

Map of Finland
Suomen kartta



Visits by U.S. Presidents to Finland
Yhdysvaltain presidenttien vierailut Suomeen

Gerald R. Ford	July 29–Aug. 2, 1975	Helsinki. Attended the opening session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Met with the heads of state and government of Finland, Great Britain, Turkey, West Germany, France, Italy, and Spain. Also met with Soviet General Secretary Brezhnev. Signed the Final Act of the Conference on August 1.
Ronald Reagan	May 26–29, 1988	Helsinki. Working visit enroute to Moscow for a summit meeting with Soviet leaders. Met with President Koivisto and other Finnish officials.
George Bush	September 8–9, 1990	Summit Meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev. Issued joint statement on the Persian Gulf crisis. Also met with President Koivisto.
George Bush	July 8–10, 1992	Attended a CSCE Summit Meeting.
William J. Clinton	March 20–21, 1997	Summit meeting with Russian President Yeltsin. Also met with President Ahtisaari.

Source:

Visits Abroad of the Presidents of the United States 1906–1997.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian.

Available at http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/prestravels.html

1952 Fulbright Educational Agreement
Vuoden 1952 Fulbright-sopimus

A G R E E M E N T

between the Government of Finland and the Government of the United States of America for Financing Certain Educational Exchange Programs

The Government of Finland and the Government of the United States of America;

Desiring to promote further mutual understanding between the peoples of Finland and the United States of America by a wider exchange of knowledge and professional talents through educational contacts;

Considering that Section 32 (b) of the United States Surplus Property Act of 1944, as amended by Public Law No. 584, 79th Congress provides that the Secretary of State of the United States of America may enter into an agreement with any foreign government for the use of currencies or credits for currencies, of such foreign government acquired as a result of surplus property disposals, for certain educational activities; and

Considering that under the provisions of the credit agreement letters between the Government of Finland and the Government of the United States of America dated March 11, 1946, May 14, 1946 and May 5, 1947, it is provided that the Government of Finland will at the request of the United States deliver Finnish currency for the payment of expenditures in Finland of the Government of the United States,

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1

There shall be established a foundation to be known as the United States Educational Foundation in Finland (hereinafter designated "the Foundation"), which shall be recognized by the Government of Finland and the Government of the United

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States of America as an organization created and established to facilitate the administration of an educational program to be financed by funds obtained from the Government of Finland in accordance with the credit agreement letters, dated March 11, 1946, May 14, 1946 and May 5, 1947. Except as provided in Article 3 hereof the Foundation shall be exempt from the domestic and local laws of the United States of America as they relate to the use and expenditure of currencies and credits for currencies for the purposes set forth in the present agreement. The funds shall be regarded in the Republic of Finland as property of a foreign government.

The funds made available under the present agreement within the conditions and limitations hereinafter set forth, shall be used by the Foundation or such other instrumentality as may be agreed upon by the Government of Finland and the Government of the United States of America, for the purpose, as set forth in Section 32 (b) of the United States Surplus Property Act of 1944, as amended, of

1) financing studies, research, instruction and other educational activities of or for citizens of the United States of America in schools and institutions of higher learning located in Finland, or of the citizens of Finland in United States schools and institutions of higher learning located outside the continental United States, Hawaii, Alaska (including the Aleutian Islands), Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands including payment for transportation, tuition, maintenance, and other expenses incident to scholastic activities; or

2) furnishing transportation for citizens of Finland who desire to attend United States schools and institutions of higher learning in the continental United States, Hawaii, Alaska, (including the Aleutian Islands), Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands and whose attendance will not deprive citizens of the United States of America of an opportunity to attend such schools and institutions.

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Article 2

In furtherance of the aforementioned purposes, the Foundation may, subject to the provisions of the present agreement, exercise all powers necessary to the carrying out of the purposes of the present agreement including the following:

1) Plan, adopt, and carry out programs, in accordance with the purposes of Section 32 (b) of the United States Surplus Property Act of 1944, as amended, and the purposes of the present agreement.

2) Recommend to the Board of Foreign Scholarships, provided for in the United States Surplus Property Act of 1944, as amended, students, professors, research scholars, resident in Finland, and institutions of Finland qualified to participate in the program in accordance with the aforesaid Act.

3) Recommend to the aforesaid Board of Foreign Scholarships such qualifications for the selection of participants in the programs as it may deem necessary for achieving the purpose and objectives of the present agreement.

4) Authorize the Treasurer of the Foundation or such other person as the Foundation may designate to receive funds to be deposited in bank accounts in the name of the Treasurer of the Foundation or such other person as may be designated. The appointment of the Treasurer or such designee shall be approved by the Secretary of State of the United States of America and he shall deposit funds received in a depository or depositories designated by the Secretary of State of the United States of America.

5) Authorize the disbursement of funds and the making of grants and advances of funds for the authorized purposes of the present agreement.

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6) Provide for periodic audits of the accounts of the Treasurer of the Foundation as directed by auditors selected by the Secretary of State of the United States of America.

7) Engage an Executive Officer, administrative and clerical staff and fix and authorize the payment of the salaries and wages thereof out of funds made available under the present agreement.

Article 3

All commitments, obligations, and expenditures authorized by the Foundation shall be made pursuant to an annual budget to be approved by the Secretary of State of the United States of America pursuant to such regulations as he may prescribe.

Article 4

The management and direction of the affairs of the Foundation shall be vested in a Board of Directors consisting of eight Directors (hereinafter designated the "Board"), four of whom shall be citizens of the United States of America and four of whom shall be citizens of Finland. In addition, the principal officer in charge of the Diplomatic Mission of the United States of America to Finland (hereinafter designated "Chief of Mission") shall be Honorary Chairman of the Board. He shall cast the deciding vote in the event of a tie vote by the Board and shall appoint the Chairman of the Board. The Chairman as a regular member of the Board shall have the right to vote. The citizens of the United States of America on the Board, at least two of whom shall be officers of the United States Foreign Service establishment in Finland, shall be appointed and removed by the Chief of Mission. The Finnish members shall be appointed and may be removed by the Government of Finland.

