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SECRETJoint Communiqué

By mutual agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, President of the United States of America Ronald Reagan, and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev, met in Geneva November 19-20. The President was accompanied by Secretary of State George P. Shultz, [list other senior officials participating from US side]. General Secretary Gorbachev was accompanied by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, [list other senior officials participating from Soviet side].

The two days of meetings covered the entire agenda of issues in the US-Soviet bilateral relationship and the current international situation. The meetings were useful, comprehensive, and frank. The discussions between the two leaders resulted in agreement on a number of issues and defined more precisely those areas where outstanding problems can be resolved and where differences remain.

In their discussions President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev reviewed in detail the recent history of US-Soviet relations. They recognized that serious differences of view and competing interests have led to the state of the relationship. Both sides recognized that serious differences in approach to the international situation can only be overcome through sustained dialogue based upon a greater measure of goodwill and serious intent.

Both sides affirmed that there is no realistic alternative to a policy in which the United States and the Soviet Union strive to avoid war and earnestly work at improvements in our relationship. The President and the General Secretary repeatedly stated their desire to reduce confrontation and the danger of conflict and move toward a more peaceful and positive international environment in which all countries are free to prosper and compete in an open environment. Both reaffirmed their hope that the world can eventually be free of nuclear weapons and expressed a desire to move toward their elimination.

Both sides expressed determination to continue discussion of their policy differences, to enhance the peaceful resolution of disputes where possible and resolve outstanding problems in a practical manner. In this area the two sides recognized the vital importance of the arms control negotiations in Geneva and agreed [to be provided.]

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Both sides affirmed the importance of adhering to international commitments and agreements, including the UN Charter and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

[The United States was pleased to note that consistent with the provisions of the Final Act the Soviet Union had recently resolved a number of humanitarian cases involving divided spouses and dual nationals.] The United States affirmed its view that the provisions of the Final Act regarding emigration should be adhered to scrupulously.

[The Soviet Union reiterated its view that...]

The two sides agreed that individual cases can and will be resolved in compliance with international obligations and without interference in the internal affairs of either side.

I. Bilateral Relations

The United States and the Soviet Union, guided by a desire to place US-Soviet relations on a more stable and constructive foundation, noted that several recent steps had been taken to improve the bilateral relationship.

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev were pleased to witness the signing of a new exchanges agreement. The two leaders expressed their strong personal commitment to facilitating contacts between the American and Soviet peoples.

To this end, they have agreed on a series of new exchanges in the educational, people-to-people, information, and sports areas. They include: cooperation in the development of microcomputer educational software for secondary school instruction; nomination of two distinguished educators or other public figures to examine ways to promote study of each other's language; a massive exchange of undergraduate students; establishment of chairs to study the other's country in their respective major universities; creation of a Soviet-American scholarship program for students from each country to study at a distinguished university; a "Youth Exchange" program involving several thousand secondary-school age youths; expansion of "sister-city" relationships; regular consultations on efforts to combat alcoholism and drug abuse and trafficking; establishment of national cultural centers and libraries in each other's countries; inauguration of regular media exchanges; facilitation of Soviet satellite transmissions to the US via "Gorizont" and of Worldnet and other U.S. broadcasts to the Soviet Union; increased publication and distribution of each other's books and publications; a reciprocal televised

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exchange of each country's best sports competitions; an exchange of American football and baseball teams for Soviet hockey and soccer teams; joint sponsorship of an annual, a televised Washington to Moscow or Moscow to Washington "Great Race"; and a dramatic increase in binational competitions across the entire sporting agenda. [Final list of agreed items to be determined.]

As another means of furthering contacts and expanding bilateral relations, the President and General Secretary agreed that the two countries should open new consulates in Kiev and New York simultaneously and at an early date.

The two leaders also noted with satisfaction that, in cooperation with the Government of Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to a set of measures to promote safety on air routes in the North Pacific and are working out steps to implement them.

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev acknowledged that delegations from the United States and the Soviet Union have begun negotiations on a civil aviation agreement. The two leaders expressed their desire to reach a mutually beneficial agreement at an early date.

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev expressed their support for an expansion of trade between the two countries on the basis of mutual interest as discussed between the U.S. Secretary of Commerce and the Soviet Foreign Trade Minister at their meeting in Moscow in May 1985. The United States and Soviet Union noted with satisfaction the growing number of contacts in the trade area.

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev expressed pleasure that several additional agreements between the US and USSR were leading to further productive exchanges between the two countries. They agreed on the utility of recent visits to the Soviet Union by United States cabinet members responsible for agriculture, housing, and environmental protection. These visits established the basis for future mutually beneficial bilateral cooperation in those areas. They resulted in agreement on a number of new projects of benefit to both countries.

II. International Issues and Strengthening International Security

The United States and the Soviet Union recognized their special responsibilities for maintaining world peace and avoiding confrontation.

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Both sides recognized the particular importance of reaching an early agreement in the nuclear and space arms negotiations in Geneva on the basis of the joint statement issued by Secretary of State Shultz and Foreign Minister Gromyko in Geneva on January 8, 1985.

The two sides agreed [language on NST to be provided.]

Both sides recognized the vital importance of adhering scrupulously to existing commitments. The United States expressed its serious concern over Soviet violations of several commitments. Both sides agreed to redouble their efforts in the Standing Consultative Commission to provide suitable clarifications and resolve outstanding issues of concern to both parties.

