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As great powers, we will sometimes be competitors but we need never be enemies. Our two countries have much in common -

including the fact that we have never fought one another in war.

On the contrary, the memory of your soldiers and ours embracing at the Elbe in 1945 remains strong in millions of hearts in both of our countries. It is my hope that that memory can serve as an inspiration for the renewal of Soviet-American cooperation in the 1970's.

Thirteen years ago, when I visited the Soviet Union as Vice President, I addressed the Soviet people on radio and television as I am addressing you this evening. I said then... "Let us have peaceful competition not only in producing the best factories but in producing better lives for our people. Let us cooperate in our exploration of outer space... Let our aim be not victory over other peoples but the victory of all mankind over hunger, want, misery and disease, wherever it exists in the world."

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In our meetings this week, we have ^{managed to bring} brought at least some of those hopes to fruition.

Shortly after we arrived here on Monday afternoon, a brief rain fell on Moscow of the kind that I am told is called a "mushroom rain" -- a warm rain, with sunshine breaking through, that makes the mushrooms grow and is therefore considered a good omen.

As our talks progressed, the mushrooms grew in the form of a far-reaching set of agreements that can lead to a better life for both of our peoples, and to a better chance for peace in the world.

We have agreed on joint ventures in space.

We have agreed on ways of working together to protect the environment, to advance health, and to cooperate in science and technology.

We have agreed on means of preventing incidents at sea.

We have agreed on measures to expand trade between our two nations.

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Most important, we have taken an historic first step in the limitation of strategic arms.

This arms control agreement is not for the purpose of giving either side an advantage over the other. Both of our nations are strong. Each will maintain the strength necessary to defend its independence.

But in an unchecked arms race between ~~our~~ two great nations, there would be no winners, only losers ~~and~~ ^{and by} setting this limitation together, the people of both our nations ^{+ of all nations} can be winners.

If we continue in the spirit of serious purpose that has marked our discussions this week, these agreements can start us on a new road of cooperation, for the benefit of our peoples and of all peoples.

There is profound wisdom in the old Russian proverb, "Make peace with men, and quarrel with your sins." The hardships and evils that beset all men in all nations -- these and these alone are what we should make war upon.

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As we look at the prospects for peace, we see that we have made significant progress at reducing the possible sources of direct conflict between us. But history tells us that great nations have often been dragged into war without intending it, by conflicts between smaller nations. As great powers, we can and should use our influence to prevent this from happening.

There are two ways we can do this.

✓ First, we should avoid engaging in adventurism ourselves. *but this is simpler
more?*

Second, we should use our power to discourage conflicts in other parts of the world, and particularly among those smaller nations that look to us for leadership and example.

With great power goes great responsibility. In a truly peaceful world there is no room for adventurous mischief, or for seeking to obtain some tactical advantage for ourselves by stirring up trouble among others. There can be true peace only when the weak are as safe as the strong.

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The wealthier and more powerful our own countries become, the more we have to lose from war and the threat of war anywhere in the world -- for, to cite another old Russian proverb, "The higher the castle, the nearer to the lightning."

On my visits to the Soviet Union, I have met and talked with many hundreds of Soviet citizens, from all walks of life and from all parts of the Soviet Union. They have told me the same thing I have heard from the people of all the 76 other nations I have visited: that the people of the world are tired of conflict, they want peace, they want to be friends.

I remember particularly a man I met in the market place at Samarkand, on my last visit in 1967. He had lost a leg in World War II. As he held out his hand to me, he said quite simply: "We want to be friends with America."

That is what we too want -- to be friends with the Soviet people. And we want to build a structure of peace that will let friendship flourish *all over the world*

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Speaking for the United States, I can say this:

We covet no one else's territory, we seek no dominion over any other people. We do seek the right to live in peace -- not only for ourselves, but for all the peoples of this earth.

Our power will only be used to keep the peace, never to break it; only to defend freedom, never to destroy it.

No nation that does not threaten its neighbors has anything to fear from the United States.

Soviet citizens have often asked me, "Does America truly want peace?" I believe that our actions answer that question far better than any words could do.

If we did not want peace, we would not have reduced the size of our armed forces by a million men -- by almost one-third -- during the past three years.

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If we did not want peace, we would not have worked so hard at reaching an agreement on the limitation of nuclear arms, at achieving a settlement on Berlin, at maintaining peace in the Middle East, at establishing better relations with the Soviet Union, with the People's Republic of China, and with all the nations of the world.

