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Joint Declaration

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The Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are agreed that mankind faces historic challenges on the threshold to the third millennium. Problems of vital importance to all can only be resolved jointly by all states and peoples. This calls for new political thinking.

- The individual with his inherent dignity and his rights as well as concern for the survival of mankind must be the central elements of politics.
- The vast reservoir of creative energies and abilities of man and modern society must be utilized for the purpose of securing peace and prosperity for all countries and peoples.
- All wars, whether nuclear or conventional, must be prevented, conflicts in various regions of the world settled, and peace preserved and shaped.
- The right of all peoples and states to determine freely their destiny and to frame covereignly their mutual relations on the basis of international law must be guaranteed. The precedence of international law in domostic and international politics must be ensured.
- Modern economic, scientific and technological findings offer unimagined possibilities that should benefit all mankind. The resultant risks and opportunities require common answers. It is therefore important to expand co-operation in all these fields, to dismantle further the trade barriers of all kinds, to sould now forms of collaboration and to make dynamic, mutually beneficial use of them

For the cake of precent and future generations the natural environment must be saved through resolute action, and hunger and poverty in the world must be overcome.

New threats, including epidemics and international terrorism, must be vigorously combated.

The two sides are determined to live up to their responsibility deriving from this recognition. Persistent differences in values and in political and social systems are not an obstacle to a forward-looking policy across the frontiers between the systems.

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Europe has a prominent part to play in shaping a peaceful future. Although the continent has been divided for decades, the awareness of Europe's identity and common assets has endured and is becoming ever stronger. This development must be encouraged.

The Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union consider it a paramount objective of their policies to continue Europe's historical traditions and thus contribute towards overcoming the division of Europe. They are resolved to elaborate jointly concepts for attaining this goal through the development of a Europe marked by peace and co-operation - a peaceful European order or a common European home - in which the United States and Canada also have their place. The CCCC Helsinki Final Act in all its parts as well as the Madrid and Vienna concluding documents chart the course for realizing this goal.

Europe, which suffered most from the two World Wars, must set the world an example of stable peace, good-neighbourliness and constructive co-operation which combines the capabilities of all countries, despite their different social systems, for the sake of the common weal. The countries of Europe can and should be able to live together without mutual fear and in peaceful competition.

A Europe of peace and co-operation must include the following:

- Unqualified respect for the integrity and security of every state, which has the right to choose freely its own political and cocial system, as well as unqualified respect for the norms and principles of international law, especially respect for the right of peoples to self determination.
- Vigorous continuation of the process of disarmament and arms control.

 In this nuclear age, efforts must be aimed not only at preventing war, but also at shaping peace and making it more secure.
- A close dialogue covering all traditional and new aspects of bilateral and multilateral relations and including regular meetings at the top political level.
- The realization of human rights and the promotion of the exchange of people and ideas. This includes the expansion of town twinning, transport and communication links, cultural contacts, travel and sports meetings, the promotion of language instruction and the favourable tradition of language instruction and the favourable tradition of language instruction and the favourable tradition of families and travel abroad.
- The expansion of direct contacts between young people and the commitment of the emerging generations to a peaceful future.
- Comprehensive economic co-operation to the mutual advantage, including new forms of collaboration. The Joint Declaration of 25 June 1988 between the European Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the normalization of relations between the European Community and the European members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as well as the political dialogue initiated between the Soviet Union and the twelve members of the European Community open up new prospects for a pan-European development in that direction.

- The progressive advancement of pan-European co-operation in various sectors, particularly transport, energy, health, information and communication.
- Intensive ecological co-operation and the exploitation of new technologies which, for the sake of mankind, prevent above all the
- Rospect for and cultivation of the historical cultures of the peoples of Europe. This cultural diversity is one of the great treasures of the continent. National minorities in Europe with their own cultures are part of this wealth. Their legitimate interests deserve protection.

The Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union call upon all CSCE participating states to take part in forming Europe's future architecture.

111

The Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union declare that one's own security must not be obtained at the expense of the security of others. They therefore pursue the goal of eliminating the causes of tension and distrust through a constructive and forward-looking policy so that the feeling of being threatened that still exists today can be replaced gradually by a state of mutual trust.

The two sides acknowledge that every state has legitimate security interests irrespective of its size and its ideological orientation. They condemn any hankering after military superiority. Was must no longer be a political instrument. Security policy and armed forces planning must exclusively serve the purpose of reducing and eliminating the danger of war and of safeguarding peace with fewer weapons. This precludes any arms race.

The two sides are striving for the elimination of existing asymmetries through binding agreements subject to effective international control and for the reduction of military potentials to a stable balance at a lower level which suffices for defence but not for attack. Above all the two sides

consider it necessary to rule out the capability of armed forces for launching surprise attack and initiating large-scale offensive action.

- The Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union advocate
 - a 50% reduction of the strategic nuclear offensive weapons of the United States and the Soviet Union;
 - agreed American-Soviet solutions at the nuclear and space talks;
 this also applies to observance of the ABM Treaty;
 - the establishment of a stable and secure balance of conventional forces at a lower level as well as agreement on further confidence, and security-building measures applicable to the whole of Europe;
 - a world-wide, comprehensive and effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons at the earliest possible date;
 - ban at the Geneva Conference on Disammamont; ctop-by-step progress towards this goal is desirable in the ongoing talks between the United States and the Soviet Union;
 - the creation of further confidence-building measures, greater transparency of military arsenals and budgets as well as effective international mechanisms for managing crises, including ones outside Europe.

IV

The Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union realize, in view of Europe's history and its position in the world as well as the weight which each country carries within its respective alliance, that the positive development of their mutual relations is of central importance to the situation in Europe and to East-West relations as a whole. In the desire to establish a lasting relationship of reliable good-neighbourliness, they intend to take up the good traditions of their centuries-old history. Their common goal is to

continue, expand and deepen their fruitful co-operation and give it a new quality.

The Moscow Treaty of 12 August 1970 continues to form the foundation for the relationship between the two countries. The two sides will fully exploit the opportunities afforded by this Treaty and other agreements.

They have decided to expand consistently - on the basis of trust, equal rights and mutual advantage - the contractual foundations of their relations as well as their co-operation conducted in a spirit of partnership in all fields.

Berlin (West) takes part in the development of their co-operation, with the Quadripartite Agreement of 3 September 1971 being strictly observed and fully applied.

V

The Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union, trusting in the long-term predictability of each other's policies, are determined to develop further their relations in all fields. They want to make the upward trend in their relations become stable and lasting.

This policy takes account of each side's treaty and alliance obligations; it is not directed against anyone. It is in line with the deep, long-cherished yearning of the peoples to heal the wounds of the past through understanding and reconciliation and to build jointly a better future.

Bonn, 13 June 1989

Helmut Kohl

Mikhail Gorbachov