The members shall serve from the time of their appointment until the following December 31 and shall be eligible for reappointment. Vacancies by reason of resignation, transfer of residence outside Finland, expiration of service or otherwise, shall be filled in accordance with the appointment procedure set forth

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in this article.

The members shall serve without compensation but the Board may authorize the payment of the necessary expenses of the members in attending the meetings of the Board and in performing other official duties assigned by the Board.

Article 5

The Board shall adopt such by-laws and appoint such committees as it shall deem necessary for the conduct of the affairs of the Foundation.

Article 6

Reports acceptable in form and content to the Secretary of State of the United States of America shall be made annually on the activities of the Foundation to the Secretary of State of the United States of America and the Government of Finland.

Article 7

The principal office of the Foundation shall be in the capital city of Finland but meetings of the Board and any of its committees may be held in such other places as the Board may from time to time determine, and the activities of any of the Foundation's officers or staff may be carried on at such places as may be approved by the Board.

Article 8

The Government of Finland shall, as and when requested by the Government of the United States of America for purposes of the present agreement, make available for deposit in an account in the name of the Treasurer of the United States of America in Finland amounts of currency of the Government of Finland up to an aggregate amount equivalent to \$1,250,000 (United States currency), provided, however, that in no event shall a total amount of the currency of the Government of Fin-

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land, in excess of the equivalent of \$250,000 (United States currency) be deposited during any single calendar year.

The rate of exchange between currency of the Government of Finland and United States currency to be used in determining the amount of currency of the Government of Finland to be so deposited shall be determined in accordance with paragraph 4 of the Credit Agreement Letter of March 11, 1946, as well as paragraph 4 (b) of the Credit Agreement Letters of May 14, 1946 and May 5, 1947.

The Secretary of State of the United States of America will make available for expenditure as authorized by the Foundation currency of the Government of Finland in such amounts as may be required by the Foundation but in no event in excess of the budgetary limitation established pursuant to Article 3 of the present agreement.

Article 9

The Government of Finland and the Government of the United States of America shall make every effort to facilitate the exchange of persons programs authorized in this agreement and to resolve problems which may arise in the operations thereof.

Article 10

Wherever, in the present agreement, the term "Secretary of State of the United States of America" is used, it shall be understood to mean the Secretary of State of the United States of America or any officer or employee of the Government of the United States of America designated by him to act in his behalf.

Article 11

The present agreement shall come into force upon the date of signature.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, being duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments, have signed the present agreement.

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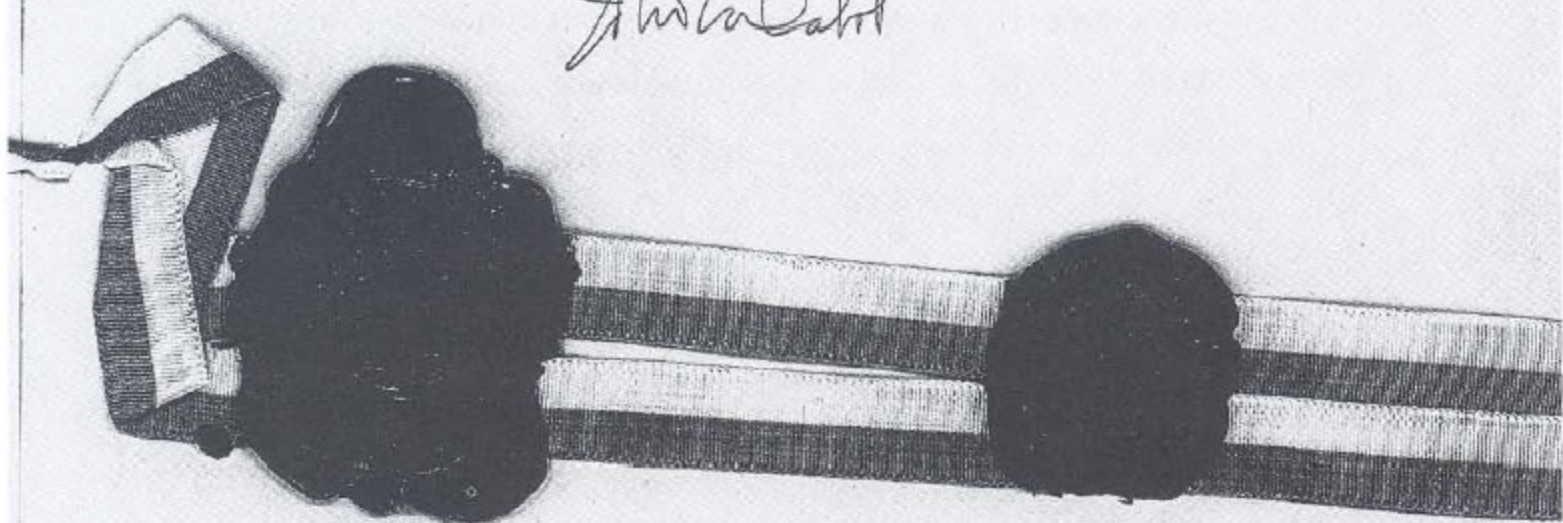
DONE at Helsinki in duplicate, in the Finnish and English languages this 2nd day of July, 1952.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF FINLAND:

Jouko Tuomioja

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

J. Edgar Hoover



S O P I M U S

Suomen hallituksen ja Amerikan Yhdysvaltain hallituksen kesken
opetusalan vaihtotoiminnan rahoittamisesta.

