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**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
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**OA/ID Number:** 13533  
**Folder ID Number:** 13533-003

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**Folder Title:**  
Signing Ceremony with President Mikhail Gorbachev of Soviet Union 6/1/90 [OA 5374]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 1, 1990

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
AND SOVIET PRESIDENT GORBACHEV  
DURING SIGNING CEREMONY

The East Room

6:13 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: President Gorbachev, again, welcome to the White House. Mr. President, you and I set a course six months ago off the island nation of Malta. And at that time we agreed on an agenda, much of which was completed for this week's summit. Of course, our Malta agenda remains unfinished, but we've made great progress in the last six months and in the last two days.

We're about to sign agreements concerning many areas of vital interests to our countries and to the world, and to record specific understandings in joint statements that are being published today.

First, we'll sign a bilateral agreement that will, for the first time, eliminate the great majority of the chemical weapons that our countries have stockpiled over the years. And let this landmark agreement quickly lead to a global ban on chemical weapons.

Secondly, we will be signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous negotiations, we both agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty.

Third, we will sign a major new agreement that updates and expands our 1973 agreement on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This new agreement provides for substantial U.S.-Soviet cooperation in atomic energy research and civilian nuclear safety.

In addition, President Gorbachev and I are issuing a joint statement recording major agreed provisions of a strategic arms reduction treaty as well as a joint statement in which we agree to future negotiations on nuclear and space arms designed to enhance stability and reduce the risk of war.

We're also issuing a statement on the conventional armed forces in Europe, committing us to intensive the pace of the Vienna negotiations and to reach rapid agreement on all outstanding issues. You see, we agree that a CFE treaty is an indispensable foundation for the future of European security.

There are many other agreements the United States and the Soviet Union are signing or announcing during this summit. Agreements that represent hard work and a lasting achievement, not just by our governments, but also for the peoples. For example, an agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park will preserve the unique natural environmental and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia. Just as a bridge of land once joined our two continents, so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in this spirit of peaceful cooperation.

In this same spirit, President Gorbachev and I will sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides, allowing more of our young people to experience firsthand each other's culture

MORE

and politics. To live as friends. And out of simple acts of friendship, a profound revelation eventually arises the people of the world have more in common than they have in conflict.

In just a few moments, Secretary of State Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will also sign four important new agreements concerning maritime boundaries, ocean studies, civil aviation and a long-term grains agreement. Minister Shevardnadze and Transportation Secretary Skinner will sign a fifth agreement on maritime transportation. President Gorbachev and I are also signing a commercial agreement and are looking forward to the passage of a Soviet emigration law.

President Gorbachev, I am very gratified by what we've accomplished over the last few days, and determined to build on this solid foundation. The agreements we record today and those yet to come will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both our nations and all nations.

Not long ago, some believe that the weight of history condemned our two great countries, our two great peoples to permanent confrontation. Well, you and I must challenge history, make new strides, build a relationship of enduring cooperation.

We may not agree on everything, and indeed we don't agree on everything, but we believe in one great truth: the world has waited long enough; the Cold War must end. And so today with gratitude in my heart for all those on the Soviet side and the United States side that worked so hard at all levels to bring these agreements to fruition, I say let's renew our pledge and build a more peaceful world. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, comrades. First of all, I would like to thank President George Bush for presenting so well the results of our work that we've been doing over these days in Washington. So I have a problem. What shall I talk about? (Laughter.) So I think that I will do some thinking aloud in this context.

I would say that maybe this room has seen many important events and many agreements signed, but I think that what is happening now and what you have listed as the results of our work together represents an event of momentous importance not only for our two countries, but for the world.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt half a century ago spoke of a world in which four essential freedoms will triumph: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. And this ideal has not yet been attained in the world and it could not be attained in the world of animosity and confrontation. And therefore, while liberating the world from a fear, we are making steps towards a new world. And this is the important work of our two nations, of our two peoples.

What is very important, I think, is that we do not just declare our commitment to moving toward a healthier international environment, toward better international relations, toward a nonviolent world. We are taking practical steps in that direction. And what you have just listed and what we'll be signing during this visit I think is a confirmation that both our declarations are right and that they seek to justify the hopes of our peoples and that we're also taking those practical steps. The important steps that we are taking today illustrate the degree of agreement between our two countries, despite the fact that -- and here I quite agree with you -- that there are things on which we disagree and there are differing views that we have on certain questions. But that area of disagreement is being narrowed in the course of our work together.

What we will be signing I think is the best demonstration that we are ready to participate at the level of our responsibility in building a new civilization.

There are still many difficult challenges awaiting us. It is evident that to dismantle that monumental artifact of the Cold War, the accumulated arsenals of mutual destruction is not at all a simple or even an entirely safe thing to do.

The slightest imbalance and due haste or lack of equilibrium in this process may dangerously destabilize the overall international situation. But I'm sure that if we take a balanced and responsible approach, if we take into account the concerns and positions of each other even when we disagree, if we do all that, I'm sure that we will be able to move ahead more resolutely and more vigorously.

Mr. President, you have just mentioned Malta. Mr. President, I'm pleased to note that the turbulent developments of recent months after Malta have not led us astray from the goal we set together. So I believe that we have passed the first test.

Mr. President, let me reaffirm here something that I've been saying to you during our one-on-one talks. We have had many such talks during this summit, and I welcome this style of negotiating. But let me reaffirm to both of our peoples that the Soviet Union is committed to the objective set at Malta, completing before the end of this year the preparation of the START treaty. I believe that this goal is attainable even though it is difficult.

I also can confirm what you have said that we have agreed during our talks that this year we will seek to sign a treaty at the Vienna talks. And, of course, we believe that in that case that will be the CSCE European Security summit meeting.

I believe that this is all possible as a result of the efforts of both sides over the past few years, including the efforts in which you, sir, have participated vigorously and actively and with great foresight in order to expand our relationship and to build on the capital of trust in our relations.

It would seem that I've said even more than I intended to say. I think it means that I'm human in the sense that I'm emotional. I would like to say that we've done a great deal in order to assure the success, and I would like to congratulate our two nations. And I would like also to shake your hand, Mr. President, so that we congratulate each other. (Applause.)

END

6:37 P.M. EDT

90 MAY 31 P9:16

Davis/Dooley  
Title: Summit  
Date: May 31, 1990  
Draft: Six

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM  
Friday, June 1, 5 p.m.**

President Gorbachev -- once again -- welcome to the White House, ~~\\ America's house, \\ our home. \\~~ POTUS

Mister President -- you and I set a course six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta. At that time, we agreed on an agenda, much of which was completed for this week's Summit. Of course, our Malta agenda remains unfinished; but we've made great progress in the last six months \\ -- and in the last two days. Today, I am pleased to announce that our hard work is paying off.

We are about to sign agreements concerning many areas of vital interest to our countries and to the international community, and to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today.

\*\*\* First, we will sign a bilateral agreement that will, for the first time, eliminate the great majority of the chemical weapons our countries have stockpiled over the years. Let this landmark agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading to a global ban on chemical weapons. \\ \\

\*\*\* Second, I will join President Gorbachev in signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous, negotiations, we both have at long last agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification of the

Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty.

\*\*\* Third, we will sign a major new agreement that updates and expands our 1973 agreement on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This new agreement provides for substantial U.S.-Soviet cooperation in atomic energy research and civilian nuclear safety. It will allow both of our countries to benefit from joint research on the health and environmental effects of the tragic Chernobyl accident.

In addition, President Gorbachev and I will initial a Joint Statement on strategic arms reductions, recording our agreement on major outstanding issues governing a START Treaty, ((and a Joint Statement in which we agree to future negotiations on nuclear and space arms, designed to enhance stability and reduce the risk of war.)) We are also issuing a statement on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, committing us to intensify the pace of the Vienna negotiations and to reach rapid agreement on all outstanding issues. We agree that a CFE Treaty is an indispensable foundation for the future of European security.

There are many other agreements the United States and the Soviet Union are signing or announcing during this summit -- agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve

the unique natural environment and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia. Just as a bridge of land once joined our two continents; so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of peaceful cooperation.

In this same spirit, President Gorbachev and I will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for American and Soviet young people to experience first-hand each other's culture and politics . . . to live as friends. And out of simple acts of friendship a profound revelation eventually arises: The people of the world have more in common than they have in conflict.

