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United States Department of State

Washington, D. C. 20520

MAY 14 1990

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Handwritten notes and signatures

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INFORMATION MEMORANDUM
S/S

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TO: The Secretary
FROM: EUR - R. G. H. Seitz
SUBJECT: Draft U.S.-Soviet Summit Joint Statement

SUMMARY

Attached is a draft U.S.-Soviet joint statement for use at the upcoming Washington summit. It has been cleared in the building, and the NSC has a copy.

DISCUSSION

One question is when to give the Soviets a copy of our proposed draft. We could table it informally early on during the ministerial (I could even hand it to Bessmertnykh on Wednesday, May 16). This would allow us to focus the Soviets, and the discussions of the working groups, on our proposed draft. Alternatively, we could wait and give it to the Soviets at the end of the ministerial, or later. This would allow us to gauge the tone of the ministerial and adjust our draft accordingly before handing it over. If we decide to hand our text over during the ministerial, our goal would not be to come away with an agreed text. Rather, we would seek to develop a joint, bracketed text that could be worked at the summit.

Attachment:

as stated.

Drafted: JPDeasy
05/14/90 7-6736
SESOVML 1449

Cleared: EUR: CWKamman
EUR/SOV: AVerehbow
EUR/SOV: SKPifer
P: AWolff
S/P: WBurns

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DRAFT U.S.-SOVIET SUMMIT JOINT STATEMENT

George Bush, President of the United States of America, and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, met in Washington on May 30-June 3, 1990.

Attending the discussions on the U.S. side were ... (to be provided).

Attending the discussions on the Soviet side were ... (to be provided).

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev expressed deep satisfaction that U.S.-Soviet and East-West relations are increasingly characterized by constructive dialogue and cooperation rather than misunderstanding and confrontation. It is clear that the world is moving beyond the Cold War era. While important differences remain between the United States and Soviet Union, the two Presidents are convinced that, with candid dialogue, creative thinking and a continuing search for practical and concrete solutions that produce mutual advantage, their countries can build on what has been accomplished to date in shaping more stable, cooperative and sustainable U.S.-Soviet and East-West relationships.

During the course of President Gorbachev's state visit, the two leaders reviewed the full range of issues on the expanding U.S.-Soviet agenda, including: arms control and disarmament, developments in Europe, regional problems, human rights and humanitarian affairs, transnational issues, bilateral questions and economic relations. The sides concluded a number of important agreements that advance specific objectives consistent with their mutual desire to build a more stable, cooperative and sustainable relationship. They also discussed the situation in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and agreed on the need for dialogue to resolve the disputes in a manner that addresses the interests, rights and concerns of all parties.

I. Arms Control and Disarmament

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev reaffirmed the commitment of the United States and Soviet Union to achieving equitable and verifiable arms control agreements that reduce the risk of war, enhance stability and security, and increase predictability and transparency. They recorded concrete and important achievements on several arms control questions and noted the possibilities for further, significant progress. They expressed the mutual hope that these possibilities will be realized in the coming months.

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Nuclear and Space Talks. The two Presidents expressed their satisfaction that all major issues have been resolved in the negotiations on reductions of strategic offensive arms (START), including the key elements of an effective verification regime. The understandings reached by the sides on these issues are set forth in a separate joint statement. The leaders instructed their negotiators in Geneva to use that statement as the basis for preparing the final joint text of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and its associated documents, which they hope to sign by the end of 1990.

(Separate section on NST follow-on talks to be provided)

The Presidents took note of the negotiations in Geneva on issues related to defense and space and of the possibility of concluding a separate agreement on predictability measures in this field. They directed their negotiators to prepare a joint draft text of this agreement for signature at an early date.

Conventional Forces in Europe. Presidents Bush and Gorbachev reaffirmed their mutual belief that conclusion of a CFE agreement will significantly enhance stability and security in Europe, and noted that rapidly changing events in Europe have made such an accord all the more necessary. They expressed their satisfaction that all major substantive issues have been resolved and directed their negotiators in Vienna to accelerate their efforts to complete an agreement at the earliest possible date, in any case no later than this year's CSCE summit.

Chemical Weapons. Presidents Bush and Gorbachev reaffirmed their commitment to work to conclude and bring into force as early as possible a multilateral, effectively verifiable Chemical Weapons Convention banning the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and eliminating all stocks on a global basis. Recognizing their special responsibility in the area of chemical weapons disarmament and desiring to give an impulse to the conclusion of such a multilateral convention, the Presidents signed a bilateral chemical weapons destruction agreement. Under the provisions of this agreement, the United States and Soviet Union will cooperate regarding technology and procedures for the safe and environmentally sound destruction of chemical weapons; reduce their chemical weapons stockpiles to equal, low levels; and cooperate in developing, testing and carrying out procedures for appropriate inspections.

