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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND DECISIONS
ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS TENTH SPECIAL SESSION

Letter dated 21 December 1987 from the Permanent Representatives
of the United States of America and of the Union of Soviet
Socialist Republics to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

We have the honour to transmit to you the text of the joint statement of 10 December 1987 issued at Washington, D.C., on the meetings held there from 7 to 10 December between the President of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev (see annex).

We request you to circulate this text as an official document of the forty-third session of the General Assembly under the item entitled "Review of the implementation of the recommendations and decisions adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session".

(Signed) Vernon A. WALTERS
Permanent Representative
of the United States of
America to the United Nations

(Signed) Aleksandr M. BELONOGOV
Permanent Representative
of the Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics to the United Nations

ANNEX

Joint statement issued at Washington, D.C., on 10 December 1987
on the meetings held there from 7 to 10 December 1987 between
the President of the United States of America and the General
Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of
the Soviet Union

Ronald W. Reagan, President of the United States of America, and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, met in Washington, D.C., on 7 to 10 December 1987,

Attending the meeting on the United States side were Vice President George Bush; Secretary of State George P. Shultz; Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci; Chief of Staff Howard H. Baker, Jr.; Assistant to the President Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell; Counselor of the Department of State Ambassador Max M. Kampelman; Ambassador-at-Large and Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters Paul H. Nitze; Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters Ambassador Edward T. Rowny; Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr.; Ambassador of the United States to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) Jack F. Matlock, Jr.; and Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Rozanne L. Ridgway.

Attending on the Soviet side were members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard A. Shevardnadze; Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Alexander N. Yakovlev; Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoly F. Dobrynin; Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Vladimir M. Kamentsev; Chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and First Deputy Minister of Defense of the USSR, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei F. Akhromeev; Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoly S. Chernyaev; Head of the General Department of the CPSU Central Committee Valeriy I. Boldin; Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR Aleksandr A. Bessmertnykh; Ambassador of the USSR to the United States of America Yuri V. Dubinin; Member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Victor P. Karpov; and Ambassador-at-Large Aleksey A. Obukhov.

During the course of the official visit, which had been agreed during the two leaders' November 1985 meeting at Geneva, the President and the General Secretary held comprehensive and detailed discussions on the full range of issues between the two countries, including arms reductions, human rights and humanitarian issues, settlement of regional conflicts, and bilateral relations. The talks were candid and constructive, reflecting both the continuing differences between the two sides, and their understanding that those differences are not insurmountable obstacles to progress in areas of mutual interest. They reaffirmed their strong commitment to a vigorous dialogue encompassing the whole of the relationship.

The leaders reviewed progress to date in fulfilling the broad agenda that they agreed on at Geneva and advanced at Reykjavik. They took particular satisfaction in the conclusion over the last two years of important agreements in some areas of that agenda.

The President and the *General* Secretary affirmed the fundamental importance of their meetings at Geneva and Reykjavik, which laid the basis for concrete steps in a process intended to improve strategic stability and reduce the risk of conflict. They will continue to be guided by their solemn conviction that a nuclear War cannot be won and must never be fought. They are determined to prevent any war between the United States and the Soviet Union, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority.

The two leaders recognized the special responsibility of the United States and the Soviet Union to search for realistic ways to prevent confrontation and to promote a more sustainable and stable relationship between their countries. To this end, they agreed to intensify dialogue and to encourage emerging trends towards constructive co-operation in all areas of their relations. They are convinced that in so doing they will also contribute, with other nations, to the building of a safer world as humanity enters the third millennium.

I. ARMS CONTROL

The INF Treaty

The two leaders signed the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. This Treaty is historic both for its objective - the complete elimination of an entire class of United States and Soviet nuclear arms - and for the innovative character and scope of its verification provisions. This mutual accomplishment makes a vital contribution to greater stability.

