

I hope that at the earliest convenient time we might be permitted to repay the hospitality to your leaders, First Secretary Gierek and others, that you have extended to us on this visit. It is very valuable to have Polish and American friendship combined together to give us what all men and women want—peace throughout the world.

On behalf of the people of the United States, I would like to propose a toast to the indomitable spirit and to the freedom of the Polish people, to your enlightened leaders—particularly First Secretary Gierek and his wife—and to peace throughout the world.

NOTE: The exchange began at 9:27 p.m. at the Palace of the Council of Ministers. First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Following the dinner, the President met with First Secretary Gierek at the Palace.

Warsaw, Poland

*Joint United States-Poland Communique
Issued at the Conclusion of the
President's Visit. December 31, 1977*

The President of the United States of America and Mrs. Carter paid an official visit to Poland December 29–31, 1977, at the invitation of the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic. The President was accompanied by Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and by Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Zbigniew Brzezinski.

The President laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and placed flowers at the Nike Monument to the Heroes of Warsaw and at the Monument to the Heroes of the Ghetto. He also saw some districts of Warsaw, acquainting himself with its reconstruction and development.

During the visit, the President held talks with the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek.

In the plenary talks, which were chaired by the President and the First Secretary, there took part:

From the American side:

Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance,
Assistant to the President Zbigniew
Brzezinski,
and other officials.

From the Polish side:

The Chairman of the Council of
State, Henryk Jablowski;
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
Piotr Jaroszewicz,
and other officials.

Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance also held talks with Minister of Foreign Affairs Emil Wojtaszek.

The President and the First Secretary expressed their satisfaction with the conversations they had held as well as their conviction that continued visits at the

highest levels, as well as visits by other leading personalities of both countries, serve the interests of both countries and the development of détente and international cooperation.

President Carter expressed his gratitude to the First Secretary and to Mrs. Gierek for the splendid hospitality accorded in Poland to him, Mrs. Carter, and the entire delegation.

President Carter invited First Secretary Gierek to visit the United States. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The dates for this visit will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

NOTE: The text of the joint communique was released at Warsaw, Poland.

Tehran, Iran

Remarks of the President and Mohammad Reza Palavi, Shahanshah of Iran at the Welcoming Ceremony. December 31, 1977

THE SHAH. Mr. President, on behalf of the Shahbanou, myself, and the Iranian people, I welcome you, Mrs. Carter, and your delegation on Iranian soil.

We cherish your arrival as the head of state of a country with which Iran always had unshakable bonds and the best of relations and at the same time as an exalted friend and a most esteemed guest.

We sincerely hope that you will take back with you happy memories of your short visit to our country, and in the meantime we sincerely hope that all the stages of your present trip will be marked by the best of successes.

For the Shahbanou and I, it is great pleasure to be your host only a few weeks after our trip to your country. Your distinguished personality, sincerity, good will, moral virtues, and also the hospitality

and kindness of Mrs. Carter have remained close to our hearts.

On behalf of all the people of Iran, welcome to our country.

THE PRESIDENT. *Your Imperial Majesties, distinguished officials, and citizens of Iran:*

My own Nation has been blessed this year by an official visit of His Imperial Majesty, the Shah, and by the Shahbanou, Empress Farah. This was a fine gesture of friendship. And we also benefited from extensive discussions between the Shah and myself of important issues for Iran and for the United States. I am proud and pleased to be able to come to Iran at the end of this year, my first year in office and, I believe, your 27th year (37th year)¹ as a leader of this great nation, and to begin another new year with our close friends and allies.

In these times of endings and beginnings, I look forward to consulting with the Shah about two of the issues that have most dominated our thoughts in the year just past and will require our best actions in the years ahead.

One is finding solutions to the economic problems of the world's rich and the world's poor. None of these problems is more important than that of energy. Neither producer nor consumer nations can survive and prosper if we recklessly exhaust the world's limited supplies of oil, and neither group of nations can solve the problem without the cooperation of the other. It is because my Nation takes this problem seriously that we are determined soon to have a comprehensive energy plan designed to eliminate waste and to develop alternate sources of energy supplies. We are cooperating closely with Iran, and it is because I respect the leadership of the Shah in this area that

¹ Printed in the White House press release.