Collection: Linhard, Robert E.: Files, 1982-1988
SERIES I: ARMS CONTROL CHRONOLOGICAL FILE
Folder Title: Geneva Summit Records
11/19/1985-11/21/1985 (1 of 4)
Box: RAC Box 7

WITHDRAWAL SHEET
Ronald Reagan Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. draft statement	re: nuclear and space talks (3pp) R 1/16/07 NLSF96-087 #18	n.d.	~~P-1~~
2. e-mail	re: draft statement (1p) R " " #19	11/20/85	~~P-1~~
3. draft statements	re: nuclear and space talks (6pp) R " " " #20	n.d.	~~P-1~~
~~4. memcon~~	~~re: Reagan/Gorbachev,first private meeting (7pp)~~ R, 5/15/00, NLSF 96-087 #21	~~11/19/85~~	~~P-1~~

COLLECTION: LINHARD, ROBERT E.: Files	ggc
FILE FOLDER: Geneva Summit Records, Nov. 19-21, 1985 [1 of 4] ~~OA 92178~~ RAC Box 7	11/6/95

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]
- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA.
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]
- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(B)(6) of the FOIA]
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Geneva, Switzerland)

FOR RELEASE AT 10:00 a.m. Local
4:00 a.m. EST

November 21, 1985

JOINT STATEMENT

By mutual agreement, President of the United States Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev met in Geneva November 19-21. Attending the meeting on the U.S. side were Secretary of State George Shultz; Chief of Staff Donald Regan; Assistant to the President Robert McFarlane; Ambassador to the USSR Arthur Hartman; Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Paul H. Nitze; Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Rozanne Ridgway; Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Jack Matlock. Attending on the Soviet side were Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Minister of Foreign Affairs E. A. Shevardnadze; First Deputy Foreign Minister G. M. Korniyenko; Ambassador to the United States A. F. Dobrynin; Head of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A. N. Yakovlev; Head of the Department of International Information of the Central Committee of the CPSU L. M. Zamyatin; Assistant to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A. M. Aleksandrov.

These comprehensive discussions covered the basic questions of U.S.-Soviet relations and the current international situation. The meetings were frank and useful. Serious differences remain on a number of critical issues.

While acknowledging the differences in their systems and approaches to international issues, some greater understanding of each side's view was achieved by the two leaders. They agreed about the need to improve U.S.-Soviet relations and the international situation as a whole.

In this connection the two sides have confirmed the importance of an ongoing dialogue, reflecting their strong desire to seek common ground on existing problems.

They agreed to meet again in the nearest future. The General Secretary accepted an invitation by the President of the United States to visit the United States of America and the President of the United States accepted an invitation by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU to visit the Soviet Union. Arrangements for and timing of the visits will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

In their meetings, agreement was reached on a number of specific issues. Areas of agreement are registered on the following pages.

MORE

SECURITY

The sides, having discussed key security issues, and conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the U.S. for maintaining peace, have agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the U.S. could have catastrophic consequences, they emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority.

NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint U.S.-Soviet Agreement of January 8, 1985, namely to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability.

Noting the proposals recently tabled by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, they called for early progress, in particular in areas where there is common ground, including the principle of 50% reductions in the nuclear arms of the U.S. and the USSR appropriately applied, as well as the idea of an interim INF agreement.

During the negotiation of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

RISK REDUCTION CENTERS

The sides agreed to study the question at the expert level of centers to reduce nuclear risk taking into account the issues and developments in the Geneva negotiations. They took satisfaction in such recent steps in this direction as the modernization of the Soviet-U.S. hotline.

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan reaffirmed the commitment of the USSR and the U.S. to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and their interest in strengthening together with other countries the non-proliferation regime, and in further enhancing the effectiveness of the Treaty, inter alia by enlarging its membership.

They note with satisfaction the overall positive results of the recent Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

MORE

The USSR and the U.S. reaffirm their commitment, assumed by them under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to pursue negotiations in good faith on matters of nuclear arms limitation and disarmament in accordance with Article VI of the Treaty.

The two sides plan to continue to promote the strengthening of the International Atomic Energy Agency and to support the activities of the Agency in implementing safeguards as well as in promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

They view positively the practice of regular Soviet-U.S. consultations on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which have been businesslike and constructive and express their intent to continue this practice in the future.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

In the context of discussing security problems, the two sides reaffirmed that they are in favor of a general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles of such weapons. They agreed to accelerate efforts to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention on this matter.

The two sides agreed to intensify bilateral discussions on the level of experts on all aspects of such a chemical weapons ban, including the question of verification. They agreed to initiate a dialogue on preventing the proliferation of chemical weapons.

MBFR

The two sides emphasized the importance they attach to the Vienna (MBFR) negotiations and expressed their willingness to work for positive results.

CDE

Attaching great importance to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and noting the progress made there, the two sides stated their intention to facilitate, together with the other participating states, an early and successful completion of the work of the conference. To this end, they reaffirmed the need for a document which would include mutually acceptable confidence and security building measures and give concrete expression and effect to the principle of non-use of force.

MORE

PROCESS OF DIALOGUE

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev agreed on the need to place on a regular basis and intensify dialogue at various levels. Along with meetings between the leaders of the two countries, this envisages regular meetings between the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Secretary of State, as well as between the heads of other Ministries and Agencies. They agree that the recent visits of the heads of Ministries and Departments in such fields as agriculture, housing and protection of the environment have been useful.

Recognizing that exchanges of views on regional issues on the expert level have proven useful, they agreed to continue such exchanges on a regular basis.

The sides intend to expand the programs of bilateral cultural, educational and scientific-technical exchanges, and also to develop trade and economic ties. The President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU attended the signing of the Agreement on Contacts and Exchanges in Scientific, Educational and Cultural Fields.

They agreed on the importance of resolving humanitarian cases in the spirit of cooperation.

They believe that there should be greater understanding among our peoples and that to this end they will encourage greater travel and people-to-people contact.

NORTHERN PACIFIC AIR SAFETY

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 have worked out steps to implement them.