Mrs. Nixon and I feel very fortunate to have had the opportunity to visit the Soviet Union - not only to see this great country (and its splendid cultural achievements) but also to get to know the people of the Soviet Union -- so warm-hearted, so friendly, so generous, so hospitable - and so courageous and strong.

I know that of course most Americans will never have a chance to visit the Soviet Union, and that most Soviet citizens will never be able to visit America. So I would like to take this opportunity to try to convey to you something of what America is like -- not in terms of its scenic beauties, its great cities, its

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factories or its highways, but in terms of its people.

In many ways the people of our two countries are very much alike. Like the Soviet Union, ours is a large and diverse nation. Like the Soviet people, Americans are hard-working. They are workers, farmers, teachers, artists, scientists. Like the Soviet people, we Americans have a strong spirit of competition, but also a great love of music, poetry, sports and humor. Above all, we are a friendly people, who love our country, who love our children, and who want for you and your children the same peace and abundance we want for ourselves and for our children.

We Americans are also idealists, and we believe deeply in our own system. It has worked well for us. We love our personal liberty. We would fight to defend it if necessary, as we have done before. But we also believe deeply in the right of each nation to choose its own system -- and therefore, however much we like our

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own system for ourselves we have no desire to impose it on anyone else.

As our two countries learn to work together. This can mean a great deal to our two peoples.

As we learn to cooperate in space, in health, in the environment, in science and technology, our cooperation can help sick people get well. It can help industries produce more consumer goods. It can help all of us enjoy cleaner air and water. It can increase our knowledge of the world around us.

As we expand our trade, each of our countries can buy more of the other's goods and market more of its own.

As we gain experience with arms control, we can bring closer the day when further agreements can lessen the arms burden of our two nations, and lessen the threat of war in the world.

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As we conclude this week of talks there are certain fundamental premises of the American point of view which I believe deserve emphasis.

First, in conducting these talks it has not been the aim or intention of the United States to divide up the world into spheres of influence, to establish a condominium, or in any way to conspire together against the interests of any other nation. Rather we have sought to construct a better framework of understanding between us, to make progress in our bilateral relationships, and to find ways of ensuring that future frictions between us would never embroil our two nations -- and therefore the world -- in war.

Second, while ours are both great and powerful nations, the world is no longer dominated by two superpowers. Nor should it be. The world is a better and safer place because its power and

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resources are more widely distributed. Beyond this, the stirrings of freedom have brought many new nations into being. We cannot have true peace unless they and all nations can feel that they share in it.

Third, America seeks better relations not only with the Soviet Union but with all nations. The only sound basis for a peaceful and progressive international order is sovereign equality and mutual respect. We believe in the right of each nation to chart its own course, to choose its own system, to go its own way without interference from other nations.

(MORE)

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Fourth, as we look to the longer term, peace depends also on continued progress in the developing nations. Together with other advanced industrial countries, the United States and the Soviet Union share a two-fold responsibility in this regard: on the one hand, to practice restraint in those activities -- such as the supply of arms -- that might endanger the peace of the developing nations; and second, to assist in their orderly economic and social development, without political interference.

Some of you may have heard an old Russian story of a traveler who was walking to another village. He knew the way, but not the distance. Finally he came upon a woodsman chopping wood by the side of the road. He asked the woodsman: "How long will it take to reach the village?"

The woodsman replied, "I don't know."

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The traveler was angry, because he was sure the woodsman was from the village and therefore knew how far it was. So he started off down the road again. After he had gone a few steps, the woodsman called out, "Stop. It will take you about fifteen minutes."

The traveler turned, and demanded: "Why didn't you tell me that in the first place?"

The woodsman replied: "Because then I didn't know the length of your stride."

In our talks this week with the leaders of the Soviet Union, both sides have had a chance to measure our strides toward peace and security. I believe that those strides have been substantial, and that now we have well begun the long journey which will lead us to a new age in the relations between our two countries. It is important to both of our peoples that we continue those strides.

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Through all the pages of history, through all the centuries, the world's people have struggled to be free from fear -- whether fear of the elements, or fear of hunger, or fear of their own rulers, or fear of their neighbors in other countries. Yet time and again people have vanquished the source of one fear only to fall prey to another. Let our goal now be a world free of fear -- a world in which nation will no longer prey upon nation, in which human energies will be turned away from conquest and toward invention, development, creation -- a world in which, together, we can establish that peace which is more than the absence of war, and which enables man to pursue those higher goals that the spirit yearns for.

Each nation will have its own way toward that world. There is room within that world for many systems, as long as each respects the rights of the others. This is the kind of world cooperation in peace can make possible. This is the kind of world we hope to achieve.

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