

[Trip to Vienna for Signing of SALT II, 6/14/79-6/18/79] [1]

Folder Citation: Collection: Office of Staff Secretary; Series: Presidential Files; Folder: [Trip to Vienna for Signing of SALT II, 6/14/79-6/18/79] [1]; Container 121

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WE ARE

AND HISTORIC

AND

I AM DELIGHTED TO VISIT THE BEAUTIFUL CITY OF VIENNA, ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, I WANT TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION TO PRESIDENT "KIRSH-SCHLAGER", CHANCELLOR KREISKY, AND THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF AUSTRIA FOR HOSTING THIS SUMMIT MEETING.

THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRIA ARE UNITED BY STRONG BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP, MUTUAL RESPECT, AND OUR SHARED DEVOTION TO DEMOCRATIC IDEALS. THE PEOPLE OF MY NATION UNEQUIVOCALLY SUPPORT AND APPRECIATE THE FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, AND NEUTRALITY OF AUSTRIA.

(=OVER=) (I HAVE COME TO MEET WITH.....)

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I HAVE COME TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT BREZHNEV ON A MISSION OF PEACE --
TO STRENGTHEN AND ENLARGE COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, ... TO REDUCE THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR WAR, ...
TO MOVE TOWARDS A MORE STABLE AND SECURE WORLD.

THIS SUMMIT INVOLVES THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, BUT ALL
PEOPLE HAVE AN URGENT STAKE IN THESE TALKS. NO HUMAN BEING CAN REST SECURE
IN A WORLD OF UNRESTRAINED NUCLEAR WEAPONS. ALL NATIONS, AND ALL PEOPLE
~~PEOPLE~~, SHARE AN OVERRIDING INTEREST IN MAINTAINING PEACE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE.

THIS CITY IS AN ESPECIALLY APPROPRIATE SETTING TO PURSUE THE GOALS
OF UNDERSTANDING. HISTORICALLY, VIENNA HAS BEEN A CROSSROADS WHERE
DIFFERENT CULTURES AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS MEET.

(=NEW CARD=) (THE UNITED STATES AND....)

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION CONCLUDED THE FIRST MAJOR
COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD IN THIS CITY IN 1955, ... (74)
HELPING TO MOVE BOTH NATIONS BEYOND THE HOSTILITIES AND SUSPICIONS OF THE
COLD WAR ERA, TOWARDS STABILITY IN EUROPE AND GREATER COOPERATION IN THE
PURSUIT OF PEACE.

VIENNA IS THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY,
ON WHICH ALL NATIONS RELY TO PROVIDE SAFEGUARDS FOR THE USE OF ATOMIC POWER.
ALONG WITH NEW YORK AND GENEVA, ^{VIENNA} ~~IT~~ IS THE THIRD CITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

FOR NEARLY THREE DECADES, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION
HAVE SOUGHT TO LIMIT AND CONTROL THE MOMENTUM OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.
THIS WEEK, WE ^{CONTINUE} ~~TAKE ANOTHER HISTORIC STEP~~ IN THAT PROCESS WITH THE SIGNING
OF S.A.L.T. II.

(=OVER=) (WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT.....)

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WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT THIS AGREEMENT WILL RID THE WORLD OF DANGER OR END ALL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS. BUT WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT S.A.L.T. II WILL WIDEN THE AREAS OF COOPERATION, AND REDUCE THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.

THE PEOPLE OF VIENNA, THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE, AND THE PEOPLES OF MANY OTHER NATIONS HAVE KNOWN THE BITTER PRICE OF WAR TWICE IN THIS CENTURY. WITH THE SUCCESS OF THIS SUMMIT MEETING THIS WEEK, ALL PEOPLE WILL TAKE ANOTHER STEP TOWARDS SECURITY AND LASTING PEACE.

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ARRIVAL STATEMENT - VIENNA

Susan
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beautiful and

I am delighted to visit the historic city of Vienna.

I want to express ^{on behalf of the American people,} my appreciation to President ^{is} Kirchsclaeger, Chancellor Kreisky, and ~~the~~ ^{the} people and government of Austria for hosting this Summit meeting.

The United States and Austria are united by strong bonds of friendship, mutual respect, and our shared devotion to democratic ideals. ^{The people of my nation} ~~The United States is~~ unequivocally ^{supports and appreciates} ~~committed to~~ the freedom, independence, and neutrality of Austria.

I have come to meet with President Brezhnev on a mission of peace -- to strengthen and enlarge cooperation and understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union -- to reduce the dangers of nuclear war -- to move towards a more stable and secure world.

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This Summit involves the United States and the Soviet Union, ^b but all ~~the world's~~ people have an urgent stake in these talks. No human being can rest secure in a world of unrestrained nuclear weapons. All nations, and all people today, share an overriding interest in maintaining peace in the nuclear age.

This city is an especially appropriate setting to pursue the goals of understanding. Historically, ^{ally} ~~ally~~ Vienna has been a crossroads where different cultures and political systems ^{meet.} ~~met.~~ The United States and the Soviet Union concluded the first major cooperative agreement of the post-war period in this city in 1955, ~~The Austrian State Treaty~~ ^{helping to} ~~helped~~ move both nations beyond the hostilities and suspicions of the Cold War era towards stability in Europe and greater cooperation in the pursuit of peace.

Vienna is the headquarters of the International Atomic

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Energy Agency, which all nations rely on, to provide safeguards for the use of atomic power. It is the third city ~~+~~ Along with New York and Geneva ~~+~~ of the United Nations. ~~And it is the meeting place for scientists of East and West to share the research and discoveries of advanced technology.~~

For nearly three decades, the United States and the Soviet Union have sought to limit and control the momentum of the nuclear arms race. This week, we take another historic step in that process with the signing of SALT II.

We have no illusions that this Agreement will rid the world of danger or end ^{all} ~~the~~ differences between our two nations. But we are confident that SALT II will widen the areas of cooperation and reduce the dangers of nuclear holocaust. ^R The people of Vienna, the people of Europe, and the peoples of many other nations have known the bitter price of war twice in this century. This week, all ~~the~~

~~world's~~ ^{will} people take another step towards security and
lasting peace.