In just a few moments, Secretary of State Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will also sign three important new agreements concerning maritime boundaries, ocean studies and civil aviation. Minister Shevardnadze and Transportation Secretary Skinner will sign a fourth agreement on maritime transportation.

President Gorbachev, I am very gratified by what we have accomplished over the last few days -- and determined to build on this solid foundation. The agreements we record today, and those yet to come, will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both our nations, and all nations.

Not so long ago, some believed that the weight of history condemned our two countries -- our two great peoples -- to permanent confrontation.

Well, you and I must challenge history. We must make new strides, building a relationship of enduring cooperation.

We may not agree on everything; but we believe in one great truth -- the world has waited long enough -- the Cold War must end.\\ Today, let us renew our pledge. Let us build a more peaceful world.\\ ((After translation, turn to President Gorbachev and shake his hand.))\\ \\ \\

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SIGNING CEREMONY, 6/1/90

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\* \* \* Third, we will sign a major new agreement on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, updating and greatly expanding our 1973 agreement. This new agreement provides for substantial U.S.-Soviet cooperation in atomic energy research and civilian nuclear safety. Drawing on the lessons of the tragic Chernobyl accident of 1986, both our countries will benefit from joint research on the health and environmental effects of Chernobyl.

INSERT B

In just a few moments, Secretary of State Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will also sign three important new agreements: a Maritime Boundary Agreement, an Ocean Studies Agreement, and a Civil Aviation Agreement. Minister Shevardnadze and Transportation Secretary Skinner will sign a fourth, on Maritime Transportation. These mark the culmination of long negotiations and signal a new era of cooperation -- in the air and on the sea -- with important economic benefits to both sides.

00 MAY 31 P4: 33

Davis/Dooley  
Title: Summit  
Date: May 31, 1990  
Draft: Four

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM  
Friday, June 1, 5 p.m.

President Gorbachev -- once again -- welcome to the White House, \\ America's house, \\ our home. \\

Mister President -- you and I set a course six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta. At that time, we agreed on an agenda, much of which was completed for this week's Summit. We challenged our experts to address a bold sweep of issues, to forge agreements that will lay the foundations of a lasting peace. Today, I am pleased to announce that our hard work is paying off. We've reached agreement in several key areas -- to reduce armaments, to expand cultural and student exchanges, and to work together in protecting our common environment.

Of course, [<sup>our</sup> much of the] Malta agenda remains unfinished; but we've made great progress in the last six months \\ -- and in the last two days.

We are about to sign agreements concerning many areas of vital interest to our countries and to the international community, <sup>and</sup> to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today.

\*\*\* <sup>(+)</sup> First, we will sign a bilateral agreement that will, for the first time, eliminate the great majority of the chemical weapons our countries have stockpiled over the years. Let this

landmark agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading to a global ban on chemical weapons.

\*\*\* ~~(Second, I will join President Gorbachev in signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous, negotiations, we both have at long last agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. These measures, once ratified, should give a dramatic boost to confidence and cooperation between our governments.)~~

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~~\*\*\* ((Third, following nine years of negotiations, we will sign a Maritime Boundary Agreement. By fixing this boundary, we will resolve longstanding differences over fishing rights and resource development, offering important economic benefits for both sides.))~~

~~In addition, President Gorbachev and I <sup>will initial</sup> are issuing ~~(a~~ Joint Statement on strategic arms reductions, recording our agreement on major outstanding issues governing a START Treaty, ~~)~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~(a~~ Joint Statement in which we agree to future negotiations on nuclear and space arms, designed to enhance stability and reduce the risk of war ~~(and)~~).~~

~~We are also issuing a statement on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, committing us to intensify the pace of the Vienna negotiations and reaffirming our commitment to conclude a CFE agreement by the end of 1990. <sup>that a CFE treaty is an indispensable for a future security architecture in Europe.</sup> ~~reaching rapid agreement on all outstanding issues. We agree~~~~

~~(((Open Skies if ready)))~~

foundation for

There are many other agreements the United States and the Soviet Union are signing or announcing during this summit --

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agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia. Just as a bridge of land once joined our two continents; so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of peaceful cooperation.

In this same spirit, President Gorbachev and I will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for American and Soviet young people to experience first-hand each other's culture and politics.

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Let these agreements signal to the world that there is a new working relationship between America and the Soviet Union, a willingness to stand together to confront problems that <sup>transcend</sup> ~~respect~~ national boundaries, ~~no borders.~~

After all, friendships between peoples do not begin and end at summits. National friendships arise out of special moments between millions of people. These special moments occur every time a young American visits a farm in Soviet Georgia, and every time a young Soviet citizen visits a farm in Kansas. These

moments consist of simple acts: a special guest asked to break bread around a family dinner table; a visitor asked to join an open discussion at a university.

Out of simple acts of friendship a profound revelation eventually arises: The people of the world have more in common than they have in conflict.

~~((Possible story to come.))~~

~~I am told there is an old Russian proverb: Mountains never meet, but people can. We have scaled the heights because of the tenacity of our diplomats, and the vision of our peoples. President Gorbachev, because of them, we have reached the summit; we stand where mountains meet.~~

President Gorbachev, I am very gratified by what we have accomplished over the last few days -- and determined to build on this solid foundation. The agreements we record today, and those yet to come, will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both nations, and all nations.

In our meetings yesterday and today, you and I have worked hard to bridge differences -- some of them decades old -- that go to the heart of the postwar conflict between East and West. While differences remain, our discussions have been held with respect, candor and growing cooperation.

Not so long ago, some believed that the weight of history condemned our two nations -- our two great peoples -- to permanent confrontation.

Well, you and I must challenge history. We must make new strides, building a relationship of enduring cooperation.

We may not agree on everything; but we believe in one great truth -- the world has waited long enough -- the Cold War must end.\\ Today, let us renew our pledge. Let us build a more peaceful world.\\ ((After translation, turn to President Gorbachev and shake his hand.))\\ \\ \\

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Well, you and I must challenge history. We must make new strides, building a relationship of enduring cooperation.

We may not agree on everything; but we believe in one great truth -- the world has waited long enough -- the Cold War must end.\\ Today, let us renew our pledge. Let us build a more peaceful world.\\ ((After translation, turn to President Gorbachev and shake his hand.))\\ \\ \\ \\

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# SUGGESTED CUTS

Davis/Dooley  
Title: Summit  
Date: May 31, 1990  
Draft: Four

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM  
Friday, June 1, 5 p.m.

President Gorbachev -- once again -- welcome to the White House, \\ America's house, \\ our home. \\

Mister President -- you and I set a course six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta. At that time, we agreed on an agenda, much of which was completed for this week's Summit. ~~We challenged our experts to address a bold sweep of issues, to forge agreements that will lay the foundations of a lasting peace.~~ Today, I am pleased to announce that our hard work is paying off. ~~We've reached agreement in several key areas -- to reduce armaments, to expand cultural and student exchanges, and to work together in protecting our common environment.~~

Of course, much of the Malta agenda remains unfinished; but we've made great progress in the last six months \\ -- and in the last two days. ←

We are about to sign agreements concerning many areas of vital interest to our countries and to the international community; to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today.

\*\*\* ((First, we will sign a bilateral agreement that will, for the first time, eliminate the great majority of the chemical weapons our countries have stockpiled over the years. Let this

landmark agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading to a global ban on chemical weapons.)\)\)

\*\*\* ((Second, I will join President Gorbachev in signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous, negotiations, we both have at long last agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. These measures, once ratified, should give a dramatic boost to confidence and cooperation between our governments.))

\*\*\* ((Third, following nine years of negotiations, we will sign a Maritime Boundary Agreement, <sup>146</sup> ~~By fixing this boundary, we will resolve longstanding differences over fishing rights and resource development, offering important economic benefits for both sides.~~)

In addition, President Gorbachev and I are issuing ((a Joint Statement on strategic arms reductions, recording our agreement on major outstanding issues governing a START Treaty,)) ((a Joint Statement in which we agree to future negotiations on nuclear and space arms, designed to enhance stability and reduce the risk of war and)) a statement on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, reaffirming our commitment to conclude a CFE agreement by the end of 1990.

(([[Open Skies if ready]]))

There are many other agreements the United States and the Soviet Union are signing or announcing during this summit --

agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia. Just as a bridge of land once joined our two continents; so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of peaceful cooperation.