Suomen hallitus ja Amerikan Yhdysvaltain hallitus,
haluten edelleen edistää molemminpuolista tuntemusta
Suomen ja Amerikan Yhdysvaltain kansojen kesken opetuslal-
la tapahtuvan vuorovaikutuksen välityksellä suoritettavalla
tiedon ja ammattitaidon entistä laajemmalla vaihdolla;
ottaen huomioon, että Amerikan Yhdysvaltain valtio-
sihteeri v. 1944 annetun Yhdysvaltain ylijäämävarastoja kos-
kevan lain 32 (b) luvussa, sellaisena kuin se on muutettu-
na 79. Kongressin lailla No 584, valtuutetaan sopimaan vie-
raan maan hallituksen kanssa siitä, että ylijäämävarastojen
myynnistä viimeksimainitulta hallitukselta saatuja rahavaroja
ja rahasaatavia käytetään eräisiin opetusalan tarkoituk-
siin, ja

ottaen huomioon, että Suomen hallituksen ja Amerikan
Yhdysvaltain hallituksen 11 päivänä maaliskuuta 1946, 14 päi-
vänä toukokuuta 1946 ja 5 päivänä toukokuuta 1947 päivätty-
jen luottosopimusnoottien määräysten mukaisesti on sovittu,
että Suomen hallitus Yhdysvaltain sitä pyytäessä asettaa
käytettäväksi Suomen rahaa Yhdysvaltain hallituksen Suomes-
sa suoritettavien menojen hoitamiseen;

ovat sopineet seuraavasta:

1 artikla

Perustetaan "Yhdysvaltain Opetussäätiö Suomessa" niminen
rahasto, josta tässä sopimuksessa käytetään nimitystä "Opetus-
säätiö". Suomen hallitus ja Amerikan Yhdysvaltain halli-
tus tunnustavat Opetussäätiön perustetuksi helpottamaan sel-

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laisen opetuksellisen toimintaohjelman hoitamista, joka tulee rahoitettavaksi Suomen hallitukselta 11 päivänä maaliskuuta 1946, 14 päivänä toukokuuta 1946 ja 5 päivänä toukokuuta 1947 päivättyjen luottosopimusnoottien määräysten mukaisesti saatavilla varoilla. Paitsi mitä 3 artiklassa määrätään, Opetussäätiö on vapautettu noudattamasta Amerikan Yhdysvaltain sisäisiä ja paikallisia säädöksiä sikäli kuin ne koskevat rahojen ja rahaluottojen käyttöä ja suorittamista tässä sopimuksessa määriteltuihin tarkoituksiin. Suomen Tasavallassa Opetussäätiön rahavaroja pidetään vieraan maan hallituksen omaisuutena.

Tämän sopimuksen nojalla käytettäviksi asetetut varat Opetussäätiö tai jokin muu sellainen toimielin, josta Suomen hallitus ja Amerikan Yhdysvaltain hallitus ovat tarkoitusta varten sopineet, käyttää jäljempänä mainituin ehdoin ja rajoituksin siten kuin Yhdysvaltain vuoden 1944 ylijäämävarastolain, sellaisena miksi se on myöhemmin muutettu, 32 (b) luvussa säädetään;

1) sellaisen opiskelun, tutkimustyön, opetustoimen ja muun opetuksellisen toiminnan rahoittamiseen, jota Amerikan Yhdysvaltain kansalaiset harjoittavat tai heitä varten järjestetään Suomessa sijaitsevissa kouluissa ja korkeammissa oppilaitoksissa, tai Suomen kansalaiset harjoittavat Yhdysvaltain kouluissa ja korkeammissa oppilaitoksissa, jotka sijaitsevat Yhdysvaltain manneralueen, Havaijin, Alaskan (Aleuttien saaret mukaanluettuina), Puerto Ricon ja Neitsyt-saarten ulkopuolella, mukaanluettuna matka-, opinto- ja ylläpitokulut sekä muut opilliseen toimintaan liittyvät kustannukset, tai

2) sellaisten Suomen kansalaisten matkakuluihin, jotka aikovat seurata opetusta Yhdysvaltain manneralueella, Havaijissa, Alaskassa (Aleuttien saaret mukaanluettuina), Puerto Ricossa ja Neitsyt-saarilla sijaitsevissa Yhdysvaltain kouluissa ja korkeammissa oppilaitoksissa, mikäli heidän opiskelunsa ei estä Amerikan Yhdysvaltain kansalaisia pääsemästä nauttimaan opetusta tällai-

sisä kouluissa ja laitoksissa.

2 artikla

Edellämainittujen tarkoituserien edistämiseksi Opetussäätiö voi tämän sopimuksen määräykset huomioonottaen ryhtyä kaikkiin tämän sopimuksen päämäärien toteuttamiseksi tarpeellisiin toimenpiteisiin, seuraavat mukaanluettuina:

1) laatia, hyväksyä ja toteuttaa suunnitelmia Yhdysvaltain vuoden 1944 ylijäämävarastolain, sellaisena miksi se on muutettu, 32 (b) luvun ja tämän sopimuksen tarkoituserien mukaisesti;

2) suositella Yhdysvaltain vuoden 1944 ylijäämävarastolain, sellaisena miksi se on muutettu, tarkoittamalle ulkomaanstipenditoimikunnalle (Board of Foreign Scholarships) Suomessa asuvia opiskelijoita, opettajia, tutkijoita ja Suomen laitoksia, jotka sanotun lain mielessä ovat päteviä osallistumaan tähän toimintaan;

3) suositella mainitulle ulkomaanstipenditoimikunnalle sellaisia pätevyysvaatimuksia toimintaan osallistuvien valitsemista varten, joita se pitää tarpeellisina sopimuksen tarkoituserien ja tavoitteiden saavuttamiseksi;