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14 June 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: The Oil Crisis

As you know, I have been deeply concerned for many years about energy. Therefore, I want to express some thoughts on the difficult problem you face as you depart for Vienna.

I know of no other time in history where a few states with little military strength have held in thrall other nations which possess great military strength.

As I understand your policy from the newspapers, you desire to unite the Western states and Japan into a common front so as to prevent dangerous competition and the risk of war. I also understand it is your intent to make clear to the oil producing states that rivalry among the major powers is dangerous to all.

At some point you may wish--and you may have already taken steps--to bring to the attention of the Soviet Union and China that their welfare, too, lies in stability.

I cannot help but think that you are helping to bring the world into a new age. The energy crisis shows more than ever the true need for unity of the world, which is today split into abrasive elements. Probably only through an agreement among the most powerful states--ourselves, Russia, Japan, and China--can supply and prices be properly assigned and peace preserved.

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An analogy that comes to mind is the Concert of Europe which the major powers established after the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars. The Concert gave Europe four decades of freedom from war.

The situation today is far different, and the results of failure more catastrophic.

As I have often said, I know of no other President who has had to confront problems as serious as those you face.

Respectfully,


H. G. Rickover

McCord in Vienna
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 16, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: STU EIZENSTAT
SUBJECT: Trucking Strike

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At your direction, I have begun to coordinate the Administration's effort to develop ways to end the independent truckers' strike. Yesterday, after my discussions with Dan O'Neal, the ICC issued a rule permitting truckers to pass-through their increased energy costs. This morning I held an inter-agency meeting (DOT, DOL, DOJ, ICC, DOA, DOE, White House) to get the most up-to-date information on the problem and to coordinate the Administration's response. This afternoon I met with representatives of a number of independent trucking associations to listen to their complaints. I told them we wanted to know their problems but we could not condone violence or disruption to interstate commerce.

As a result of these efforts, I believe there are some actions the Administration can take to improve the current situation, and we are now making preparations to take those actions by next Wednesday at the latest. Because the situation is volatile and emotion-charged it is not clear that our actions can bring an immediate end to the "strike."

Current Situation

In a number of areas independent truckers are blocking truck stops, fuel depots and highways and are not delivering their goods (to a large extent perishable produce,) because they are having trouble getting diesel fuel and, when they can get fuel, the prices being charged are considerably above the recent norm.

Until the ICC action yesterday, the truckers were not able to pass-through the higher fuel costs to their customers. In addition, many of the independent truckers are using the frustration they are now experiencing over fuel to rally support for government action on a number of long-time grievances, such as highway weight and speed limits.

The strike is not yet very well organized, or centered in any one part of the country. Particularly hard hit areas at this point are Alabama, where a woman was killed, and Iowa, where much of the fuel distribution system has been shut down. Unless we act soon, the situation could well deteriorate, and the economies of various parts of the country would be severely impacted.

Violence has erupted in a few isolated areas. Currently, though, violence does not seem to be spreading.

The Teamsters are not participating in this strike and are not likely to do so.

Planned Actions

We are now planning to take the following actions to convince the independent truckers to return to work. My judgment is that these actions should help somewhat to that end, and with some luck the situation could ease by the end of next week:

1. Dan O'Neal and I held a press background briefing today following our meeting with the truckers. Jody agreed that such a briefing would be helpful in indicating that the Administration is on top of the problem and is taking steps to deal with it. At the briefing, we also tried to get the press to better understand the ICC's action of yesterday. Today's press accounts unfortunately gave the impression that the pass-through only permitted a 5.6% increase in rates. In fact, the increase permitted is virtually 100% for increased fuel charges, which now equals about 5.6% of a truckers' total charge but that figure is certain to rise. If the truckers understand the extent of the pass-through, we believe they will be more likely to return. At our meeting with the truckers, we also emphasized the generous nature of the pass-through.
2. On Monday, Justice will send, under signature of the Acting Attorney General, a strong memo to all State and local law enforcement officials. The memo will indicate that the Federal Government will not tolerate violence of the type now occurring at the truck stops, that the State and local governments have the primary responsibility to enforce the law and to prohibit violence, and that the Federal Government will fully support the State and local efforts to end violence. At the same time, Ben Civiletti will send a strong memo to all U.S. Attorneys indicating

that they are expected to treat the occurrence of violence as a high priority and to investigate any possible violations of Federal laws. We believe that these memos will have a chilling effect on independent truckers. Similar memos during the coal strike had such effect in reducing violence.

3. On Monday, I will meet with additional independent truckers to listen to their concerns and to let them know of the actions we are taking. The group we met with today did not include all segments of the independent trucking industry. Those not included in today's meeting will be included in Monday's meeting.
4. On Wednesday, with your approval, we would announce a series of actions to meet a number of the truckers' current concerns. They would like a special rule guaranteeing them 100% of their diesel requirements, but that is impracticable. The principal action would involve the rescinding of special Rule 9, which had been issued by DOE several weeks ago to give agricultural users 100% of their diesel requirements. Rule 9 would normally expire on July 31, 1979. Gene Eidenberg reports that the Western and Mid-western Governors feel it has served its purpose and could be rescinded, although they want an additional State set aside. However, because the Spring planting season is now over, and there is no longer a shortage of diesel in the agricultural community, we could rescind Rule 9 now. USDA has no problems with such an action and in fact will publicly indicate that the Rule is no longer needed. If Rule 9 is rescinded, truckers will have more diesel fuel diverted to their use. The fact that Rule 9 is rescinded should go a long way to allaying their concerns about diesel availability.

I will provide more details about this proposal when you return.

They also requested action to encourage regulated truckers to use more fuel from their terminals; uniform weight and length requirements for all States; publication of rate sheets; support of legislation to prevent shippers from forcing them to pay for unloading the goods in their rigs; and development of a more fuel-efficient engine. We are reviewing all

of these on an expedited basis.