In this same spirit, President Gorbachev and I will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for American and Soviet young people to experience first-hand each other's culture and politics.

~~Let these agreements signal to the world that there is a new working relationship between America and the Soviet Union, a willingness to stand together to confront problems that respect no borders.~~

~~After all, friendships between peoples do not begin and end at summits. National friendships arise out of special moments between millions of people. These special moments occur every time a young American visits a farm in Soviet Georgia, and every time a young Soviet citizen visits a farm in Kansas. These~~

~~moments consist of simple acts: a special guest asked to break bread around a family dinner table; a visitor asked to join an open discussion at a university.~~

Out of simple acts of friendship a profound revelation eventually arises: The people of the world have more in common than they have in conflict.

~~((Possible story to come.))~~

~~I am told there is an old Russian proverb: Mountains never meet, but people can. We have scaled the heights because of the tenacity of our diplomats, and the vision of our peoples. President Gorbachev, because of them, we have reached the summit; we stand where mountains meet.~~

President Gorbachev, I am very gratified by what we have accomplished over the last few days -- and determined to build on this solid foundation. The agreements we record today, and those yet to come, will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both nations, and all nations.

~~In our meetings yesterday and today, you and I have worked hard to bridge differences -- some of them decades old -- that go to the heart of the postwar conflict between East and West. While differences remain, our discussions have been held with respect, candor and growing cooperation.~~

Not so long ago, some believed that the weight of history condemned our two nations -- our two great peoples -- to permanent confrontation.

Davis/Dooley  
Title: Summit  
Date: May 25, 1990  
Draft: One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM  
FRIDAY, JUNE 1, ((Time))

*Little Gorbachev*

*HISTORIC 24 HOURS / TOGETHER / RESPECT*

A little more than six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta, President Gorbachev and I agreed on an agenda to be completed for this week's Summit. We challenged our experts to address a bold sweep of issues, to forge agreements that will build bridges between our peoples. Today, I am pleased to announce that our hard work has paid off. We've reached agreement on almost all of the Malta agenda -- to reduce strategic nuclear and chemical weapons, to expand cultural and student exchanges, and to work together, against the scourge of drugs, and for our common environment.

Later today, President Gorbachev and I will record bilateral understandings in joint statements.

\*\*\* ((But first, I will join him in signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous, negotiations, we have at long last agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification for the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. These measures, once ratified by the U.S. Senate, should give a dramatic boost to the confidence and cooperation between our governments.))

\*\*\* Second, I will sign a bilateral agreement that will, for the first time, slash U.S. and Soviet chemical weapons stockpiles. This is a great achievement, but we have our eyes on

*Still  
proceeding?*

an even greater, more distant heights. Let this agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading to a global ban on chemical weapons.\\\

\*\*\* Third, we are also announcing today ((,in a joint statement,)) agreement on the main issues concerning strategic arms. Of course, this has been a long and difficult negotiation. But today we can announce our compromise on the major weapons systems covered by the START Treaty. ((Details?))

President Gorbachev and I are also charging our negotiating teams to conclude a START Treaty as quickly as possible. But let me add that any such Treaty **must include adequate verification**.

There are many other agreements we will initial or announce today -- agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia.

This is truly an historic achievement. After all, scientists tell us that a bridge of land once joined our two continents; so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of peace.

We are also issuing a joint statement on cooperation in protecting the environment, and signing a customs agreement to help us fight a common menace -- the international drug trade. Let these agreements signal to the world that there is a new working relationship between America and the Soviet Union, a willingness to stand together to confront problems that respect no borders.

And, finally, we have agreed to deepen cultural ties between us by opening consulates in New York and Kiev, as well as cultural centers in our respective capitals.

In this same spirit, we will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for young Americans and Soviets to experience first hand each other's culture and politics.

You know, of all that we have discussed today, this last agreement may seem like the least newsworthy. But over time, with the sharing of knowledge and friendship between Americans and Soviets, these exchanges may one day yield the greatest benefit of all -- understanding.

I am told there is an old Russian proverb: Mountains never meet, but people can. We have scaled the heights because of the tenacity of our diplomats, and the vision of our peoples. Because of them, <sup>President Gorbachev</sup> Mikhail, you and I have reached the summit; you and I stand where mountains meet.

I am very proud of what we have accomplished over the last few days. And these are just a few of the agreements we record today: Agreements that will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both nations, and **all** nations.

((And now I believe President Gorbachev has a statement to make.))



MARK D.

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 9011501

May 23, 1990

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: More Draft Statements for the Visit of Soviet  
President Gorbachev

Attached please find suggested toasts for the state dinner  
and return dinner and draft remarks for the signing ceremony.

  
J. Stapleton Roy  
Executive Secretary

Attachments:  
As stated.

Signing  
Ceremony.

DECLASSIFIED  
Department of State Guidelines  
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997  
By PMU NARA, Date 9/29/04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL: OADR

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520 9011403



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90 MAY 22 P2:55

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 22, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Statements for the Visit of Soviet President Gorbachev.

Attached please find a draft arrival statement and draft after-dinner remarks for the visit of President Gorbachev.

*J. Stapleton Roy*  
J. Stapleton Roy  
Executive Secretary

Attachments:  
As stated.

DECLASSIFIED  
Department of State Guidelines  
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997  
By RML NARA, Date 9/29/04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL:OADR

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PRESIDENT'S REMARKS AFTER STATE DINNER

It is a great pleasure for Barbara and me to welcome President and Mrs. Gorbachev to the United States. We are happy to entertain them here at the White House in the presence of so many distinguished guests -- many of whom have longstanding ties to the Soviet Union and its people.

Whenever the leaders of the two superpowers meet, people around the world pause to watch. The world looks on to see whether the leaders of the U.S. and USSR can work together; whether our discussions result in building a safer world; whether our work helps realize the dreams of peace and freedom cherished around the world. I can tell you that President Gorbachev and I had very good discussions today. We worked hard fully aware of the hopes and dreams that so many hold for this summit.

While all U.S.-Soviet summits are important, this one comes at a particularly critical time in history. The great changes we are witnessing in Europe have unleashed the tremendous forces of freedom. These forces cannot be denied or appeased: no one

is satisfied with a little freedom. The peoples of Europe must move forward with peaceful democratization or they will fall back into sterile confrontation. No one realizes that more than our distinguished guest, who has been instrumental in fostering many of the historic changes that we now see transforming Europe.

I think he would agree with me when I say that, as far as the cause of democracy has come in the last year, the greatest challenges may still be before us. The drive for national self-determination must be heeded, while protecting the rights of minority populations. We must ensure that all nations, large and small, can live in peace with freedom. There must be room at the table of nations for a unified Germany, peaceful, sovereign and prosperous in a secure and stable Europe. There must be room at the table for the peoples of the Baltic nations, having freely exercised their right of self-determination. And let me say that President Gorbachev and I talked about this today in detail and in candor.

Freedom in the voting booth must be matched by freedom in the work place. Only when all kinds of intrusive governmental controls are eliminated will the creative energies and economic potential of free peoples be released. As I said in welcoming

OB

(5)

President Gorbachev, the United States is ready to support the Soviet Union in the pursuit of both economic and political democracy. As we work to expand our bilateral cooperation, and to jointly encourage resolution of regional problems, President Gorbachev and I both recognize that as great powers we will continue to have conflicting interests. With today's satellite communications, our distant worlds have become one, but we sometimes still see things differently. Even if we agree on our goals, we may disagree on how to get there. If we are not surprised by our differences, we will not be alarmed. While we will not resolve all our differences this week, we hope at least to gain a better understanding of them.

So we are pleased by the results of our meetings today. We are not daunted by the tasks at hand, nor overconfident about completing them. We are ready to move into a new era of friendship based on realism and respect.

PRESIDENT'S TOAST AT SOVIET EMBASSY DINNER

-- Barbara and I would like to thank President and Mrs. Gorbachev and the entire Soviet Embassy for this wonderful meal.

-- With the effort to pack as much substance as possible into President Gorbachev's four days in Washington, it is a rare delight to sit and enjoy a relaxed conversation with our gracious host.

-- JOKE LINE: Of course, since your President is not a man to waste words, even in this relaxed environment I was forced to pay close attention between the caviar and the first course.

-- As we pause to digest a hearty -- and delicious -- Russian dinner, it seems appropriate to digest the proceedings of the last three days.

