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Celebration of V.E. Day

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Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Documents

Reference	Date
CC (85) 3rd Conclusions, Minute 1	28/1/85
CC (85) 4th Conclusions, Minute 7	31/1/85
CC (85) 16th Conclusions, Minute 2	9/5/85

The documents listed above, which were enclosed on this file, have been removed and destroyed. Such documents are the responsibility of the Cabinet Office. When released they are available in the appropriate CAB (CABINET OFFICE) CLASSES

Signed *Wayland*

Date 19 November 2013

PREM Records Team

COVERING CONFIDENTIAL



Prime Minister ⁽²⁾ CCPC
Per Mfoneti
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

29 May 1985

Dear Charles,

40th Anniversary: Sir J Bullard's Despatch of 21 May

/ The Foreign Secretary thinks that the Prime Minister will be interested to read Sir Julian Bullard's vivid despatch of 21 May entitled 'The 40th Anniversary of the end of the war in Europe: 8 May 1985'.

It was clear well in advance that the 40th anniversary would be a major foreign policy preoccupation for the Germans, once the Russians linked their revanchism campaign to the anniversary. In the event, public attention focussed more on the debate within the Federal Republic itself on the meaning of the anniversary, a debate sharpened by Bitburg, where Chancellor Kohl incurred a debt to President Reagan which is yet to be redeemed.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE WAR IN EUROPE: 8 MAY 1985

Summary

1. The 40th anniversary caught public imagination in the FRG as elsewhere. The spate of memories were accompanied by powerful emotions and difficult questions about the Nazi past. Some answers took startling forms. (Paras 1-6)
2. Bitburg gave the remembrance an international dimension. Chancellor Kohl wanted a gesture of reconciliation with the US. His mistake was to think that the Nazi period had receded far enough to be no longer painful to contemplate. (Paras 7-8)
3. President von Weizsäcker's statesmanlike speech on 8 May did much to restore the balance. But Kohl's blunder on Bitburg has put him in Reagan's debt. The bill will inevitably come in. Bitburg has again made US/FRG relations a matter for party controversy. It has also led to the re-emergence of the small Jewish community in the FRG. They are entitled to warn at any sign of history repeating itself but the results may not always be helpful to them or to Israel. Despite the anniversary guilt remains less of a factor in German international relations. (Paras 9-11)
4. Yet the 40th anniversary has shown the Germans still in search of a comfortable identity within their post-1945 boundaries. 40 years has proved too short a time to allow the past to be forgotten. Those handling the celebrations in 1995 should approach them with more circumspection than happened in the FRG this time. (Para 12)



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BRITISH EMBASSY,
BONN.

21 May 1985

The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe, QC MP
Secretary of State for Foreign &
Commonwealth Affairs
Foreign & Commonwealth Office
London

Sir,

THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE WAR IN EUROPE: 8 MAY 1985

1. Now that the smoke has cleared away, I offer some thoughts on the recent anniversary of VE Day, as seen from the capital of the larger of the two German states which have replaced the Third Reich.
2. "It's hard to say who wanted it to happen" - Philip Larkin's line, written about the British decision to withdraw from east of Suez, could be applied to this anniversary. The number 40, though of Semitic significance, does not usually attract special commemoration. Was it President Mitterrand who started the process with his invitation to Sovereigns and Presidents to join him on the beaches of Normandy last June? Or was it the Russians, clutching at the Great Patriotic War as the one undeniable success in the history of their country since the Revolution, and as a stick to beat the Germans? Whoever began it, the idea caught on.

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The D-Day broadcasts captured the public imagination here as elsewhere: German leaders were not invited, but German tourists flooded the car parks. From then on the creeping barrage of anniversaries moved steadily across the continent. In my first eight months in this post I was able to relive the last eight months of the war which I had loosely been aware of as a boy of 16 and 17, my main interest at that time having been in the question whether the fighting would still be in progress in March 1946, when it would have been my turn.

3. In the FRG, the orgy of remembrance took very public forms. The television showed hundreds of hours of old newsreel punctuated with interviews with survivors, some poignant, some shocking. Local newspapers chimed in with "I was there" stories. This Embassy received invitations, in much greater numbers than we could accept, to ceremonies of all kinds all over the place. Hamburg commemorated its liberation by the British army, Hildesheim its destruction by the Royal Air Force, Remagen the capture of its famous railway bridge, and so on, all the way to Berlin. At the more famous sites, like Belsen, there was a second and a third ceremony organised by groups who thought they had not got enough of a look-in the first time. The SPD in particular wanted to commemorate their own resistance heroes, put to death by the hundred by Hitler before ever Stauffenberg planted his bomb on 20 July 1944. Some time in the middle of all this, the German government had to decide on the shape of its official ceremonies. The very clear line taken by

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the British Government, and particularly by the Prime Minister at her meeting with Chancellor Kohl in January, will have helped to steer them in what turned out to be a wise direction. But this was accomplished with many glances over the shoulder at what might be going to happen in Paris, in Reims, in Warsaw, at Auschwitz, in Moscow and especially in East Berlin.

4. This flood of reminiscences threw up many details that I had forgotten. At the time I had not understood the scale of destruction in Germany: twice as much during the last year of the war as in the previous four, tens of thousands of dead in Dresden alone and every village war memorial carrying at least as long a list of names for 1939-45 as for 1914-18. Then there was the fanaticism which produced so many summary executions and suicides, even in the final days. Last month a judge, giving judgement in a minor war crimes trial which happened to reach its end about the time of the anniversary, awarded a reduced sentence on account of the circumstances prevailing at the time, especially "the reduced threshold of reluctance to take life". In other words, life had become cheap in 1945 on the German side after so much dying. And I must add the individual courage and sense of duty shown by so many Germans long after the situation had become hopeless - for example, the U-boat commander who sank two last ships in the harbour at Costanza, scuttled his boat in the Black Sea and set out with his crew on foot across the Anatolian plateau to look for a Greek island which might still be in German hands.