Nuclear and space talks

The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on reductions in strategic offensive arms. They noted the considerable progress that has been made towards conclusion of a treaty implementing the principle of 50 per cent reductions. They agreed to instruct their negotiators in Geneva to work towards the completion of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and all integral documents at the earliest possible date, preferably in time for signature of the treaty during the next meeting of leaders of State in the first half of 1988. Recognizing that areas of agreement and disagreement are recorded in detail in the Joint Draft Treaty Text, they agreed to instruct their negotiators to accelerate resolution of issues within the Joint Draft Treaty Text including early agreement on provisions for effective verification.

In so doing, the negotiators should build upon the agreements on 50 per cent reductions achieved at Reykjavik as subsequently developed and now reflected in the agreed portions of the Joint Draft START Treaty Text being developed in Geneva,

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including agreement on ceilings of no more than 1,600 strategic offensive delivery **systems**, 6,000 warheads, 1,540 warheads on 154 heavy **missiles**, the agreed rule of **account** for heavy **bombers** and their nuclear armament¹ and an agreement that, **as a** result of the reductions, the aggregate throw-weight of the Soviet Union's **ICBMs** and **SLBMs** will be reduced to a level approximately 50 per **cent** below the existing level, and this level **will** not be exceeded by either side. Such an **agreement will** be recorded in **a** mutually satisfactory **manner**,

As priority tasks, they should focus on the following **issues**:

(a) The additional steps necessary to ensure that the reductions enhance strategic stability. **This will** include **a** ceiling of 4,900 on the **aggregate number** of ICBM plus SLBM warheads within the 6,000 **total**;

(b) The counting rules governing the number of long-range, nuclear-armed air-launched cruise **missiles (ALCMs)** to be attributed to each type **of** heavy bomber. The delegations shall define concrete rules in this **area**;

(c) The counting rules **with** respect to existing ballistic missiles. The sides proceed from the assumption that existing types of ballistic missiles are deployed with the following numbers **of** warheads. In the United States: **PEACEKEEPER (MX) :10, MINUTEMAN III:3, MINUTEMAN II:1, TRIDENT II:8, TRIDENT II:8, POSEIDON:10**. In the Soviet Union: **SS-17:4, SS-19:6, SS-18:10, SS-24:10, SS-25:1, SS-11:1, SS-13:1, SS-N-6:1, SS-N-8:1, SS-N-17:1, SS-N-18:1, SS-N-20:1 and SS-N-23:4**. Procedures will be developed that enable verification of the number **of** warheads on deployed **ballistic** missiles **of** each specific type. In the event either side changes the number of warheads declared for a type of deployed ballistic missile, the sides shall notify each other in advance. There shall also be agreement on how to account **for** warheads **on** future types **of** ballistic missiles covered by the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive **Arms**;

(d) The **sides** shall find **a** mutually acceptable solution to the question of limiting the deployment of long-range, nuclear-armed **SLCMs**. Such limitations will not involve counting long-range, nuclear-armed **SLCMs** within the 6,000 warhead and 1,600 strategic offensive delivery **systems** limits. The sides committed themselves to establishing ceilings on such missiles, and to seek mutually acceptable and effective methods of **verification of** such **limitations**, which could include the **employment of** National Technical Means, co-operative measures and on-site **inspection**;

(e) Building **upon the provisions** of the Treaty on the Elimination of their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the measures by which the provisions of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms can be verified will, at a minimum, include:

(i) Data exchanges, to include declarations by each side of the number and location of weapon systems limited by the Treaty and of facilities at **which** such systems are located and appropriate notifications. These **facilities will include** locations and facilities for production and final **assembly**, storage, testing, and deployment of **systems** covered by this

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Treaty. Such declarations will ~~be~~ exchanged between the sides **before the** Treaty is signed and updated periodically after entry into **force**