CIVIL AVIATION/CONSULATES

They acknowledged that delegations from the United States and the Soviet Union have begun negotiations aimed at resumption of air services. The two leaders expressed their desire to reach a mutually beneficial agreement at an early date. In this regard, an agreement was reached on the simultaneous opening of Consulates General in New York and Kiev.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Both sides agreed to contribute to the preservation of the environment -- a global task -- through joint research and practical measures. In accordance with the existing U.S.-Soviet agreement in this area, consultations will be held next year in Moscow and Washington on specific programs of cooperation.

MORE

EXCHANGE INITIATIVES

The two leaders agreed on the utility of broadening exchanges and contacts including some of their new forms in a number of scientific, educational, medical and sports fields (inter alia, cooperation in the development of educational exchanges and software for elementary and secondary school instruction; measures to promote Russian language studies in the United States and English language studies in the USSR; the annual exchange of professors to conduct special courses in history, culture and economics at the relevant departments of Soviet and American institutions of higher education; mutual allocation of scholarships for the best students in the natural sciences, technology, social sciences and humanities for the period of an academic year; holding regular meets in various sports and increased television coverage of sports events). The two sides agreed to resume cooperation in combatting cancer diseases.

The relevant agencies in each of the countries are being instructed to develop specific programs for these exchanges. The resulting programs will be reviewed by the leaders at their next meeting.

FUSION RESEARCH

The two leaders emphasized the potential importance of the work aimed at utilizing controlled thermonuclear fusion for peaceful purposes and, in this connection, advocated the widest practicable development of international cooperation in obtaining this source of energy, which is essentially inexhaustible, for the benefit for all mankind.

# # #

What about just this for general!

NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

IN PRIVATE AND PLENARY SESSIONS

"The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms. They agreed work on these negotiations should be directed towards the objective of achieving early progress wherever possible. To that end, they agreed on the following guidelines:

THROUGH

IN PARTICULAR IN AREAS WHERE COMMON GROUND HAS BEGUN TO EMERGE.

1. Offensive nuclear arms will be significantly reduced applying the general concept of 50% reductions to equal ceilings on specific, comparable categories in a manner that enhances stability.

IN THIS CONTEXT, ~~THEY~~ BOTH RECOGNIZED THE DESIRABILITY OF

2. ~~There will be~~ a separate interim agreement resulting in reductions and limitations on land-based, intermediate-range, nuclear missiles systems as a step towards the total elimination of this class of missiles.

1ST US

3. Strategic ballistic missile defense research programs of each side will be conducted as permitted by, and in full compliance with, the ABM Treaty. The feasibility of a cooperative transition to an increased reliance on strategic defenses will be explored.

4. To ensure effective verification of compliance, meaningful measures to this end will be negotiated concurrently with limits on weaponry and incorporated in all agreements resulting from these negotiations."

1ST SOV RESPONSE

The GS and P have discussed the issues pertaining to negotiations on nuclear and space arms. It has been agreed to continue these negotiations with a view to accomplishing the tasks assigned to these neg. in the Joint Soviet/American agreement of Jan 8 1985, namely to prevent and arms race in outer space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability. The sides will, in this context, seek outcomes including those working out ~~INTERIM~~ TEMPORARY PROVISIONAL ~~PROVISIONAL, TEMPORARY~~ accords, ~~PROMOTE~~ CONDUCIVE

conducive to the above mentioned objectives. They confirm the need for effective verification of compliance with the agreements that may be reached in this area.

all

US ATTEMPTS TO WORK FROM SOV. TEXT

I

The sides, having discussed key security issues, and conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the U.S. for maintaining peace, have agreed that they will base their relations on the premise that nuclear war is inadmissible, that ~~no one can win such a war and that it~~ NUCLEAR WAR CANNOT BE WON AND must never be ~~unleashed~~ FOUGHT. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the U.S. could have catastrophic consequences, they ~~also~~ emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. ~~Accordingly~~, they will not seek to achieve military superiority. ~~or to infringe upon each other's legitimate security interests in some other way.~~ THERE

The General Secretary and the President discussed the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint Soviet-U.S. Statement of January 8, 1985, namely, to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on Earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and strengthen strategic stability.

In that ~~work~~ CONTEXT the proposals recently tabled by the Soviet and U.S. sides will be taken into account. Along with the negotiation of corresponding accords, agreement will be reached on effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed. WILL BE NEGOTIATED CONCURRENTLY WITH

~~INCLUDING 50% REDUCTIONS IN APPROPRIATE COMPARABLE SYSTEMS AND A SEPARATE AGREEMENT INTERIM AGREEMENT~~

(1) INCLUDING APPLYING THE GENERAL CONCEPT OF 50% REDUCTIONS TO EQUAL CEILINGS ON SPECIFIC, COMPARABLE CATEGORIES [AND A SEPARATE INTERIM AGREEMENT RESULTING IN REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS ON LAND-BASED, INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES AS A STEP TOWARD THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF THIS CLASS OF MISSILES.] (2)

(3) INCLUDING THE APPLICATIONS OF THE ~~SPECIFIC~~ CONCEPT OF 50% REDUCTIONS TO INDIVIDUAL

such as the concept of
50% reductions appropriately
applied and a separate
interim agreement (INF

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

In the discussion of the section on the nuclear and space talks, Perle asked the Soviets if they could accept the following sentence:

> Offensive nuclear arms will be significantly reduced applying the general concept of 50% reductions to equal ceilings on specific, comparable categories.

The Soviets said they could not. Karpov stated that 50% reductions means nothing without an agreed interpretation of what it applies to.

Perle then asked the Soviets if they could accept the following sentence:

> There will be a separate interim agreement resulting in reductions and limitations on land-based, intermediate-range nuclear missile systems as a step toward the total elimination of this class of missiles.

The Soviets again refused. Bessmertnykh stated that the US sentence included only land-based missiles, and thus failed to take account of British and French missiles.

