POINTS FOR TV INTERVIEWS [Washington]

1. Cheerful, ebullient, as full of energy as ever.

2. Positive over developments in Eastern Europe. They represent success: they are what we have dreamed of for forty years. Our ideas and our values are winning. But the changes are only a start. They are still talking the language of socialism. Our task is to see genuine democracy established - and that may take a long time.

3. As democracy takes root, so it will be possible to move forward with further measures of arms control, provided they still leave both sides feeling secure. But there will always be a need for defence, for nuclear weapons, for NATO. We can rejoice over what is happening must but must not be euphoric.

4. No, you are not worried about some reduction in US defence spending. We recognise and understand the budgetary constraints. We admire and are grateful for the huge burden which the US bears world-wide. But equally you know that President Bush thinks exactly as you do: it is keeping defences strong which has brought us to this point: we must keep adequate strength in future. You never know where a threat may come from. There will need to be American forces in Europe far into the future.

5. The meeting with Gorbachev in Malta comes at a very important time and there is no-one better qualified to speak for the West [there is, but you cannot say so!] at this time of great hope and opportunity than President Bush. The President's speech on the eve of Thanksgiving expressed what we all feel. You believe the meeting will establish the groundwork for further major progress on arms control and other issues at the Summit planned for next summer.

(6) R. C's approach to

S.N.F.

European forces in Europe

Maritime

Aircraft

ABM / Start.

Chemicals

Human Rights Conference 1991

(Emigration law introduced

Property law

Basic law).

(7) Intention to have freedom & democracy. genuine

a step by step reduction

Impediments ∴ to be cautious.

No aid until proper full democracy.

Suggest NO commitment to CFE 2

Implementation procedures & lawless

~~Chemi~~

(8) Other possible Soviet Proposals

Assn with Summit 7.

Coopn on Regional Issues

(Intn Management Institute) - ours.

? Redn - nuclear free zones.

6. Talks of German reunification is premature. The first priority is to change the communist system which brought down the Iron Curtain at the end of the war and replace it with genuine democracy - not just the words but the substance. And we shall only achieve that in conditions of stability. Talks of reunification now will not contribute to stability, rather it would set up ~~flaws~~ fears and concerns that would risk bringing the move towards reform and democracy to a halt. That is why the European leaders agreed in Paris last Saturday that borders in Europe are not on the agenda.

7. You are not against Europe in any way. But you are fighting for the sort of Europe which fully matches the democratic, free enterprise, outward-looking ideas which you hold dear and which you believe Americans want to see realised in Europe. You do not think America set Europe back on its feet after World War II and helped defend it for forty-five years to see it become a centralised, bureaucratic, subsidised, protectionist, inward-looking bloc. Yet that is the risk which is inherent in some of the proposals now being considered like EMU. You think that sort of Europe would eventually become exclusive and grow away from the United States. In short, you are all for a United Europe but a Europe which shares the freedom, enterprise and initiative which is the strength and genius of the United States. The battle is for Europe's soul, for the kind of Europe you want to see.

8. No, you do not feel that the relationship with the United States is any less good than in President Reagan's time. We are not in a competition with Germany and France to see who can have the best relations with the United States.

The closest possible co-operation is good for all of us. But you are sure of one thing: when the going gets rough, when times are difficult, the United States can always count on Britain, at least so long as you are there. History has shown that. And it will be just as true in the future.

CD?

(1) Democracy USSR + East Europe

But ? will it ever be allowed

to be non-socialist.

either in USSR or E. Germany

(or elsewhere).

(2). ∴ Do NOT raise borders – could stop

process in USSR of (1).

Helsinki agreement. – Legal position

under 4 power agreements of E. Germany

& Berlin.

(3) Poland & Hungary – Poland enormous German

minority – must keep up aid in feasible –

otherwise they may want to return to Germany

IMF agreements important.

(4). Military structure – stability only through

NATO / Warsaw Pact. [Still need NATO – even if no Warsaw Pact)

If reunification (don't be seduced by word

self-determination)

– end Warsaw Pact and ∴ stability

(5) Disarmament talks – the more successful CFE

the more vital modernisation and nuclear/tactical

response.