

PRIME MINISTER

I attach a message from President Bush about the outcome of the new Administration's fundamental assessment of its policies towards the Soviet Union. It does not tell us a great deal and is pretty much in line with your own policies and those of President Reagan. It is a properly cautious approach.

CDP

ms

CHARLES POWELL

12 May 1989

CONFIDENTIAL



file

cc

bc PC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

12 May 1989

I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from President Bush about his Administration's review of policies towards the Soviet Union. I am not sure a reply is necessary, but if you think one appropriate, I shall be grateful for a draft.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence), Alex Allan (H.M. Treasury), Neil Thornton (Department of Trade and Industry) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

(CHARLES POWELL)

J.S. Wall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON

May 12, 1989

Dear Prime Minister:

I have been asked to deliver the attached
message to you from President Bush.

Sincerely,

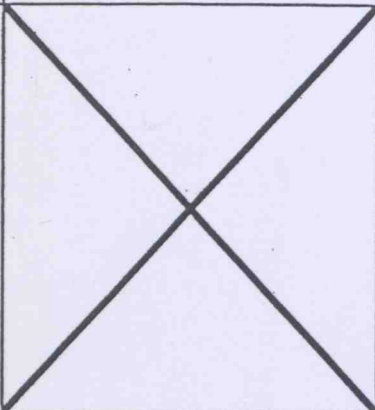


Henry E. Catto
Ambassador

Attachment:
Confidential

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.

A The National Archives

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 191</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>2682</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract details: <i>Message (T.93E/89) from Bush to Prime Minister dated 12 May 1989</i>	
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cc to Mr. [redacted]

+ Mr. Lunde

2) [redacted]

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REMARKS OF PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
AS DELIVERED

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT
G. ROLLIE WHITE COLISEUM, COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989

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PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you very, very much. (Sustained applause, cheers.) Thank you, Governor. Thank you all very much for that welcome. Good luck. Good luck to you. (Continued applause, cheers.) Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you all -- Chairman McKenzie (sp?) and Dr. Atkinson (sp?) and Dr. Mobley (sp?). Thank you for having me here. And to the Singing Cadets, thank you for that very special treat. And to my Secretary of Commerce, Bob Mosbacher -- I'm delighted that he's with me today.

I want to pay my special respects to our Governor, Bill Clements; to your Congressman from this District, Joe Barton; and then, of course, to Senator Phil Gramm. He said he taught economics here and in Congress -- it's hard to be humble. But, nevertheless -- (laughter) -- the point is, the guy's telling the truth -- (laughter) -- and we're grateful to him every day for his leadership up there in Washington -- (cheers, applause) -- as we are for Joe Barton as well. So we've got a good combination -- Phil Gramm in the Senate, and today Joe Barton in the United States Congress -- a wonderful combination with these Aggie values in the forefront.

I was brought here today by an Aggie, and I brought him here to this

this marvelous ceremony with me. He was mentioned by Congressman Barton, but I would like to ask our -- the pilot of Air Force One, Lt. Col. Dan Barr (?) to stand up so you can see another Aggie all suited up up there. (Cheers, applause.)

And you met my day-to-day inside Aggie, Fred McClure. We work every minute of the day on matters effecting the legislative interests of this country. But I won't reintroduce Fred.

But I am delighted to be back among my fellow Texans and friends. And for those of you who are Democrats, there is no truth to the rumor that Phil Gramm and I are ready to take our "elephant walk." (Laughter, cheers.)

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My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life.

And when you look back to your days at Texas A&M, you will have a lot to be proud of -- a university that is first in baseball and -- (cheers, applause) -- and first in service to our nation. (Cheers.)

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Many are the heroes whose names are called at Muster. Many are those you remember in Silver Taps.

We are reminded that no generation can escape history. Parents -- we share a fervent desire for our children, and their children, to know a better world, a safer world. And students -- your parents and grandparents have lived through a world war, and helped America to rebuild the world. They witnessed the drama of postwar nations divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift.

And today I would like to use this joyous and solemn occasion to speak to you and to the rest of the country about our relations with the Soviet Union. It is fitting that these remarks be made here at Texas A&M University.

