

Godwin

PRIME MINISTER



SECRET

3A-D

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The President will
ring at 8.15 p.m.
this evening.

TELEPHONE CALL WITH PRESIDENT BUSH

You said that you would speak to President Bush on the telephone if possible before leaving for the meeting in Paris. I have suggested to General Scowcroft that this might be between 7 and 9 p.m. this evening or 2 to 3.30 p.m. tomorrow. At the time of writing, I have not heard from the White House which they would prefer, but it could be shortly after your return to Chequers this evening.

I attach a copy of your message to the President. The points you might make to him are;

- you are at one in welcoming what is happening in Eastern Europe as a great step for freedom and a justification and reward for the West's steadiness and resolve over several decades;
- you are agreed, too, on the importance of maintaining stability. The worst outcome would be to undermine Gorbachev's position and risk a reversal of all that has been achieved in Eastern Europe;
- the way we handle German reunification will be crucial. The issue arouses strong emotions in all of Europe, not just in Germany. We need to make clear that the priority must be to get democracy established in Eastern Europe - which will take a long time even on the most optimistic view - and that reunification must take second place. We all need to observe the maximum prudence and restraint on this, because it is the aspect most likely to put Gorbachev in danger;
- you do not know precisely what President Mitterrand plans for the meeting in Paris. But you sense that most European governments are coalescing around the

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prudent approach you have described.

- other aspects likely to be considered are further EC aid to Eastern Europe: and new links between the EC and those East European countries which are moving towards democracy. The EC already has a range of possible agreements - Association agreements, Cooperation agreements, and Trade agreements - and it is a question of choosing which would suit the circumstances and would best support and sustain emerging democracy. But you doubt there will be more than a first discussion, with decisions more likely at the Strasbourg European Council;
- you would much prefer discussion of the wider political and strategic consequences of these developments to take place in NATO rather than the EC, with the US present. That is one reason why you hope the President will come to Brussels after his meeting with Gorbachev, if he possibly can. It would be very helpful to reaffirm the conclusions of the NATO Summit last May. There is a risk of euphoria breaking out which can rapidly undermine NATO's defences at a time when we need to remain strong;
- you look forward to discussing all these issues with the President at Camp David next Friday.

C.D.P.

CHARLES POWELL

17 November 1989

Please now see Diagrams
about Gorbachev's meeting
with our Ambassador (attached)

a:bush (MJ)

SECRET

Following for General Scowcroft from Charles Powell

Please pass following message to President Bush from Prime Minister Thatcher:

Dear George,

I have been following closely your public statements on developments in East Germany, and our general approach seems very similar. We have also co-ordinated our replies to President Gorbachev's message of last weekend. But I thought it would be useful to set out my views for you ahead of the meeting of European Heads of Government in Paris on Saturday, to be sure that we are on the same lines.

It seems to me that our Western response to the events in East Germany and more widely in Eastern Europe needs to be a measured one. There is every reason for celebration: democracy in Eastern Europe is something we always wanted to see. Nothing should dim our success. At the same time, those with most at stake are the people of Eastern Europe. Their restraint and discipline has been remarkable. We should be culpable if a false step or injudicious action on the part of the West resulted in their newly won freedom being once more extinguished. We must in particular be careful to do nothing which might undermine Mr Gorbachev's position, given his crucial role in these events.

Our priority must be to see genuine democracy established in the GDR and the rest of Eastern Europe (as well as eventually in the Soviet Union) and other issues should take second place to that. We must demonstrate that we do not intend to exploit the situation to the detriment of the Soviet Union's security interests. This will involve continuing to make plain our view that the future of the Warsaw Pact, like that of NATO, is a matter for its members to decide without interference from outside; and that German reunification is not a matter to be addressed at present.

This was the gist of my remarks in a speech which I made in the

City of London earlier this week. I shall take the same line on Saturday at the European Community Heads of Government meeting which Francois Mitterrand has called in Paris. We shall have a further and more detailed discussion at the Strasbourg European Council meeting on 8/9 December. In Paris I shall say that the Community must respond imaginatively to developments in Eastern Europe. We must give more practical and financial help. And we should devise a new framework for relations between the EC and the Eastern European countries. (There is a whole range of different sorts of agreement on which the Community can draw.) The purpose would be to sustain and encourage them as they progress towards genuine democracy. There has been much talk of the importance of locking the FRG into the Community and the West: we must not at the same time lock Eastern European countries out. Above all I shall stress the vital importance of our keeping in very close step with the United States.

We can discuss this in more detail when we meet at Camp David next week. I am looking forward very much to that. I hear that you are considering a visit to Brussels after your meeting with Mr Gorbachev, in order to brief NATO. I hope that you will. There is a lot to be said for demonstrating that the whole NATO Alliance is united on these issues and also that it stands by our agreement at the NATO Summit last May.

Meanwhile, I might try to reach you on the telephone tomorrow or Saturday just to check that we are in full agreement on these important points.

Warm regards,

Margaret

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