-- Let us take a moment to appreciate the enormity of this occasion.

-- We agreed this afternoon on the principles of a strategic arms agreement, which will be the first of its kind to actually reduce strategic systems.

-- We agreed to substantially reduce our chemical weapons stocks, a trail-blazing agreement we hope will quickly lead to a multilateral treaty banning chemical weapons.

-- We agreed to a number of agreements that will promote contacts between our two peoples: expanded undergraduate university exchanges, and consulates in Kiev and New York.

-- We have agreed to a maritime border between our two countries in the Bering Sea.

(add economic/commercial agreements if signed)

-- I am very pleased with these results. We have accomplished much that is good for our two countries.

-- But beyond signing these agreements, this summit has provided us an opportunity to exchange views candidly on the entire spectrum of our relationship.

-- Mr. President, I have found our discussions to be enormously useful. I look forward to further exchanges tomorrow at Camp David.

-- So ladies and gentlemen, I invite you to join me in a toast to our hosts, President and Mrs. Gorbachev, and Ambassador and Mrs. Bessmertnykh, for their kind hospitality, and to the growing cooperation of the American and Soviet peoples, and the peace and prosperity which that cooperation will bring.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT BUSH AT SIGNING CEREMONY  
OF U.S.-SOVIET AGREEMENTS

EAST RM.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

A little over six months ago on the wind-swept island of Malta, President Gorbachev and I put forward an agenda of work to be completed by this Washington Summit. We challenged our experts to negotiate concrete agreements on a broad range of issues that would substantially enhance cooperation between our two countries. I am happy to say today that a great deal of hard work has been done since then. We have been successful in reaching accord on almost all of the Malta agenda.

We are about to sign agreements in many areas of our relationship and to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today. The achievements we record today range from concrete understandings on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons to a number of specific agreements that will enhance the lives of U.S. and Soviet citizens. Let me cite just a few examples:

-- We are signing today protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long and arduous negotiations, we have agreed in these protocols on unprecedented on-site verification improvements for the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. I am hopeful that our Congress will act expeditiously to bring these Treaties into effect.

-- I am personally pleased to sign today a trailblazing bilateral agreement which will lead for the first time to a substantial reduction in U.S. and Soviet chemical weapons stocks. [ I hope this agreement will encourage other nations so that we can move ahead with a global ban of chemical weapons. ]

-- We are also announcing today [in a joint statement] agreement on the major issues involved in the strategic arms negotiations. This too has been a long and difficult negotiation. Having reached compromises on the major weapons systems covered by the START Treaty, President Gorbachev and I are now charging our negotiating teams with the responsibility to conclude as quickly as possible a START treaty that can be effectively verified.

-- We are also signing today a joint U.S.-Soviet commercial agreement. As you know, the Supreme Soviet recently passed a new emigration bill which codifies free emigration. In view of this bill, and the record numbers of Soviet citizens who have emigrated in the past year, I have decided to grant a one-year waiver of the Jackson/Vanik amendment and extend most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union. The commercial agreement that we are signing will provide a framework within which U.S. firms can expand economic ties to the Soviet Union. I believe this is a good agreement which advances American interests and can promote economic change in the Soviet Union. I believe this agreement will be a catalyst for expanded trade between our two countries.

MFN →

-- There are a number of other agreements which we will initial or announce today which represent a great deal of work both within the government and by private citizens groups.

o President Gorbachev and I are announcing today our intention to establish a U.S.-Soviet park in the region of the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of efforts by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and the cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia.

- o We are issuing a joint statement on cooperation in protecting the environment and signing a customs agreement to help us fight the scourge of the international drug trade. These symbolize our new interest in working together with the Soviet Union to solve transnational problems.
  
- o We have agreed today on opening consulates in New York and Kiev as well as cultural centers in our respective capitals.
  
- o We are signing an agreement today realizing our Malta objective of expanding student undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for youth of both countries to see first hand and study the culture, politics and economics of each other's country. This is an investment in the future that will benefit both our peoples.

These are just a selection of the agreements we record today. I am proud of what we have accomplished. I believe these are good agreements which will be in the interests of both countries. I congratulate all those in the government and outside who have had a role in these achievements. All Americans can take pride in a job well done. Thank you.

Davis/Dooley  
Title: Summit  
Date: May 25, 1990  
Draft: Two

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM**  
**Friday, June 1, 6 p.m.**

President Gorbachev -- once again -- welcome to the White House, \\ America's house, \\ our home. \\

In just one day, you and I have worked hard to bridge forty-five years of differences. While some differences remain, our discussions have been held in the spirit of respect, candor and growing goodwill.

Of course, some believe that the weight of history condemns our two nations -- our two great peoples -- to eternal Cold War.

Well, together, you and I have faced the challenge of that history.

And together, you and I have challenged history itself. \\  
**We may not agree on everything; but we believe in one great truth -- the world has waited too long already -- the Cold War must end. \\ Let us proclaim its end tonight. \\** ((After translation, turn to President Gorbachev and shake his hand.)) \\ \\ \\

((And let me add, Mister President, that when a natural disaster struck the Soviet Union, America wanted to be a good neighbor, to extend a helping hand. Now your brave people have once again suffered yet another cruel blow. And let me once again extend America's sympathy and willingness to help.))

President Gorbachev and I first worked together a little more than six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta. At

that time, we agreed on an agenda, much of which was completed for this week's Summit. We challenged our experts to address a bold sweep of issues, to forge agreements that will build bridges between our peoples. Today, I am pleased to announce that our hard work is starting to pay off. We've reached agreement on much of the Malta agenda -- to promote peace, to expand cultural and student exchanges, and to work together, against the scourge of drugs, and for our common environment.

((Of course, much of that Malta agenda remains unfinished; but we've made great progress in the last six months\\ -- and in the last two days. We are hopeful that Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will soon negotiate agreements to reduce strategic and conventional forces. [[DETAILS TO COME FROM NSC]] And, once the Soviet leadership adopts certain measures, the Soviet Union will be eligible for trade agreements with the United States, leading to Most Favored Nation status.))

But let me turn to the great deeds we have achieved this week. We are about to sign agreements concerning many areas so important to the people of both countries, and to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today.

\*\*\* ((First, I will join President Gorbachev in signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous, negotiations, we have at long last agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification for the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty.

These measures, once ratified by the U.S. Senate, should give a dramatic boost to the confidence and cooperation between our governments.))

\*\*\* ((Second, we will sign a bilateral agreement that will, for the first time, slash U.S. and Soviet chemical weapons stockpiles. This is a great achievement, but we have our eyes on even greater, more distant heights. Let this agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading to a global ban on chemical weapons.)\\ \\ \\

There are many other agreements we will initial or announce today -- agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia.

This is truly an historic achievement. After all, scientists tell us that a bridge of land once joined our two continents; so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of peace.

We are also issuing a joint statement on cooperation in protecting the environment, and signing a customs agreement to help us fight a common menace -- the international drug trade.

Let these agreements signal to the world that there is a new working relationship between America and the Soviet Union, a willingness to stand together to confront problems that respect no borders.

And, finally, we have agreed to deepen cultural ties between us by opening consulates in New York and Kiev, as well as cultural centers in our respective capitals.

In this same spirit, we will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for young Americans and Soviets to experience first-hand each other's culture and politics.

After all, friendships between peoples do not begin and end at summits. National friendships arise out of special moments between millions of people. These special moments occur every time a young American visits a farm in Soviet Georgia, and every time a young Soviet visits a farm in Kansas. These moments consist of simple acts: a special guest asked to break bread around a family dinner table; a visitor asked to join an open discussion at a university. And out of these simple acts a profound revelation eventually arises: We have more in common than we have in conflict.

You know, of all that we have discussed today, this last agreement may seem like the least newsworthy. But over time, with the sharing of knowledge and friendship between Americans

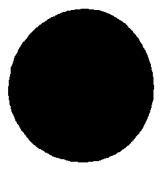
and Soviets, these exchanges may one day yield the greatest benefit of all -- understanding.

I am told there is an old Russian proverb: Mountains never meet, but people can. We have scaled the heights because of the tenacity of our diplomats, and the vision of our peoples. President Gorbachev, because of them, you and I have reached the summit; you and I stand where mountains meet.

I am very proud of what we have accomplished over the last few days. And these are just a few of the agreements we record today: Agreements that will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both nations, and all nations.