4) valtuuttaa Opetussäätiön varainhoitajan tai muun Opetussäätiön ehkä nimeämän henkilön ottamaan vastaan rahavaroja talletettaviksi Opetussäätiön varainhoitajan tai muun Opetussäätiön määräämän henkilön nimiin avatuille pankkitileille. Varainhoitajan tai tässä tarkoitettun muun henkilön nimeämiseen on saatava Amerikan Yhdysvaltain valtiosihteerin hyväksyminen ja hänen on talletettava vastaanottamansa rahavarat Amerikan Yhdysvaltain valtiosihteerin määräämän talletuslaitokseen tai -laitoksiin;

5) hyväksyä rahavarojen suorittamisen ja apurahojen sekä ennakkosuoritusten myöntämisen tässä sopimuksessa hyväksytyjä tarkoituseriä varten;

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6) panna toimeen kausittaisia Opetussäätiön varainhoitajan tilien tarkastuksia Amerikan Yhdysvaltain valtiosihteerin valitsemien tilintarkastajien ohjeiden mukaan;

7) ottaa palvelukseen toiminnanjohtajan sekä hallinto- ja kansliahenkilökuntaa, määrätä ja valtuuttaa maksamaan heidän palkkansa ja palkkionsa rahavaroista, joita tämän sopimuksen nojalla sen käytettäväksi asetetaan.

3 artikla

Kaikki Opetussäätiön hyväksymät sitoumukset ja velvoitteet sekä kulut on hoidettava Amerikan Yhdysvaltain valtiosihteerin hyväksymän vuosittaisen menoarvion mukaisesti ja noudattaen ohjeita, joita hän tarvittaessa voi antaa.

4 artikla

Opetussäätiön asioita hoitamaan ja johtamaan asetetaan kahdeksan jäsentä käsittävä johtokunta, joista neljän on oltava Amerikan Yhdysvaltain kansalaisia ja neljän Suomen kansalaisia. Tämän lisäksi tulee Amerikan Yhdysvaltain Suomessa toimivan diplomaattisen edustuston korkeimman virkamiehen (jota tässä sopimuksessa kutsutaan "Edustustopäälliköksi") olla johtokunnan kunniapuheenjohtajana. Äänten mennessä johtokunnassa tasan, äänestää hän ratkaisevasti. Hän myös määrää johtokunnan puheenjohtajan. Puheenjohtajalla on johtokunnan säännönmukaisena jäsenenä äänioikeus. Edustustopäällikkö nimittää ja vapauttaa johtokunnan Amerikan kansalaisuutta olevat jäsenet, joista vähintään kahden on oltava Amerikan Yhdysvaltain ulkohallinnon Suomessa toimivia virkamiehiä. Suomalaiset jäsenet määrää Suomen hallitus, joka myös voi vapauttaa heidät jäsenyydestä.

Jäsenten toimikausi on määräyspäivästä lähinnä seuraavan joulukuun 31 päivään ja heidät voidaan määrätä uudelleen. Paikkojen vapautuessa eroamisen, maastamuuton, virkasuhteen päättymisen takia tai muusta syystä, täytetään ne tämän artiklan mää-

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räämässä järjestyksessä.

Johtokunnan jäsenet palvelevat korvauksetta, mutta johtokunta voi määrätä maksettavaksi jäsenille johtokunnan kokouksiin osallistumisesta ja johtokunnan heille antamien muiden virallisten tehtävien suorittamisesta aiheutuvat välttämättömät kulut.

5 artikla

Johtokunta hyväksyy sellaiset ohjesäännöt ja asettaa sellaiset valiokunnat mitkä se Opetussäätiön asioiden hoitamista varten katsoo tarpeellisiksi.

6 artikla

Muotonsa puolesta Amerikan Yhdysvaltain valtiosihteeriä tyydyttävä kertomus Opetussäätiön toiminnasta esitetään vuosittain Suomen hallitukselle ja Amerikan Yhdysvaltain valtiosihteerille.

7 artikla

Opetussäätiön päätoimisto on Suomen pääkaupungissa, mutta johtokunnan ja sen valiokuntien kokouksia voidaan pitää johtokunnan aika ajoin määräämissä muissakin paikoissa, ja Opetussäätiön virkailijoiden tai henkilökunnan tehtävät voidaan suorittaa johtokunnan hyväksymillä paikkakunnilla.

8 artikla

Kun Amerikan Yhdysvaltain hallitus tämän sopimuksen tarkoituksia varten sitä pyytää, tulee Suomen hallituksen pyydettyllä tavalla asettaa käytettäväksi tallettamista varten Amerikan Yhdysvaltain valtiovarainministerin nimissä Suomessa olevalle tilille Suomen rahaa summana, joiden yhteinen määrä vastaa 1.250.000 dollaria Yhdysvaltain rahaa, kuitenkin siten, että Suomen rahassa suoritettavien talletusten kokonaismäärä ei mis-

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sään tapauksessa saa minkään kalenterivuoden aikana ylittää 250.000 Yhdysvaltain dollarin vasta-arvoa.

Suomen ja Yhdysvaltain rahan välinen vaihtokurssi, jota käytetään laskettaessa näin talletettavat määrät Suomen rahaa, määrätään 11 päivänä maaliskuuta 1946 päivätyn luottosopimusnootin 4 kohdan sekä myös 14 päivänä toukokuuta 1946 ja 5 päivänä toukokuuta 1947 päivättyjen luottosopimusnoottien 4 (b) kohdan mukaisesti.

Amerikan Yhdysvaltain valtiosihteeri tulee asettamaan Opetussäätiön hyväksymiä menoja varten käytettäväksi Suomen rahaa Opetussäätiön tarvitsemat määrät, ei kuitenkaan missään tapauksessa yli sen mitä tämän sopimuksen 3 artiklassa edellytettyyn menoarvioon on merkitty.

9 artikla

Suomen hallitus ja Amerikan Yhdysvaltain hallitus tekevät parhaansa helpottaakseen tämän sopimuksen mukaista henkilövaihto-ohjelmien toimeenpanoa ja ratkaistakseen kysymykset, jotka voivat niitten toteuttamisessa syntyä.

