

## North Atlantic Council Ministerial Meeting Adopts Declaration on Atlantic Relations

*The North Atlantic Council held its regular ministerial meeting at Ottawa on June 18-19. Following is the transcript of a news conference held by Secretary Kissinger after the meeting, together with the texts of a final communique issued at the close of the meeting and the Declaration on Atlantic Relations adopted by the ministerial meeting on June 19.*

### SECRETARY KISSINGER'S NEWS CONFERENCE

Press release 255 dated June 19

Ladies and gentlemen: What I wanted to express was the satisfaction of the U.S. Government with the outcome of this meeting. The discussions were for the first time organized by subject matter rather than on the basis of formal statements by the various ministers, and the result was an extraordinarily good and constructive discussion on all the subjects that were raised, so much so that it raises the question whether we should not extend these meetings in the future to permit more time for discussion.

Of course the most important event was the final agreement on the NATO declaration. When the United States first proposed this idea 14 months ago, we started from the premise that conditions in the world had changed fundamentally in the 25 years since the alliance had been founded and that there was a need for the alliance to take account of these changed relationships—changes in the strategic situation, the new fact of constant negotiations between East and West, the impact of events in other parts of the world on the alliance.

We also felt that it was important for a new generation to see that the spirit of creativity in the Western World was still alive and for the governments of the alliance to dedicate themselves to take account of the new realities and to shape constructively their common future.

The process which led to this declaration had its ups and downs, as is normal in an alliance composed of free nations. But the final result creates a framework which states the aspirations of the alliance and permits us to move forward jointly.

It had always been the American view that a declaration does not represent a set of legal obligations but, rather, that the real meaning of such a declaration will be when it is never invoked as a declaration but becomes a living practice.

On such issues as consultation, it is obvious that no one can be compelled to consult, but if one can create a community of shared aspirations, then there will be a desire to consult.

So far as the United States is concerned, we look at this declaration as an expression by the free countries of the Atlantic area that they will gear their policies to the new realities—that they recognize their destiny as common in the next quarter of a century, as it has been in the last quarter of a century.

As the country which has the most interests outside of the treaty area of any of our allies, we will meticulously implement the principle of consultation and will do our utmost to make the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the spirit which it reflects as vital an element in the next 25 years as it has been in the last quarter of a century.

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It remains for me only to thank the Canadian Government for its hospitality, for the excellence of the arrangements, and to join with what the British Foreign Secretary said when the declaration was adopted: that it is well that the declaration was agreed to in Ottawa, the capital of the country that symbolizes the connection between North America and Western Europe.

And now I'll be glad to take your questions.

*Q. May I just ask one question: One of the concerns of the conference, especially among the European nations, was this very principle of consultation. Will this new agreement obviate the sort of thing that happened last fall, when the United States unilaterally called a worldwide NATO alert? This caused a great deal of consternation among the member nations.*

*Secretary Kissinger:* One has to separate two problems: the problem of long-term policy and the problem of military emergencies. I think it is always possible that emergency situations will arise in which the United States in the common interest may feel that it has to act. And I believe that any NATO ally analyzing the situation as it existed at that time will be grateful that the United States acted decisively. However, in all situations which are not emergency situations, the United States feels an obligation to concert its general policies with those of its allies.

*Q. Dr. Kissinger, you stated in your April 1973 speech there were three declarations that you were seeking. May I ask you what has happened to the other two—the one covering the EEC [European Economic Community] and the general one involving Japan?*

*Secretary Kissinger:* No, that is not quite correct. In my April 1973 speech I pointed out that Japan eventually had to be brought into this overall structure. And the idea was to have one common Atlantic declaration. Later there was an attempt made to take account of the emerging European political

unity and to seek to draft a document that established the relationship between that European political unity and the United States. But it became apparent during the course of drafting this document that until that European political unity was more fully articulated, it was very difficult to state general principles as to its method of cooperation with the United States.

It was therefore decided to permit the practice to develop somewhat further before a formal attempt would be made to reduce it to writing. We believe that this document takes care of the necessities in the Atlantic area, though we are prepared to have further discussions with the Nine when they feel ready to do so.

With respect to Japan, the need to give Japan a sense of belonging to a structure larger than itself continues to be and will remain to be a concern of America's policy.