We will be working to develop other possible actions for announcement Wednesday. We would like to make an announcement by then both because we need to appear responsive quickly if we are to improve the situation and because the trucking deregulation announcement is on Thursday.

cc: Vice President
Hamilton Jordan
Jody Powell

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS, FRIENDS:

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AGO DURING ANOTHER SUMMIT MEETING IN POTSDAM,
A BRIEF MESSAGE WAS BROUGHT IN TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN. JUST BEFORE DAWN ON
THE DESERT OF ALAMAGORDO THE FIRST ATOMIC BOMB EXPLODED -- MAN HAD
UNLEASHED THE POWER OF MATTER ITSELF, AND CHANGED THE WORLD FOREVER.

SINCE THEN THE UNCHANGING DUTY OF EVERY PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
HAS BEEN TO AVOID NUCLEAR WAR WHILE MAINTAINING THE SECURITY OF OUR NATION.
THAT IS THE PURPOSE OF MY MISSION TO VIENNA.

WE KNOW THAT PROGRESS IN THIS SEARCH IS OFTEN MEASURED IN INCHES AND
NOT IN MILES. AND WE KNOW THAT THE ONLY WAY TO HAVE PEACE IN THE END
IS TO HAVE WAGED PEACE ALL ALONG FROM A POSITION OF NATIONAL STRENGTH.
(=OVER=) (THE VIENNA SUMMIT WILL BE...)

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THE VIENNA SUMMIT WILL BE THE 10TH TIME AMERICAN AND SOVIET LEADERS HAVE MET SINCE WORLD WAR II. WE DO HAVE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND THEY REQUIRE THE MOST CAREFUL DISCUSSION.

WE WILL MAKE CLEAR TO THE SOVIET UNION OUR VIEWS AND OUR PURPOSES IN THE WORLD, SO THAT THERE CAN BE NO DANGEROUS MISUNDERSTANDINGS AS WE PURSUE OUR SEPARATE COURSES.

WE WILL TRY TO BROADEN OUR COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AND CREATE NEW CHANNELS OF UNDERSTANDING FOR THE FUTURE.

WE WILL SEEK NEW AREAS WHERE MORE COOPERATION AND LESS COMPETITION ARE POSSIBLE. THE ARMS LIMITATION TREATY WHICH PRESIDENT BREZHNEV AND I WILL SIGN ON MONDAY EMBODIES THAT SPIRIT, AND GIVES US ENHANCED NATIONAL SECURITY AND INCREASED HOPE FOR A PEACEFUL FUTURE.

(=NEW CARD=) (AND WITH S.A.L.T. II ...)

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AND WITH S.A.L.T. II, WE CONTINUE THE 30 YEAR SEARCH FOR WAYS TO AVOID NUCLEAR WAR.

THAT WAS THE GOAL OF THE LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY, THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY, AND OF S.A.L.T. I. IT ^{HAS BEEN} ~~WAS~~ THE GOAL OF THREE PRESIDENTS FROM BOTH PARTIES WHO WORKED FOR SEVEN YEARS TO MAKE S.A.L.T. II FAIR, BALANCED AND VERIFIABLE.

THAT WILL BE OUR GOAL AS WE BEGIN TO DISCUSS FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS IN S.A.L.T. III.

NO ONE TREATY CAN TAKE US BACK TO A TIME BEFORE WE LEARNED TO ARM OURSELVES WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, JUST AS NO ONE SUMMIT CAN END THE SHARP COMPETITION BETWEEN US.

(=OVER=) (WE AND THE SOVIET UNION CAN.....)

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WE AND THE SOVIET UNION CAN AGREE, HOWEVER, THAT THE SECURITY OF BOTH
OUR NATIONS AND THE STABILITY OF THE WORLD DEPENDS ON AVOIDING A NUCLEAR
CONFLICT, ^{WHICH} ~~THAT~~ SOME MAY SURVIVE -- BUT NO ONE CAN WIN.

I APPROACH THIS SUMMIT IN VIENNA WITH HOPE, ... BUT WITHOUT FALSE
EXPECTATIONS.

THE GOALS WHICH LIE AT THE HEART OF MY MISSION TODAY -- IMPROVING OUR
NATION'S SECURITY AND AVOIDING NUCLEAR WAR -- TRANSCEND ALL OTHER ISSUES
THAT I WILL FACE DURING MY LIFE IN PUBLIC OFFICE.

I AM GRATEFUL FOR YOUR GUIDANCE AND FOR YOUR GOOD WISHES.

I GO TO VIENNA WITH THE CONFIDENCE WHICH CAN ONLY COME FROM
REPRESENTING THE GREATEST, THE STRONGEST, AND THE MOST FREE SOCIETY IN
THE WORLD.

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MR. PRESIDENT:

WE HAVE COME TO VIENNA IN SEARCH OF COMMON UNDERSTANDING IN A SPIRIT OF COMMON SENSE. WE HAVE COME TO EXPLORE, TO CLARIFY, AND TO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES. WE HAVE COME TO TAKE ONE MORE STEP TOWARDS AVOIDING A NUCLEAR CONFLICT WHICH SOME FEW MIGHT SURVIVE, BUT WHICH NO SIDE COULD WIN.

MR. PRESIDENT, IF I HAD ONLY ONE THING TO MENTION IN MY TOAST TONIGHT IT WOULD BE TO PROPOSE OUR TWO NATIONS' SUCCESS IN HOLDING A STEADY COURSE TOWARDS CONTROL OF WEAPONS, AND IN HALTING ANY DRIFT TOWARDS UNCERTAINTY THAT MIGHT COME FROM OUR FAILURE TO CONTROL AND REGULATE THE ARMS COMPETITION.

(=OVER=) (HOWEVER, WE MUST CONSIDER.....)

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HOWEVER, WE MUST CONSIDER THE WIDER POSSIBILITIES OF S.A.L.T. II.

AS WE WORKED TO CONCLUDE OUR AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC ARMS, WE FOUND

THAT WE COULD WORK TOGETHER FOR OTHER POSITIVE CHANGE.