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5. The spate of memories was accompanied by powerful emotions. There is a kind of tap in the German psyche which gushes strongly when turned on. This happened in 1979 when the American TV film "Holocaust" was first shown in this country. It happened again this year. Often the emotional battle raged round a point which was historical in form, though highly political in content. Did the root of Nazism lie in the Treaty of Versailles? Should the Allies have resisted Hitler by force when he occupied the Rheinland, or at Bad Godesberg, or at Munich? What if the Allies had not adopted the policy of unconditional surrender? How much did the German people know about the concentration camps? What kind of resistance against Hitler was possible, and why was there not more of it? Was Yalta a mistake, and could the loss of Central and Eastern Europe to communism have been avoided?

6. Some of the answers took startling forms. The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, a paper with some sinister characteristics behind its classic layout, printed an article by an international lawyer arguing that in accordance with the doctrine of condign retaliation the Allies should have called off the air attack on Germany round about 1942, when they had dropped roughly as many tons of bombs on this country as Germany had dropped on Britain. The same paper later carried a commentary, unsigned, suggesting that the revelations about the concentration camps were as great a surprise to the German people as to the Allies. Dregger, the CDU Parliamentary floor leader, wrote a letter to American senators in which he came close to presenting Hitler's invasion of Russia as an honourable crusade - a view which indeed I have

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heard him express. And from over the border in East Berlin, as Mr Everard has described, came interpretations of history that were even more grotesquely slanted in the other direction, accompanied by the same torchlight processions and other theatrical tricks as Hitler used to such good effect.

7. What gave this historical-political-emotional argument an extra twist and an international dimension was of course Bitburg. It seems to have been during his visit to Washington last November that Kohl, exhilarated by the public response to a photograph of him and Mitterrand holding hands at Verdun, made the fateful suggestion that a similar act of public reconciliation should form part of President Reagan's State Visit to Germany the following spring. For the historian which he claims to be, Kohl overlooked quite a lot: that 40 years is not the same thing as 70 years; that the moral character of the two world wars was different; that Bitburg lies close to the scenes of the heaviest fighting between German and American troops, in which American prisoners of war were massacred; that no Americans are buried there, as there were French at Verdun; and that 49 of the graves at Bitburg carried the letters SS. The American press, echoing the Jewish and Veterans' lobbies, did the rest. By a further master-stroke of public relations, the presidential visit to Bitburg was brought into conjunction with the World Economic Summit and its following of 3000 journalists, Kohl having moved this event forward from the usual month of June so as to counter the expected Russian celebrations on 9 May and improve his party's

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chances in the regional elections the following Sunday. The results in those elections were the worst ever for the CDU, showing how spectacularly this game plan misfired. Nor did the eloquent political declaration from the Summit get the attention it deserved, being largely swamped by Bitburg.

8. The mistake Kohl made is one which I may have made myself in saying, in a despatch last year, that the Nazi period seemed to have receded far enough into the past to become no longer painful to contemplate in this country. The achievements of the Federal Republic are so impressive - the reconstruction, the trade figures, the Deutschmark and the mature democracy - that one forgets that these things rest on a crust which is only 40 years thick. Tread too heavily, and your foot goes through into a void where burn fires that are still surprisingly hot. Kohl should have known better, after his experience in Israel when he tried to explain that he had nothing to say about the Nazi period because he was only a boy at the time. And Reagan should have known better, since with a State Visit the principle "caveat viator" must apply.

9. Into this demoralised scene stepped the calm figure of President von Weizsäcker, with the speech described in my telegram numbers 468 and 469. If I do not enclose a full translation, it is because I understand that several hundred copies have been distributed by the FRG Embassy in London. Weizsäcker's message was that other circumstances had indeed

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played a part, but that Hitler and Germany were to blame for the war and for all its consequences, including those disagreeable to Germans. They knew more about concentration camps than they liked to admit, and they could have resisted Hitler more than most of them did. 8 May had been a day of liberation for Germany as well as for the rest of the world. Since then, Germans in the West had built a state to be proud of. But the Germans remained one people, and on both sides of the division they must heed the lessons of their own history. As I said in my telegrams, I found it a masterly speech, definitive and conclusive both politically and emotionally. This has also been the general verdict here, apart from one or two isolated voices from the extreme Right. The President will particularly have noted the warm reception in Israel, where he is to make a State Visit later this year.

Conclusions

10. To begin with the more obvious consequences, Kohl has made a major blunder, even if his manner at Chequers last weekend did not show much awareness of this. He may in future be slightly less blindly over-confident. More important, Kohl has put himself in Reagan's debt, more deeply than he has so far been able to repay. This is a cheque which the United States may want to cash at some time and in some form. And German relations with the United States have once again become a matter of party controversy. When Brandt flared up at Kohl on the television and compared the CDU Secretary-General Geissler to Goebbels, he was

/in a way

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in a way confirming Kohl's jibe about his and his party's anti-americanism. But he was also blurting out his own resentment as a Social Democrat under Hitler and a member of the Norwegian Resistance, faced with the smooth heir of those who in 1933 took the other side.