*Q. Dr. Kissinger, in view of the fact that this document was published here and was approved here, and in view of the fact that you have already briefed your NATO allies about what is expected at the Moscow summit, what is the purpose and point of the summit meeting that will be held next week in Brussels?*

*Secretary Kissinger:* The principal purpose of the summit meeting to be held next week in Brussels is to give the President an opportunity to discuss personally with his colleagues at the head-of-government level in NATO our plans for the summit and our long-term expectations for Western policy. The President has not had an opportunity to have such a meeting in many years, and it seems to us a logical followup of this declaration that he have an opportunity to exchange views with his colleagues before going to Moscow.

Secondly, the purpose of the meeting—of this visit to Brussels—is to have a formal signing of this document which will give an adequate solemnity to its importance.

*Q. Dr. Kissinger, some papers and some radio stations have mentioned that there was*

some disagreement up to the last minute between France and the United States with regard to paragraph 11 of the Atlantic Declaration. Would you specify what kind of compromise took place between you and the French representative?

*Secretary Kissinger:* The problem with respect to paragraph 11 really concerned less the substance of the two or three competing formulations which existed than to reach an understanding of what was intended by the practice of consultation—whether it was intended to be a legal obligation or a practice reflecting the spirit of the alliance.

It stands to reason that no government can ever wave a document at another and claim that this provides a formal obligation to consult. And even if it did, that would not produce consultation.

I had a very satisfactory talk with the French Foreign Minister. And once we understood each other's purposes, we found formulations which took account of each side's concerns and which met the approval of all our allies.

*Q. Mr. Secretary, what is the status of that wiretap inquiry you requested, and is it still your intention to resign if it is not cleared up?*

*Secretary Kissinger:* As you know, I never comment on domestic affairs in a foreign country. [Laughter.]

*Q. Mr. Secretary, I understand that you have suggested that the alliance assess its minimum expectations for going forward with the European Security Conference to stage 3 and perhaps at the summit level. Would you—*

*Secretary Kissinger:* I missed the first part of your question.

*Q. I understand that you have suggested to the alliance that it set in process a reassessment of its minimum expectations from the Russians in the course of the present talks on CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] and that to get to phase 3 you want to set up a price for a sum-*

*mit. Can you tell me if this is an advance on the pace toward such a summit?*

*Secretary Kissinger:* The view we expressed here was as follows. A number of our allies, and we ourselves, have expressed the view that if the results of stage 2 justified it, there would be a summit. Yet to my knowledge, no one has yet defined what he would consider a satisfactory outcome of stage 2 in detail that would justify a summit. So I proposed to our allies that we agree among each other on what we would consider a satisfactory outcome of stage 2 that would justify a summit. This was not an attempt either to promote it or to oppose it but simply to clarify our thinking and go from the general formulation to the specific one.

*Q. Mr. Secretary, you mentioned that we must separate the problem of long-term policy from the policy of military emergency. This sounds fine until we have a military emergency. Has this been written into the declaration, that that would be an exception, if this arises? How will we not arrive back to the same place that we found ourselves in during this Middle East crisis?*

*Secretary Kissinger:* Well, to the extent that emergencies are foreseeable, and to the extent that it is possible to do contingency planning, obviously it should be done in full consultation with the alliance. However, it is conceivable that emergencies would arise in which we would hope that it would be seen to be in the interests of the alliance as a whole that we might have to act, informing our allies as rapidly as we possibly could. Those circumstances should be extremely rare, and we would seek to avoid them to the maximum extent possible, but it would be irresponsible to predict that they can never happen.

*Q. Mr. Secretary of State, could you make any statement concerning your meeting today with the Portuguese Foreign Minister?*

*Secretary Kissinger:* I had a good talk with the Portuguese Foreign Minister, who explained some of the intentions of the Portu-

guese Government with respect to its African dependencies and some of its domestic situation. I listened to his account with sympathy, and we will cooperate to the extent that we can.

*Q. Mr. Secretary, the language of the declaration suggests that the United States is going to maintain its troops and nuclear forces in Europe at their present levels. One, is that correct? And two, how long do you think the present administration and succeeding administrations can hold the line on troops in Europe without progress on the troop reduction negotiations?*

*Secretary Kissinger:* Of course, the declaration also speaks of the necessity of continuing negotiations leading to détente. The United States will maintain its forces in Europe at the levels which are judged necessary by the alliance, and we hope very much that the Congress will support us in what is in the common interest of the West.