IN FACT OUR NEW S.A.L.T. TREATY COULD PROVIDE THE BASIC FRAMEWORK

WE SEEK TO REDUCE TENSION AND CONFLICT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THAT WORLD IS MOVING QUICKLY TOWARDS MORE VARIED FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

YOUNG NATIONS ARE ASSERTING A NEW INDEPENDENT PLACE FOR THEMSELVES.

WE ARE SEEING THE DECLINE OF RACISM, AND THE END OF COLONIALISM. THERE IS

A WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT AGAINST POVERTY AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE FACE DANGERS THAT CREATE COMBAT IN SOME REGIONS,

TROUBLE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON A GLOBAL SCALE, AND ENCOURAGE THE SPREAD

OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS.

(=NEW CARD=) (WE SEE OUR OWN ROLE.....)

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WE SEE OUR OWN ROLE AS ONE THAT SUPPORTS CHANGE TOWARD GREATER PLURALISM IN AND AMONG SOCIETIES. WE WANT MORE EQUALITY AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPING NATIONS.

WE BELIEVE IN RESTRAINING CONFLICTS THAT COULD UNDERMINE THOSE GOALS.

WE ARE WORKING FOR COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS...FOR THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES,...FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND HUMAN RIGHTS AROUND THE GLOBE.

THESE ARE THE IDEAS WE WOULD LIKE TO EXPLORE AS WE DISCUSS THE UNIQUE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION.

~~THAT WE HAVE THE POWER TO DESTROY OTHER NATIONS DOES NOT MEAN WE HAVE A RIGHT OR A NEED TO CONTROL THEM.~~

(=OVER=) (I BELIEVE THAT OUR)

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I BELIEVE THAT OUR SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO LIMIT NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAN BE A FRAMEWORK FOR GUIDANCE TOWARD NEW AREAS OF COOPERATION, AND FOR FACING PEACEFULLY THOSE AREAS IN WHICH WE STILL COMPETE.

MR. PRESIDENT, AS WE RAISE OUR GLASSES TO TOAST OUR SUCCESS WITH S.A.L.T. II, LET US PLEDGE TO SEEK NEW AREAS OF COMMON UNDERSTANDING IN THE SAME SPIRIT OF COMMON SENSE.

LET US PLEDGE OUR CONTINUED COOPERATION, HONESTY IN OUR DISCUSSIONS, ENHANCED SECURITY FOR BOTH NATIONS, AND -- ABOVE ALL -- A PEACEFUL WORLD.

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*TOAST TO YOU MR KRES AND TO THE
HEROIC PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION*

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G. Stewart
6/15/79
8:45 p.m.

Susan
ok
J

First Night Toast

Mr. President: **Electrostatic Copy Made
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We have come to Vienna in search of common understanding
in a spirit of common sense. We have come to explore ^{to} and
and to attempt to resolve
clarify our differences. We have come to take one more step
towards avoiding a nuclear conflict which some few might
which
survive but ^{no} side could win.

Mr. President, if I had ^{only one thing to} ~~nothing else to propose~~ ^{mention in my} in toast
^{it} tonight ^{propose} I would be proud to offer our two nations' success in
holding a steady course towards control of ~~our~~ weapons, and
in halting ^{any} the drift towards uncertainty that ^{might come from} our failure to
~~control and regulate~~ ^{the} arms competition. ^{do so would bring.}

However, we must consider the wider possibilities of

SALT II.

~~Today~~ ^{As} we worked to conclude our agreement on strategic
arms, we found that we could work together for ^{other} positive change.

Perhaps we can continue working on that principle tomorrow as we examine the many areas of change which concern us throughout the world.

Just as we have worked towards a common view of strategic arms, we must work to share a view of the world that will support positive change -- not one that will be broken apart by it.

In fact our ^{new} SALT treaty ^{could provide} ~~can give us~~ the basic framework we seek to reduce tension and conflict throughout the world.

That world is moving quickly towards more varied forms of government. Young nations are asserting a new independent place for themselves. We are seeing the decline of racism, and the end of colonialism. There is a worldwide movement against poverty and social injustice.

At the same time, we face dangers that ^{create combat} ~~threaten the peace~~ in ^{some} ~~many~~ regions, trouble international relations on a global scale, and encourage ~~negative changes such as~~ the spread of

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nuclear and conventional arms.

We see our own role as one that supports change toward greater pluralism in and among societies.

We want more equality and ~~more~~ economic opportunities ^{development} for new nations.

We believe in restraining conflicts that could undermine those goals.

We are working for cooperation among nations...for the peaceful settlement of ~~conflicts and~~ disputes...for economic development, social justice, and human rights around the globe.

These are the ideas we would like to explore as we discuss the unique responsibilities of the relationship between the ^{united} U.S. and the Soviet Union.

That we have the power to destroy other nations, does not mean we have a ^{right or a need to control} ~~duty to control~~ them.

(Tom Vanu)

~~In fact~~, I believe that our successful effort to limit nuclear weapons can be ^a ~~our~~ framework for guidance ^{toward} ~~in~~ new areas of cooperation, and ^{for} ~~in~~ ^{peacefully} facing those [↑] ~~in~~ which we still compete. [↑] ~~in~~ ^{areas}

If both of us care deeply about the security of our nations -- and we do -- then we must also be concerned about the dangers our competition presents -- to ourselves and to the world.

Mr. President, as we raise our glasses to toast our success with SALT II, let us pledge to seek new areas of common understanding in the same spirit of common sense. Let us pledge our continued cooperation, honesty in ^{our} ~~competition,~~ *discussions, enhanced security for both nations,* ~~and commitment to peaceful change~~ *and -- above all -- a peaceful world.*

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*Susan
ok*

Toast for Second Day

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*and to lay the groundwork
for further progress on the
control and regulation of nuclear
weapons.*

Today, Mr. President, we discussed a range of issues important not only to each of us but to the entire world. On some of the issues, particularly in the arms control field, we were able to further our joint efforts to develop rules curbing the military competition between us. On other issues, particularly international problems in troubled areas of the world, we did not agree, and we were not able to develop a common approach. *We agreed, however, to continue searching for peaceful resolution of these differences.*

if some

Both our countries face risks that stem from the changes sweeping many parts of the world today. As the two major nuclear powers, we have a special responsibility to deal with that change.