11. Among more intangible consequences, I would mention the re-emergence of the Jewish community in this country. There are only 30,000 of them, including the largest community in West Berlin. But Belsen, Bitburg and the 40th anniversary generally gave this small community the opportunity to present itself as Germany's conscience, entitled and indeed required by history to raise a warning finger at the slightest sign that events might be in danger of repeating themselves. If this is going to be their stance, I am not convinced that the results will always be helpful to the German Jews, or to Israel either. Some people in this country, having seen the Jewish lobby in the United States manipulate the American press and political institutions in an anti-German cause, may revert to anti-Semitism in a form which has for obvious reasons been taboo since the war. I would therefore not want to withdraw the other comment I made in the despatch of last autumn already quoted, about guilt being less of a factor in German international relations than it had been some years ago. But the Jewish community in Germany has certainly put itself on the map and it will try to stay there.

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12. As a final thought, these last weeks have confirmed my view of the Germans as people still shifting restlessly in search of a comfortable identity within their post-1945 boundaries. It was a painful moment for them when the House of Representatives in Washington voted by a large majority to urge the President to cancel his visit to Bitburg, leading Kohl to ask whether, in the eyes of the United States, the FRG represented first and foremost a reliable partner and ally or the children and grandchildren of Nazis. At times recently there have been traces of the "wir-Gefühl" (literally "We-feeling") which carried German bombers to Coventry and German troops to Athens and the outskirts of Moscow. But from 9 May onwards the light of common day has shone again, those regional elections quickly displacing everything else on the front pages. My conclusion is therefore a banal one: that 40 years has proved to be much too short a time to allow the events of the Nazi period to be forgotten, or treated unemotionally. Another ten years will make a lot of difference, for obvious demographic reasons. But I would still advise those handling these matters in 1995 to approach the date with more circumspection than happened in the Federal Republic this time.

13. I am sending copies of this despatch to HM Ambassadors at Washington, Paris, NATO, Moscow, Warsaw, East Berlin, Prague, Tel Aviv, Vienna, the British Commandant in Berlin, the Commanders in Chief at Rheindahlen and the British Consul-General in the Federal Republic.

I am Sir,
Yours faithfully

J L Bullard

J L Bullard



File 46

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

23 May 1985

40th ANNIVERSARY OF VE DAY:
MESSAGE FROM MR. GORBACHEV

Thank you for your letter of 23 May enclosing the original of the 40th Anniversary VE Day message from Mr. Gorbachev. I return it herewith - and shall watch my flourish in future.

CHARLES POWELL

Len Appleyard, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

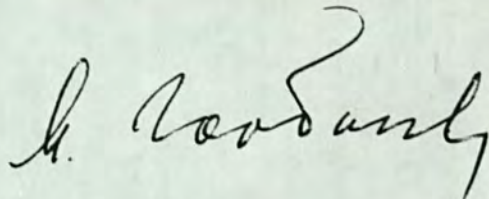
Уважаемая госпожа Премьер-Министр,

В день знаменательного юбилея - 40-летия Великой Победы над гитлеровским фашизмом во второй мировой войне в Советском Союзе тепло вспоминают о боевом содружестве государств антигитлеровской коалиции, участниками которой были наши страны. Советский народ, который приложил гигантские усилия и принес огромные жертвы во имя спасения человечества от фашистской тирании, с уважением относится к мужеству британского народа, внесшего немалый вклад в достижение победы.

Сорок лет на европейской земле царит мир. Исходя из сложившихся послевоенных территориально-политических реальностей в Европе, важно и впредь сохранять и крепить основы безопасности, мира и сотрудничества на континенте, как они определены в решениях Крымской и Потсдамской конференций, подтверждены в хельсинкском Заключительном акте.

Опыт пережитого народами наших стран говорит о том, что против войны нужно бороться, пока она не началась. Чтобы предотвратить новую мировую войну, настоятельно необходимы климат доверия и взаимопонимания между народами, последовательные усилия всех государств с целью остановить опасное наращивание ядерных вооружений, не допустить милитаризации космоса, отвести нависшую над миром военную угрозу. Советский Союз готов сотрудничать со своим бывшим союзником по антигитлеровской коалиции - Великобританией в достижении этих благородных целей.

Примите, госпожа Премьер-Министр, в этот памятный день искренние пожелания мира и процветания народу Великобритании.



М. ГОРБАЧЕВ

Москва, Кремль

7 мая 1985 года

Ее Превосходительству
Маргарет Тэтчер,
Премьер-Министру Великобритании
г. Лондон

Foreign and Commonwealth Office document

Reference DESPATCH DD 1985/270
Description The Soviet Celebration of the
40th Anniversary of the end of
the war in Europe
Date 23 May 1985

The above FCO document, which was enclosed on this file has been removed and destroyed.

Such documents are the responsibility of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. When released they are available in the appropriate FCO CLASSES.

Signed A Wayland Date 19 November 2013

PREM Records Team

CDP (4)



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

*And the hand-written
good wishes
MB*

23 May 1985

Prime Minister

*We shall have
to remember that they
will be studying the
flourish on your signature!
CDP
23/5*

Dear Charles,

40th Anniversary of VE Day: Message from Mr Gorbachev

The Soviet Embassy have handed to us the top signed copy of Mr Gorbachev's letter to the Prime Minister on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary. It is identical with the text passed to us on 6 May, and forwarded to you under cover of my letter of 7 May.

There is only one point which our Soviet specialists have made in examining the letter in its final form: it confirms that Mr Gorbachev addressed the Prime Minister as 'Dear Mrs Thatcher' and the address includes the phrase 'Her Excellency'. Neither of these formulations was used in the previous message from a Soviet General Secretary to the Prime Minister, that from Mr Andropov in November 1983. Mr Gorbachev has therefore intended to communicate a slightly friendlier tone. But the point is not of great significance.