*Q. [In French] Mr. Secretary of State, you spoke in September in Brussels about a parallel declaration between Spain and the United States, parallel to the Atlantic Declaration. What is the state of this declaration? Can you tell us anything about it?*

*Secretary Kissinger:* The Spanish Foreign Minister is visiting the United States this week, and I expect to meet with him on Friday. The United States is in principle prepared to sign a parallel declaration with Spain. This will undoubtedly be one of the subjects of conversation. What precise decision will be made as to timing and content, I cannot foretell until I have talked with the Spanish Foreign Minister.

*Q. Dr. Kissinger, in article 11 of the declaration, it refers to areas outside the NATO area wherein some members are affected. Does this mean in particular the Middle East? And would you be able to tell us something of what you told your colleagues about the Middle East situation, especially in view of the statement by the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Mr. Fahmi, that Egypt would make nuclear weapons in certain circumstances?*

*Secretary Kissinger:* We hold the view that events outside the treaty area, in many parts of the world, can intimately affect the security and the well-being of the alliance. Obviously the Middle East is one of the areas that is not formally covered by the treaty and not formally subject to the various consultation provisions but which nevertheless affects the well-being and security of the countries so intimately that it would, as far as the United States is concerned, be necessarily a subject for consultation.

I gave my colleagues an account of our Mideast policy and of the President's recent travels.

With respect to the Egyptian statement, as I understood the Egyptian statement, it was that if Israel developed nuclear weapons, then Egypt, by one way or another, would seek to develop nuclear weapons of its own.

I have stated in Jerusalem [on June 17], and I have repeated it here, that we see no possibility that Egypt can develop nuclear weapons by means of the reactor that we have agreed to sell, that it will take six to eight years to install, or to build, and which will be subject to safeguards which we consider substantially foolproof.

*Q. Dr. Kissinger, this morning you talked about the spirit of creativity in the West, and this document picks up and expands on language in the earlier document about human rights, democracy, and common heritage. Could you indicate where the alliance has operated in the past to promote those aims in either Greece or Portugal prior to the change in government in Portugal?*

*Secretary Kissinger:* The preferences of the overwhelming majority of the members of the alliance for the basic values of democracy and well-being have been made clear on a number of occasions, including, once again, in the communique agreed to today. That influence can be most effectively expressed by the general consensus of its attitudes than by any specific decisions that it can take at NATO meetings.

*Q. Dr. Kissinger, you survived with only one sentence in the declaration relating to*

*economics. But do you think this gives you enough foundation so that the alliance can get itself together better in the event of a new energy crisis than it did in the last one?*

*Secretary Kissinger:* This declaration cannot be used as a legal document producing inevitable results. The common interests of various members of the alliance, together with other countries, in the energy problem have been expressed in the Washington Energy Conference and some of its follow-on machinery. And it will not be the document as such that will produce common action as the shared consciousness that we will do our utmost to continue to promote.

It is our view, and I believe it is shared by most of our allies, that obviously the field of economics is closely related to other fields.

#### **TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE, JUNE 19**

Press release 257 dated June 20

The North Atlantic Council met in ministerial session in Ottawa on 18th and 19th June, 1974.

In this, the 25th anniversary year of the Alliance, ministers declared their countries' continuing dedication to the aims and ideals of the North Atlantic Treaty. Ministers emphasized the desirability of developing and deepening the application of the principles of democracy, respect for human rights, justice and social progress. Today in Ottawa ministers adopted and published a Declaration on Atlantic Relations. This important declaration reaffirms the commitment of all the members to the Alliance and sets its future course in light of the new perspectives and challenges of a rapidly changing world.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal gave a report on developments in his country since the change of regime and on the efforts of his government to promote peace in Africa. Ministers welcomed the evolution towards the establishment of democratic and representative government in Portugal.

Ministers reviewed the state of East-West

relations. They reaffirmed the determination of their governments patiently to pursue policies aimed at reducing tensions and promoting greater understanding and cooperation, not only between states but also between people. But they recalled that real and lasting improvement in East-West relations calls for a constructive approach by all concerned. At the same time, in the face of growing Soviet and Warsaw Pact military power and the risk of renewed tensions the Allies must, through the Atlantic Alliance, maintain their resolve and capacity to defend themselves.

Ministers took note of recent developments in relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, including the exchange of permanent representations between the two states in Germany. They expressed the hope that relations between these states will be further improved for the benefit of the German people.

As regards Berlin, ministers discussed the further experience gained in the application of the Quadripartite Agreement of 3rd September, 1971. In doing so, they stressed the essential importance of the provisions of this agreement which stipulate that traffic between the western sectors of Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany will be unimpeded. Ministers reaffirmed their conviction that progress towards detente in Europe is inseparably linked with the strict observance and full application of the Berlin Agreement.

