

**AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN  
CONFERENCE ON ACHIEVING THE VISION OF A WORLD  
FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS  
OSLO, NORWAY  
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**TURNING THE GOAL OF A WORLD WITHOUT NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS INTO A PRACTICAL ENTERPRISE AMONG  
NATIONS**

At the very outset I want to thank the government of Norway and foreign minister store for hosting this important conference. It is a vital step in the development of sanity and courage in this era of danger and opportunity. I had the privilege of living for a number of years in our state of Minnesota surrounded by Norwegians, Swedes, Danes and Finns, all of whom taught me the essence of responsibility and courage and vision – traits sorely required at a time of serious hazard to the human race.

I welcome your initiative. We know that the essence of sanity requires a strenuous international effort to revive the goal of complete elimination of nuclear weapons. We know that the drive for sanity must be global if it is to be effective, and if it is not effective we know that our civilization faces probable catastrophe.

It is understandable that the United States is expected to carry the burden of leadership in our world. That leadership may very well be a pre-requisite for the forward movement of civilization. But we also know that to be successful, our leadership must be shared with our friends and allies.

This meeting is an example of that reality. Our agenda has understandably emphasized vital technical issues associated with the appropriate requirement for verification as an indispensable ingredient in the drive for worldwide zero of weapons of mass destruction. Verification is a prominent issue on the road to zero.

My purpose today is to emphasize the indispensable importance of our goal. What I call the “ought” – the goal we strive to achieve – is not only important in our personal lives, it is vital to how governments function. There is power in the “ought.” We all share the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons and we recognize there are practical problems associated with achieving this “ought.” But we must keep in mind that all of history is filled with examples of power in the “ought.” In our modern world, independence, freedom, liberty, rights of women, and the end of slavery – all of these and more illustrate the power of the “ought” in overcoming the “is.”

Many of the nations whose citizens are here today, assisted by your diplomats and our diplomats, including me, spent three years taking the “oughts” of the Helsinki final act and developing a new reality for Europe. By living up to the “oughts” of that document and the roots of international legitimacy, we together saw the fall of the Berlin wall and greater freedom for millions of human beings. There is power in the “ought.”

None of us should be under any illusion that it will be easy to achieve our “ought” of zero nuclear weapons, but we can and must be idealistic and realistic at the same time if we are to move from what “is” – a world with the risk of increasing global disaster – to the “ought” of our ideals – a peaceful civilized world free of the threat of weapons of mass destruction.

I have spoken with friends in my government on this subject, and respectfully urged that the president speak to the people of the world through the general assembly of the United Nations and propose the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, and that the Security Council work with other states to achieve this end.

To every nation represented here today, I ask that you also lead. Europe has a unique role to play, as Europe was at one time the central front of a nuclear cold war. We also look to leadership from our friends in china, southwest Asia, the Middle East, Africa and the Americas. We all have a shared experience with, and shared obligation to address, the nuclear peril.

The people of the world are impatient for decisive leadership on this vital issue. We have the vision. Let us turn it into a reality.

Thank you.