I am enclosing the top copy of the letter. I should be grateful if you would return it to us, keeping a photocopy for your records if you wish, so that our Research Department may have it to hand, particularly as regards the studying of the evolution of Mr Gorbachev's signature (which has notably more of a flourish to it than those of either of his two predecessors).

Yours ever,

L V Appleyard

(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Prime Minister (2)

THE DEANERY

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

LONDON SW1P 3PA

17 May '85

My dear Prime Minister.

May I personally and on behalf of all my colleagues thank you most warmly for your kind, indeed most generous words, concerning the VE Day Service here at the Abbey. That you should find time to write in so busy a life is, I can assure you, much appreciated. I am circulating your letter to our Staff and I know it will give them great pleasure and satisfaction.

It is encouraging to know that you yourself felt that the particular form of service we adopted measured up to this significant occasion and gave expression

to, and faithfully interpreted, a national mood at its best within the context of Christian belief. All of us regarded it as a great privilege to be asked to undertake this Service and are gratified by the number of letters we have received commenting favourably on its style and content.

With my renewed thanks - and best wishes.

Yours most sincerely
Edmund Carpenter

GRS 600
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DESKBY FCO 091500Z
FM MOSCOW 091415Z MAY 85
TO IMMEDIATE F C O
TELEGRAM NUMBER 678 OF 9 MAY
INFO IMMEDIATE : WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, UKDEL NATO.

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Prime Minister
Please see
over the page
CDP

MY TELNO 673 : COMMEMORATION IN THE SOVIET UNION OF THE 40TH
ANNIVERSARY OF VE DAY : CEREMONIES ON 9 MAY

1. I ATTENDED THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY PARADE THROUGH RED SQUARE THIS MORNING. IT OPENED WITH AN ADDRESS BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE, MARSHAL SOKOLOV. HIS SPEECH TO THE MASSES DRAWN UP ON THE SQUARE (DETAILS OF WHICH I AM REPORTING SEPARATELY) WAS, FOR THE MOST PART, AN EULOGY OF SOVIET MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS. HE SPOKE OF THE VICTORY 40 YEARS AGO IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAD STRUCK THE DECISIVE BLOW IN THE "DEFENCE OF CIVILISATION" AND READINESS TO DEFEND THE MOTHERLAND AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM TODAY. HE BRIEFLY ACKNOWLEDGED THE ROLE OF OTHER FORCES, PLACING THE PARTISANS IN EUROPE AHEAD OF THE WARTIME ALLIES, AND CONCLUDING WITH REFERENCES TO THE WARSAW PACT AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THERE WAS NOTHING EXPLICITLY ANTI-AMERICAN. THERE WERE NO OTHER SPEECHES. GORBACHEV, TIKHONOV AND GROMYKO TOOK CENTRE STAGE ON THE LENIN MAUSOLEUM. mr

2. THE MILITARY PARADE, LAUNCHED WITH A FORTY GUN SALUTE, WAS LARGER AND MORE IMPRESSIVE THAN THE CUSTOMARY ANNUAL PARADE IN NOVEMBER. THE MARCH-PAST INCLUDED, IN ADDITION TO FORMATIONS OF SOVIET TROOPS, PHALANXES OF VETERANS AND PARTISANS, WITH GROUPS FROM POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THE DRIVE-PAST WAS HEADED BY SECOND WORLD WAR T34 TANKS AND OTHER 40-YEAR-OLD EQUIPMENT. THERE WERE SEVERAL PIECES OF MODERN WEAPONRY NOT PREVIOUSLY SEEN IN PARADES, INCLUDING THE SS21 MISSILE AND THE BMD 1981 AIR PORTABLE TRACKED HOWITZER. MY MA IS REPORTING SEPARATELY TO MOD. THE WHOLE EVENT TOOK JUST OVER ONE HOUR. THERE WAS NO FLY-PAST OF AIRCRAFT.

3. MY WIFE AND I ATTENDED THE SUBSEQUENT RECEPTION GIVEN IN THE KREMLIN PALACE OF CONGRESSES GIVEN JOINTLY BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. GORBACHEV'S SPEECH OF WELCOME TO THE MANY HUNDRED SOVIET AND FOREIGN GUESTS WAS SHORT AND BLAND. THE ANNIVERSARY WAS, HE SAID, A DAY OF PRIDE AND OF REMEMBRANCE OF ALL WHO HAD FOUGHT TOGETHER AGAINST TYRANNY REGARDLESS OF IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES. THE LESSON FOR THE FUTURE WAS TO BE VIGILANT AND TO RESOLVE FUTURE PROBLEMS BY CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE.

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VE D AM

4. IN THE LONG QUEUE OF GUESTS TO GREET THE MOSCOW-BASED MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO AFTER THE RECEPTION AND BEFORE THE CONCERT WHICH FOLLOWED, GORBACHEV SPOKE TO ME WARMLY OF HIS VISIT TO BRITAIN AND OF THE GOOD FOUNDATION LAID THEN FOR A BETTER RELATIONSHIP. WE HAD RECENTLY BEEN THROUGH A DIFFICULT PATCH BUT THAT WAS NOW OVER. HE ASKED ME TO CONVEY HIS PERSONAL GREETINGS TO THE PRIME MINISTER. GROMYKO SAID BRIEFLY THAT HE LOOKED FORWARD TO A GOOD TALK WITH YOU IN VIENNA. MRS GORBACHEV, GRACIOUS BUT LOOKING RATHER PALE AND TIRED, SUBSEQUENTLY ALSO SPOKE OF THE VISIT LAST DECEMBER AND THE ENHANCED INTEREST IT HAD GIVEN HER IN BRITAIN

5. IN AN EARLIER CONVERSATION AT THE RECEPTION, SUSLOV, HEAD OF THE SECOND EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT AT THE MFA, HAD SAID THAT HE COULD GUARANTEE THAT ALL THE ARRANGEMENTS WOULD BE WELL FOR MY FAREWELL VISIT NEXT WEEK TO LENINGRAD. REFERRING TO THE RECENT EXPULSIONS HE ADDED THAT THERE WERE STILL VERY BITTER FEELINGS AMONGST HIS COLLEAGUES, BUT THAT HE EXPECTED THAT WHEN HE SAW ME ON MY RETURN FROM LENINGRAD WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO DISCUSS HOW VARIOUS IMPENDING BILATERAL ENGAGEMENTS COULD PROCEED.