- (ii) baseline inspection to **verify the** accuracy of ~~these declarations~~ promptly after ~~entry~~ into force of the **Treaty;**
- (iii) On-site observation of the elimination of strategic systems necessary to **achieve** the agreed ~~limits;~~
- (iv) Continuous on-site **monitoring** of the perimeter and portals **of** critical production and support facilities to confirm the **output** of these **facilities;**
- (v) Short-notice on-site inspection of;
 - a. Declared locations during the process of reducing to **agreed limits;**
 - b. Locations where systems covered by this Treaty remain **after** achieving the agreed **limits;** and
 - c. Locations where such systems have been located (formerly declared facilities) ;
- (vi) The right to implement, in accordance with agreed-upon procedures, short-notice inspections at locations where either side considers covert **deployment,** production, storage or repair of strategic offensive arms **could** be occurring;
- (vii) Provisions prohibiting the use **of** concealment or other activities which impede verification by national technical means, Such provisions would include **a** ban on telemetry encryption and would allow for full access to all telemetric information broadcast during missile **flight;**
- (viii) Measures designed to enhance observation of activities related to reduction ~~and~~ limitation of strategic offensive arms by National Technical Means, These would include open displays of treaty-limited items at missile bases, bomber bases, and submarine ports at locations and times chosen by the inspecting party.

Taking into account the preparation of the Treaty on strategic offensive **arms,** **the** leaders of the two countries also instructed their delegations in Geneva to work out an agreement that would commit the sides **to** observe the ABM Treaty as signed in 1972, while conducting their research, development, and testing as required, ~~which~~ are permitted by the ABM Treaty, and not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty, ~~for~~ a specified **period** of time. Intensive discussions of strategic stability shall begin not later than three years before the end of the specified period, after which, in the event the sides have ~~not~~ agreed otherwise, each side will be free to decide its course of action. Such an agreement must have the same legal **status as** the Treaty **on** strategic **offensive** arms, the ABM Treaty, and other similar, legally binding agreements. This agreement will be recorded **in a mutually**

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satisfactory manner. Therefore, they direct their delegation⁵ to address these **issues** on a priority basis.

The sides shall discuss ways to ensure predictability in the development of **the United States-Soviet strategic** relationship under conditions of strategic stability, **to reduce the risk of nuclear war.**

Other arms control issues

The **President and the** General Secretary reviewed a broad range of other issues **concerning arms limitation and reduction.** The sides emphasized the importance **of productive** negotiations on security matters and advancing in the main **areas** of arms limitation **and reduction** through equitable, verifiable agreements that enhance security **and** stability.

Nuclear testing

The two leader⁵ **welcomed the opening, on** 9 November 1987, of full-scale, step-by-step negotiations, **in accordance** with the joint statement adopted at **Washington on** 17 September 1987, by the Secretary of State of the United States of **America and the Minister for** Foreign Affairs **of** the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

The **United States and** Soviet sides have agreed to begin, before 1 December 1987, full-scale stage-by-stage negotiations, which will **be conducted in a single** forum. In these negotiations, the sides as the first step will **agree** upon **effective verification measures,** which will make **it** possible to ratify the **United States-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Threshold Test Ban Treaty of 1974 and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty of 1976, and proceed** to negotiating further intermediate limitations on nuclear testing **leading** to the ultimate objective of the complete cessation **of** nuclear testing **as part of an effective** disarmament process. This process, among other things, would pursue, as the first priority, the **goal** of the reduction **of nuclear weapons and,** ultimately, their elimination. For the purpose of the elaboration **of improved** verification measures for the **United States-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** Treaties of 1974 and 1976, the sides intend to **design and conduct** joint verification experiments at each other's test sites. These **verification measures** will, to the extent appropriate, be used in further nuclear-test-limitation agreements, which may subsequently **be reached. The leaders also** welcomed the prompt agreement by the sides to exchange experts visits to each other's nuclear testing sites in January 1988 **and** to design and subsequently to conduct a **Joint Verification Experiment** at each other's test site. The terms of reference for the Experiment are set forth in the statement issued on 9 December 1987, by the **Foreign Ministers of the United States and the Soviet Union.** The leaders noted the value of these **agreements** for developing more effective measures to verify compliance with the provisions **of** the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Peaceful **Nuclear Explosions Treaty,**

Nuclear non-proliferation

The President and the General **Secretary** reaffirmed the continued commitment of the United States and the Soviet **Union** to the non-proliferation **of** nuclear weapons and, in particular, to strengthening the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The two leaders expressed satisfaction at the adherence since their last meeting **of** additional parties to ~~the~~ Treaty, and confirmed their intent to make, together with other States, additional efforts to achieve universal adherence to the Treaty.