Ministers reviewed developments in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They reaffirmed the importance they attach to increasing security and confidence, to developing further cooperation between the participating states in all spheres and to lowering barriers between people. They noted that in the second stage of the Conference, which should make a thorough examination of all aspects of the Conference agenda, the work has advanced unevenly. Some progress has been made on certain issues, but much work remains to be done, as for example on such key questions as the improvement of human contacts

and the freer flow of information, as well as confidence building measures and essential aspects of the principles guiding relations between states. Ministers expressed their governments' determination to pursue the negotiations patiently and constructively in a continuing search for balanced and substantial results acceptable to all participating states. They considered that, to bring the second stage to its conclusion, these results need to be achieved in the various fields of the program of work established by the Foreign Ministers at the first stage of the Conference in Helsinki.

Ministers reviewed developments in the Middle East since their last meeting. They welcomed the recent progress achieved, in particular the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli forces. They affirmed the support of their governments for the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and for all endeavors directed towards a just and lasting settlement bringing peace to the area; they also welcomed the contributions made by allied governments to UN peace-keeping activities. Ministers took note of the report by the Council in Permanent Session on the situation in the Mediterranean prepared on their instructions. They invited the Council in Permanent Session to continue to keep the situation under review and to report further.

Ministers representing countries which participate in NATO's integrated defense program reviewed the conduct of the negotiations on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions. These ministers continue to believe that mutual and balanced force reductions achieved through allied solidarity would contribute to the lessening of tensions in Europe and to a more stable peace. They expressed satisfaction at the results so far reached in the continuing consultations in the Council in Permanent Session on questions of objectives and policy. They instructed the Council to continue this work.

These ministers noted that the current round of negotiations is proceeding in a businesslike way. They expressed their determination to persist in their efforts to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory con-

clusion. They recalled that the general objective of the negotiations is to contribute to a more stable relationship at a lower level of forces with the security of all parties undiminished. This objective should be achieved by establishing approximate parity between the two sides in the form of a common ceiling for overall ground force manpower on each side in the area of reductions, taking into account combat capability. These ministers reiterated that a first phase agreement providing for the reduction of United States and Soviet ground forces would be an important initial step forward towards that objective.

In reaffirming their conviction that reductions of allied forces in Europe should take place only within the context of an East-West agreement, these ministers referred to the statements contained in paragraph 4 of the Communique of the Defense Planning Committee in Ministerial Session issued on 14th June, 1974.

Ministers expressed appreciation for continuing consultations on developments with respect to the SALT negotiations. They noted with satisfaction the efforts undertaken by the United States towards limitations of strategic arms and expressed the hope that these efforts would lead to satisfactory results.

The next Ministerial Session of the North Atlantic Council will be held in Brussels in December 1974.

#### **DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS, JUNE 19**

Press release 258 dated June 20

1. The members of the North Atlantic Alliance declare that the Treaty signed 25 years ago to protect their freedom and independence has confirmed their common destiny. Under the shield of the Treaty, the Allies have maintained their security, permitting them to preserve the values which are the heritage of their civilization and enabling Western Europe to rebuild from its ruins and lay the foundations of its unity.

2. The members of the Alliance reaffirm

their conviction that the North Atlantic Treaty provides the indispensable basis for their security, thus making possible the pursuit of detente. They welcome the progress that has been achieved on the road towards detente and harmony among nations, and the fact that a conference of 35 countries of Europe and North America is now seeking to lay down guidelines designed to increase security and cooperation in Europe. They believe that until circumstances permit the introduction of general, complete and controlled disarmament, which alone could provide genuine security for all, the ties uniting them must be maintained. The Allies share a common desire to reduce the burden of arms expenditure on their peoples. But states that wish to preserve peace have never achieved this aim by neglecting their own security.

3. The members of the Alliance reaffirm that their common defense is one and indivisible. An attack on one or more of them in the area of application of the Treaty shall be considered an attack against them all. The common aim is to prevent any attempt by a foreign power to threaten the independence or integrity of a member of the Alliance. Such an attempt would not only put in jeopardy the security of all members of the Alliance but also threaten the foundations of world peace.

4. At the same time they realize that the circumstances affecting their common defense have profoundly changed in the last ten years: the strategic relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union has reached a point of near equilibrium. Consequently, although all the countries of the Alliance remain vulnerable to attack, the nature of the danger to which they are exposed has changed. The Alliance's problems in the defense of Europe have thus assumed a different and more distinct character.