10 artikla

Milloin tässä sopimuksessa on käytetty sanontaa "Amerikan Yhdysvaltain valtiosihteeri", tarkoitetaan sillä Amerikan Yhdysvaltain valtiosihteeriä tai jotakin Amerikan Yhdysvaltain hallituksen viran- tai toimenhaltijaa, jonka hän on määrännyt puolestaan toimimaan.

11 artikla

Tämä sopimus tulee voimaan allekirjoituspäivänä.

Minkä vakuudeksi allekirjoittaneet, hallitustensa siihen asianmukaisesti valtuuttamina, ovat tämän sopimuksen allekirjoittaneet.

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Tehty Helsingissä kaksin kappalein suomen- ja englanninkielellä 2 päivänä heinäkuuta 1952.

Suomen hallituksen puolesta:

Jarosl Tuomi

Amerikan Yhdysvaltain hallituksen puolesta:

J. W. Dulles

The Foreign Service
of the
United States of America

Legation of the United)
States of America at) SS
Helsinki, Finland)

I, H. Bartlett Wells, Consul of the United States of America at Helsinki, Finland, duly commissioned and qualified, do hereby certify that the foregoing agreement between the Government of the United States and the Government of Finland (the Fulbright Agreement), is a true and correct copy of the signed original, the same having been carefully examined by me and found to agree with the said original word for word and figure for figure.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of my office to be affixed this 9th day of July 1952.

H. Bartlett Wells

H. Bartlett Wells,
Consul of the United States of
America.

Service No. 1943
No fee prescribed.

Visits by Finnish Presidents and Prime Ministers to the United States
Suomen valtionpäämiesten ja pääministereiden vierailut Yhdysvaltoihin

Reino Kuuskoski (Prime Minister)	May 12–14, 1958	Unofficial visit to attend Minnesota Statehood Centennial
Urho Kekkonen (President)	Oct. 16–18, 1961	Official visit Presidential guest
Urho Kekkonen (President)	July 22–27, 1970	Official visit
Urho Kekkonen (President)	Oct. 24, 1970	Ceremonial visit to attend White House dinner on 25th Anniversary of the United Nations.
Urho Kekkonen (President)	July 30–Aug. 5, 1976	State visit Aug. 3–5; private visit remainder of time
Kalevi Sorsa (Prime Minister)	May 17, 1979	Informal visit while serving as Chairman of the Socialist International Study Group on Disarmament
Mauno Koivisto (President)	Sept. 24–27, 1983	Official working visit
Harri Holkeri (Prime Minister)	Feb. 23–26, 1988	Unofficial visit to give a lecture at World Affairs Council in Los Angeles.
Harri Holkeri (Prime Minister)	May 1–8, 1988	Official working visit
Mauno Koivisto (President)	May 6–7, 1991	Official working visit
Esko Aho (Prime Minister)	May 12–16, 1992	Official working visit
Mauno Koivisto (President)	Nov. 9–10, 1993	Lecture at CSIS in Washington D.C.
Martti Ahtisaari (President)	Nov. 6–11, 1994	Official visit
Heikki Haavisto (Prime Minister)		Presidential guest
Martti Ahtisaari (President)	Nov. 17–19, 1994	IPS Award for Merit
Paavo Lipponen (Prime Minister)	Nov. 26–Dec. 2, 1995	Official working visit

Paavo Lipponen (Prime Minister)	July 23–28, 1996	Official working visit
Paavo Lipponen (Prime Minister)	Sept. 9–10, 1996	Official working visit
Paavo Lipponen (Prime Minister)	June 7–9, 1997	Honorary Doctorate in Laws at Dartmouth College
Martti Ahtisaari (President)	Oct. 12–17, 1997	Official working visit; American-Scandinavian Foundation and Harvard University
Paavo Lipponen (Prime Minister)	Feb. 15–22, 1998	Opening of Alvar Aalto exhibition in New York
Martti Ahtisaari (President)	April 23–24, 1999	Official working visit to attend NATO/EAPC/ Washington summit

Sources:

Lists of Visits of Foreign Chiefs of State and Heads of Government to the United States, 1789–1978, Department of State (January 1979) pp. 18, 24, 40–41, 52;
Internal Records; Office of the Historian, Department of State.

Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Information and Documentation.

Visits by U.S. Secretaries of State to Finland
Yhdysvaltain ulkoministerien vierailut Suomeen

Dean Rusk	May 31–June 1, 1966	Conferred with Government officials in Helsinki.
William P. Rogers	July 1–8, 1973	Attended Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)
Henry A. Kissinger	July 30–Aug 1, 1975	Attended Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
George P. Shultz	July 29–Aug 1, 1985	Attended ceremonies commemorating 10th anniversary of the Final Act of the CSCE. Met with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.
George P. Shultz	Nov. 3, 1985	Consultations with U.S. and Finnish officials.
George P. Shultz	April 12–13, 1987	Stopped in Helsinki en route to Moscow.
George P. Shultz	Oct. 20–21, 1987	Met with President Koivisto in Helsinki.
George P. Shultz	Feb. 20–21, 1988	Stopped in Helsinki en route to Moscow.
George P. Shultz	April 20–21, 1988	Stopped in Helsinki en route to Moscow.
George P. Shultz	May 27–29, 1988	Accompanied President Reagan to meetings with President Koivisto en route to Moscow.
James A. Baker, III	May 9–10, 1989	Overnight stop en route to Moscow.
James A. Baker, III	Sept. 8–10, 1990	Accompanied President Bush to summit meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev.
James A. Baker, III	July 8–10, 1992	Accompanied President Bush to the CSCE Summit Meeting.
Warren M. Christopher	Feb. 8–11, 1996	Met with Russian Foreign Minister Primakov and Ukrainian President Kuchma.
Madeleine K. Albright	March 20–21, 1997	Accompanied President Clinton to a summit meeting with Russian President Yeltsin.
Madeleine K. Albright	June 17–19, 1999	With Defense Secretary William Cohen to meet with the Russian Counterparts on Kosovo.