Wise men -- Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn -- Marshall, Acheson and Kennan -- crafted the strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of expansion, would turn inward and address the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right. The Soviet Union is now publicly facing this hard reality.

Containment worked. Containment worked because our democratic principles and institutions and values are solid, and always have been. It worked because our alliances were and are strong; and

George

because the superiority of free societies and free markets over stagnant socialism is undeniable.

We are approaching the conclusion of an historic postwar struggle between two visions -- one of tyranny and conflict, and one of democracy and freedom. The review of US-Soviet relations that my administration has just completed outlines a new path toward resolving this struggle.

Our goal is bold -- more ambitious than any of my predecessors could have thought possible. Our review indicates that forty years of perseverance have brought us a precious opportunity. Now it is time to move beyond containment, to a new policy for the 1990s -- one that recognizes the full scope of change taking place around the world, and in the Soviet Union itself.

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In sum, the United States now has as its goal much more than simply containing Soviet expansionism -- we seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations. And as the Soviet Union itself moves toward greater openness and democratization -- as they meet the challenge of responsible international behavior -- we will match their steps with steps of our own. Ultimately, our objective is to welcome the Soviet Union back into the world order.

The Soviet Union says it seeks to make peace with the world, and criticizes

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its own post-war policy. These are words that we can only applaud. But a new relationship cannot simply be declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be earned. It must be earned because promises are never enough. The Soviet Union has promised a more cooperative relationship before, only to reverse course and return to militarism. Soviet foreign policy has been almost seasonal -- warmth before cold, thaw before freeze. We seek a friendship that knows no season of suspicion, no chill of distrust.

We hope perestroika is pointing the Soviet Union to break with the cycles of the past -- a definitive break. Who would have thought that we would see the deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda, or dissident Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? Who would have imagined a Soviet leader who canvasses the sidewalks of Moscow and also Washington, DC? These are hopeful -- indeed, remarkable -- signs. Let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika, this reform, continue and succeed. But the national security of America and our allies is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. And we look for enduring, ingrained economic and political change.

While we hope to move beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of our new path. Many dangers and uncertainties are ahead. We must not forget that the Soviet Union has acquired

diverse military capabilities. That was a fact of life for my predecessors, and that's always been a fact of life for our Allies.

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And that is a fact of life for me today as President of the United States.

As we seek peace, we must also remain strong. The purpose of military might is not to pressure a weak Soviet economy or to seek military superiority. It is to deter war. It is to defend ourselves and our allies. And it is something more: to convince the Soviet Union that there can be no reward in pursuing expansionism; to convince the Soviet Union that reward lies in the pursuit of Western policy.

Western policies must encourage the evolution of the Soviet Union toward an open society. This task will test our strength. It will tax our patience. And it will require a sweeping vision.

Let me share you -- with you my vision. I see a Western hemisphere of democratic, prosperous nations, no longer threatened by a Cuba or a Nicaragua armed by Moscow. I see a Soviet Union as it pulls away from ties to terrorist nations like Libya that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors. I see a Soviet Union which respects China's integrity and returns the northern territories to Japan, a prelude to the day when all the great nations of Asia will live in harmony.

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But the fulfillment of this vision requires the Soviet Union to take positive steps, including:

First, reduce Soviet forces. Although some small steps have already been taken, the Warsaw Pact still possesses more than 30,000 tanks, more than twice as much artillery, and hundreds of thousands more troops in Europe than NATO. They should cut their forces to less threatening levels in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

Second, adhere to the Soviet obligation promised in the final days of World War II to support self-determination for all the nations of Eastern Europe and Central Europe. And this requires specific abandonment of the Brezhnev Doctrine. One day it should be possible to drive from Moscow to Munich without seeing a single guard tower or a strand of barbed wire. In short, tear down the Iron Curtain. (Applause, cheers.)

And, third, work with the West in positive, practical -- not merely rhetorical -- steps toward diplomatic solutions to these regional disputes around the world. I welcome the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the Angola agreement. But there is much more to be done around the world. We're ready. Let's roll up our

sleeves and get to work.

as. fourth.