Linhard asked if the Soviets could accept inclusion of a reference to application of the concept of 50% reductions. The Soviets refused, saying that 50% reductions is only one part of a potential agreement and cannot be taken out of the whole.

MSG FROM: NSWGH --CPUA TO: NSCEC --CPUA 11/20/85 08:16:43
To: NSCEC --CPUA

-- ~~SECRET~~ --
NOTE FROM: WILMA HALL
Subject: URGENT - RCM Message for REL

Pls print and give only to Bob Linhard.
*** Forwarding note from NSWGH --CPUA 11/20/85 08:02 ***
To: NSREL --CPUA

-- ~~SECRET~~ --
NOTE FROM: WILMA HALL
SUBJECT: URGENT - RCM Message for REL

RCM wanted me to transmit the following to you:

NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

"The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms. They agreed that work on these negotiations should be accelerated with a view to accomplishing the tasks assigned in the Joint US-Soviet Agreement of January 8, 1985, specifically to prevent an arms race in outer space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability. Offensive nuclear arms will be significantly reduced applying the general concept of 50% reductions to equal ceilings on specific, comparable categories. There will be a separate interim agreement resulting in reductions and limitations on land-based, intermediate-range nuclear missile systems as a step toward the total elimination of this class of missiles. To insure effective verification of compliance, meaningful measures to this end will be negotiated concurrently with limits on weaponry and incorporated in all agreements resulting from these negotiations."

Joint US

THE SOVIET UNION IS CONCERNED THAT RESEARCH ON A STRATEGIC SPACE SHIELD COULD LEAD TO DEVELOPING OFFENSIVE WEAPONS IN SPACE.

THE US BELIEVES THAT ACCESS TO EACH OTHERS LABORATORIES BY SOVIET AND

Press Remarks/ notes

Korenyuko - 50% is different interpretation
no reason to add

NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

2nd US as presented to Sov.

The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms. They agreed that work on these negotiations should be accelerated with a view to accomplishing the tasks assigned in the Joint U.S.-Soviet Agreement of January 8, 1985, specifically to prevent an arms race in outer space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability. Offensive nuclear arms will be significantly reduced applying the general concept of 50% reductions to equal ceilings on specific, comparable categories. There will be a separate interim agreement resulting in reductions and limitations on land-based, intermediate-range nuclear missile systems as a step toward the total elimination of this class of missiles. To insure effective verification of compliance, meaningful measures to this end will be negotiated concurrently with limits on weaponry and incorporated in all agreements resulting from these negotiations.

As 1600 WJD

Alt for foreign Min-PM brief

NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

VS ALT

[The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms. They agreed that work on these negotiations should be accelerated with a view to accomplishing the tasks assigned in the Joint U.S.-Soviet Agreement of January 8, 1985, specifically to prevent an arms race in outer space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability. Offensive nuclear arms will be significantly reduced applying the general concept of 50% reductions to equal ceilings on specific, comparable categories. There will be a separate interim agreement resulting in reductions and limitations on land-based, intermediate-range nuclear missile systems as a step toward the total elimination of this class of missiles.

- OR -

Sov/ALT

[The General Secretary and the President discussed the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint Soviet-U.S. Statement of January 8, 1985, namely to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on Earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and strengthen strategic stability.

In that work the proposals recently tabled by the Soviet and U.S. sides will be taken into account, INCLUDING THE PRINCIPLE OF 50% REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR ARMS OF US AND USSR APPROPRIATELY APPLIED.

During the negotiation of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

SHORT ALT NOT USED – FOLDED INTO 12 NM POSITION

They thoroughly discussed both in plenary and in private the negotiations on nuclear and space arms. They agreed to accelerate work on achieving early progress wherever possible, in particular in areas where common ground has begun to emerge.

- 50% means nothing without specific agreements
- unless applied across board 50% is no good

- LRINF - land based
- 50% only one part !

12 Am Wed
Draft

NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

They agreed to ~~accelerate~~ CONTINUE the work at these ~~negotiations~~, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint U.S.-Soviet Agreement of January 8, 1985, namely to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability. FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

They called for early progress wherever possible, in particular in areas where common ground has begun to emerge, such as the concept of 50% reductions appropriately applied and a separate interim agreement on INF. in the positions of the two sides

During the negotiation of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

INITIAL SOV COMMENTS

NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

They agreed to CONTINUE accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down ~~in the Joint U.S.-Soviet Agreement of January 8, 1985, namely~~ FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS to prevent an ~~arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability~~.

They called for early progress wherever possible, in particular in areas where common ground has begun to emerge, such as the ~~concept~~ of 50% reductions OF NUCLEAR ARMS OF US/USSR appropriately applied ~~and a separate interim agreement on INF.~~

* IN THE POSITIONS TABLED BY BOTH SIDES

During the negotiation of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

IN THIS CONTEXT, THE PROPOSALS RECENTLY TABLED BY THE US & USSR WILL BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

FINAL PAPER PASSED ACROSS TABLE

NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint U.S.-Soviet Agreement of January 8, 1985, namely to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability.

NOTING THE PROPOSALS RECENTLY TABLED BY THE US AND SOVIET UNION,

They called for early progress, ~~wherever possible,~~ in particular in areas where ~~common ground, has begun to emerge,~~ THERE IS such as the ~~concept~~ PRINCIPLE of 50% reductions ~~appropriately applied and a separate interim agreement on INF.~~ INCLUDING IN THE NUCLEAR ARMS OF THE U.S. AND USSR APPROPRIATELY APPLIED. ~~AS WELL AS A~~ AS WELL AS THE IDEA OF AN INTERIM INF AGREEMENT (IN EUROPE)

During the negotiation of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

11/21/85
12:15 AM

MASTER

1. Common Statement
2. Security
3. US Language on NST

   Soviet Language on NST
4. Risk Reduction Centers
5. Nuclear Non-Proliferation
6. Chemical Weapons
7. MBFR
8. CDE
9. Process of Dialogue
10. Northern Pacific Air Safety
11. Civil Aviation/Consulates
12. Fusion
13. Environment
14. Cultural Agreement
15. Exchange Initiatives

AGREED

COMMON STATEMENT

By mutual agreement, President of the United States Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev met in Geneva November 19-20(21). Attending the meeting on the U.S. side were Secretary of State George Shultz, [list other senior U.S. officials participating]. General Secretary Gorbachev was accompanied by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, [list other senior Soviet officials].