((And now I believe President Gorbachev has a statement to make.))

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



DATE: 5/30/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:30 PM TODAY 5/30/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Rogers</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Winston</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston with a copy to my office no later than 5:30 PM TODAY, MAY 30, 1990. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

The NSC Staff concurs -- with the changes indicated.

Brent Scowcroft

*Brotley copy - without Scowcroft comments.*

**James W. Cicconi**  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1990 MAY 30 PM 12: 50

Davis/Dooley  
Title: Summit  
Date: May 25, 1990  
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM  
Friday, June 1, 8 p.m.

President Gorbachev -- once again -- welcome to the White House, \\ America's house, \\ our home. \\  
*our meetings yesterday and today,*  
In ~~just one day~~ you and I have worked hard to bridge ~~forty~~  
*-- some of them decades old -- that go to the heart of the postwar conflict*  
~~five years of~~ differences. While ~~some~~ differences remain, our <sup>betw</sup> ~~East~~ discussions have been held in the spirit of respect, candor and <sup>cooperation</sup> growing ~~goodwill~~.  
*Not so long ago*  
~~Of course~~, some believe <sup>d</sup> that the weight of history condemns <sup>ed</sup> our two nations -- our two great peoples -- to ~~eternal Cold War~~ <sup>permanent confrontation</sup>.

Well, together, you and I have faced the challenge of that history, *and have made important strides toward building a relationship of enduring cooperation.*

And together, you and I have challenged history itself. \\  
We may not agree on everything; but we believe in one great truth -- the world has waited too long already -- the Cold War must end. \\ Let us proclaim its end tonight. \\ ((After translation, turn to President Gorbachev and shake his hand.)) \\ \\ \\ \\

((And let me add, Mister President, that when a natural disaster struck the Soviet Union, America wanted to be a good neighbor, to extend a helping hand. Now your brave people have once again suffered yet another cruel blow. And let me once again extend America's sympathy and willingness to help.))

*set this course*  
President Gorbachev and I ~~first worked together~~ a little more than six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta. At

that time, we agreed on an agenda, much of which was completed for this week's Summit. We challenged our experts to address a bold sweep of issues, to forge agreements that will <sup>lay the foundations</sup> ~~build bridges~~ <sup>of lasting peace</sup> ~~between our peoples~~. Today, I am pleased to announce that our hard work is ~~(starting to)~~ <sup>ing</sup> pay off. We've reached agreement ~~on~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~several key areas~~ ~~(much of the Malta agenda)~~ -- to <sup>reduce armaments</sup> ~~promote peace~~, to expand cultural and student exchanges, and to work together <sup>in signing trade</sup> ~~against the scourge~~ of drugs, <sup>in protecting</sup> ~~and for~~ our common environment.

((Of course, much of <sup>the</sup> ~~that~~ Malta agenda remains unfinished; but we've made great progress in the last six months -- and in the last two days. [We are hopeful that Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will soon negotiate agreements to reduce strategic and conventional forces. [[DETAILS TO COME FROM NSC]] And, once the Soviet leadership adopts certain measures, the Soviet Union will be eligible for trade agreements with the United States, leading to Most Favored Nation status.]])

~~[But let me turn to the great deeds we have achieved this week.]~~ We are about to sign agreements <sup>of vital interest to our countries and</sup> ~~concerning many areas~~ <sup>so</sup> ~~important to the people of both countries,~~ and to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today.

\*\*\* <sup>Second,</sup> ((~~First,~~ I will join President Gorbachev in signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous, negotiations, we have at long last agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification <sup>of</sup> ~~for~~ the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty.

(move CW agreement from p. 3)

These measures, once ratified by the U.S. Senate, should give a dramatic boost to ~~the~~ confidence and cooperation between our governments.)

MOVE  
to  
p.2

\*\*\* <sup>First</sup> ~~((Second,~~ we will sign a bilateral agreement that will, <sup>eliminate the great majority of the</sup> for the first time, ~~slash U.S. and Soviet~~ chemical weapons <sup>our countries have stockpiled over the years.</sup> stockpiles. ~~This is a great achievement, but we have our eyes on~~ <sup>landmark</sup> ~~even greater, more distant heights.~~ Let this <sup>^</sup> agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading to a global ban on chemical weapons.)))))

INSERT  
A

<sup>the United States and the Soviet Union</sup> There are many other agreements ~~we will~~ <sup>initial or announcing</sup> ~~initial or announcing~~ <sup>are signing</sup> during <sup>this</sup> Summit ~~(today)~~ -- agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia.

~~This is truly an historic achievement. After all, scientists tell us that~~ <sup>Just as</sup> a bridge of land once joined our two continents; so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of <sup>peaceful cooperation.</sup> ~~peace.~~

~~Our governments~~ ~~We are also issuing a joint statement on cooperation in protecting the environment, and signing a customs agreement to help us fight a common menace -- the international drug trade.~~

Let these agreements signal to the world that there is a new working relationship between America and the Soviet Union, a willingness to stand together to confront problems that respect no borders.

~~And, finally, we have agreed to deepen cultural ties between us by opening consulates in New York and Kiev, as well as cultural centers in our respective capitals.~~

*President Forbacher and I*  
In this same spirit, we will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for ~~(young)~~ Americans and Soviets <sup>*citizens young people*</sup> to experience first-hand each other's culture and politics.

After all, friendships between peoples do not begin and end at summits. National friendships arise out of special moments between millions of people. These special moments occur every time a young American visits a farm in Soviet Georgia, and every time a young Soviet <sup>*citizen*</sup> visits a farm in Kansas. These moments consist of simple acts: a special guest asked to break bread around a family dinner table; a visitor asked to join an open discussion at a university. And out of these simple acts a profound revelation eventually arises: We have more in common than we have in conflict.

[You know, of all that we have discussed today, this last agreement may seem like the least newsworthy. But over time, with the sharing of knowledge and friendship between Americans

~~and Soviets, these exchanges may one day yield the greatest benefit of all -- understanding.]~~

~~[I am told there is an old Russian proverb: Mountains never meet, but people can. We have scaled the heights because of the tenacity of our diplomats, and the vision of our peoples. President Gorbachev, because of them, you and I have reached the summit; you and I stand where mountains meet.]~~

*President Gorbachev, gratified by*  
 I am very proud of what we have accomplished over the last few days, ~~and these are just a few of the~~ agreements we record today, ~~and those yet to come, are~~  
 Agreements that will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both nations, and all nations.

((And now I believe President Gorbachev has a statement to make.))

**INSERT A**

[[Third, following nine years of negotiations, we will sign a Maritime Boundary Agreement. By fixing this boundary, we will resolve longstanding differences over fishing rights and resource development, offering important economic benefits for both sides.]]

In addition, President Gorbachev and I are issuing [[a Joint Statement on strategic arms reductions, recording our agreement on major outstanding issues governing a START Treaty,]] [[a Joint Statement in which we agree to future negotiations on nuclear and space arms, designed to enhance stability and reduce the risk of war and]] a statement on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, reaffirming our commitment to conclude a CFE agreement by the end of 1990.

[[Statement on Open Skies -- if ready.]]

(NOTE TO SPEECHWRITERS: WE WILL ALERT YOU EARLY AFTERNOON MAY 31 WHICH OF THE BRACKETED PASSAGES CAN BE UNBRACKETED.)

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



90 MAY 30 P2: 55

DATE: 5/30/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:30 PM TODAY 5/30/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Rogers</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Winston</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

Davis/Dooley  
Title: Summit  
Date: May 25, 1990  
Draft: Two

1990 MAY 30 PM 12: 50

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM**  
**Friday, June 1, 6 p.m.**

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**end. \\ Let us proclaim its end tonight. \\ ((After translation,**  
**turn to President Gorbachev and shake his hand.)) \\ \\ \\**

((And let me add, Mister President, that when a natural disaster struck the Soviet Union, America wanted to be a good neighbor, to extend a helping hand. Now your brave people have once again suffered yet another cruel blow. And let me once again extend America's sympathy and willingness to help.))

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((Of course, much of that Malta agenda remains unfinished; but we've made great progress in the last six months\\ -- and in the last two days. We are hopeful that Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will soon negotiate agreements to reduce strategic and conventional forces. [[DETAILS TO COME FROM NSC]] And, once the Soviet leadership adopts certain measures, the Soviet Union will be eligible for trade agreements with the United States, leading to Most Favored Nation status.))

