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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE

CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION

IN EUROPE

HELSINKI, FINLAND

FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, 1975

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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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 LONG-STANDING 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. *See table above*

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 THIRTY 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 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 HERE SIMPLY TO SAY TO MY COLLEAGUES:

WE OWE IT TO OUR CHILDREN, TO THE CHILDREN OF ALL

CONTINENTS, NOT TO MISS ANY OPPORTUNITY, NOT TO MALINGER 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 GOODWILL, 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 PEOPLE'S 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 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 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 AIMS. BUT IF WE DEAL

WITH THEM WITH CAREFUL PREPARATION, IF WE FOCUS ON CONCRETE

ISSUES, AND 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 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 DEMONSTRATED DETERMINATION

TO DEAL WITH MILITARY SECURITY PROBLEMS ON 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 WEAPONS, 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 DETENTE AND PARTICIPATION
IN THE BENEFITS OF DETENTE MUST BE EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS --
IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE. BUT DETENTE CAN SUCCEED ONLY
IF EVERYBODY UNDERSTANDS WHAT DETENTE ACTUALLY IS.

FIRST, \ DETENTE IS AN EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS,

NOT A STATIC CONDITION. MANY FORMIDABLE CHALLENGES

YET REMAIN.

SECOND, \ THE SUCCESS OF THE DETENTE PROCESS 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
DO EXPECT STEADY PROGRESS THAT COMES IN STEPS --
STEPS THAT ARE RELATED TO EACH OTHER AND THAT LINK OUR ACTIONS
WITH OUR WORDS IN VARIOUS AREAS OF OUR RELATIONS.

FINALLY, THERE MUST BE AN ACCEPTANCE OF MUTUAL

OBLIGATION. DETENTE, AS I HAVE OFTEN SAID, MUST BE A

TWO-WAY STREET. TENSIONS CANNOT BE EASED BY ONE SIDE ALONE.

BOTH SIDES MUST WANT DETENTE 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 DETENTE 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: NON-INTERVENTION, SOVEREIGN EQUALITY,

SELF-DETERMINATION, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, INVIOABILITY

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 THAT 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 HOPE 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.

AND 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 ELEVEN
LONG YEARS LATER OUR INDEPENDENCE WAS WON AND THE STABILITY
OF OUR REPUBLIC WAS REALLY ACHIEVED THROUGH THE INCORPORATION
OF THOSE SAME PRINCIPLES IN OUR CONSTITUTION.

BUT THOSE PRINCIPLES, THOUGH THEY ARE STILL BEING
PERFECTED, REMAIN THE GUIDING LIGHTS OF 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.

rigorously
↑

TO AMERICA'S ALLIES: WE IN THE WEST MUST PURSUE

THE COURSE UPON WHICH WE HAVE EMBARKED TOGETHER, REINFORCED

BY ONE ANOTHER'S STRENGTH AND MUTUAL CONFIDENCE.

STABILITY IN EUROPE REQUIRES EQUILIBRIUM IN EUROPE.

THEREFORE I ASSURE YOU THAT MY COUNTRY WILL CONTINUE TO BE A

CONCERNED AND RELIABLE PARTNER. OUR PARTNERSHIP IS FAR

MORE THAN A MATTER OF FORMAL AGREEMENTS. IT IS A REFLECTION

OF BELIEFS, TRADITIONS AND TIES THAT ARE OF DEEP SIGNIFICANCE

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE ARE PROUD THAT THESE VALUES ARE

EXPRESSED IN THIS DOCUMENT.

TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST: THE UNITED STATES

CONSIDERS THAT THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THIS CONFERENCE HAS

AGREED ARE PART OF THE GREAT HERITAGE OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

WHICH WE ALL HOLD IN TRUST FOR ALL MANKIND. TO MY COUNTRY,

THEY ARE NOT CLICHÉS OR EMPTY PHRASES.

WE TAKE THIS WORK AND THESE WORDS SERIOUSLY. WE WILL SPARE
NO EFFORT TO EASE TENSIONS AND 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 AND 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 DETENTE AND OF THE

PRINCIPLES OF THIS CONFERENCE. WE WELCOME THE FACT THAT,

SUBJECT TO ^{*four power*} ~~QUADRIPARTITE~~ RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES,

THE RESULTS OF C.S.C.E. 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.

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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 LIMITATION WITH THE
SOVIET UNION. THIS REMAINS A PRIORITY OF AMERICAN POLICY.
GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV AND I AGREED LAST NOVEMBER IN
VLADIVOSTOK ON THE ESSENTIAL OF A NEW ACCORD LIMITING STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE WEAPONS FOR THE NEXT TEN 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 TRANQUILITY
AND REGIONS OF CONFLICT?

-- TO THE DIALOGUE 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 TODAY, BUT BY WHAT WE DO TOMORROW -- NOT BY THE
PROMISES WE MAKE BUT BY THE PROMISES WE KEEP.

END OF TEXT