Source:

Foreign Travels of the Secretaries of State, 1866–1997.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian.

Available at http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/sectravels.html

Speech by President Reagan at Finlandia Hall
Presidentti Reaganin puhe Finlandia-talossa



REMARKS BY PRESIDENT REAGAN

Finlandia Hall, Helsinki, Finland

May 27, 1988

It is a particular honor for me to come here today. This year – the “Year of Friendship,” as Congress has proclaimed it, between the United States and Finland – this year marks the 350th anniversary of the arrival of the first Finns in America and the establishment of a small Scandinavian colony near what is today Wilmington, Delaware. An ancient people in a new world – that is the story, not only of those Finns, but of all the peoples who braved the seas, to settle in and build my country, a land of freedom for a nation of immigrants.

Yes, they founded a new world, but as they crossed the oceans, the mountains, and the prairies, those who made America carried the old world in their hearts – the old customs, the family ties, and, most of all, the belief in God, a belief that gave them the moral compass and ethical foundation by which they explored an uncharted frontier and constructed a government and nation of, by, and for the people.

And so, although we Americans became a new people, we also remain an ancient one, for we are guided by ancient and universal values – values that Prime Minister Holkeri spoke of in Los Angeles this February when, after recalling Finland’s internationally recognized position of neutrality, he added that Finland is “tied to Western values of freedom, democracy, and human rights.”

And let me add here that for America, those ties are also the bonds of our friendship. America respects Finland’s neutrality. We support Finland’s independence. We honor Fin-

land's courageous history. We salute the creative statesmanship that has been Finland's gift to world peace. And in this soaring hall – which is the great architect Alvar Aalto's statement of hope for Finland's future – we reaffirm our hope and faith that the friendship between our nations will be unending.

We are gathered here today in this hall because it was here, almost 13 years ago, that the 35 nations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe signed the Helsinki Final Act – a document that embodies the same ethical and moral principles and the same hope for a future of peace that Finns and so many other European immigrants gave America. The Final Act is a singular statement of hope. Its “three baskets” touch on almost every aspect of East-West relations, and taken together form a kind of map through the wilderness of mutual hostility to open fields of peace and to a common home of trust among all of our sovereign nations – neutrals, non-aligned, and alliance members alike. The Final Act set new standards of conduct for our nations and provided the mechanisms by which to apply those standards.

Yes, the Final Act goes beyond arms control – once the focus of international dialogue. It reflects a truth that I have so often noted – nations do not distrust each other because they are armed; they are armed because they distrust each other. The Final Act grapples with the full range of our underlying differences and deals with East-West relations as an interrelated whole. It reflects the belief of all our countries that human rights are less likely to be abused when a nation's security is less in doubt; that economic relations can contribute to security, but depend on the trust and confidence that come from increasing ties between our peoples, increasing openness, and increasing freedom; and that there is no true international security without respect for human rights.

I can hardly improve on the words President Koivisto used in this hall two years ago when he recalled that, “security is more than the protection of borders and social structures. It is emphasized in the Final Act that individual persons who live in the participating states have to feel in their own lives security which is based on respect for fundamental human rights and basic freedoms.”

And beyond establishing these integrated standards, the Final Act establishes a process for progress. It sets up a review procedure to measure performance against standards. And – despite the doubts of the critics – for the past 13 years, the signatory states have mustered the political will to keep on working and making progress.

Let me say that it seems particularly appropriate to me that the Final Act is associated so closely with this city and this country. More than any other diplomatic document, the Final Act speaks to the yearning that Finland's longtime President, Urho Kekkonen, spoke of more than a quarter century ago when he said, in his words, “It is the fervent hope of the Finnish people that barriers be lowered all over Europe and that progress be made along the road of European unity.” And he added that this was, as he put it, “for the good of Europe, and thus of humanity as a whole.” Those were visionary words. That vision inspired and shaped the drafting of the Final Act and continues to guide us today.

Has the Final Act and what we call the Helsinki process worked or not? Many say it hasn't, but I believe it has.

In the security field, I would point to the most recent fruit of the process – the Stockholm Document on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe. This agreement lays down the rules by which our 35 states notify each other of upcoming military activities in Europe; provides detailed information on these activities in advance; lets the others know their plans for very large military activities one to two years in advance and agrees not to hold such maneuvers unless this notice is given; invites observers to their larger military activities; and permits on-site inspections to make sure the agreement is honored.

I am happy to note that since our representatives shook hands to seal this agreement a year-and-a-half ago, all 35 states have, by and large, honored both the letter and the spirit of the Stockholm Document. The Western and neutral and non-aligned states have set a strong example in providing full information about their military activities. In April, Finland held its first military activity subject to the Stockholm notification requirements and voluntarily invited observers to it. The Soviet Union and its allies also have a generally good record of implementation, though less forthcoming than the West. Ten on-site inspections have been conducted so far, and more and more states are exercising their right to make such inspections. I can't help but believe that making inspections a matter of routine business will improve openness and enhance confidence.

Nor was Stockholm the end of the process. In Vienna, all 35 signatory states are considering how to strengthen the confidence- and security-building measures, in the context of a balanced outcome at the C.S.C.E. follow-up meeting that includes significant progress on human rights.

In the economic field, as in the security field, I believe there has been progress, but of a different kind. Issues and negotiations regarding security are not simple, but military technology makes arms and armies resemble each other enough so that common measures can be confidently applied. Economic relations, by contrast, are bedeviled by differences in our systems. Perhaps increases in non-strategic trade can contribute to better relations between East and West, but it is difficult to relate the state-run economies of the East to the essentially free-market economies of the West. Perhaps some of the changes underway in the state-run economies will equip them better to deal with our businessmen, and open new arenas for cooperation. But our work on these issues over the years has already made us understand that differences in systems are serious obstacles to expansion of economic ties, and since understanding of unpleasant realities is part of wisdom, that, too, is progress.