These comprehensive discussions covered the basic questions of US-Soviet relations and the current international situation. The meetings were frank and useful. Serious differences remain on a number of critical issues.

While acknowledging the differences in their systems and approaches to international issues, some greater understanding of the each side's view was achieved by the two leaders. They agreed about the need to improve US-Soviet relations and the international situation as a whole.

In this connection the two sides have confirmed the importance of an ongoing dialogue, reflecting their strong desire to seek common ground on existing problems.

They agreed to meet again in the nearest future. The General Secretary accepted an invitation by the President of

the United States to visit the United States of America and the President of the United States accepted an invitation by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU to visit the Soviet Union. Arrangements for and timing of the visits will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

In their meetings, agreement was reached on a number of specific issues. Areas of agreement are registered in the following pages.

SECURITY

[The sides, having discussed key security issues, and conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the U.S. for maintaining peace, have agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the U.S. could have catastrophic consequences, they emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority. They did reach a common understanding about their obligation to make this a safer, better world. Therefore, they are committed to achieving concrete results in arms control negotiations and regional discussions.]

This is a hybrid. Phrases we dropped are marked on next page.
Brackets are Soviet

The sides, having discussed key security issues, and conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the U.S. for maintaining peace, have agreed that they will base their relations on the premise that nuclear war is inadmissible, that no one can win such a war and that it must never be unleashed. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the U.S. could have catastrophic consequences, they also emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. Accordingly, they will not seek to achieve military superiority or to infringe upon each other's legitimate security interests in some other way.

The General Secretary and the President discussed the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint Soviet-U.S. Statement of January 8, 1985, namely, to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on Earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and strengthen strategic stability.

In that work the proposals recently tabled by the Soviet and U.S. sides will be taken into account. Along with the negotiation of corresponding accords, agreement will be reached on effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed.

NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

US Proposal

[The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms. They agreed that work on these negotiations should be accelerated with a view to accomplishing the tasks assigned in the Joint U.S.-Soviet Agreement of January 8, 1985, specifically to prevent an arms race in outer space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability. Offensive nuclear arms will be significantly reduced applying the general concept of 50% reductions to equal ceilings on specific, comparable categories. There will be a separate interim agreement resulting in reductions and limitations on land-based, intermediate-range nuclear missile systems as a step toward the total elimination of this class of missiles.]

- OR -

Soviet Proposal

[The General Secretary and the President discussed the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint Soviet-U.S. Statement of January 8, 1985, namely to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on Earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and strengthen strategic stability.

INCLUDING THE CONCEPT PRINCIPLE OF 50% REDUCTION OF THE APPROPRIATE NUCLEAR ARMS OF THE US AND USSR.

In that work the proposals recently tabled by the Soviet and U.S. sides will be taken into account.]

Agreed

During the negotiation of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

see following for US offer not yet made

Alternative not tabled as yet (12 midnight)

The sides, having discussed key security issues, and conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the U.S. for maintaining peace, ~~have agreed~~ STATE that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the U.S. could have catastrophic consequences, they emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority. ~~They did reach a~~ common understanding about their obligation to make this a safer, better world. Therefore, they are committed to achieving concrete results in arms control negotiations and ~~regional discussions.~~

They thoroughly discussed both in plenary and in private the negotiations on nuclear and space arms. They agreed to accelerate work on achieving early progress wherever possible, in particular in areas where common ground has begun to emerge.

During the negotiation of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

NO CLOSURE

RISK REDUCTION CENTERS

(9) [The sides agreed to study the question at the expert level of centers to reduce nuclear risk [within the context of resolving the issues under consideration at the Geneva negotiations.] They took satisfaction in such recent steps in this direction as the modernization of the Soviet-U.S. hotline.]

KEEPING UNDER CONSIDERATION ~~THE ISSUES UNDER~~ GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE ISSUES AND DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ~~Nuclear and Space~~ GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS

Soviet bracket entire proposal

US bracket underlined portion

agree on background for discussions

Agreed

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

"General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan reaffirmed the commitment of the USSR and the USA to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and their interest in strengthening together with other countries the non-proliferation regime, and in further enhancing the effectiveness of the Treaty, inter alia by enlarging its membership.

They note with satisfaction the overall positive results of the recent Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

The USSR and the USA reaffirm their ~~commitment, assumed~~ by them under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to pursue negotiations in good ~~faith~~ on matters of nuclear arms limitation and disarmament ~~in accordance~~ with Article VI of the Treaty.

The two Sides plan to continue to promote the strengthening of the International Atomic Energy Agency and to support the activities of the Agency in implementing safeguards as well as in promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

They view positively the practice of regular Soviet-US consultations on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which have been businesslike and constructive and express their intent to continue this practice in the future."

NO CLOSURE

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

"In the context of discussing security problems, the two sides reaffirmed that they are in favor of a general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles of such weapons. They agreed to accelerate efforts to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention on this matter."

"The two sides agreed to intensify bilateral discussions on the level of experts on all aspects of such a chemical weapons ban, including the question of verification. They agreed to initiate a dialogue on preventing the proliferation ~~[and the use]~~ of chemical weapons."

Soviets bracket

AGREED

MBFR

"The two sides emphasized the importance they attach to the Vienna (MBFR) negotiations and expressed their willingness to work for positive results."

Agreed

CDE

"Attaching great importance to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and noting the progress made there, the two sides stated their intention to facilitate, together with the other participating states, an early and successful completion of the work of the conference. To this end, they reaffirmed the need for a [~~concluding~~] document which would include [~~both~~] mutually acceptable confidence and security building measures and give concrete expression and effect to the principle of non-use of force."