I believe that two possible roads lie before us. There

*CV told Barbara Walters hadn't discussed them yet
will be reviewed before meeting at 5.*

is the road of competition, ~~conflict~~ and even confrontation.

Any effort by either of our nations to exploit the turbulence that exists in various parts of the world pushes us toward that road. The United States can and will protect its vital interests if this becomes the route we must follow.

But there is another way -- the path of restraint and, where possible, cooperation. *This is the path we* ~~We are prepared to pursue the~~
prefer.
~~first path if need be~~ but we prefer the second.

I hope, Mr. President that ~~the island of~~ detente which has been ^{growing} ~~created~~ in Europe can ~~grow to~~ encompass other regions of the world. I hope that we can work together so that the rules of restraint, the mutual respect accorded each other's interests, and the recognition of the danger of unbridled competition will lead to an even more stable peace in Europe and can progressively be applied to other troubled regions of our planet.

In Southern Africa, there is a struggle for racial

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Insert A for page 3:

We must all ~~show~~^{show} compassion for the tens of thousands of suffering people who have been driven from their homes and their homelands. The callous indifference with which the world ignored refugees in the Europe of the 1930s must not be repeated in the Asia of the 1970s.

justice. We Americans know [from our own experience how painful -- and how necessary -- that struggle is. We also know] that violence is not the solution, and so we seek peaceful resolution of the conflicts there.

*with national territories
being invaded and occupied
by foreign troops.*

In Southeast Asia, war continues, We believe that the war in ~~Cambodia must end and~~ *Kampuchea* can only end by the withdrawal

of ~~Vietnamese forces which invaded Cambodia months ago~~ *foreign* and the honoring of national independence and international borders. (A)

In the Middle East, Israel and Egypt have taken an historic step toward a comprehensive peace. Thirty years of *hatred had brought only* war and terrorism ~~had brought us no closer to peace.~~ Only the courage of Egyptian and Israeli leaders has now enabled us to start down the road of a comprehensive peace.

On all these major international questions, the United States stands for the peaceful reconciliation of differences, and against the use of force.

So, too, we stand for measures to control the instru-

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ments of war.

The SALT Agreement which we will sign here provides a good foundation, one that will be strengthened by the other arms control initiatives we are pursuing together. On that foundation, Let us build ~~a meeting house where we can reason together --~~ ^{so that} where we can narrow our differences in a spirit

of respect for the independence of all nations and the value of every human being. ^P Let us ^{both} agree never to use offensive weapons against any nation in an act of aggression.

Mr. President, in all the world's history, no two nations have ever had a greater responsibility to act with restraint, and to seek mutual ^maccommodation, than the United States and the Soviet Union. ^{We have many} ~~Despite our~~ ^{of} differences in history, ideology, and economic and social systems, ^{Mr. President, we are sure both} ~~I am nonetheless confident~~ ^{am sure} ~~Came about the peaceful future of the world,~~ and I ^{am sure} that with honesty and goodwill, we can make progress toward

a safer, more peaceful world.

^P # # #
Let us discourage the use of foreign forces in troubled regions of the world, and encourage the peaceful settlement of disputes among the people who are directly involved.

TODAY, MR. PRESIDENT, WE DISCUSSED A RANGE OF ISSUES IMPORTANT NOT ONLY TO EACH OF US, BUT TO THE ENTIRE WORLD. ON SOME OF THE ISSUES, PARTICULARLY IN THE ARMS CONTROL FIELD, WE WERE ABLE TO FURTHER OUR JOINT EFFORTS TO DEVELOP RULES CURBING THE MILITARY COMPETITION BETWEEN US, AND TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR FURTHER PROGRESS ON THE CONTROL AND REGULATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

ON SOME OTHER ISSUES, PARTICULARLY INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS IN TROUBLED AREAS OF THE WORLD, WE DID NOT AGREE, AND WE WERE NOT ABLE TO DEVELOP A COMMON APPROACH. WE AGREED, HOWEVER, TO CONTINUE SEARCHING FOR PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THESE DIFFERENCES.

(=OVER=) (BOTH OUR COUNTRIES FACE.....)

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BOTH OUR COUNTRIES FACE RISKS THAT STEM FROM THE CHANGES SWEEPING
MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD TODAY. AS THE TWO MAJOR NUCLEAR POWERS, WE HAVE
A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO DEAL WITH THAT CHANGE.

I BELIEVE THAT TWO POSSIBLE ROADS LIE BEFORE US. THERE IS THE ROAD
OF COMPETITION, AND EVEN CONFRONTATION. ANY EFFORT BY EITHER OF OUR NATIONS
TO EXPLOIT THE TURBULENCE THAT EXISTS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD
PUSHES US TOWARD THAT ROAD. THE UNITED STATES CAN AND WILL PROTECT ITS
VITAL INTERESTS IF THIS BECOMES THE ROUTE WE MUST FOLLOW.

BUT THERE IS ANOTHER WAY -- THE PATH OF RESTRAINT AND, WHERE POSSIBLE,
COOPERATION. THIS IS THE PATH WE PREFER.

(=NEW CARD=) (I HOPE, MR. PRESIDENT,.....)

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I HOPE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT DETENTE WHICH HAS BEEN GROWING IN EUROPE CAN ENCOMPASS OTHER REGIONS OF THE WORLD.

I HOPE THAT WE CAN WORK TOGETHER SO THAT THE RULES OF RESTRAINT, THE MUTUAL RESPECT ACCORDED EACH OTHER'S INTERESTS, AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE DANGER OF UNBRIDLED COMPETITION WILL LEAD TO AN EVEN MORE STABLE PEACE IN EUROPE, AND CAN PROGRESSIVELY BE APPLIED TO OTHER TROUBLED REGIONS OF OUR PLANET.

IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THERE IS A STRUGGLE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE. WE AMERICANS KNOW THAT VIOLENCE IS NOT THE SOLUTION, AND SO WE SEEK PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICTS THERE.