6. MY US COLLEAGUE WHO HAD, AFTER GORBACHEV'S SPEECH OF 8 MAY, HAD DOUBTS WHETHER HE SHOULD ATTEND THE RECEPTION BUT HE DID AND WAS ALSO GIVEN WARM GREETINGS FOR THE PRESIDENT. HARTMAN TOLD ME THAT GORBACHEV HAD, HOWEVER, SAID NOTHING NEW ABOUT A POSSIBLE MEETING WITH REAGAN, REFERRING ONLY TO THE SHULTZ/GROMYKO MEETING IN VIENNA AS THE NEXT STEP IN US/SOVIET DIALOGUE.

SUTHERLAND

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FM BONN 091000Z MAY 85

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 469 OF 09 MAY

INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON, PARIS, UKDEL NATO, UKREP BRUSSELS, MOSCOW, WARSAW, BMG BERLIN, EAST BERLIN, TEL AVIV

PRESIDENT VON WEIZSAECKER'S SPEECH: 8 MAY

1. PRESIDENT VON WEIZSAECKER SAID THAT THIS WAS A DAY FOR REFLECTION ON GERMAN HISTORY. IT WAS NO DAY FOR CELEBRATION. FORTY YEARS AGO MOST HAD MERELY BEEN GRATEFUL TO BE ALIVE. MOST HAD BELIEVED THAT THEY HAD FOUGHT IN A JUST CAUSE. THEN THEY SAW THAT ALL HAD BEEN NOT ONLY IN VAIN, BUT ALSO IN THE SERVICE OF A CRIMINAL REGIME. PEOPLE HAD BEEN DISORIENTATED. GRADUALLY IT BECAME CLEAR, AND WAS OBVIOUS TODAY, THAT THE 8TH OF MAY HAD BEEN ABOVE ALL A DAY OF LIBERATION.

2. IT WOULD BE WRONG TO FORGET HOW MUCH SUFFERING HAD BEGUN FOR MANY GERMANS ON 8 MAY 1945. THE BURDENS HAD NOT BEEN EQUALLY DIVIDED. BUT THE CAUSES OF FLIGHT, EXPULSIONS AND REPRESSION LAY NOT IN THE END OF THE WAR: THEY LAY IN ITS BEGINNING AND IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REGIME WHICH HAD CAUSED IT. 8 MAY 1945 WAS INSEPARABLE FROM 30 JANUARY 1933. THERE WAS NO REASON NOW TO CELEBRATE 8 MAY AS A VICTORY: THERE WAS EVERY REASON TO CELEBRATE IT AS THE END OF A WRONG TURNING IN GERMAN HISTORY AND THE BEGINNING OF NEW HOPE.

3. TODAY WAS A DAY OF REMEMBRANCE - FOR THE 6 MILLION JEWS: FOR THE WAR DEAD: FOR THE COUNTLESS POLES AND RUSSIANS WHO DIED: FOR GERMANY'S OWN DEAD. THERE HAD BEEN MANY WAYS OF TURNING ONE'S EYES AWAY FROM THE HORRORS WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE DURING THE WAR. BUT THOSE WHO HAD WANTED COULD EASILY HAVE FOUND OUT. WHEN THE UNDENIABLE FACTS OF THE HOLOCAUST BECAME CLEAR, TOO MANY CLAIMED NOT TO HAVE KNOWN ANYTHING. RESPONSIBILITY OR INNOCENCE OF A WHOLE PEOPLE DID NOT EXIST. THESE CONCEPTS WERE NOT COLLECTIVE BUT PERSONAL. IT WAS FOR THOSE WHO HAD LIVED THROUGH THOSE TIMES TO ASK THEMSELVES HOW DEEPLY INVOLVED THEY HAD BEEN. BUT THE MAJORITY OF GERMANS TODAY HAD EITHER BEEN CHILDREN OR NOT EVEN BORN THEN. THEY COULD NOT BE HELD RESPONSIBLE JUST BECAUSE THEY WERE GERMANS. BUT THEY, TOO MUST FACE UP TO THE PAST. TO DENY THE PAST WAS TO BE BLIND TO THE PRESENT. HE WHO FORGOT THE INHUMANITY WAS LIABLE TO REPEAT IT. THE JEWISH PEOPLE REMEMBERED AND WOULD ALWAYS REMEMBER. THE GERMANS WANTED RECONCILIATION: THEY MUST UNDERSTAND THAT RECONCILIATION WITHOUT REMEMBRANCE WAS IMPOSSIBLE.

4. 8 MAY 1945 HAD MARKED THE END OF THE EUROPEAN CIVIL WAR. HITLER HAD WANTED WAR. (HE QUOTED HITLER'S REMARKS TO HIS GENERALS ON 23 MAY 1939 ABOUT LEBENSRAUM TO BACK UP HIS CASE.) GERMAN DEMOCRACY HAD BEEN TOO WEAK TO PREVENT HIM. THE WEST MUST TAKE THEIR SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY: AMERICA HAD TURNED ITS BACK ON EUROPE. THE NAZI-SOVIET PACT HAD OPENED THE DOOR TO HITLER'S INVASION OF POLAND. THE THEN LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION HAD UNDERSTOOD THIS. BUT THAT DID NOT REDUCE GERMANY'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR. THE INITIATIVE FOR WAR CAME FROM GERMANY, NOT FROM THE SOVIET UNION. 15.