The changes taking place in the Eastern countries of the continent go beyond changes in their economic systems and greater openness in their military activities: changes have also begun to occur in the field of human rights, as was called for in the Final Act. The rest of us would like to see the changes that are being announced actually registered in the law and practice of our Eastern partners, and in the documents under negotiation in the Vienna follow-up to the Helsinki Conference.

Much has been said about the human rights and humanitarian provisions in the Final Act and the failure of the Eastern bloc to honor them. Yet, for all the bleak winds that have swept the plains of justice since that signing day in 1975, the Accords have taken root in the conscience of humanity and grown in moral and, increasingly, in diplomatic authority. I believe that this is no accident. It reflects an increasing realization that the agenda of East-West relations must be comprehensive – that security and human rights must be advanced together, or cannot truly be secured at all. But it also shows that the provisions in the Final Act reflect standards that are truly universal in their scope. The Accords embody a fundamental truth, a truth that gathers strength with each passing season, and that will not be denied – the truth that, like the first Finnish settlers in America, all our ancient peoples find themselves today in a new world, and that, as those early settlers discovered, the greatest creative and moral force in this new world, the greatest hope for survival and success, for peace and happiness, is human freedom.

Yes, freedom – the right to speak, to print, to assemble, to travel, the right to worship and believe, the right to be different, the right, as the American philosopher, Henry David Thoreau, wrote, “to step to the music (of) – a different drummer.” This is freedom as most Europeans and Americans understand it and freedom as it is embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, yes, in the Helsinki Accords. And – far more than the locomotive or the automobile, the airplane or the rocket, more than radio, television or the computer – this concept of liberty is the most distinct, peculiar, and powerful invention of the civilization we all share.

Indeed, without this freedom there would have been no mechanical inventions, for inventions are eccentricities. The men and women who create them are visionaries, just like artists and writers. They see what others fail to see and trust their insights when others don't. The same freedom that permits literature and the arts to flourish, the same freedom that allows one to attend church, synagogue, or mosque without apprehension, that same freedom from oppression and supervision is the freedom that has given us – the peoples of Western Europe and North America – our dynamism, our economic growth, and our inventiveness. Together with Japan, Australia, and many others, we have lived in this state of freedom, this House of Democracy, since the end of the Second World War. The House of Democracy is a House whose doors are open to all. Because of it, because of the liberty and popular rule we have shared, today we also share a prosperity more widely distributed and extensive, a political order more tolerant and humane than has ever before been known on Earth.

To see not simply the immediate but the historic importance of this, we should remember how far so many of our nations have traveled – and how desolate the future of freedom and democracy once seemed.

For much of this century, the totalitarian temptation, in one form or another, has beckoned to mankind, also promising freedom – but of a different kind than the one we celebrate today. This concept of liberty is, as the Czechoslovak writer Milan Kundera has put it,

“the age-old dream of a world where everybody would live in harmony, united by a single common will and faith, without secrets from one another” – the freedom of imposed perfection.

Fifty, forty, even as recently as thirty years ago, the contest between this utopian concept of freedom on one hand and the democratic concept of freedom on the other seemed a close one. Promises of a perfect world lured many Western thinkers and millions of others besides. And many believed in the confident prediction of history’s inevitable triumph.

Few do today. Just as democratic freedom has proven itself incredibly fertile – fertile not merely in a material sense, but also in the abundance it has brought forth in the human spirit – so too utopianism has proven brutal and barren.

Albert Camus once predicted that, in his words, “when revolution in the name of power and of history becomes a murderous and immoderate mechanism, a new rebellion is consecrated in the name of moderation and of life.” Isn’t this exactly what we see happening across the mountains and plains of Europe and even beyond the Urals today? In Western Europe, support for utopian ideologies – including support among intellectuals – has all but collapsed while in the non-democratic countries, leaders grapple with the internal contradictions of their system and some ask how they can make that system better and more productive.

In a sense, the front line in the competition of ideas that has played in Europe and America for more than 70 years has shifted East. Once it was the democracies that doubted their own view of freedom and wondered whether utopian systems might not be better. Today, the doubt is on the other side.

In just two days, I will meet in Moscow with General Secretary Gorbachev. It will be our fourth set of face-to-face talks since 1985. The General Secretary and I have developed a broad agenda for U.S.-Soviet relations – an agenda linked directly to the agenda of the Final Act.

Yes, as does the Final Act, we will discuss security issues. We will pursue progress in arms reduction negotiations across the board and continue our exchanges on regional issues.

Yes, we will also discuss economic issues, although, as in the Helsinki process, we have seen in recent years how much the differences in our systems inhibit expanded ties, and how difficult it is to divorce economic relations from human rights and other elements of the relationship.

And, yes, as our countries did at Helsinki, we will take up other bilateral areas, as well – including scientific, cultural, and people-to-people exchanges, where we have been hard at work identifying new ways to cooperate. In this area, in particular, I believe we’ll see some good results before the week is over.

And like the Final Act, our agenda now includes human rights as an integral component. We have developed our dialogue and put in place new mechanisms for discussion. The General Secretary has spoken often and forthrightly of the problems confronting the Soviet Union. In his campaign to address these shortcomings, he talks of “glasnost” and “perestroiki-

ka” – openness and restructuring, words that to our ears have a particularly welcome sound. And since he began his campaign, things have happened that all of us applaud.

The list includes the release from labor camps or exile of people like Andrei Sakharov, Irina Ratushinskaya, Anatoliy Koryagin, Josef Begun, and many other prisoners of conscience; the publication of books like *Dr. Zhivago* and *Children of the Arbat*; the distribution of movies like *Repentance*, that are critical of aspects of the Soviet past and present; allowing higher levels of emigration; greater toleration of dissent; General Secretary Gorbachev’s recent statements on religious toleration; the beginning of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

All this is new and good. But at the same time, there is another list, defined not by us but by the standard of the Helsinki Final Act and the sovereign choice of all participants, including the Soviet Union, to subscribe to it. We need look no further through the Final Act to see where Soviet practice does not – or does not yet – measure up to Soviet commitment.