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((And now I believe President Gorbachev has a statement to make.))

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

RECEIVED

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 4304

00 MAY 30 P 2:54

ACTION OFFICER: BURNS

DUE: ASAP

- Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates
- Prepare Memo For Cicconi
- Prepare Memo SCOWCROFT

- Appropriate Action
- Prepare Memo for Hughes
- to: WINSTON W/ INFO CICCONI

URGENT

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. 6849

- FYI
- Basora
  - Beers
  - Blackwill
  - Charles
  - Coulson
  - Davis
  - Deal
  - Dorminey
  - Dyke
  - Gordon
  - Grimes
  - Haass
  - Hayden
  - Hutchings
  - Jackson
  - Kanter
  - Kitchen
  - LaMagna

- FYI
- Lampley
  - Levin
  - Mahley
  - Mandel
  - Melby
  - Menan
  - Merchant
  - Miller
  - Needels
  - Paal
  - Pacelli
  - Passage
  - Pilling
  - Popadiuk
  - Pryce
  - Rademaker
  - Rice
  - Rodman

- FYI
- Rostow
  - Salvetti
  - Tilley
  - Tobey
  - Van Eron
  - Watson
  - Welch
  - Whitley
  - Wilson
  - Working
  - Zelikow
  - \_\_\_\_\_
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- INFORMATION
- Hughes
  - Scowcroft (advance)

- Sittmann
- Gates (advance)

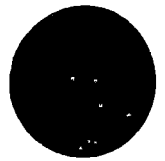
- Exec. Sec. Desk
- Secretariat

COMMENTS

Logged By [Signature]

Return to Secretariat

4304  
**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**



DATE: 5/30/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:30 PM TODAY 5/30/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Rogers</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Winston</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston with a copy to my office no later than 5:30 PM TODAY, MAY 30, 1990. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

The NSC Staff concurs -- with the changes indicated.

Brent Scowcroft

**James W. Cicconi**  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

1990 MAY 30 PM 12: 50

Davis/Dooley  
Title: Summit  
Date: May 25, 1990  
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM  
Friday, June 1, 8 p.m.

5



President Gorbachev -- once again -- welcome to the White House, \\ America's house, \\ our home. \\  
our meetings yesterday and today,  
In ~~just one day~~ you and I have worked hard to bridge ~~forty~~  
~~five years of~~ differences, <sup>some of them decades old</sup> that go to the heart of the postwar conflict <sup>between East</sup>  
While ~~some~~ differences remain, our <sup>discussions</sup> have been held in the spirit of respect, candor and <sup>cooperation</sup>  
growing ~~goodwill~~.

<sup>Not so long ago</sup>  
~~Of course~~, some believe <sup>d</sup> that the weight of history condemns <sup>ed</sup>  
our two nations <sup>Next</sup> -- our two great peoples -- to ~~eternal Cold War~~ <sup>permanent confrontation</sup>.

Well, together, <sup>you</sup> and I have faced the challenge of that <sup>history</sup>  
<sup>and have made important strides toward building a relationship</sup>  
of enduring cooperation. <sup>Keep</sup>

And together, you and I have challenged history itself. \\  
We may not agree on everything; but we believe in one great truth  
-- the world has waited too long already -- the Cold War must  
end. \\ Let us proclaim its end tonight. \\ ((After translation,  
turn to President Gorbachev and shake his hand.)) \\ \\ \\

((And let me add, Mister President, that when a natural  
disaster struck the Soviet Union, America wanted to be a good  
neighbor, to extend a helping hand. Now your brave people have  
once again suffered yet another cruel blow. And let me once  
again extend America's sympathy and willingness to help.))

President Gorbachev and I <sup>set this course</sup> ~~first worked together~~ a little  
more than six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta. At

that time, we agreed on an agenda, much of which was completed for this week's Summit. We challenged our experts to address a bold sweep of issues, to forge agreements that will <sup>lay the foundations</sup> ~~build bridges~~ <sup>of lasting peace</sup> ~~between our peoples~~. Today, I am pleased to announce that our hard work is ~~(starting to)~~ <sup>ing</sup> pay off. We've reached agreement ~~on~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~several key areas~~ ~~(much of the Malta agenda)~~ -- to <sup>reduce armaments</sup> ~~promote peace~~, to expand cultural and student exchanges, and to work together, ~~in~~ ~~promoting trade~~ ~~against the scourge~~ ~~of drugs,~~ <sup>in protecting</sup> ~~and for~~ our common environment.

((Of course, much of <sup>the</sup> ~~that~~ Malta agenda remains unfinished; but we've made great progress in the last six months\\ -- and in the last two days. [We are hopeful that Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will soon negotiate agreements to reduce strategic and conventional forces. [[DETAILS TO COME FROM NSC]] And, once the Soviet leadership adopts certain measures, the Soviet Union will be eligible for trade agreements with the United States, leading to Most Favored Nation status.))]

~~[But let me turn to the great deeds we have achieved this week]~~ We are about to sign agreements <sup>of vital interest to our countries and</sup> concerning many areas ~~so~~ <sup>to the international community,</sup> ~~important to the people of both countries,~~ and to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today.

\*\*\* <sup>Second,</sup> ((~~First,~~ I will join President Gorbachev in signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous, negotiations, we have at long last agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification <sup>of</sup> ~~for~~ the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty.

(move CW agreement from p. 3)

These measures, once ratified by the U.S. Senate, should give a dramatic boost to ~~the~~ confidence and cooperation between our governments.)

move to p.2

\*\*\* <sup>first</sup> ((~~Second~~, we will sign a bilateral agreement that will, <sup>eliminate the great majority of the</sup> slash U.S. and Soviet chemical weapons <sup>our countries have stockpiled over the years.</sup> stockpiles. ~~This is a great achievement, but we have our eyes on~~ <sup>landmark</sup> even greater, more distant heights. Let this agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading to a global ban on chemical weapons.))|||

INSERT A

There are many other agreements <sup>the United States and the Soviet Union</sup> ~~we will~~ <sup>initial or announcing</sup> ~~are signing~~ <sup>are signing</sup> during this Summit ~~today~~ -- agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia.

~~This is truly an historic achievement. After all, scientists tell us that~~ <sup>Just as</sup> a bridge of land once joined our two continents, so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of <sup>peaceful cooperation.</sup> ~~peace.~~

~~Our governments~~ We are also issuing a joint statement on cooperation in protecting the environment, and signing a customs agreement to help us fight a common menace -- the international drug trade.]

Let these agreements signal to the world that there is a new working relationship between America and the Soviet Union, a willingness to stand together to confront problems that respect no borders.

~~And, finally, we have agreed to deepen cultural ties between us by opening consulates in New York and Kiev, as well as cultural centers in our respective capitals.~~

*President Gorbachev and I*  
 In this same spirit, we will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for ~~young~~ Americans and Soviets, <sup>*citizens young people*</sup> to experience first-hand each other's culture and politics.

After all, friendships between peoples do not begin and end at summits. National friendships arise out of special moments between millions of people. These special moments occur every time a young American visits a farm in Soviet Georgia, and every time a young Soviet <sup>*citizen*</sup> visits a farm in Kansas. These moments consist of simple acts: a special guest asked to break bread around a family dinner table; a visitor asked to join an open discussion at a university. And out of these simple acts a profound revelation eventually arises: We have more in common than we have in conflict.

~~You know, of all that we have discussed today, this last agreement may seem like the least newsworthy. But over time, with the sharing of knowledge and friendship between Americans~~

and Soviets, these exchanges may one day yield the greatest benefit of all -- understanding.]

RUSSIA

[I am told there is an old Russian proverb: Mountains never meet, but people can. We have scaled the heights because of the tenacity of our diplomats, and the vision of our peoples. President Gorbachev, because of them, you and I have reached the summit; you and I stand where mountains meet.]

President Gorbachev, gratified by  
I am very proud of what we have accomplished over the last few days, -- and determined to build on this solid foundation. And these are just a few of the agreements we record today, and those yet to come, are Agreements that will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both nations, and all nations.

((And now I believe President Gorbachev has a statement to make.))