PROCESS OF DIALOGUE

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev agreed on the need to place on a regular basis and intensify dialogue at various levels. Along with meetings between the leaders of the two countries, this envisages regular meetings between the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Secretary of State, as well as between the heads of other Ministries and Agencies. They agree that the recent visits of the heads of Ministries and Departments in such fields as agriculture, housing and protection of the environment have been useful.

Recognizing that exchanges of views on regional issues on the expert level have proven useful, they agreed to continue such exchanges on a regular basis. They also agreed that regional issues would be addressed at the meetings of Foreign Ministers.

The sides intend to expand the programs of bilateral cultural, educational and scientific-technical ~~exchanges and~~ people-to-people contacts, [and also to ~~develop~~ DISCUSS THE NORMALIZATION OF trade and economic ~~ties~~ RELATIONS WITHIN LAWS AND REGULATIONS]!. The sides noted with satisfaction that work on the Agreement on Contacts and Exchanges in Scientific, Educational and Cultural Fields has been ~~completed~~.

[They agreed on the importance of resolving COOPERATING TO humanitarian cases ~~in the spirit of cooperation.~~]2.

[They BELIEVE agreed that there should be greater understanding among our peoples and that to this end they will encourage and permit greater travel and people-to-people contact. In addition, they have agreed upon some specific initiatives to facilitate contact and cooperation as set forth separately.]2

1 Bracketed by US

2 Bracketed by Soviets

Agreed

NORTHERN PACIFIC AIR SAFETY

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 have worked out steps to implement them.

AGREED

CIVIL AVIATION/CONSULATES

They acknowledged that delegations from the United States and the Soviet Union have begun negotiations aimed at resumption of air services. The two leaders expressed their desire to reach a mutually beneficial agreement at an early date. In this regard, an agreement was reached on the simultaneous opening of Consulates General in New York and Kiev.

AGREED

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Both sides agreed to contribute to the preservation of the environment -- a global task -- through joint research and practical measures. In accordance with the existing US-Soviet agreement in this area, consultations will be held next year in Moscow and Washington on specific programs of cooperation.

FUSION RESEARCH

Both leaders ~~have~~ emphasized the importance of developing controlled thermo-nuclear fusion for peaceful purposes and, ~~have~~ in this connection, spoke in favor of feasible and practical international cooperation in obtaining this source of energy, which is essentially inexhaustible, for the benefit of all mankind. ~~They~~ will gather and evaluate existing research on magnetic fusion with the ultimate objective of a multinational demonstration project, provided the research results are positive, other countries with resources and expertise participate, and arrangements are made for equitable sharing of costs. The conclusions of this work will be reported to the leaders of the US, USSR, and other participating countries.

POTENTIAL — THE WIDEST, PRACTICABLY — THE WIDEST POSSIBLE

Their experts, together with those of other interested countries,

Probably agreeable, US has bracketed against President's exchange initiative

CULTURAL
~~GENERAL EXCHANGES~~ AGREEMENT

[The President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU attended the signing of the Agreement on Contacts and Exchanges in the Scientific, Educational and Cultural Fields.]

Soviet bracket, signature linked to civil aviation and consulates as a "package", see Soviet - proposed treatment under Process of Dialogue

EXCHANGE INITIATIVES

US - Proposed Language

The two leaders agreed on the following new programs to foster contact, communication, and cooperation between their societies:

-- a substantial increase in undergraduate and secondary student exchanges with an initial goal of 300 students from each country each year.

-- the annual exchange of ten professors to conduct special courses in history, culture and economics in Soviet and American institutions of higher education.

-- the creation of a US-Soviet scholarship program for ten of the best students from each country in the natural sciences, social sciences, humanities and technology for the period of an academic year.

-- a program of three-month courses in the USSR to improve the competence of American teachers of the Russian language, and in the U.S. to improve the competence of Soviet teachers of the English language, for up to 200 participants from each country annually.

-- the exchange of groups of elementary school children for stays in summer camps of the other country.

-- a joint program of cancer research.

-- a program for cooperation in the development of educational software for elementary and secondary school instruction.

-- the continuation and expansion of regular television bridges, bringing together groups of Soviet and American scientists, journalists and performers.

-- the substantial expansion of contacts in sports, including annual meetings in various sports, the exchange of athletic information and increased television coverage of sports.

-- to encourage a major expansion of sister city ties, which would involve regular visits by citizens of those cities to their counterparts.

The leaders agreed to offer their support to appropriate organizations in each country to develop concrete programs to implement these initiatives.

Exchange Initiatives

(26) The two sides agreed to contribute to the preservation of the environment -- a global task -- through joint research and practical measures. In accordance with the existing U.S.-Soviet agreement in this area, consultations will be held next year in Moscow and Washington on specific programs of cooperation.

Soviet - Proposed Language

(27) The two leaders agreed on the utility of broadening exchanges and contacts including some of their new forms in a number of scientific, educational, medical and sports fields (cooperation in the development of educational software for elementary and secondary school instruction; measures to promote Russian language studies in the United States and English language studies in the USSR; the ~~annual exchange~~ of 10 professors to conduct special courses in history, culture and economics at the relevant departments of Soviet and American institutions of higher education; mutual allocation of scholarships for the best students in the natural sciences, technology, social sciences, and humanities for the period of an academic year; holding regular meets in various sports and increased television coverage of sports events; etc.). The two sides agreed to resume cooperation in combatting cancer diseases.

~~A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN UNDERGRADUATE AND SECONDARY SCHOOL EXCHANGES~~ EXCHANGES ↑

(28) The relevant agencies in each of the countries are being instructed to develop specific programs for these exchanges. The resulting programs will be reviewed by their leaders at their next ~~next~~ meeting

III.

(29) The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the President of the United States agreed to meet again in the near future to consider the issues pertaining to improving the relations between the two countries, to enhancing international security and to the improvement of the overall situation in the world.