Nuclear Testing. The leaders signed verification protocols to the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty, which will allow those agreements to be submitted for ratification by their respective legislative bodies. They reaffirmed their adherence to the agreement reached in September 1987 on a step-by-step approach to the negotiations on nuclear testing.

Non-proliferation. The Presidents issued a joint statement on non-proliferation that outlines areas of common concern regarding proliferation of chemical weapons, nuclear weapons, missiles and missile technology, and biological weapons. It also highlights specific steps the sides have taken and will take to promote effective cooperation to stem such proliferation.

Open Skies. The leaders agreed that Open Skies would make an important contribution to transparency and confidence-building in Europe. They agreed on the need to intensify efforts toward conclusion of an agreement and noted the complementary value that an Open Skies regime would have for other arms control arrangements.

II. Developments in Europe

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev held wide-ranging discussions on developments in Europe. They agreed that determined East-West efforts at reducing tensions through arms control and confidence-building -- including the special efforts by the United States and Soviet Union -- and increasing adherence to and respect for common democratic values have contributed to breaking down the long-standing division of the continent and moving toward a Europe that is whole and free. They agreed on the importance of taking into account the security interests of all parties during this crucial period of transition. They noted that enduring solutions to new concerns should be built on consensus and dialogue, and that democratic processes should be subjected neither to artificial constraints nor forced preconditions.

The Presidents reviewed the discussions in the Two-plus-Four talks on the external aspects of the establishment of German unity. They expressed support for the ongoing efforts of the German people, consistent with their right of self-determination, to unify the two German states within existing borders. They further expressed their support for the completion of a final settlement in an orderly fashion and without delay that will terminate the rights of the Four Powers and open the way for a sovereign, unified Germany to play a positive and constructive role in European affairs. The two leaders agreed that this act of reconciliation should proceed in a manner that takes account of and protects the interests of other members of the community of European states.

The leaders agreed that existing political and military institutions will have to adapt in order to meet new challenges of the transformed Europe of the 1990s. Reiterating their support for the CSCE process, the Presidents underscored their commitment to fulfilling the Helsinki Final Act and follow-on CSCE conferences. They also confirmed their mutual desire to give a new impetus to the CSCE process. In particular, they reaffirmed their support for a CSCE summit meeting this year, noting that such a meeting should be the occasion for signing a CFE accord and for seeking measured progress across the three CSCE baskets. They also voiced support for a CSCE preparatory conference to be held this summer in Vienna and a CSCE preparatory ministerial to be held in September in New York.

III. Regional Problems

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev exchanged views on a broad range of regional issues. They agreed on the need for comprehensive political settlements based on democratic pluralism, free elections and respect for human rights. These are essential to creating stable conditions for peaceful resolution of conflicts, establishing credible and legitimate governments, and promoting economic development and cooperation. The leaders shared the view that, over the longer term, they should seek to eliminate the competitive East-West dynamic as a factor in regional conflicts, so that the two countries can concentrate on helping to address the social and economic problems of the developing countries.

The Presidents agreed to continue working to facilitate settlements in those conflict areas where they have differences. Their goal is to narrow and eliminate points of disagreement. They further underscored the special role of the United Nations, when appropriate, in assisting with the implementation of accords that recently settled several long-standing international conflicts and pointed to the need for further international efforts in that regard.

Afghanistan. The two Presidents expressed their support for a peaceful, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. They called upon the Afghan parties to consider a framework for a political settlement that would establish a permanent broad-based government. They agreed to ask the United Nations and Organization of Islamic Conference to work cooperatively with the Afghan parties to establish an appropriate transitional authority, whose main purpose would be to prepare for and monitor elections leading to the establishment of a permanent government. They agreed that, upon transfer of power to a transitional authority, the sides would work toward a ceasefire and termination of arms shipments to the parties. The transitional authority would prepare for and conduct elections with assistance from the international community. The Presidents underscored the need for continued humanitarian aid to help in the resettlement and reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Central America. Presidents Bush and Gorbachev reaffirmed the commitment of the United States and Soviet Union to support the continuing efforts of the Central American nations to implement fully the Esquipulas and successor agreements throughout Central America. They expressed satisfaction with the peaceful transfer of power in Nicaragua; pledged to continue to facilitate final demobilization of the Nicaraguan Resistance; and called for the full transfer of that country's armed forces to the authority of the new civilian government.

The two leaders agreed to support the process of negotiation begun under the good offices of the UN Secretary General between the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN aimed at achieving a cessation of hostilities and a definitive end to the conflict.

They supported the call of the Central American Presidents for a cessation of attacks on civilians and good-faith bargaining by both sides to achieve peaceful integration of the FMLN into the democratic process and a permanent political settlement of the conflict in El Salvador. They called for a halt of all arms flows to irregular forces in El Salvador and the rest of the Central American region.