5. However, the essential elements in the situation which gave rise to the Treaty have not changed. While the commitment of all the Allies to the common defense reduces the risk of external aggression, the contribution to the security of the entire Alliance provided by the nuclear forces of the United

States based in the United States as well as in Europe and by the presence of North American forces in Europe remains indispensable.

6. Nevertheless, the Alliance must pay careful attention to the dangers to which it is exposed in the European region, and must adopt all measures necessary to avert them. The European members who provide three-quarters of the conventional strength of the Alliance in Europe, and two of whom possess nuclear forces capable of playing a deterrent role of their own contributing to the overall strengthening of the deterrence of the Alliance, undertake to make the necessary contribution to maintain the common defense at a level capable of deterring and if necessary repelling all actions directed against the independence and territorial integrity of the members of the Alliance.

7. The United States, for its part, reaffirms its determination not to accept any situation which would expose its Allies to external political or military pressure likely to deprive them of their freedom, and states its resolve, together with its Allies, to maintain forces in Europe at the level required to sustain the credibility of the strategy of deterrence and to maintain the capacity to defend the North Atlantic area should deterrence fail.

8. In this connection the member states of the Alliance affirm that as the ultimate purpose of any defense policy is to deny to a potential adversary the objectives he seeks to attain through an armed conflict, all necessary forces would be used for this purpose. Therefore, while reaffirming that a major aim of their policies is to seek agreements that will reduce the risk of war, they also state that such agreements will not limit their freedom to use all forces at their disposal for the common defense in case of attack. Indeed, they are convinced that their determination to do so continues to be the best assurance that war in all its forms will be prevented.

9. All members of the Alliance agree that the continued presence of Canadian and substantial US forces in Europe plays an irreplaceable role in the defense of North

America as well as of Europe. Similarly the substantial forces of the European Allies serve to defend Europe and North America as well. It is also recognized that the further progress towards unity, which the member states of the European Community are determined to make, should in due course have a beneficial effect on the contribution to the common defense of the Alliance of those of them who belong to it. Moreover, the contributions made by members of the Alliance to the preservation of international security and world peace are recognized to be of great importance.

10. The members of the Alliance consider that the will to combine their efforts to ensure their common defense obliges them to maintain and improve the efficiency of their forces and that each should undertake, according to the role that it has assumed in the structure of the Alliance, its proper share of the burden of maintaining the security of all. Conversely, they take the view that in the course of current or future negotiations nothing must be accepted which could diminish this security.

11. The Allies are convinced that the fulfilment of their common aims requires the maintenance of close consultation, cooperation and mutual trust, thus fostering the conditions necessary for defense and favorable for detente, which are complementary. In the spirit of the friendship, equality and solidarity which characterize their relationships, they are firmly resolved to keep each other fully informed and to strengthen the practice of frank and timely consultations by all means which may be appropriate on matters relating to their common interests as members of the Alliance, bearing in mind that these interests can be affected by events in other areas of the world. They wish also to ensure that their essential security relationship is supported by harmonious political and economic relations. In particular they will work to remove sources of conflict between their economic policies and to

encourage economic cooperation with one another.

12. They recall that they have proclaimed their dedication to the principles of democracy, respect for human rights, justice and social progress, which are the fruits of their shared spiritual heritage and they declare their intention to develop and deepen the application of these principles in their countries. Since these principles, by their very nature, forbid any recourse to methods incompatible with the promotion of world peace, they reaffirm that the efforts which they make to preserve their independence, to maintain their security and to improve the living standards of their peoples exclude all forms of aggression against anyone, are not directed against any other country, and are designed to bring about the general improvement of international relations. In Europe, their objective continues to be the pursuit of understanding and cooperation with every European country. In the world at large, each Allied country recognizes the duty to help the developing countries. It is in the interest of all that every country benefit from technical and economic progress in an open and equitable world system.

13. They recognize that the cohesion of the Alliance has found expression not only in cooperation among their governments, but also in the free exchange of views among the elected representatives of the peoples of the Alliance. Accordingly, they declare their support for the strengthening of links among Parliamentarians.

14. The members of the Alliance rededicate themselves to the aims and ideals of the North Atlantic Treaty during this year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its signature. The member nations look to the future, confident that the vitality and creativity of their peoples are commensurate with the challenges which confront them. They declare their conviction that the North Atlantic Alliance continues to serve as an essential element in the lasting structure of peace they are determined to build.