(30) In this connection the President of the United States accepted an invitation by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU to visit the Soviet Union. For his part, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee accepted an invitation by the President of the United States to visit the United States of America. Arrangements for and timing of the visits will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

US fallback - not used

EXCHANGE INITIATIVES

The two leaders consider that it is a high priority to increase people-to-people contacts and cooperation. They agreed that new forms of such contact and cooperation should be developed on an urgent basis. They have instructed relevant agencies in each of the two countries to develop specific programs and to report back to them for concrete decisions.

FINAL AS OF
END OF NEGOTIATIONS

JOINT STATEMENT

By mutual agreement, President of the United States Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev met in Geneva November 19-21. Attending the meeting on the U.S. side were Secretary of State George Shultz; Chief of Staff Donald Regan; Assistant to the President Robert McFarlane; Ambassador to the USSR Arthur Hartman; Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Paul H. Nitze; Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Rozanne Ridgway; Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Jack Matlock. Attending on the Soviet side were Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Minister of Foreign Affairs E. A. Shevardnadze; First Deputy Foreign Minister G. M. Korniyenko; Ambassador to the United States A. F. Dobrynin; Head of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A. N. Yakovlev; Head of the Department of International Information of the Central Committee of the CPSU L. M. Zamyatin; Assistant to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A. M. Aleksandrov.

These comprehensive discussions covered the basic questions of U.S.-Soviet relations and the current international situation. The meetings were frank and useful. Serious differences remain on a number of critical issues.

While acknowledging the differences in their systems and approaches to international issues, some greater understanding of the each side's view was achieved by the two leaders. They agreed about the need to improve U.S.-Soviet relations and the international situation as a whole.

In this connection the two sides have confirmed the importance of an ongoing dialogue, reflecting their strong desire to seek common ground on existing problems.

They agreed to meet again in the nearest future. The General Secretary accepted an invitation by the President of the United States to visit the United States of America and the President of the United States accepted an invitation by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU to visit the Soviet Union. Arrangements for and timings of the visits will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

In their meetings, agreement was reached on a number of specific issues. Areas of agreement are registered in the following pages.

SECURITY

The sides, having discussed key security issues, and conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the U.S. for maintaining peace, have agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the U.S. could have catastrophic consequences, they emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority.

NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint U.S.-Soviet Agreement of January 8, 1985, namely to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability.

Noting the proposals recently tabled by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, they called for early progress, in particular in areas where there is common ground, including the principle of 50% reductions in the nuclear arms of the U.S. and the USSR appropriately applied, as well as the idea of an interim INF agreement.

During the negotiation of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

RISK REDUCTION CENTERS

The sides agreed to study the question at the expert level of centers to reduce nuclear risk taking into account the issues and developments in the Geneva negotiations. They took satisfaction in such recent steps in this direction as the modernization of the Soviet-U.S. hotline.

— Agreed

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

"General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan reaffirmed the commitment of the USSR and the USA to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and their interest in strengthening together with other countries the non-proliferation regime, and in further enhancing the effectiveness of the Treaty, inter alia by enlarging its membership.

They note with satisfaction the overall positive results of the recent Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

The USSR and the USA reaffirm their commitment, assumed by them under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to pursue negotiations in good faith on matters of nuclear arms limitation and disarmament in accordance with Article VI of the Treaty.

The two Sides plan to continue to promote the strengthening of the International Atomic Energy Agency and to support the activities of the Agency in implementing safeguards as well as in promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

They view positively the practice of regular Soviet-US consultations on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which have been businesslike and constructive and express their intent to continue this practice in the future."

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

In the context of discussing security problems, the two sides reaffirmed that they are in favor of a general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles of such weapons. They agreed to accelerate efforts to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention on this matter.

The two sides agreed to intensify bilateral discussions on the level of experts on all aspects of such a chemical weapons ban, including the question of verification. They agreed to initiate a dialogue on preventing the proliferation of chemical weapons.

The two sides emphasized the importance they attach to the Vienna (MBFR) negotiations and expressed their willingness to work for positive results.

CDE

Attaching great importance to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and noting the progress made there, the two sides stated their intention to facilitate, together with the other participating states, an early and successful completion of the work of the conference. To this end, they reaffirmed the need for a document which would include mutually acceptable confidence and security building measures and give concrete expression and effect to the principle of non-use of force.

PROCESS OF DIALOGUE

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev agreed on the need to place on a regular basis and intensify dialogue at various levels. Along with meetings between the leaders of the two countries, this envisages regular meetings between the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Secretary of State, as well as between the heads of other Ministries and Agencies. They agree that the recent visits of the heads of Ministries and Departments in such fields as agriculture, housing and protection of the environment have been useful.

Recognizing that exchanges of views on regional issues on the expert level have proven useful, they agreed to continue such exchanges on a regular basis. They also agreed that regional issues would be addressed at the ~~meetings~~ of Foreign Ministers.

The sides intend to expand the programs of bilateral cultural, educational and scientific-technical exchanges, and also to develop trade and economic ties. The President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU attended the signing of the Agreement on Contacts and Exchanges in Scientific, Educational and Cultural Fields.

They agreed on the importance of resolving humanitarian cases in the spirit of cooperation.

They believe that there should be greater understanding among our peoples and that to this end they will encourage and permit greater travel and people-to-people contact.

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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 have worked out steps to implement them.

CIVIL AVIATION/CONSULATES

They acknowledged that delegations from the United States and the Soviet Union have begun negotiations aimed at resumption of air services. The two leaders expressed their desire to reach a mutually beneficial agreement at an early date. In this regard, an agreement was reached on the simultaneous opening of Consulates General in New York and Kiev.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Both sides agreed to contribute to the preservation of the environment -- a global task -- through joint research and practical measures. In accordance with the existing US-Soviet agreement in this area, consultations will be held next year in Moscow and Washington on specific programs of cooperation.

EXCHANGE INITIATIVES

The two leaders agreed on the utility of broadening exchanges and contacts including some of their new forms in a number of scientific, educational, medical and sports fields (inter alia, cooperation in the development of educational exchanges and software for elementary and secondary school instruction; measures to promote Russian language studies in the United States and English language studies in the USSR; the annual exchange of professors to conduct special courses in history, culture and economics at the relevant departments of Soviet and American institutions of higher education; mutual allocation of scholarships for the best students in the natural sciences, technology, social sciences, and humanities for the period of an academic year; holding regular meets in various sports and increased television coverage of sports events). The two sides agreed to resume cooperation in combatting cancer diseases.