Africa. Presidents Bush and Gorbachev noted that the emergence of the new sovereign state of Namibia in the conditions of peace and stability has created a qualitatively new situation in Southern Africa, conducive to settling the remaining conflicts in the region by peaceful political means. They emphasized the need for a process of national reconciliation in Angola; took note of the positive initial talks between the MPLA and UNITA; and offered to facilitate mediation efforts between the two parties in any way possible. They also supported the efforts of the Government of Mozambique to normalize conditions in the country and to enter into negotiations with the opposition. The leaders welcomed the beginning of talks between the African National Congress and the Government of South Africa, and reaffirmed their mutual belief that only through negotiations can authentic and irreversible change come to South Africa.

The Presidents urged the conflicting sides in Ethiopia to engage in negotiations to work out mutually acceptable conditions for achieving national reconciliation and to address the already serious famine problem. Talks are essential to reach agreement on methods of delivering food supplies provided by the international community. The leaders agreed to cooperate wherever possible in advancing the peace process and in delivering relief supplies to the victims of famine.

Middle East. Presidents Bush and Gorbachev reaffirmed the need for an active Middle East peace process, expressing the hope that a new Israeli government will be ready to move ahead quickly with an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue. Such a dialogue offers a practical mechanism for creating conditions for sustainable negotiations leading to a comprehensive political settlement on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The two sides discussed the issue of Soviet Jewish emigration; they expressed their support for the right of Jews to emigrate to Israel while recalling their views that Israel should not settle Soviet emigrés or other citizens in the territories occupied since 1967. On Lebanon, the leaders expressed their support for President Hrawi and implementation of the Taif accords and called for withdrawal of all foreign troops.

Asia and the Pacific. The Presidents recognize that the main sources of tension in Northeast Asia are on the Korean peninsula and the unresolved issues in Soviet-Japanese relations. The Presidents called upon the Korean parties to engage in a dialogue aimed at building mutual trust and confidence, leading to lessened tensions and increased cooperation on the peninsula.

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They also urged the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to sign and implement immediately the nuclear safeguards agreement of the International Atomic Energy Agency as an important first step in that process. The leaders called for an improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, including resolution of the issue of the Northern Territories.

The Presidents noted that progress has been made toward a comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia. They agreed to intensify efforts to find ways of overcoming differences among the Cambodian parties and making the United Nations approach successful.

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev reviewed the situation in Kashmir. They urged India and Pakistan to exercise caution and restraint, and expressed deep concern at the increased tensions in the area. They agreed to consult with India and Pakistan on measures to reduce tensions and called upon the international community to assist in this effort.

IV. Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev continued the high-level U.S.-Soviet dialogue on the full range of human rights and humanitarian issues. They agreed that the most effective guarantee of individual liberties and human rights is a genuinely democratic state based upon the rule of law. President Gorbachev reviewed the steps taken by the Soviet Union, including legislative proposals passed or under consideration by the Supreme Soviet, which are intended to implement the rights guaranteed to Soviet citizens under the Helsinki Final Act and other agreements to which the USSR is party. The leaders condemned all forms of discrimination, including anti-Semitism. They agreed that exchanges between the United States and Soviet Union intended to promote understanding of one another's legal systems and to enhance the rule of law deserve full support.

The leaders noted with approval passage of emigration legislation by the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as progress on Supreme Soviet legislation regarding freedom of conscience, ethnic and minority rights, and freedom of the press. The American side welcomed the progress made by the Soviet side in resolving the cases of concern to the United States, including those of persons previously denied permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union, and expressed its hope that the outstanding cases would be resolved in the near future.

The Presidents noted with approval the beginnings of promising cooperative exchanges on human rights and humanitarian issues, and reviewed programs planned or underway which promote a better understanding of each country's institutions, legislation and practices in the field of human rights and humanitarian affairs.

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The sides reemphasized their commitment to implement in practice international agreements and standards on human rights observance, and underscored their continued support for multi-lateral as well as bilateral cooperation to this end. They further emphasized their support for the CSCE process, for substantial progress at the Copenhagen Human Dimension Meeting of the CSCE, and for efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations system and other international bodies in the field of human rights and humanitarian affairs.

V. Bilateral Questions

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev issued a joint statement concerning the establishment of Consulates General in Kiev and New York. They welcomed the realization of long-held plans to expand mutual contacts by opening such posts, and agreed to begin discussions on the opening of consulates in other U.S. and Soviet cities.

The Presidents announced an agreement on the establishment of cultural centers in each other's capitals and announced negotiations for significantly expanding university exchanges at the undergraduate level. In scientific and technical fields, they signed a renewed cooperation agreement on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy -- noting cooperation on civilian nuclear reactor operational safety -- and signed a new agreement on Ocean Studies. The Presidents welcomed these concrete steps toward expanding people-to-people contacts, academic interchange and broader, intensified cooperative research.