(=OVER=) (IN SOUTHEAST ASIA,)

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IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WAR CONTINUES, WITH NATIONAL TERRITORIES BEING INVADED AND OCCUPIED BY FOREIGN TROOPS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE WAR IN KAMPUCHEA CAN ONLY END BY THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES AND THE HONORING OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND INTERNATIONAL BORDERS.

WE MUST ALL SHOW COMPASSION FOR THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF SUFFERING PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN DRIVEN FROM THEIR HOMES AND THEIR HOMELANDS. THE CALLOUS INDIFFERENCE WITH WHICH THE WORLD IGNORED REFUGEES IN THE EUROPE OF THE 1930's MUST NOT BE REPEATED IN THE ASIA OF THE 1970's.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ISRAEL AND EGYPT HAVE TAKEN A HISTORIC STEP TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE. THIRTY YEARS OF HATRED HAD BROUGHT ONLY WAR AND TERRORISM. ONLY THE COURAGE OF EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI LEADERS HAS NOW ENABLED US TO START DOWN THE ROAD OF A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE.

(=NEW CARD=) (ON ALL THESE MAJOR.....)

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ON ALL THESE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS, THE UNITED STATES STANDS FOR THE PEACEFUL RECONCILIATION OF DIFFERENCES, AND AGAINST THE USE OF FORCE.

So, too, we STAND FOR MEASURES TO CONTROL THE INSTRUMENTS OF WAR.

THE S.A.L.T. AGREEMENT WHICH WE WILL SIGN HERE PROVIDES A GOOD FOUNDATION -- ONE THAT WILL BE STRENGTHENED BY THE OTHER ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVES WE ARE PURSUING TOGETHER.

LET US BUILD ON THAT FOUNDATION SO THAT WE CAN NARROW OUR DIFFERENCES IN A SPIRIT OF RESPECT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ALL NATIONS AND THE VALUE OF EVERY HUMAN BEING.

(=OVER=) (LET US BOTH AGREE NEVER TO.....)

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LET US BOTH AGREE NEVER TO USE OFFENSIVE WEAPONS AGAINST ANY NATION
IN AN ACT OF AGGRESSION.

LET US DISCOURAGE THE USE OF FOREIGN FORCES IN TROUBLED REGIONS
OF THE WORLD, AND ENCOURAGE THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AMONG THE
PEOPLE WHO ARE DIRECTLY INVOLVED.

MR. PRESIDENT, IN ALL THE WORLD'S HISTORY, NO TWO NATIONS HAVE EVER
HAD A GREATER RESPONSIBILITY TO ACT WITH RESTRAINT, AND TO SEEK MUTUAL
ACCOMMODATION, THAN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION.

WE HAVE MANY DIFFERENCES OF HISTORY, IDEOLOGY, AND ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL SYSTEMS. MR. PRESIDENT, WE ARE BOTH CONCERNED ABOUT THE FUTURE, AND
I AM SURE THAT WITH HONESTY AND GOODWILL WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD A
SAFER, MORE PEACEFUL WORLD. # # #

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US Translation

Q
/

L. I. Brezhnev's Toast
at the Dinner in the U.S.
Embassy

June 16, 1979

Dear Mr. President!

Gentlemen!

Comrades!

Allow me to sincerely thank President Carter for his kind words addressed to our country and to its leaders.

The fact that this meeting has taken place is being received in the Soviet Union with satisfaction. I am glad to personally make the acquaintance of President Carter. We and you, Mr. President, have followed a fairly long and difficult path to this meeting, but the time and the efforts devoted to it were not in vain. The two sides through their determined effort have created the preconditions for productive negotiations. Their results, I hope, will gladden the peoples of our countries and all peace-loving people on earth.

We are here as guests of peaceful and neutral Austria. This in some ways is symbolic because this status (of Austria) was possible to a significant degree thanks to the cooperation of the U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and also France and England. This is one of the real fruits of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The first day of talks has already shown that the two sides clearly understand the meaning of the problems under discussion. The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. agreed back in the first half of the '70s to do everything to preclude the outbreak of a nuclear war. Our countries have undertaken to develop peaceful relations with each other on the basis of sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. To arrive at

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these agreements was not a simple matter: the differences in our social structure were a hindrance, as were the political systems and views of the two sides. However, common sense and the understanding of reality prevailed.

Later, unfortunately, the relations between our countries began to develop unevenly. There were periods of stagnation, and on some issues even a departure from the charted course. ~~(This was reflected also in the general situation in the world)~~ I think that this meeting may become an important step in the improvement of Soviet-American relations and the improvement of the international climate.

But movement along this path will undoubtedly still demand quite a bit of energy, courage and perseverance. Because, although this may sound absurd, there are also opponents to normal relations and peaceful cooperation between our countries. Tensions in Soviet-American relations suit them. And some even dream to make the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. clash. As I understand it, we and you, Mr. President, have a duty before our nations, even before the whole world, not to allow such designs to come to pass.

Opponents of mutual understanding between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. actively use the legend of the so-called "Soviet military threat." And it is a strange occurrence: the greater the contribution by the Soviet Union to the development of peaceful relations between states, the more determinedly the Soviet Union presents concrete proposals to limit arms and to lessen the threat of a new war, the more zealously they spread fairy tales about our policy.

Attempts are still being made to present social processes in this or some other country and the struggle of nations for independence and social progress as "intrigues and crafty designs of Moscow."

Soviet people, of course, maintain solidarity with the struggle for

- For lasting peace in the whole world!

Unfortunately in part, MR PRES, FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE WORLD:
THE MOST POWERFUL CURRENTS OF HISTORY HAVE OFTEN BEEN THE ONES THAT
SWEPT NATIONS TO WAR.

YET AS WE LOOK BACK ON THE CAUSES OF SO MANY WARS, WE CAN SEE TIMES
WHEN A MORE WATCHFUL COURSE, EVEN A SMALL CAREFUL SHIFT, MIGHT HAVE GUIDED
NATIONS THAT MUCH BETTER, ... THAT MUCH FURTHER IN THE WAYS OF PEACE.