The relevant agencies in each of the countries are being instructed to develop specific programs for these exchanges. The resulting programs will be reviewed by the leaders at their next meeting.

FUSION RESEARCH

The two leaders emphasized the potential importance of the work aimed at utilizing controlled thermonuclear fusion for peaceful purposes and, in this connection, advocated the widest practicable development of international cooperation in obtaining this source of energy, which is essentially inexhaustible, for the benefit of all mankind.

THE WHITE HOUSE

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~ WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

REAGAN-GORBACHEV MEETINGS IN GENEVA
November, 1985

First Private Meeting

DATE: November 19, 1985

TIME: 10:20 - 11:20 A.M.

PLACE: Maison Fleur d'Eau,
Geneva, Switzerland

PARTICIPANTS:

United States

President Ronald Reagan
Dimitri Zarechnak, Interpreter

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary, Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union
Yuri D. Uspensky, Interpreter

* * * * * * *

After the official photographers and the rest of the staff left the room, President Reagan began the conversation by telling the General Secretary that the two of them could really talk now. The President indicated that he approached this meeting with a very deep feeling and hoped that both of them could realize its importance and the unique situation that they were in.

The President indicated that both he and the General Secretary had come from similar beginnings which were quite different from their current positions. He, Reagan, was born and began his life in a small farming community, and now the two of them were here with the fate of the world in their hands, so to speak. The U.S. and the Soviet Union were the two greatest

countries on Earth, the superpowers. They were the only ones who could start World War III, but also the only two countries that could bring peace to the world.

The President said that the two of them would talk about many things, including arms, in the main meeting, but he wondered if the primary aim between them should not be to eliminate the suspicions which each side had of the other. The resolution of other questions would follow naturally after this. To talk about arms while such suspicions exist is an empty exercise as both sides are defensive at the various negotiations because of these suspicions. Countries do not mistrust each other because of arms, but rather countries build up their arms because of the mistrust between them.

The President expressed the hope that in their meetings they could get at the sources of the suspicions which exist. The Soviet Union did not approve of the U.S. system of government, and the U.S. did not approve of the Soviet system, and each could follow its own way, but with peaceful competition.

General Secretary Gorbachev said that he would like to return to the beginning, and thank the President for receiving him. He agreed with the President that this meeting was important in itself and he was glad that it was taking place. There had been no meetings between the U.S. President and the General Secretary of the USSR for six years, and many problems had developed in U.S.-Soviet relations and in the world in that period. He would also speak of these issues at the larger meeting, but would now like to avail himself of the opportunity which such a private meeting affords. He had met with members of the U.S. Congress and representatives of the U.S. Administration, but the Soviet side recognized the importance of a meeting with the President, and he, Gorbachev, would like to talk quietly, with respect for the United States and for the President, about many issues.

Gorbachev indicated that the Soviet side had prepared many months for this meeting, and he had tried to get a better understanding of the U.S. from Soviet and American sources. He had familiarized himself with all of the President's statements, and had paid special attention to the most recent ones. The main conclusion he had come to was that he was convinced that he and the President could not ignore each other. Nothing good would happen if the two sides took a different approach. But he was convinced that he could begin to change our relations for the better This was his main theme, and the starting point for the meeting. After he had come to this conclusion, he had reviewed it a thousand times: perhaps it was too simplistic, bearing in mind the tremendous differences between the two

countries? This was, of course, so, but on the other hand the two countries were so interrelated.

Gorbachev continued that in the Soviet Union it was considered that serious measures ought to be undertaken to improve U.S.-Soviet relations. This would demand political will at the highest levels. A veritable avalanche of information was descending upon Gorbachev and the President, both internally and from all around the world. Gorbachev was convinced that there was not only the fear of mutual destruction, although this did exist, but a realistic evaluation showed that the U.S. and the Soviet Union could cooperate, and they had done so in the past, without changing their political systems, culture or ideologies. They had cooperated in the area of economics, trade and culture while respecting the choices made by the U.S. people, and, obviously, the Soviet people as well.

Gorbachev said that there had sometimes been squalls in the bilateral relationship which had been severe, perhaps extremely so, but he could definitely state that in the USSR there was no enmity toward the United States or its people. The Soviet Union respected the U.S. and its people. The Soviet people and the leadership of the Soviet Union recognized the role of the U.S. in the world, and wished it no harm. They realized that international relations could not be built on a desire to harm American interests.

At this point Gorbachev indicated that he would like to pause to permit the President to speak, and then he would like to say a few things about the Soviet side's understanding of the present international situation and what he thought should be changed in our policies in order to have a more constructive relationship based on greater realism.

The President replied that there was no queston but that the Soviet and American peoples, if they learned more about each other, would find that they had many things in common, and that friendship between them would grow. Unfortunately, it was not people but governments that created arms.

The President continued that prior to this meeting there had been a wave of good wishes from the people of the United States, primarily expressing the desire to have peace. He knew something about the Soviet Union and its concern about war because of the suffering which the country had undergone in the Second World War -- the courage, the sacrifices and the fact that 20 million people had been lost. People do not like war. Americans hate war. America is too good a place to be when there is no war.

The President continued that people did not get into trouble when they talked to each other, but rather when they talked about each other. There has been too much of the latter on both sides, and not enough of talking to each other. In the meeting with the larger group, where he and Gorbachev should soon move, the sides could explain why there is mistrust between them, but could make a beginning to try to eliminate this mistrust.

Gorbachev replied that they would discuss specific questions during their Geneva meetings, but he wished to give his evaluation of the present international situation as the Soviet side saw it, while they were still in their one-on-one meeting. He thought that a new policy was needed which would be adequate for the present international situation. The first thing that was needed was a policy aimed at resolving the central issue of the present time, that is, the question of war and peace. In the Soviet Union, in the United States, and in the whole world this was the question which was in the minds of everyone, even ordinary people, not to mention those who were more familiar with international processes.