VI. Economic Relations

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev noted with satisfaction the development of the U.S.-Soviet bilateral economic relationship pursuant to their decisions at Malta. They signed a trade agreement, which should provide the basis for the further evolution of commercial ties between the two countries. The Presidents also signed a Long-Term Grains Agreement, and noted with satisfaction the conclusion of a Maritime Transportation Agreement(?) and an expanded Civil Aviation Agreement(?). These agreements will strengthen commercial interaction between the two countries in their respective areas.

The sides also noted the exchange of letters which will open the way for Soviet nickel exports to the U.S. They reviewed the status of the on-going negotiations on a Tax Treaty and a Bilateral Investment Treaty.

The Presidents reviewed the status of the technical cooperation initiatives advanced at Malta, which are designed to introduce and facilitate the application of market principles within the Soviet Union and the U.S.-Soviet bilateral economic relationship. They noted with satisfaction the projects underway in various areas from financial structures, to small business development, to exchanges on statistics and the formation of a stock exchange.

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The Presidents also considered the steps taken toward the integration of the Soviet Union into the world economic system. An important step forward was taken when the United States and Soviet Union joined 33 other states in assenting to the Final Document of the CSCE Bonn Economic Conference. Another step was the participation of the Soviet Union in the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. President Bush reiterated his support for Soviet observer status in the GATT.

The leaders had a long exchange on the reform program in the Soviet Union. President Bush reiterated his strong support for perestroyka. The American side observed that the success of perestroyka in introducing market concepts into the Soviet economy would greatly facilitate the development of bilateral commercial ties and full Soviet participation in the world economy.

VII. Transnational Issues

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev reviewed the broad agenda of transnational issues, including environment, nuclear energy, space, counterterrorism, and narcotics trafficking.

Environment. The Presidents noted the persistent challenge of environmental issues confronting individual nations and the world community. They cited the importance of work underway in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, and the efforts in preparation for the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development, which will be called on to assess the state of the environment and identify further areas for action. The sides reaffirmed their desire to see the Conference adopt meaningful recommendations and decisions. They also noted with satisfaction cooperation in natural hazards prediction and experts' consultations on disaster management and relief. Noting the importance of expanding environmental conservation and cultural preservation, Presidents Bush and Gorbachev approved a joint statement announcing their intention to establish a U.S.-USSR International Park in the Beringian region. They also announced implementation of an initiative in expanded, long-term environmental monitoring cooperation.

The sides reaffirmed their commitment to the effective operation of the Antarctic Treaty and the Antarctic Treaty system. They noted that both had signed the Antarctic Minerals Convention and view it as an important contribution to the comprehensive system of environmental protection. They also noted the need for compliance by all states with the principles and norms of international law as reflected in the provisions of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea governing traditional uses of the oceans, and expressed their support for the goal of achieving a universally acceptable Convention.

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Nuclear Energy and Environment. President Bush and President Gorbachev approved joint statements reflecting the importance they attach to nuclear safety cooperation, including, research on human health and environmental effects of radiation exposure, and management of radioactive waste; and the prospects of further multilateral cooperation in advanced fusion energy research.

Space. The Presidents agreed to examine closely the prospects for expanding cooperation under the agreement on exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes.

Counterterrorism. The leaders expressed satisfaction with the progress made in the U.S.-Soviet dialogue on counterterrorism cooperation. They agreed on basic principles of counterterrorism policy: 1) the goal is to bring terrorists to justice based on the assumption that there is no justification whatsoever for terrorism; 2) no concessions should be granted to terrorists; and 3) state sponsorship of terrorism must be ended. The leaders agreed on future discussions to explore the opportunities for combatting terrorism, including achieving their agreed goal of ending state support for terrorism.

Narcotics Control. The sides agreed on the importance of cooperation in bilateral and multilateral efforts at combatting narcotics abuse and trafficking. The leaders noted with satisfaction the signature of the agreement regarding Mutual Assistance between Customs Services, which represents an important step in this direction. The sides cited the role of the UN in this field and the importance of the resolutions adopted by the 17th Special Session of the UN General Assembly on international cooperation in combating drug abuse.

United Nations. Expressing their satisfaction with the growing positive role played by the UN, the leaders reaffirmed the intention of their countries to encourage the UN to assume a more effective role in maintaining a system of peace, security and cooperation under its Charter.

* * * * *

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev reaffirmed the value of high-level dialogue for advancing U.S.-Soviet relations. They agreed that their Foreign Ministers will remain in regular contact and hope to be able to meet next at a summit of the 35 participating CSCE states this year in connection with the signing of a CFE agreement.