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev reaffirmed the commitment of the US and USSR to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and their interest in working with other countries in further enhancing the non-proliferation regime and the effectiveness of the Treaty, inter alia by enlarging membership in the Treaty. They noted with satisfaction the overall positive results of the recent Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The US and the USSR plan to continue to promote the strengthening of the International Atomic Energy Agency and to support the activities of the Agency in implementing its safeguards as well as in promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

The two sides reaffirmed their commitment, assumed by them under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to pursue negotiations in good faith on nuclear arms limitation and disarmament. The two sides view positively the practice of regular US-Soviet consultations on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which have been business-like and constructive and express their intent to continue this practice in the future.

The two sides agreed to accelerate efforts to agree on a treaty to ban chemical weapons. They also agreed to initiate a bilateral dialogue to decide on measures to discourage the proliferation and use of chemical weapons.

The two leaders reviewed the situation in Europe, recognizing the vital importance of developments there to international peace and stability. Both sides reaffirmed the importance of achieving the goals established in the Helsinki Final Act and enhancing the process of building security and cooperation in Europe.

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The two leaders noted with satisfaction the progress that has been made in the Stockholm Conference on Security in Europe. They renewed their commitment to an outcome in Stockholm encompassing the non-use of force and a commitment by all signatories to a set of concrete confidence-building measures.

In discussing problems in Europe, the United States raised the situation of the military liaison missions in Germany and the problem of free access of air corridors to Berlin. Both sides reaffirmed the importance of strict adherence to agreements in these areas and the need to avoid incidents which could lead to their deterioration.

It was agreed that increased contacts between military personnel is an important means to build confidence between the two countries. The two sides have thus agreed to institute a series of military-to military exchanges between defense ministers, chiefs-of-staff, military colleges, and other appropriate officials and institutions.

The two leaders held a sober and realistic discussion of the international situation. They recognized that serious differences remain between the two countries, but that every effort should be made to avoid confrontation and manage differences in a realistic and non-confrontational manner.

The two sides agreed that regional experts talks on southern Africa, Afghanistan, the Middle East, East Asia and Central America/the Caribbean during 1985 had proved useful as a means of exchanging views, minimizing misunderstandings and avoiding miscalculations. They agreed to regularize these exchanges.

The two sides discussed a number of regional conflicts which contributed to the deterioration of their relations over the past decade. They reviewed President Reagan's proposal for seeking solutions to these conflicts and agreed that in the first instance, negotiations between parties directly concerned would be necessary. It was further agreed that should such negotiations make progress, the U.S. and Soviet Union would begin talks to support negotiations between the parties and to reduce and eliminate outside military involvement. At a later stage, joint steps to reintegrate the areas concerned into the world economy could be considered.

The two sides discussed Afghanistan at length. The U.S. side emphasized the importance of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country, the return of the Afghan refugees, and the ability of the Afghan people to pick a government of

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their own choosing. [The Soviet side ...] Both expressed support for the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a negotiated solution to the problem, which will permit the people of Afghanistan to live in peace in a genuinely non-aligned nation.

The President and the General Secretary clarified their respective positions on the Middle East. They reaffirmed their support for a peaceful settlement in the region in accordance with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the right of all states in the region, including Israel, to live in peace and security. The sides frankly expressed their differences over the appropriate means by which to implement UNSC resolutions 242 and 338.

Both sides presented their views of issues related to the Central America/Caribbean region. The U.S. expressed its concern over the introduction of weaponry and other interference from outside which promotes armed conflict and civil strife, detracts from efforts to resolve the region's urgent economic and social problems, and could exacerbate international relations. It emphasized the importance of finding peaceful solutions to the conflicts in the region through dialogue among political groups leading to national reconciliation within each country. [The Soviet side ...] Both sides expressed their support for the principles enunciated in the Document of Objectives adopted by the participants in the Contadora process and agreed to work toward their comprehensive implementation.

They discussed the situation in East Asia. President Reagan emphasized the economic dynamism of the region and called for an end to threats and use of force against nations in the area. He urged the Soviet Union to encourage the Vietnamese military forces to withdraw from Cambodia in order to permit the establishment of a genuinely non-aligned and independent Cambodian state in accordance with the proposals put forward by the Association of South East Asian Nations. [The Soviet side ...] Both sides emphasized the importance of the peaceful resolution of conflicts on the Korean peninsula and look forward to competing in the 1988 Olympics in Seoul.

The two leaders also discussed the situation in southern Africa. Both emphasized the need for all the people of South Africa to participate in determining the political future of their country. They agreed on the need to achieve independence in Namibia on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435. Toward this end, the United States restated its determination to assist the nations of the region in reaching a negotiated solution to their security and political

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problems and to promote the establishment of a free and independent Namibia. In this regard, both sides reiterated their view that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Angola.

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev discussed the threat to international stability currently posed by the prevalence of terrorism in the world. Both countries have been forced to cope with this modern scourge of mankind. The two leaders condemned international terrorism and agreed to hold discussions seeking ways to reduce the threat to the world community.

III. Future of the Relationship

The United States and the Soviet Union agreed that the current meeting represents only the first step in the process of putting the U.S. - Soviet relationship on a more satisfactory footing. President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev expressed their determination to achieve concrete results in all of the areas discussed in the earliest possible timeframe. As evidence of their seriousness of purpose. In order to accelerate the process to the degree possible, the two leaders agreed to meet again in the near future to review progress and agree on further measures in pursuit of this objective.

7 } General Secretary Gorbachev has thus accepted an invitation by President Reagan to visit the United States. For his part, President Reagan accepted General Secretary Gorbachev's invitation to visit the Soviet Union. Arrangements for and timing of the two visits will be determined through diplomatic channels.

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