THAT IS THE PURPOSE OF WHAT WE HAVE DONE HERE IN VIENNA *IN SIGNING THIS TREATY*

TODAY, THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST STILL HANGS OVER US, AS IT HAS
FOR MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS. OUR TWO NATIONS ARE NOW ARMED WITH THOUSANDS
OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, EACH CAPABLE OF CAUSING DEVASTATION BEYOND MEASURE AND
BEYOND IMAGINATION.

(=OVER=) (SEVERAL OTHER NATIONS NOW HAVE.....)

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SEVERAL OTHER NATIONS NOW HAVE NUCLEAR ARMS, AND EVEN MORE HAVE THE ABILITY TO DEVELOP THE SAME DESTRUCTIVE POWER. WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY HAS CONTINUED TO ADVANCE, AND SO HAVE THE DANGERS AND THE OBVIOUS NEED TO CONTROL AND TO REGULATE THIS ARMS COMPETITION.

THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, WHICH HAVE GONE ON FOR NEARLY TEN YEARS WITHOUT INTERRUPTION, REPRESENT THE REALIZATION THAT A NUCLEAR ARMS COMPETITION WITHOUT SHARED RULES, WITHOUT VERIFIABLE LIMITS, AND WITHOUT CONTINUING DIALOGUE, IS AN INVITATION TO DISASTER.

SUCH AN UNRESTRAINED COMPETITION WOULD TEMPT FATE AND THE FUTURE,... AND WOULD INSULT OUR INTELLIGENCE AND THREATEN THE EXISTENCE OF HUMANITY.

(=NEW CARD=) (THIS PROSPECT IS A.....)

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THIS PROSPECT IS A CHALLENGE TO OUR COURAGE AND OUR CREATIVITY.
IF WE CANNOT CONTROL OUR POWER TO DESTROY, WE CAN NEITHER GUIDE OUR FATE
NOR PRESERVE OUR FUTURE.

LIKE S.A.L.T. I, THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY, AND THE LIMITED
TEST BAN TREATY BEFORE IT,...THIS S.A.L.T. II TREATY IS BASED ON THE
REAL SECURITY NEEDS OF OUR TWO NATIONS. IT WILL NOT END THE CONTINUING
NEED FOR MILITARY STRENGTH AND READINESS ON BOTH SIDES.

BUT S.A.L.T. II DOES PLACE IMPORTANT NEW LIMITS ON BOTH THE NUMBER
AND QUALITY OF NUCLEAR ARMS. AND IT ALLOWS US TO CONTINUE ON COURSE
TOWARDS A SAFER WORLD WITH EVEN MORE SUBSTANTIAL LIMITATIONS AND
REDUCTIONS IN S.A.L.T. III.

WE CANNOT INTERRUPT OR ENDANGER THIS PROCESS.

(=OVER=) (I AM ENTRUSTED WITH.....)

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I AM ENTRUSTED WITH THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

I WOULD NEVER TAKE ANY ACTION THAT WOULD JEOPARDIZE THAT SACRED TRUST.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE BOTH HAVE CHILDREN AND WE WANT THEM TO LIVE,
AND TO LIVE IN PEACE. WE HAVE BOTH WORKED HARD TO GIVE OUR OWN AND OUR
NATIONS' CHILDREN THAT SECURITY.

WE REALIZE THAT NO ONE TREATY, NO ONE MEETING, CAN GUARANTEE THE
SAFE FUTURE OF OUR NATIONS. IN THE END, PEACE CAN BE WON ONLY IF WE HAVE
PURSUED IT AND STRUGGLED TENACIOUSLY TO KEEP THE PEACE ALL ALONG.

YET THIS FIGHT FOR PEACE HAS OFTEN SEEMED THE MOST DIFFICULT VICTORY
TO WIN.

(=NEW CARD=) (HERE TODAY, AS WE.....)

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HERE TODAY, AS WE SET CAREFUL LIMITS ON OUR POWER, WE DRAW BOUNDARIES AROUND OUR FEARS OF ONE ANOTHER. AS WE BEGIN TO CONTROL OUR FEARS, WE CAN BETTER INSURE OUR FUTURE.

WE CAN NOW CONTINUE TO EXPLORE THE PLANETS. WE CAN DISCOVER THE ESSENCE OF MATTER. WE CAN FIND THE POWER TO PRESERVE OURSELVES AND OUR EARTH.

EACH OF US HAS ONLY ONE NATION. WE BOTH SHARE THE SAME WORLD.

NOT ONE NATION ON THIS EARTH, NOT ONE PEOPLE, NOT ONE HUMAN BEING IS HARMED, THREATENED, OR DEPRIVED BY THIS VICTORY IN THE BATTLE FOR PEACE. A VICTORY IS HERE FOR ALL!

(=OVER=) (IN OUR LIFETIME WE HAVE.....)

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IN OUR LIFETIME WE HAVE LEARNED TO MAKE WAR BY UNLOCKING THE ATOM --
THE POWER OF CREATION ITSELF. TO MAKE PEACE WE MUST LIMIT OUR USE OF THAT
POWER BY SHARING OUR COURAGE, WISDOM, AND FAITH.

THESE FUNDAMENTAL STRENGTHS OF HUMANKIND HAVE BROUGHT US TO THIS
TABLE TODAY.

IN SETTING OUR HANDS TO THIS TREATY, WE SET OUR NATIONS ON A SAFER
COURSE.

WE HAVE LABORED LONG TO MAKE S.A.L.T. II A SAFE AND USEFUL CHART
TOWARD THE FUTURE.

LET US PLEDGE TO USE THIS TREATY AS WE CONTINUE OUR PASSAGE TO
PEACE.

#

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*Susan
ok
no changes
J*

Signing Statement

The most powerful currents of history have often been the ones that swept nations to war.

Yet as we look back on the causes of so many wars, we can see times when a more watchful course, even a small careful shift, might have guided nations that much better, that much ^{farther} ~~longer~~ in the ways of peace.

That is the purpose of what we have done here in Vienna.