And, fourth, achieve a lasting political pluralism and respect for human rights. Dramatic events have already occurred in Moscow. We are impressed by limited, but freely contested, elections. We are impressed by a greater toleration of dissent. We are impressed by a new frankness about the Stalin era. Mr. Gorbachev, don't stop now. (Applause.)

And, fifth, join with us in addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment. We can build a better world for our children.

As the Soviet Union moves toward arms reduction and reform, it will find willing partners in the West. We seek verifiable, stabilizing arms control and arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. However, arms control is not an end in itself, but a means of contributing to the security of America, and the peace of the world. I directed Secretary Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces in June. And, as you know, the Soviet Union have agreed.

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Our basic approach is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, we wish to reduce the risk of nuclear war. And in the companion Defense and Space Talks, our objective will be to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses when they're ready. In nuclear testing, we will continue to seek the necessary verification improvements in existing treaties to permit them to be brought into force. And we're going to continue to seek a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons. (Applause). We support NATO efforts to reduce the Soviet offensive threat in the negotiations on Conventional Forces in Europe. And, as I've said, fundamental to all of these objectives is simply openness.

Make no mistake, a new breeze is blowing across the steppes and the cities of the Soviet Union. Why not, then, let this spirit of openness grow, let more barriers come down? Open emigration, open debate, open airwaves -- let openness come to mean the publication and sale of banned books and newspapers in the Soviet Union. Let the 19,000 Soviet Jews who emigrated last year be followed by any number who wish to emigrate this year. And when people apply for exit visas, let there be no harassment against them. Let openness come to mean nothing less than the free exchange of people, and books and ideas between East and West. And let it come to mean one thing more.

Think four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach

approach toward the west. He proposed a plan called "Open Skies," which would allow unarmed aircraft from the United States and the Soviet Union to fly over the territory of the other country. This would open up military activities to regular scrutiny and, as President Eisenhower put it, "convince the world that we are... lessening danger and relaxing tension."

President Eisenhower's suggestion tested the Soviet readiness to open their society. And the Kremlin failed that test. Now, let us again explore that proposal, but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis -- one which I hope would include allies on both sides. We suggest that those countries that wish to examine this proposal meet soon to work out the necessary operational details, separately from other arms control negotiations.

Such surveillance flights, complementing satellites, would provide regular scrutiny for both sides. Such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the true meaning of the concept of openness. The very Soviet willingness to embrace such a concept would reveal their commitment to change.

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Where there is cooperation, there can be a broader economic relationship. But economic relations have been stifled by Soviet internal policies. They've been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. Ending discriminatory treatment of US firms would be a helpful step. Trade and financial transactions should take place on a normal commercial basis.

And should the Soviet Union codify its emigration laws in accord with international standards and implement its new laws faithfully, I am prepared to work with Congress for a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, opening the way to extending Most Favored Nation trade status to the Soviet Union. (Applause). After that last weighty point, I can just imagine what you were thinking -- It had to happen. Your last day in college had to end with yet another political science lecture. (Laughter). In all seriousness, the policy I have just described has everything to do with you.

Today you graduate. You're going to start careers and families. And you'll become the leaders of America in the next century. And what kind of world will you know? Perhaps the world order of the future will truly be a family of nations.

*It's a sad truth that nothing joins us
to recognize our common humanity more quickly
than a natural disaster. I am thinking, of
course*

course, of Soviet Armenia, just a few months ago -- a tragedy without blame, war-like devastation without war.

Our son took our 12-year old grandson to Yerevan. At the end of a day of comforting the injured and consoling the bereaved, the fathers and son -- father and son went to church, sat down together amidst the ruins and wept. How can our two countries magnify this simple expression of caring? How can we each convey the goodwill of our people?

Forty-three years ago, a young Lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, the Class of 1945 at Texas A&M, was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets at the banks of the Elbe River. Once again, we are ready to extend our hand. Once again, we are ready for a hand in return. And once again, it is a time for peace.

Thank you very inviting me to Texas A&M. (Applause, cheers.)
I wish you the very best in years to come. God bless you all.
Thank you very much. (Continued applause, cheers).

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