

PRIME MINISTER

HELSENKI SUMMIT

I watched the joint press conference between President Bush and Mr. Gorbachev. They have agreed a statement. It was not read out on television but we are trying to obtain a copy and will fax it to Balmoral when received.

They clearly both regarded the meeting as successful and issued a strong signal of their joint determination to see the Security Council Resolutions implemented. But they skirted round the question of possible use of force: and it was fairly clear that Gorbachev is not ready to subscribe to this. Gorbachev said that Soviet military advisers in Iraq were being reduced all the time but did not give a commitment to remove them all immediately. He also made clear that the Soviet Union was not at present intending to send forces to the area. There was some reference to economic assistance to the Soviet Union during which President Bush seemed to me to have taken a more forthcoming line towards the possibility of such assistance than in the past.

The atmosphere of the press conference was obviously good and I would propose to tell Bernard to say that you welcome the agreement reached between the President and Mr. Gorbachev and the strong signal of their joint determination to see the Security Council Resolutions implemented.

*Janet Main*

*JP*  
C. D. POWELL

9 September 1990

See by PM 9/9

PRIME MINISTER

I now attach the text of the joint statement. It is actually slightly better than I thought. I would draw your attention particularly to the third and fourth paragraphs from the end. They clearly hold out the possibility of "additional" steps if a peaceful means of resolving the crisis do not succeed.

I should mention that Prince Bandar called me this afternoon in a bit of gloom about the Press Conference because he was worried that it ruled out the use of force. I was able to quote the text to him and he is more encouraged. He passed on King Fahd's best wishes.

PP Pamela Mann  
C.D. POWELL  
9.9.90.

## TEXT OF BUSH-GORBACHEV SUMMIT STATEMENT

Here is the full text of a joint statement issued at the end of a one day Superpower summit on Sunday in Helsinki.

With regard to Iraq's invasion and continued military occupation of Kuwait, President Bush and President Gorbachev issue the following joint statement.

"We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbours.

We reaffirm the joint statement of our Foreign Ministers of August 3 1990 and our support for United Nations Security Council resolutions 660, 661, 662, 664 and 665.

Today we once again call upon the Government of Iraq to withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait, to allow the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate Government, and to free all hostages now held in Iraq and Kuwait.

Nothing short of the complete implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions is acceptable.

Nothing short of a return to the pre-August 2 status of Kuwait can end Iraq's isolation.

We call upon the entire world community to adhere to the sanctions mandated by the United Nations, and we pledge to work, individually and in concert, to ensure full compliance with the sanctions.

At the same time, the United States and the Soviet Union recognise that U.N. Security Council Resolution 661 permits,

in humanitarian circumstances, the importation into Iraq and Kuwait of food. The Sanctions Committee will make recommendations to the Security Council on what would constitute humanitarian circumstances.

The United Nations and the Soviet Union further agree that any such imports must be strictly monitored by the appropriate international agencies to ensure that food reaches only those for whom it is intended, with special priority being given to meeting the needs of children.

Our preference is to resolve the crisis peacefully, and we will be united against Iraq's aggression as long as the crisis exists.

However, we are determined to see this aggression end, and if the current steps fail to end it, we are prepared to consider additional ones consistent with the U.N. Charter. We must demonstrate beyond any doubt that aggression cannot and will not pay.

As soon as the objectives mandated by the U.N. Security Council resolutions mentioned above have been achieved, and we have demonstrated that aggression does not pay, the Presidents direct their Foreign Ministers to work with countries in the region and outside it to develop regional security structures and measures to promote peace and stability.

It is essential to work actively to resolve all remaining conflicts in the Middle East and Persian Gulf. Both sides will continue to consult each other and initiate measures to pursue those broader objectives at the proper time.

PRIME MINISTER

*seen  
C.M.*

MESSAGE FROM C.D. POWELL

Just to say that Brent Scowcroft telephoned me from Air Force I to say that President Bush wanted you to know that he was well satisfied with the joint declaration with the Soviet Union. Indeed it was better than he had expected. Gorbachev had been reluctant to a commitment to support the use of force, saying that the consequences would be unpredictable. He had also been very confident that the sanctions would work. But he had very carefully not ruled out the use of force. The overall view was a very strong signal from the U.S. and Soviet Union that ought to be sobering for Saddam Hussein.

*Handwritten initials*  
*Samuel Mann*  
C.D. POWELL

9.9.90

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

9 September 1990

GULF CRISIS

General Scowcroft telephoned me from Air Force One this evening on the way back to Washington. The President had been well satisfied with the meeting with Gorbachev and particularly with the joint statement. The latter had been better than he had expected and ought to have a sobering effect on Saddam Hussein. Gorbachev had been reluctant to contemplate use of force, on the grounds that the consequences were so unpredictable. He had expressed himself certain that sanctions would be effective. Equally, he had been careful not to rule out force. The President had thought the main thing was to get a clear signal of joint US/Soviet determination.

Scowcroft said that Gorbachev had been less helpful about Soviet military experts, saying only that the numbers would continue to fall. But he had declined to take any special measures to reduce them.

I said that we had put out a statement from No 10 welcoming the outcome of the meeting and the joint statement, and I was sure the Prime Minister would want to convey her congratulations on it to the President.

I am copying this letter to Simon Webb (Ministry of Defence) and Sonia Phippard (Cabinet Office).

CHARLES POWELL

Resident Clerk  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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09-1622 SUMMIT-TEXT

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(End Text)

REUTER GS NJP