

Soviet draft

Davis

Draft

DIRECTIVES FOR THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES

Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the United States of America George Bush at their meeting near Malta on December 2-3 gave thorough consideration to the current state and future prospects of the development of the international situation and Soviet-American interaction. They came to a common conclusion that the period of cold war was over and that the emerging era of peace opened up unprecedented opportunities for multilateral and bilateral partnership. Proceeding from the need to bring Soviet-U.S. relations in line with the requirements of the new times, the two leaders have agreed to instruct Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to concentrate in the immediate future on the following principal areas.

I

Focus all current political and diplomatic activities in relations between the USSR and the USA on the preparation of a productive Soviet-American summit meeting in the United States on _____, 1990 having in mind the goal of making it a watershed in the dialogue between the two countries.

II

In light of both sides' determination to move toward deideologizing relations between states and harmonizing

their national interests with universal human values and generally recognized standards of international law, draw up a set of specific proposals which could become a wide-ranging program of constructive cooperation in the area of human rights and humanitarian problems.

III

Guided by the supreme goal of excluding even the possibility of war from the life of the world community and, with that goal in mind, creating a fundamentally new model of security, undertake the following.

First. Speed up the preparation of the draft treaty between the USSR and the USA on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, so that it would be ready for signing during the Soviet-American summit meeting in the USA on _____, 1990.

Examine the problems of anti-satellite weapons with the goal of eventual agreement establishing "a zero regime" as regards anti-satellite systems.

Identify joint measures to accelerate the negotiations on nuclear testing to make sure that the verification protocols to the 1974 and 1976 Treaties are signed during the summit meeting in the United States. Discuss the possibility of further limitations on the yield and number of nuclear explosions and eventually their complete cessation.

Second. Explore intensively, together with other participating countries, solutions to the remaining issues holding up a first-phase agreement at the Vienna talks. Initiate in 1990 the discussion of the concept of second-phase conventional

arms reductions in Europe, which should follow the elimination of the main imbalances and asymmetries in that area and result in further lowering the level of military confrontation on the European continent and creating purely defensive structures in Europe.

Consider the possibility of achieving, already today, a bilateral agreement on the radical reduction of Soviet and U.S. stationed forces in Europe down to the level of ...

Third. Make every effort to help intensify multilateral and bilateral talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons and prepare, for consideration at the summit meeting, proposals regarding joint efforts by the USSR and the USA to ensure that the convention is completed during 1990-1991. Discuss the question of a bilateral agreement concerning steps to be taken by the USSR and the USA prior to the convention's entry into force. Establish an arrangement for the exchange of experience and cooperation in the destruction of chemical weapons.

Fourth. Prepare a draft agreement recording the sides' obligation to consolidate the tendency towards reducing military expenditures which has emerged in both countries.

Fifth. Develop the basic principles and directions of implementing the policy of openness which would cover equally all aspects of military and non-military activities. Undertake joint efforts to prepare for signing in 1990 an agreement establishing an Open Skies regime, to be prepared at the conference opening in Ottawa in February 1990. Hold Soviet-US consultations on reducing and abolishing zones "closed" to visitors on Soviet and US territory, and on other measures to institute Open Lands.

Hold bilateral consultations to develop a comprehensive concept of verification. Such a concept could include combined and complementary verification measures, a more efficient use of measures already adopted, and new verification measures. This work would be pursued in the context of discussing the ideas of Open Skies, Open Seas, Open Lands, and Open Space.

IV

Taking into account that the process of creating a healthier international environment is still threatened by persisting tensions, including armed conflicts, in some regions of the world, continue and intensify Soviet-U.S. interaction with the goal of creating conditions making it possible to solidify recent gains in defusing crises and regional conflict situations on the basis of comprehensive political settlement and national reconciliation.

V

Guided by the fundamental understandings reached during the talks between the two leaders near Malta, suggest guidelines for government stimulation of Soviet-U.S. economic cooperation in both bilateral and multilateral areas.

With a view to developing joint initiatives, continue to examine problems of interstate relations in the North-South perspective and ways of steering them away from the situation of crisis as well as the issues of international debt.

Work for a step-by-step solution of the problem of compatibility of the Soviet and U.S. economies and more

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

comprehensive involvement of the Soviet Union in the world economic system and seek to establish a better legal basis for the two countries' economic cooperation. Coordinate the efforts of the two countries' economic agencies working to prepare in time for the summit meeting in the United States an important package of commercial and economic agreements and accords.

VI

Recognizing the ever increasing importance of joining the efforts of all countries to solve transnational problems for the progress and survival of human civilization, provide general political coordination of cooperation between the appropriate Soviet and U.S. departments and agencies. Attach special importance and urgency to questions such as harmonizing the Soviet and U.S. national environmental programs, bearing in mind the possibility of jointly promoting a concept of an international "code of ecological behavior"; enhancing U.S.-Soviet cooperation in the United Nations, including the presentation of joint initiatives; and formulating a long-term program for expanding cooperation between the USSR and the USA, including efforts by the appropriate agencies of the two countries, in combatting international terrorism and drug trafficking.

VII

Encourage intensive work to implement the existing and prepare, as appropriate, new government-to-government agreements and accords enhancing and enriching the infrastructure of Soviet-U.S. bilateral relations, ties and contacts at all levels and in all areas. Give special attention to stimulating exchanges between the Soviet and U.S. legislatures and contacts between

VIII

It has been agreed that the Soviet Foreign Minister ~~and~~ the U.S. Secretary of State will hold a series of meetings to explore the main issues in the Soviet-U.S. relationship ~~within~~ the context of preparations for summit talks in the United States.

Those meetings will be held:

- in February 1990, to consider questions of security and disarmament;
- in March 1990, to consider regional issues;
- in April 1990, to consider bilateral relations and transnational problems.

Other issues of importance could also be raised, as appropriate and if desired by either side, at the ministerial meetings.

M. GORBACHEV

GEORGE BUSH

December 3, 1989

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library