CHILDREN / GRANDCHILDREN

TWO GRANDFATHERS

**INSERT A**

[[Third, following nine years of negotiations, we will sign a Maritime Boundary Agreement. By fixing this boundary, we will resolve longstanding differences over fishing rights and resource development, offering important economic benefits for both sides.]]

In addition, President Gorbachev and I are issuing [[a Joint Statement on strategic arms reductions, recording our agreement on major outstanding issues governing a START Treaty,]] [[a Joint Statement in which we agree to future negotiations on nuclear and space arms, designed to enhance stability and reduce the risk of war and]] a statement on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, reaffirming our commitment to conclude a CFE agreement by the end of 1990.

[[Statement on Open Skies -- if ready.]]

(NOTE TO SPEECHWRITERS: WE WILL ALERT YOU EARLY AFTERNOON MAY 31 WHICH OF THE BRACKETED PASSAGES CAN BE UNBRACKETED.)

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



DATE: 5/30/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:30 PM TODAY 5/30/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Rogers</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Winston</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston with a copy to my office no later than 5:30 PM TODAY, MAY 30, 1990. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

Davis/Dooley  
Title: Summit  
Date: May 25, 1990  
Draft: Two

1990 MAY 30 PM 12: 50

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM  
Friday, June 1, 6 p.m.

President Gorbachev -- once again -- welcome to the White House, \\ America's house, \\ our home. \\

In just one day, you and I have worked hard to bridge forty-five years of differences. While some differences remain, our discussions have been held <sup>with</sup> ~~in the spirit of~~ respect, candor and growing goodwill.

Of course, some believe that the weight of history condemns our two nations -- our two great peoples -- to eternal Cold War.

Well, together, you and I <sup>must</sup> ~~have faced the~~ challenge ~~of~~ that history.

~~And together, you and I have challenged history itself. \\~~

We may not agree on everything; but we believe in one great truth -- the world has waited <sup>long enough</sup> ~~too long already~~ -- the Cold War must end. \\ <sup>So tonight together the Cold War is over.</sup> Let us, ~~proclaim its end tonight.~~ \\ ((After translation,

turn to President Gorbachev and shake his hand.)) \\ \\ \\ \\

~~Before I begin my formal remarks, let me mention something that I <sup>sure</sup> ~~think~~ <sup>weigh</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>heavy</sup> ~~on~~ <sup>your</sup> ~~mind~~ <sup>should</sup> ~~is~~ ~~important.~~ ~~And let me add, Mister President, that when a natural~~ disaster struck the Soviet Union, America wanted to be a good neighbor, to extend a helping hand. Now your brave people have once again suffered yet another cruel blow. And let me once again extend America's sympathy and willingness to help.))~~

President Gorbachev and I first worked together a little more than six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta. At

more  
to  
end

that time, we agreed on an agenda, much of which was completed for this week's Summit. We challenged our experts to address a bold sweep of issues, to forge agreements that will build bridges between our peoples. Today, I am pleased to announce that ~~our~~ hard work is starting to pay off. We've reached agreement on much of the Malta agenda -- to promote peace, to expand cultural <sup>between our two nations and around the world</sup> and student exchanges, and to work together ~~against~~ against the scourge of drugs, and for our common environment.

((Of course, much of that Malta agenda remains unfinished; but we've made great progress in the last six months\\ -- and in the last two days. We are hopeful that Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will soon negotiate agreements to reduce strategic and conventional forces. [[DETAILS TO COME FROM NSC]] And, once the Soviet leadership adopts certain measures, the Soviet Union will be eligible for trade agreements with the United States, leading to Most Favored Nation status.))

But let me turn to <sup>what</sup> ~~the great deeds~~ we have achieved this week. We are about to sign agreements concerning many areas so important to the people of both countries, and to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today.

\*\*\* ((First, I will join President Gorbachev in signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous, negotiations, we have at long last agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification for the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty.

These measures, once ratified by the U.S. Senate, should give a dramatic boost to the confidence and cooperation between our governments.))

\*\*\* ((Second, we will sign a bilateral agreement that will, for the first time, slash U.S. and Soviet chemical weapons stockpiles. This is a great achievement, but we <sup>with</sup> have our eyes on even greater, more distant heights. Let this agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading to a global ban on chemical weapons.))\ \ \

There are many other agreements we will initial or announce today -- agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia.

This is truly an historic achievement. After all, scientists tell us that a bridge of land once joined our two continents; so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of peace.

We are also issuing a joint statement on cooperation in protecting the environment, and signing a customs agreement to help us fight a common menace -- the international drug trade.

Let these agreements signal to the world that there is a new working relationship between America and the Soviet Union, a willingness to stand together to confront problems that respect no borders.

And, finally, we have agreed to deepen cultural ties between us by opening consulates in New York and Kiev, as well as cultural centers in our respective capitals.

In this same spirit, we will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for young Americans and Soviets to experience first-hand each other's culture and politics.

After all, friendships between peoples do not begin and end at summits. National friendships arise out of special moments between millions of people. These special moments occur every time a young American visits a farm in Soviet Georgia, and every time a young Soviet visits a farm in Kansas. These moments consist of simple acts: a special guest asked to break bread around a family dinner table; a visitor asked to join an open discussion at a university. And out of these simple acts a profound revelation eventually arises: We have more in common than we have in conflict.

You know, of all that we have discussed today, this last agreement may seem like the least newsworthy. But over time, with the sharing of knowledge and friendship between Americans

and Soviets, these exchanges may one day yield the greatest benefit of all -- understanding.

I am told there is an old Russian proverb: Mountains never meet, but people can. We have scaled the heights because of the tenacity of our diplomats, and the vision of our peoples. President Gorbachev, because of them, you and I have reached the summit; you and I stand where mountains meet.

I am very proud of what we have accomplished over the last few days. And these are just a few of the agreements we record today: Agreements that will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both nations, and **all** nations.

*meet* → ((And now I believe President Gorbachev has a statement to make.))

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



DATE: 5/30/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:30 PM TODAY 5/30/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Rogers</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Winston</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston with a copy to my office no later than 5:30 PM TODAY, MAY 30, 1990. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

May 31, 1990

The NSC Staff concurs -- with the changes indicated.

*B*  
Brent Scowcroft

**James W. Cicconi**  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

RECEIVED

90 MAY 30 P 2 : 54



1990 MAY 30 PM 12: 50

Davis/Dooley  
Title: Summit  
Date: May 25, 1990  
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM  
Friday, June 1, 6 p.m.

President Gorbachev -- once again -- welcome to the White House, \\ America's house, \\ our home. \\  
In ~~just one day~~ <sup>our meetings yesterday and today,</sup> you and I have worked hard to bridge ~~forty-~~ <sup>-- some of them decades old -- that go to the heart of the postwar conflict</sup> ~~five years of~~ differences. While ~~some~~ differences remain, our discussions have been held in the spirit of respect, candor and growing <sup>cooperation</sup> goodwill. <sup>Not so long ago</sup> ~~Of course,~~ some believe <sup>d</sup> that the weight of history condemns <sup>ed</sup> our two nations -- our two great peoples -- to ~~eternal Cold War.~~ <sup>permanent confrontation.</sup> <sup>between East and West.</sup>

Well, together, you and I have faced the challenge of that history, <sup>and have made important strides toward building a relationship of enduring cooperation.</sup>

And together, you and I have challenged history itself. \\ We may not agree on everything; but we believe in one great truth -- the world has waited too long already -- the Cold War must end. \\ Let us proclaim its end tonight. \\ ((After translation, turn to President Gorbachev and shake his hand.)) \\ \\ \\

((And let me add, Mister President, that when a natural disaster struck the Soviet Union, America wanted to be a good neighbor, to extend a helping hand. Now your brave people have once again suffered yet another cruel blow. And let me once again extend America's sympathy and willingness to help.))

President Gorbachev and I ~~first worked together~~ <sup>set this course</sup> a little more than six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta. At

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(move CW agreement from p. 3)

These measures, once ratified ~~by the U.S. Senate~~, should give a dramatic boost to ~~the~~ confidence and cooperation between our governments.)

*First*  
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MOVE to p.2

INSERT A

There are many other agreements *the United States and the Soviet Union* ~~we will~~ *initial or announce* ~~today~~ *are signing* -- agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

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~~This is truly an historic achievement. After all, scientists tell us that~~ *Just as* a bridge of land once joined our two continents, so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of *peaceful cooperation.* ~~peace.~~

~~Our governments~~  
We are also issuing a joint statement on cooperation in protecting the environment, and signing a customs agreement to help us fight a common menace -- the international drug trade.