Today, the threat of nuclear holocaust still hangs over us, as it has for more than thirty years. Our two nations are now armed with thousands of nuclear weapons, each capable of causing devastation

beyond measure and ^{beyond} imagination. Several other nations
now have nuclear arms, and ^{even} more have the ability to
develop the same destructive power. Weapons technol-
ogy has continued to advance, and so have the dangers
and the ^{obvious} need to control and to regulate this arms
competition.

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, which have
gone on for nearly ten years without interruption,
represent the realization that a nuclear arms competi-
tion without shared rules, without verifiable limits,
and without continuing dialogue is an invitation to
disaster. Such ^{an unrestrained} competition ^{would} tempt fate and the
future, ^{and would} ~~in a way that~~ insult our intelligence and
threaten ^{the existence of} humanity.

^{This prospect is a}
~~It also~~ challenges ^{to} our courage and our creativity.

If we cannot control our power to destroy, we can

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neither guide our fate nor preserve our future.

Anti-ballistic Missile

Like SALT I, the ~~ABM~~ Treaty, and the Limited
Test Ban Treaty before it, ^{this} ~~SALT II~~ ^{Treaty} is based on the
real security needs of our two nations. It will not
end the ^{continuing} need for ~~continued~~ military strength and
readiness on both sides. But SALT II does place
important new limits on both the number and quality
of nuclear arms. And it allows us to continue on
course towards a safer world with even more substan-
tial limitations and reductions in SALT III. *We*
cannot interrupt or endanger this process.

I am entrusted with the security of the United
States of America. I would never take any action that
would jeopardize that sacred trust. Mr. President, we
both have children and we want them to live, and to
live in peace. We have both worked hard to give our
own and our nations' children that security.

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We realize that no

[^]No one treaty, no one meeting can guarantee the

safe future of our nations. In the end, peace can

only be won if we have pursued it and ^{struggled tenaciously to keep the peace} ~~kept it~~ all

along. Yet ^{this} ~~the~~ fight for peace has often ^{seemed} ~~been~~ the most
 ^{difficult victory} ~~hardest war~~ to win.

Here today, as we set ^{careful} ~~to~~ limits ^{on} ~~to~~ our power, we
 draw boundaries ^{around} ~~for~~ our fears of ^{one} ~~each~~ ^{another} ~~other~~, and for
 ~~our fears of the unknown~~. As we begin to control our
 fears, we ^{can better insure} ~~begin to control~~ our ^{future.} ~~fate~~.

See Vance would omit

^{now} ~~continue to~~
 We can [^]explore the planets. We can discover the
 essence of matter. We can find the power to preserve
 ourselves and our earth.

^{We both share}
 Each of us has only one nation. ~~Each of us has~~
 ^{the same} ~~only one~~ world.

Not one nation on this earth, not one people, not

one human being is harmed, threatened, or deprived

by this victory in the battle for peace. *A victory is here for all! people.*

In our lifetime we have
We have learned ^{to} make war by unlocking the atom -- the

power of creation itself. To make peace we must

limit our use of that power by ^{sharing} our courage, wisdom,
and faith.

These fundamental strengths of human kind have
brought us to this table today.

In setting our hands to this treaty, we set our
nations on a safer course.

We have labored long to make SALT II a ^{safe} ~~careful~~
and useful chart toward the future.

Let us pledge to use this treaty ^{as we} to ^{continue} our
passage to peace.

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SIGNING STATEMENT

ok

The most powerful currents of history have been the ones that have swept nations to war.

Yet as we look back on the causes of so many wars, we can make out times when a more watchful course, even a small careful shift, might have guided nations that much ~~further,~~ ^{better,} kept them that much longer in the ways of peace.

That is what we have tried to do here in Vienna.

Today, the threat of a nuclear holocaust that no one can win still hangs over us -- as it has for more than thirty years. Our two nations are now armed with thousands of nuclear weapons, each capable of causing devastation beyond measure and imagination. ^{A few other nations have nuclear arms, and other countries are now} ~~A dozen other nations stand ready~~ ^{Capable technologically competent to develop the same} ~~to take the steps necessary to deploy nuclear arms. And~~ ^{destructive capability.} ~~as weapons technology advances, so too does the danger~~ ^{has continued to advance, and so has} ~~and the need to control and to regulate this~~ ^{that the arms race might escalate out of control.} ~~arms competition.~~

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The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, which have gone on for more than ten years without interruption, represent the realization that a nuclear arms competition without shared rules, without verifiable limits, and without continuing dialogue is an invitation to disaster. ^{Such a competition} ~~It~~ tempts fate and the future in a way that insults our intelligence and threatens humanity.

It also challenges our courage and our creativity. If we cannot control our power to destroy, we can ^{neither} ~~never~~ guide our fate, ^{nor preserve our future.}

Like SALT I, the ABM Treaty, and the ^{Limited Test Ban} ~~Vladivostok~~ ^{Treaty} ~~accords~~ before it, SALT II is based on the real security needs of our two nations. It will not end the need for continued military strength and readiness on both sides. But SALT II does place important new limits on both the number and quality of nuclear arms. And it allows us to continue on course towards a safer world with even more

substantial limitations and reductions in SALT III.

I am entrusted with the security of the United States America. I would never take any action that would jeopardize that sacred trust. Mr. President, we both have children and we want them to live, and to live in peace. We have both worked hard to give our ^{own} nation's children that security.

No one treaty, no one meeting can guarantee the future safe passage of our nation. 1979 is but a moment on the clock of history. And in the end, peace can only be ^{pursued it and} won if we have [^] maintained it all along.

Here today, as we draw boundaries to our power, we ^{further} begin to set [^] limits on our fears of each other and ^{on our fears} [^] of the unknown.

As we contain those fears, we stand a better chance

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of guiding our own course towards the future.

And as we remain watchful and determined on that course -- the destiny of human kind need not be its own destruction.

We who can explore the stars, who can find the essence of matter -- must find the power to preserve ourselves and our earth. Each of us has only one nation. Each of us has only one world.

We know that as we set our hands to this treaty -- we set our nations on a safer course.

We have labored long to make this a careful and useful chart, *toward the future.*

Let us use it to continue our passage towards peace.

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