5. MANY PEOPLE SUFFERED IN THE WAR: HITLER'S LAST VICTIMS WERE THE GERMAN PEOPLE ITSELF. THOSE WHO SUFFERED MOST HAD BEEN THOSE WHO LOST THEIR HOMES IN THE EAST. BUT THEY HAD BEEN QUICK TO RENOUNCE THE USE OF FORCE TO REGAIN WHAT HAD SINCE BECOME HOME FOR OTHERS. RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF FORCE MEANT ASSURING THOSE PEOPLE (WHO LIVED IN GERMANY'S FORMER EASTERN TERRITORIES) OF PERMANENT SECURITY FOR THEIR FUTURE. IT MEANT UNDERSTANDING HAD PRIORITY OVER LEGAL CLAIMS. THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE LOVED THEIR HOMELANDS. THE GERMANS WERE NO EXCEPTION. BUT THE EXPELLEES' LOVE OF HOMELAND WAS NO REVANCHISM.

6. THE END OF THE WAR HAD BROUGHT THE CHANCE FOR A NEW BEGINNING. THE GERMANS HAD USED IT AS BEST THEY COULD. WOMEN HAD LEAD THE WAY. THERE HAD NEVER BEEN BETTER PROTECTION FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM ON GERMAN SOIL THAN IN THE FRG TODAY. THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HAD BECOME A STATE RESPECTED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. IT HAD LIVED FOR OVER 40 YEARS IN PEACE AND FREEDOM AND, THROUGH ITS MEMBERSHIP OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, HAD ITSELF CONTRIBUTED SUBSTANTIALLY TO THESE GOALS. IT WANTED FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET PEOPLE.

7. BUT 40 YEARS AFTER THE WAR THE GERMAN PEOPLE REMAINED DIVIDED. THE GERMANS WERE ONE PEOPLE AND ONE NATION. THEY FELT THEY BELONGED TOGETHER. THEY SHARED THE SAME DESIRE FOR PEACE. THEY WANTED PEACE AND JUSTICE FOR ALL PEOPLES, INCLUDING THEMSELVES. A EUROPE WITH WALLS COULD NOT ACHIEVE RECONCILIATION: A CONTINENT WITHOUT FRONTIERS COULD. 'WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT 8 MAY IS NOT THE FINAL DATE IN GERMAN HISTORY, BINDING ON ALL GERMANS'.

8. MANY YOUNG PEOPLE HAD ASKED, WHY CELEBRATE THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY? A NEW GENERATION HAD GROWN UP. THE YOUNG WERE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT HAD HAPPENED. BUT THEY WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT WAS MADE OUT OF THEIR HISTORY. HITLER HAD WORKED TO FAN PREJUDICE, ENMITY AND HATE. YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD NOT LET THEMSELVES BE DRIVEN TO HATE OTHERS - RUSSIANS OR AMERICANS, JEWS OR TURKS, ALTERNATIVES OR CONSERVATIVES, BLACKS OR WHITES. THEY SHOULD LEARN FROM THEIR HISTORY TO LIVE WITH EACH OTHER, NOT AGAINST EACH OTHER.

BONN WILL PASS TO BMG BERLIN

BULLARD

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PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MR RIFKIND
PS/MR RENTON
PS/PUS
MR DEREK THOMAS
MR JENKINS
MR RENWICK
CABINET OFFICE

THIS TELEGRAM
WAS NOT
ADVANCED

CONFIDENTIAL

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TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 468 OF 9 MAY
INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON, PARIS, UKDEL NATO, UKREP BRUSSELS, MOSCOW,
WARSAW, BMG BERLIN, EAST BERLIN, TEL AVIV

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE WAR IN EUROPE

ms

SUMMARY

1. THE DAY PASSED OFF WITH DIGNITY IN THE FRG. REMARKABLE SPEECH BY PRESIDENT VON WEIZSAECKER.

DETAIL

2. THE GERMAN CABINET HAD WISELY DECIDED SOME WEEKS AGO TO ORGANISE ONLY TWO EVENTS, A FORMAL MEETING IN PARLIAMENT AND A JOINT ROMAN CATHOLIC/EVANGELICAL SERVICE IN COLOGNE CATHEDRAL.

3. THE MEETING IN PARLIAMENT WAS BOYCOTTED BY THE GREENS, WHO HAVE BEEN HAVING DIFFICULTY IN FORMULATING A PARTY LINE ON THE EVENTS OF 1933-45, BUT ATTENDED OTHERWISE BY MOST MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES AS WELL AS REPRESENTATIVES OF REGIONAL PARLIAMENTS, JUDICIARY, BUNDESWEHR, CHURCHES, JEWS, TRADE UNIONS, EMPLOYERS, EXPELLEES AND OTHER SOCIAL GROUPS.

4. THERE WERE (FOR ONCE) ONLY TWO SPEECHES, BY JENNINGER, PRESIDENT OF THE BUNDESTAG, AND PRESIDENT VON WEIZSAECKER. THE DIFFERENCE IN CLASS CAME OUT.