Gorbachev continued that if the two sides reached a substantive agreement in Geneva, which would increase people's hope and would not destroy their view of the future with respect to the question of war and peace, this would be a great accomplishment. The question of ending the arms race was of critical importance in international politics, and we needed to say something to the world about this. The Soviet side is in favor of this. The U.S. side says that nuclear war cannot be permitted, and that it is for peace. We need to find a formula at this meeting which would give impetus toward moving towards resolution of the more important issues. This was the first thing.

Gorbachev continued that he would not like to seem irresponsible vis-a-vis the President, vis-a-vis his own country and vis-a-vis the world with regard to this main issue. Young people were wondering about whether they would be alive or not, and the older generation, that had suffered so much, was also thinking about this. Yes, we have a meeting in Geneva, and we need to create an impetus. If no such impetus is created, there will be great disappointment, and no statements or press announcements will justify the meeting. People will say that we are irresponsible. And the two sides should not subject themselves to such a fate.

Gorbachev said that he would like to say two brief things about what realities Soviet and U.S. foreign policy should take into account. There were many problems in the world, involving capitalist countries and socialist countries, not to mention third-world countries, where the problems were the greatest. The problems involved questions of economics, structural change, ecology, sociology, etc. All of these issues demanded our

attention and required solutions based on cooperation rather than confrontation. This was the second thing that Gorbachev wished to say.

Gorbachev continued that the third thing was that the two countries had had conflicts, both openly and privately, with regard to regional, third-world issues. But there was a great number of developing countries, and dozens of newly-created ones. They had great amounts of natural and human resources, but they were not only behind the developed countries, but the gap between them was growing greater. There was hunger, illiteracy and disease, causing a great deal of turmoil. We need to take a new political approach to these issues in order to resolve them. This was the basis for Gorbachev's approach to foreign policy, as well as that of his colleagues.

Gorbachev indicated that the issue of national interests had arisen. The Soviet Union had its national interests and the U.S. had them as well. Other countries also had their national interests. In the international context, we could not speak of advancing some of these interests at the expense of suppressing others. Without such an approach it would be difficult to act in the international arena. He had spoken sincerely about these three things. The Soviet Union was not playing a two-faced game. If it were playing such a game with regard to the United States, if it harbored secret intentions, then there could be no improvement in the relationship. He was sincere about this, and this applied to both countries.

Gorbachev apologized that he had taken so long, and said that he would be ending shortly. Perhaps the President was aware that a slogan had been used during the time of this meeting in Geneva which said that Reagan and Gorbachev should bear in mind that the world did not belong only to the two of them.

The President replied that he had not heard about such a slogan, but he wished to reply briefly to what Gorbachev had said, and then he thought it would be better for them to join with the rest of the group. He agreed that the two countries could mutually help the developing countries, but one of the things that created mistrust of the USSR by the U.S. was the realization of the Marxist idea of helping socialist revolutions throughout the world and the belief that the Marxist system should prevail. The U.S. felt, however, that the most important thing for a country was its right to self-determination. The U.S. and USSR could help these countries, given our advanced technologies. We could help them to improve their standards of living. But the U.S. felt that the Soviet Union attempted to use force to shape the developing countries to their own pattern, and that such force was often used only by a minority of

the people of the country. The U.S. believed that if the competing factions would settle their social and other differences themselves, the U.S. and USSR could then be ready to assist them in improving their economies. Both our countries should eliminate the mistrust which exists between them by discussing the causes of this mistrust. The U.S. had a very firm belief that people in all countries had the right of self-determination and the right to choose their own form of government.

The President indicated that when he and Gorbachev would go into the main meeting, he would greet the members of the Soviet Delegation, and Gorbachev should greet the members of the U.S. Delegation, after which there would be a photo opportunity next to the fireplace before they sat down at the table.

Gorbachev replied that they would continue to discuss these issues in the larger meeting, but he would like to say some more before they left the room. There had been those who considered that the American Revolution should have been crushed. The same applied to the French Revolution and to the Soviet Revolution. Over a long period of time millions of people had engaged in such struggles -- in India, Indonesia, in Algeria (where one-and-a-half million people had died in their struggle for freedom). The Soviet Union did not consider that a way of life could be imposed if a society were not ready for it. These were only empty phrases. All these things which happen in the world have their national roots. The U.S. should not think that Moscow was omnipotent and that when he, Gorbachev, woke up every day he thought about which country he would now like to arrange a revolution in. This was simply not true. Gorbachev indicated that after his interpreter had translated what he had just said, he would like to convey some confidential information to Reagan, after which they could move to the next room.

Gorbachev said that before leaving for Geneva he had received some information from the Soviet Academy of Sciences, specifically the Institute for Earth Studies, where the scientists have become convinced that there would be a major earthquake in the area of California and Nevada within the next three years. Soviet scientists had always worked with U.S. scientists on these issues, and Reagan probably had knowledge of such information already, but this information was in addition to what had already been known. The Soviet scientists considered that the probability of an earthquake of a magnitude of 7 or 7.5 on the Richter scale was two-thirds and the probability of one of 6 or 6.5 was three-fourths. The Soviet side was ready to have its scientists give all the details to U.S. scientists. They have not yet been published.

The President replied that he realized that such an earthquake was considered to be overdue. He mentioned that an entire

area along the Pacific, Asia, South America, and North America was considered to be a "ring of fire' because of the volcanoes there. This had recently been demonstrated in Colombia, before that in Mexico and in the U.S. with Mount St. Helen: these volcanoes were showing greater activity. Because of faults in the earth and shifting plates, we know that such an event is overdue. A great deal of tension has been created along the San Andreas fault, and this tension had not been released by little quakes. The President indicated that he had not heard any specific time frame mentioned of the type that Gorbachev had spoken of, but all of our scientists knew that this was overdue and could happen at any time.

Prepared by:
Dimitri Zarechnak,
Department of State