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After all, friendships between peoples do not begin and end at summits. National friendships arise out of special moments between millions of people. These special moments occur every time a young American visits a farm in Soviet Georgia, and every time a young Soviet <sup>citizen</sup> visits a farm in Kansas. These moments consist of simple acts: a special guest asked to break bread around a family dinner table; a visitor asked to join an open discussion at a university. And out of these simple acts a profound revelation eventually arises: We have more in common than we have in conflict.

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INSERT A

[[Third, following nine years of negotiations, we will sign a Maritime Boundary Agreement. By fixing this boundary, we will resolve longstanding differences over fishing rights and resource development, offering important economic benefits for both sides.]]

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[[Statement on Open Skies -- if ready.]]

(NOTE TO SPEECHWRITERS: WE WILL ALERT YOU EARLY AFTERNOON MAY 31 WHICH OF THE BRACKETED PASSAGES CAN BE UNBRACKETED.)

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In this same spirit, President Gorbachev and I will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This [agreement] will [provide opportunities for American and Soviet] <sup>allow more of our</sup> young people to experience first-hand each other's culture and politics . . . to live as friends. And <sup>to learn a profound yet</sup> [out of simple acts of] <sup>simple truth: that</sup> friendship a profound revelation eventually arises:] The people of the world have more in common than they have in conflict.

In just a few moments, Secretary of State Baker and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will also sign three important new agreements concerning maritime boundaries, ocean studies and civil aviation. Minister Shevardnadze and Transportation Secretary Skinner will sign a fourth agreement on maritime transportation. <sup>[[and]] Minister Shevardnadze and Ambassador Carla Hills will sign a Long-Term Grains Agreement.</sup>

President Gorbachev, I am very gratified by what we have accomplished over the last few days -- and determined to build on this solid foundation. The agreements we record today, and those yet to come, will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both our nations, and all nations.

Davis/Dooley  
Title: Summit  
Date: May 31, 1990  
Draft: Four

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM  
Friday, June 1, 5 p.m.**

President Gorbachev -- once again -- welcome to the White House, \\ America's house, \\ our home. \\

Mister President -- you and I set a course six months ago, off the island-nation of Malta. At that time, we agreed on an agenda, much of which was completed for this week's Summit. We challenged our experts to address a bold sweep of issues, to forge agreements that will lay the foundations of a lasting peace. Today, I am pleased to announce that our hard work is paying off. We've reached agreement in several key areas -- to reduce armaments, to expand cultural and student exchanges, and to work together in protecting our common environment.

Of course, much of the Malta agenda remains unfinished; but we've made great progress in the last six months \\ -- and in the last two days.

We are about to sign agreements concerning many areas of vital interest to our countries and to the international community; to record specific bilateral understandings in joint statements that are being published today.

\*\*\* ((First, we will sign a bilateral agreement that will, for the first time, eliminate the great majority of the chemical weapons our countries have stockpiled over the years. Let this

landmark agreement spark a worldwide discussion, leading to a global ban on chemical weapons.)\)\)

\*\*\* ((Second, I will join President Gorbachev in signing protocols on limiting nuclear testing. After long, sometimes arduous, negotiations, we both have at long last agreed on unprecedented improvements for on-site verification of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. These measures, once ratified, should give a dramatic boost to confidence and cooperation between our governments.))

\*\*\* ((Third, following nine years of negotiations, we will sign a Maritime Boundary Agreement. By fixing this boundary, we will resolve longstanding differences over fishing rights and resource development, offering important economic benefits for both sides.))

In addition, President Gorbachev and I are issuing ((a Joint Statement on strategic arms reductions, recording our agreement on major outstanding issues governing a START Treaty,)) ((a Joint Statement in which we agree to future negotiations on nuclear and space arms, designed to enhance stability and reduce the risk of war and)) a statement on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, reaffirming our commitment to conclude a CFE agreement by the end of 1990.

(([[Open Skies if ready]]))

There are many other agreements the United States and the Soviet Union are signing or announcing during this summit --

agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also by private citizens.

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to preserve the unique natural environment and cultural heritage of the Bering Sea region of Alaska and Siberia. Just as a bridge of land once joined our two continents; so let a bridge of hope now reach across the water to join our two peoples in the spirit of peaceful cooperation.

In this same spirit, President Gorbachev and I will also sign an agreement that realizes our Malta objective of expanding undergraduate exchanges by 1,000 students on both sides. This agreement will provide opportunities for American and Soviet young people to experience first-hand each other's culture and politics.

Let these agreements signal to the world that there is a new working relationship between America and the Soviet Union, a willingness to stand together to confront problems that respect no borders.

After all, friendships between peoples do not begin and end at summits. National friendships arise out of special moments between millions of people. These special moments occur every time a young American visits a farm in Soviet Georgia, and every time a young Soviet citizen visits a farm in Kansas. These

moments consist of simple acts: a special guest asked to break bread around a family dinner table; a visitor asked to join an open discussion at a university.

Out of simple acts of friendship a profound revelation eventually arises: The people of the world have more in common than they have in conflict.

((Possible story to come.))

I am told there is an old Russian proverb: Mountains never meet, but people can. We have scaled the heights because of the tenacity of our diplomats, and the vision of our peoples. President Gorbachev, because of them, we have reached the summit; we stand where mountains meet.

President Gorbachev, I am very gratified by what we have accomplished over the last few days -- and determined to build on this solid foundation. The agreements we record today, and those yet to come, will advance the cause of peace; agreements in the best interests of both nations, and all nations.

In our meetings yesterday and today, you and I have worked hard to bridge differences -- some of them decades old -- that go to the heart of the postwar conflict between East and West. While differences remain, our discussions have been held with respect, candor and growing cooperation.

Not so long ago, some believed that the weight of history condemned our two nations -- our two great peoples -- to permanent confrontation.

Well, you and I must challenge history. We must make new strides, building a relationship of enduring cooperation.

We may not agree on everything; but we believe in one great truth -- the world has waited long enough -- the Cold War must end.\\ Today, let us renew our pledge. Let us build a more peaceful world.\\ ((After translation, turn to President Gorbachev and shake his hand.))\\ \\ \\

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NSC STAFF  
APPROVES

OF JC  
SUGGESTIONS

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Call if questions.

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90 MAY 31 P9:15

David A. G. Roy  
Title: Assistant  
Date: May 1, 1990  
Draft:

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: SIGNING CEREMONY, EAST ROOM  
Friday, June 1, 5 p.m.**

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We are about to sign agreements concerning many areas of vital interest to our countries and to the [international <sup>world</sup> community], and to record specific [bilateral] understandings in joint statements that are being published today.

\*\*\* First, we will sign a bilateral agreement that will, for the first time, eliminate the great majority of the chemical weapons our countries have stockpiled over the years. Let this landmark agreement [spark a worldwide discussion, <sup>essentially quickly - NSC</sup>] leading [ ] to a global ban on chemical weapons. \\ \\

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## Threshold Test Ban Treaty and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions

\*\*\* Third, we will sign a major new agreement that updates and expands our 1973 agreement on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. This new agreement provides for substantial U.S.-Soviet cooperation in atomic energy research and civilian nuclear safety. ~~[It will allow both of our countries to benefit from joint research on the health and environmental effects of the tragic Chernobyl accident.]~~

In addition, President Gorbachev and I will initial a Joint Statement ~~[on strategic arms reductions,]~~ recording our agreement on major outstanding issues governing a <sup>strategic arms reduction</sup> ~~[START] Treaty, ((and a Joint Statement in which we agree to future negotiations on nuclear and space arms, designed to enhance stability and reduce the risk of war.))~~ We are also issuing a statement on

Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, committing us to intensify the pace of the Vienna negotiations and to reach rapid agreement on all outstanding issues. ~~[We agree that a CFE Treaty is an indispensable foundation for the future of European security.]~~

There are many other agreements the United States and the Soviet Union are signing or announcing during this summit -- agreements that represent hard work and lasting achievement -- not just by our governments, but also <sup>for our peoples.</sup> ~~[by private citizens.]~~

For example, President Gorbachev and I today announce our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait. This park <sup>will be</sup> ~~[is the culmination of a campaign by private organizations and public agencies in both countries to]~~ preserve

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