5. JENNINGER HAD OBVIOUSLY THOUGHT CAREFULLY WHAT TO SAY, BUT MIGHT HAVE DONE BETTER TO SAY LESS. HE SOMEHOW MANAGED TO IMPLY THAT HITLER'S RISE TO POWER WAS MAINLY THE FAULT OF THE WESTERN POWERS AND THAT ALL WOULD HAVE BEEN WELL IF ONLY HE HAD STOPPED IN 1938.

6. WEIZSAECKER, IN A MUCH LONGER SPEECH, (SUMMARY IN MIFT), WAS ABLE TO FIND A SAFE PATH THROUGH THE WHOLE HISTORICAL AND EMOTIONAL MINEFIELD WITHOUT DODGING ANY OF THE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS. WERE THE WESTERN POWERS TO BLAME? CHURCHILL HIMSELF HAD CALLED THEM 'INNOCENT, NOT GUILTLESS'. DID THE GERMAN PEOPLE KNOW ABOUT THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS? ANYONE WHOSE EYES AND EARS WERE OPEN KNEW OF THE TRAINS ROLLING EASTWARDS. WAS THERE INJUSTICE IN THE EXPULSION OF GERMANS FROM THE EAST? IF SO, IT WAS THE CONSEQUENCE OF 1939, NOT OF 1945, AND THE POLES AND RUSSIANS WHO TOOK THEIR PLACE WERE EXPELLEES TOO. AND SO ON, FOR NEARLY AN HOUR.

7. AS OFTEN, WEIZSAECKER ONCE OR TWICE WENT BEYOND WHAT HIS PREDECESSORS WOULD HAVE THOUGHT CONSTITUTIONALLY PROPER, EG IN HIS POINTED WELCOME FOR GORBACHEV'S RECENT STATEMENT ABOUT NOT WANTING TO FAN ANTI-GERMAN FEELING, AND HIS REMARK THAT 'UNDERSTANDING HAS PRIORITY OVER LEGAL CLAIMS' WHICH TODAY'S PRESS HAS HEADLINED AS A WARNING THAT THE FRG MUST SETTLE FOR EXISTING BORDERS. MY SOVIET

CONFIDENTIAL

/ COLLEAGUE,

V E Day

CONFIDENTIAL

COLLEAGUE, WEARING THE ONLY UNIFORM IN THE DIPLOMATIC GALLERY, LISTENED IMPASSIVELY THROUGHOUT.

8. THERE WERE SOME BURSTS OF APPLAUSE, BUT WEIZSAECKER SHOOK THESE OFF, AS IF HE WANTED HIS SPEECH TO STAND AS A WHOLE AND ANYWAY IT WAS NO DAY FOR CLAPPING.

9. I THOUGHT THE PRESIDENT'S PERFORMANCE REMARKABLE EVEN BY HIS OWN HIGH STANDARDS. HE WAS REQUIRED TO SPEAK FOR THE WHOLE NATION ON A SUBJECT ON WHICH IT IS DEEPLY DIVIDED: TO SUM UP WEEKS OF CONTRADICTORY DEBATE IN WORDS TO WHICH ALL CAN RALLY: AND TO CONVEY A MESSAGE TO GERMANY'S FORMER VICTORS AND VICTIMS WHICH IS BOTH HISTORICALLY SOUND AND COMPLETELY UP TO DATE. HE SEEMED TO ME TO DO ALL THESE THINGS, AND MOST OF THE PRESS TODAY TAKES THE SAME VIEW. EXCEPTIONS ARE 2 RIGHT-WING PAPERS FAZ, WHICH IS SILENT AND WELT, WHICH FINDS THE PRESIDENT CLEAR ON THE POST BUT FOGGY (IE MODERATE) ON THE PRESENT.

10. THE OECUMENICAL SERVICE IN COLOGNE CATHEDRAL WAS ALSO REMARKABLE IN ITS WAY. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AND EVANGELICAL SERMONS ADDED NOTHING TO WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID, APART FROM BIBLICAL REFERENCES. BUT THE HUGE CHURCH WAS FULL. PRELATES ATTENDED FROM THE GDR AND POLAND. PLACED IN THE FRONT PEW BY THEMSELVES WERE THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR AND NACHMANN, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF JEWS IN GERMANY: THE FEDERAL PRESIDENT AND THE ENTIRE GOVERNMENT SHOOK THEIR HANDS ON THE WAY OUT.

BONN WILL PASS TO BMG BERLIN

BULLARD

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PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MR RIFKIND
PS/MR RENTON
PS/PUS
MR DEREK THOMAS
MR JENKINS
MR RENWICK
CABINET OFFICE

THIS TELEGRAM
WAS NOT
ADVANCED

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CONFIDENTIAL



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB
Telephone 01-~~250 0022~~ 218 2111/3

MO 27/5/1

7th May 1985

Dear Mark,

VE DAY SERVICE

/ We spoke. I attach a list of the Ministers and Parliamentarians who will be attending the VE Day service at Westminster Abbey. As I mentioned to you, an invitation has also been issued to Mr Thatcher.

yours ever,

Jeremy

(J S WRIGHT)
Private Secretary

Mark Addison Esq
10 Downing Street

ORDER OF SERVICE

At 11.06 am The Speaker of the House of Commons is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and conducted to his stall in Quire.

At 11.07 am The Prime Minister is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and conducted to her stall in Quire.

At 11.08 am The Lord Chancellor is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and conducted to his stall in Quire.

At 11.09 am The Lord Mayor of Westminster in Civic State is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and conducted to his stall in Quire.