Thirteen years after the Final Act was signed, it is difficult to understand why cases of divided families and blocked marriages should remain on the East-West agenda; or why Soviet citizens who wish to exercise their right to emigrate should be subject to artificial quotas and arbitrary rulings. And what are we to think of the continued suppression of those who wish to practice their religious beliefs? Over three hundred men and women whom the world sees as political prisoners have been released. There remains no reason why the Soviet Union cannot release all people still in jail for expression of political or religious belief, or for organizing to monitor the Helsinki Act.

The Soviets talk about a “common European home,” and define it largely in terms of geography. But what is it that cements the structure of clear purpose that all our nations pledged themselves to build by their signature of the Final Act? What is it but the belief in the inalienable rights and dignity of every single human being? What is it but a commitment to true pluralist democracy? What is it but a dedication to the universally understood democratic concept of liberty that evolved from the genius of European civilization? This body of values – this is what marks, or should mark, the common European home.

Mr. Gorbachev has spoken of, in his words, “the artificiality and temporariness of the bloc-to-bloc confrontation and the archaic nature of the ‘iron curtain.’” I join him in this belief, and welcome every sign that the Soviets and their allies are ready, not only to embrace, but to put into practice the values that unify, and, indeed, define contemporary Western European civilization and its grateful American offspring.

Some 30 years ago, during another period of relative openness, the Italian socialist, Pietro Nenni, long a friend of the Soviet Union, warned that it was wrong to think the relaxation could be permanent in, as he said, “the absence of any system of judicial guarantees.” And he added that only democracy and liberty could prevent reversal of the progress underway.

There are a number of steps, which, if taken, would help ensure the deepening and institutionalization of promising reforms. First, the Soviet leaders could agree to tear down

the Berlin Wall and all barriers between Eastern and Western Europe. They could join us in making Berlin itself an all-European center of communications, meetings, and travel.

They could also give legal and practical protection to free expression and worship. Let me interject here that at one time Moscow was known as the City of the Forty Forties, because there were 1,600 belfries in the churches of the city. The world welcomes the return of some churches to worship after many years. – But there are still relatively few functioning churches, and almost no bells. Mr. Gorbachev recently said, as he put it, “believers are Soviet people, workers, patriots, and they have the full right to express their conviction with dignity.” I applaud Mr. Gorbachev’s statement. What a magnificent demonstration of goodwill it would be for the Soviet leadership for church bells to ring out again not only in Moscow but throughout the Soviet Union.

But beyond these particular steps, there is a deeper question. How can the countries of the East not only grant but guarantee the protection of rights?

The thought and practice of centuries has pointed the way. As the French constitutional philosopher, Montesquieu, wrote more than 200 years ago, “there is no liberty, if the judiciary power be not separated” from the other powers of government. And, like the complete independence of the judiciary, popular control over those who make the laws provides a vital, practical guarantee of human rights. So does the secret ballot. So does the freedom of citizens to associate and act political purposes or for free collective bargaining.

I know that for the Eastern countries such steps are difficult, and some may say it is unrealistic to call for them. Some said, in 1975, that the standards set forth in the Final Act were unrealistic; that the comprehensive agenda it embodied was unrealistic. Some said, earlier in this decade, that calling for global elimination of an entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles was unrealistic; that calling for 50 percent reductions in U.S. and Soviet strategic offensive arms was unrealistic; that the Soviets would never withdraw from Afghanistan. Is it realistic to pretend that rights are truly protected when there are no effective safeguards against arbitrary rule? Is it realistic, when the Soviet leadership itself is calling for glasnost and democratization, to say that judicial guarantees, or the independence of the judiciary, or popular control over those who draft the laws, or freedom to associate for political purposes, are unrealistic? And, finally, is it realistic to say that peace is truly secure when political systems are less than open?

We believe that realism is on our side when we say that peace and freedom can only be achieved together, but that they can indeed be achieved together if we are prepared to drive toward that goal. So did the leaders who met in this room to sign the Final Act. They were visionaries of the most practical kind. In shaping our policy toward the Soviet Union, in preparing for my meetings with the General Secretary, I have taken their vision – a shared vision, subscribed to by East, West, and the proud neutral and non-aligned countries of this continent – as my guide. I believe the standard that the framers of the Final Act set – including the concept of liberty it embodies – is a standard for all of us. We can do no less than uphold it and try to see it turn, as the Soviets say, into “life itself.”

We in the West will remain firm in our values; strong and vigilant in defense of our interests; ready to negotiate honestly for results of mutual and universal benefit. One lesson we drew again from the events leading up to the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty was that, in the world as it is today, peace truly does depend on Western strength and resolve. It is a lesson we will continue to heed.

But we are also prepared to work with the Soviets and their allies whenever they are ready to work with us. By strength we do not mean “diktat”, that is, an imposed settlement; we mean confident negotiation. The road ahead may be long – but not so long as our countries had before them 44 years ago when Finland’s great President, J. Paasikivi, told a nation that had shown the world uncommon courage in a harrowing time: “A path rises up the slope from the floor of the valley. At times the ascent is – gradual, at other times steeper. But all the time one comes closer and closer to free, open spaces, above which God’s ever brighter sky can be seen. The way up will be difficult – but every step will take us closer to open vistas.”

I believe that in Moscow, Mr. Gorbachev and I can take another step toward a brighter future and a safer world. And I believe that, for the sake of all our ancient peoples, this new world must be a place both of democratic freedom and of peace. It must be a world in which the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act guides all our countries like a great beacon of hope to all mankind for ages to come.