The President and the General Secretary expressed support for international co-operation in nuclear safety and for efforts to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, under further strengthened IAEA safeguards and appropriate export controls for nuclear materials, equipment and technology. The leaders agreed **that** bilateral consultations on non-proliferation were constructive and useful, and should **cont inue**.

Nuclear risk reduction centres

The leaders welcomed the signing on 15 September 1987, at Washington, of the agreement to establish Nuclear Risk Reduction Centres in their capitals. The agreement will be implemented promptly,

Chemical weapons

The leaders expressed their commitment to **negotiation** of a **verifiable**, comprehensive and effective international convention on the prohibition and destruction **of** chemical weapons. They **welcomed progress** to date and reaffirmed the need for intensified negotiations towards conclusion of a truly global and verifiable convention encompassing all chemical weapons-capable States. The United States and the Soviet Union are in favour of greater openness and intensified confidence-building with respect to chemical weapons both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. They agreed to continue periodic discussions by **exerts** on the growing problem **of** the proliferation and use of chemical weapons.

Conventional forces

The President and the General Secretary discussed the importance of **the** task of reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe in the area of armed forces and conventional armaments. The two leaders spoke in favour of early completion of the work in Vienna on the mandate for negotiations on this **issue**, so that substantive negotiations may be started at the earliest time with a view to elaborating concrete measures. They also noted that the implementation of **the** provisions **of** the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe is an important factor in strengthening mutual understanding and enhancing stability, and spoke in favour of continuing and consolidating this process. The President and the General Secretary agreed to instruct their appropriate representatives to intensify efforts to achieve solutions to outstanding issues.

They **also** discussed the Vienna (Mutual and Balanced **Force** Reduction) negotiations.

Follow-up **Meeting** of the **Conference** on Security and Co-operation in Europe

They expressed their determination, together with the **other** 33 participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to bring the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Conference to **a** successful conclusion, based on balanced progress in all principal areas of the Helsinki Final **Act** and Madrid Concluding **Document**.

II. HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS

The **leaders** held **a** thorough and candid discussion of human rights and humanitarian questions and their place in the United States-Soviet **dialogue**.

III. REGIONAL ISSUES

The President and the General **Secretary** engaged in **a wide-ranging**, frank and businesslike discussion of regional questions, including Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq **war**, the Middle East, Cambodia, southern Africa, Central America and other issues. They acknowledged serious differences but agreed on the importance of their regular exchange **of** views. The two leaders noted the increasing importance of settling regional conflicts to reduce international tensions and to improve East-West relations. They agreed that the goal of the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union on these issues should be to help the parties to regional conflicts find peaceful solutions that advance their independence, freedom and security. Both leaders emphasized the importance **of** enhancing the capacity of the United Nations and other international **institutions** to contribute to the resolution **of** regional conflicts.

IV. BILATERAL AFFAIRS

The President and the General Secretary reviewed in detail the state of United States-Soviet bilateral relations. They **recognized** the utility of further expanding and strengthening bilateral contacts, exchanges and co-operation.

Bilateral negotiations

Having reviewed the state of ongoing United States-Soviet negotiations on a number of specific bilateral issues, the two leaders called for intensified efforts by their representatives, aimed at reaching mutually advantageous agreements on **commercial** maritime issues; **fishing**; marine search and rescue) radio navigational **systems**; the United States-Soviet maritime boundary; and co-operation in the field **of** transportation and other **areas**.

They noted with satisfaction agreement on the expansion, within **the framework** of the United States-Soviet Air Transport Agreement, **of** direct air **passenger** service, including joint operation **of** the New York-Moscow route by Pan **American** Airways and Aeroflot, and on the renewal of the United States-Soviet World Ocean Agreement.

People-to-people contacts and exchanges

The two leaders took note of progress in implementing the United **States-Soviet** General Exchanges Agreement in the areas of education, **science, culture and sports**, signed at their **November** 1985 Geneva meeting, and agreed to continue **effortr** to eliminate obstacles to further progress in these **areas**. They **expressed** satisfaction with plans to celebrate jointly the thirtieth **anniversary of the first** Exchanges Agreement in January 1988.

The two leaders reaffirmed the importance of contacts and exchanges in broadening understanding between their peoples. They noted with particular **satisfaction** the progress made in the development of people-to-people **contacts** under the initiative they launched at their **1985** meeting in Geneva - **a process** which has involved tens of thousands **of** United States and Soviet **citizens** over thr past two years. The leaders reaffirmed their strong commitment further to **expand** such contacts, including among the young.

Global cl imate and environmental change initiative

With reference to their November **1985** agreement in **Geneva to co-operate** in thr preservation of the environment, the two leaders approved a bilateral initiative **to** pursue joint studies in global climate and environmental change through co-operation in areas of mutual concern, such as protection **and conservation of** stratospheric ozone, and **through** increased data exchanges pursuant **to the United** States-Soviet Environmental Protection Agreement and the Agreement Between **the** United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Concerning Co-operation in the **Exploration** and Use **of** Outer Space for Peaceful **Purposes**. In this context, there will be a detailed study on the climate of the **future**. The two sides will continue to promote broad international and bilateral co-operation in the **increasingly** important area of **global** climate and environmental **change**.

Co-operative activities

The President and the General Secretary supported further co-operation **among** scientists of the United States, the Soviet Union and other countries in **utilizing** controlled thermo-nuclear fusion for peaceful purposes. They affirmed the intention of the United States and the Soviet Union to co-operate with the European Atomic Energy Community (**EURATOM**) and Japan, under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency, in the quadripartite conceptual design of a fusion test reactor.

The two leaders noted with satisfaction progress under the bilateral Agreement on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy towards establishing a permanent working group in the field of nuclear reactor safety, and expressed their readiness to develop further co-operation in this area.

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The President and the General Secretary agreed to develop bilateral co-operation in combating international narcotics trafficking. They agreed that appropriate initial consultations would be held for these purposes in early 1988.

They also agreed to build on recent contacts to develop more effective co-operation in ensuring the security of air and maritime transportation.

The two leaders exchanged views on means of encouraging expanded contacts and co-operation on issues relating to the Arctic. They expressed support for the development of bilateral and regional co-operation among the Arctic countries on these matters, including co-ordination of scientific research and protection of the region's environment.

The two leaders welcomed the conclusion of negotiations to institutionalize the COSPAS/SARSAT space-based global search and rescue system, operated jointly by the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Canada.

Trade

The two sides stated their strong support for the expansion of mutually beneficial trade and economic relations. They instructed their trade ministers to convene the United States-Soviet Joint Commercial Commission in order to develop concrete proposals to achieve that objective, including within the framework of the Long-Term Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to Facilitate Economic, Industrial and Technical Co-operation. They agreed that commercially viable joint ventures complying with the laws and regulations of both countries could play a role in the further development of commercial relations.

Diplomatic missions

Both sides agreed on the importance of adequate, secure facilities for their respective diplomatic and consular establishments, and emphasised the need to approach problems relating to the functioning of embassies and consulates general constructively and on the basis of reciprocity.

V. FURTHER MEETINGS

The President and the General Secretary agreed that official contacts at all levels should be further expanded and intensified, with the goal of achieving practical and concrete results in all areas of the United States-Soviet relationship.

General Secretary Gorbachev renewed the invitation that he extended during the Geneva summit for President Reagan to visit the Soviet Union. The President accepted with pleasure. The visit will take place in the first half of 1988.