At 11.10 am Her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra, the Hon Mrs Angus Ogilvy and The Hon Angus Ogilvy are received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

At 11.12 am Their Royal Highnesses Prince and Princess Michael of Kent are received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

At 11.14 am His Royal Highness The Duke of Kent is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

At 11.16 am Her Royal Highness Princess Alice, Duchess of Gloucester and Their Royal Highnesses The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester are received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

At 11.18 am Her Royal Highness The Princess Margaret, Countess of Snowdon is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

The members of the Royal Family are conducted to their places in the Lantern.

At 11.20 am Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

At 11.25 am Her Majesty The Queen, His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh and His Royal Highness The Prince Edward are received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

A fanfare is sounded. The Congregation stands.

8 MAY

END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR SERVICE INVITATION LIST

Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP

Rt Hon Viscount Whitelaw PC MC

Rt Hon Lord Hailsham of St Marylebone PC CH FRS DL

Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP

Rt Hon Nigel Lawson MP

Rt Hon Sir Keith Joseph Bt MP

Rt Hon Peter Walker OBE MP

Rt Hon Leon Brittan QC MP

Rt Hon Michael Heseltine MP

Rt Hon Nicholas Edwards MP

Rt Hon Patrick Jenkin MP

Rt Hon John Biffen MP

Rt Hon Norman Fowler MP

Rt Hon Peter Rees QC MP

Rt Hon Nicholas Ridley MP

Rt Hon Earl Gowrie PC

Rt Hon Lord Young of Graffham PC

Rt Hon John Stanley MP

Rt Hon Adam Butler MP

Ian Gow Esq TD MP

Tony Newton Esq OBE MP

Rt Hon Lord Trefgarne

John Lee Esq MP

Rt Hon Bernard Weatherill MP
Rt Hon Earl of Stockton OM PC
Rt Hon Edward Heath MBE MP
Rt Hon Neil Kinnock MP
Rt Hon David Steel MP
Rt Hon Dr David Owen MP
Dafydd Elis Thomas Esq MP
Rt Hon Donald Stewart MP
Rt Hon Baroness Trumpington
Rt Hon Lord Glenarthur
James Kilfedder Esq MP
Rt Hon Sir Michael Havers QC MP
Rt Hon John Wakeham MP
Rt Hon Baroness Young PC
Richard Luce Esq MP
Giles Shaw Esq MP
Rt Hon Michael Alison MP
Rt Hon Earl of Caithness

SUBJECT
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10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

7 May 1985

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. TP1A/85

Dear Mr. Gorbachev.

On this 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe, it is right that we should look back and pay tribute with pride and thankfulness for the heroism of those in both our countries who fought in a common cause, and with grief for the terrible sufferings involved. We in Britain re-dedicate ourselves on this occasion to the values of freedom with justice for which victory was won.

The experience of these 40 years points to the vital importance of our efforts to work patiently and realistically for better understanding and co-operation between our two countries and peoples, acknowledging our mutual desire for security and lasting peace.

I take the opportunity of this anniversary day to send you and the Soviet people my best wishes.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

Mr. M. S. Gorbachev

CONFIDENTIAL

ce ps
~~ce press~~



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 May, 1985

NBDM
OD

Dear Charles,

VE Day: Exchange of Messages

In his letter of 5^{att.} May, the Resident Clerk gave the latest state of play on the exchange of messages between the Prime Minister and Mr Gorbachev. I understand the Prime Minister was content with what was proposed and action was taken on 6 May in Moscow on 6 May, where the exchange of messages was completed.

It was agreed with the Russians that both messages should be dated 7 May. The Russians confirmed that they would appear in the Soviet morning press on 8 May. We told them that the texts would be released to the press in London on 7 May under an embargo which would ensure that the messages were not published before 8 May, ie for publication in our morning papers on 8 May. I understand that your press office will be making these arrangements.

I enclose clean copies of the messages as they were exchanged in Moscow yesterday. The English translation of Mr Gorbachev's message was worked over again by our Embassy with the Russians and differs in one or two minor stylistic points from the text enclosed with the Resident Clerk's letter of 5 May.

Our latest information about the exchanges planned by the French and Americans is that the French still intend to have an exchange between M. Mitterrand and Mr Gorbachev but have not yet reached the point of exchanging texts. The Americans have just informed us that the Russians have told them that they were no longer prepared to exchange messages because "current circumstances were unfavourable". The State Department interpret the sudden Soviet move as a reaction to President Reagan's speeches in Germany.

I am sending copies of this letter to Richard Mottram (MOD) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,
Colin Budd

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary



Her Excellency
The Right Honourable
Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister of Great Britain

Dear Madam Prime Minister

On this day of the memorable jubilee - the 40th Anniversary of the great victory over Hitlerite fascism in the Second World War - the comradeship in arms of the states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, in which both our countries participated, is warmly recalled in the Soviet Union. The Soviet people, who exerted gigantic efforts and made huge sacrifices for the sake of delivering mankind from fascist tyranny, harbours feelings of respect for the gallantry of the British people who made a substantial contribution to achieving the victory.

Peace has been reigning on European soil for forty years. Proceeding from the existing post-war territorial-political realities in Europe it is important to go on preserving and strengthening the foundations of security, peace and co-operation on the continent as laid down in the decisions of the Crimea and Potsdam conferences and confirmed in the Helsinki Final Act.

The experience which the peoples of our countries lived through shows that war should be fought against before it breaks out. In order to prevent a new World War, a climate of trust and mutual understanding among peoples is urgently needed, as well as consistent efforts by all states aimed at stopping a dangerous build-up of nuclear arms, preventing the militarisation of space, and removing the military threat hanging over the world. The Soviet Union

/is



is prepared to co-operate with Great Britain - its former ally in the anti-Hitlerite coalition - in achieving these noble goals.

On this memorable day, please accept, Madam Prime-Minister, sincere wishes of peace and prosperity to the people of Great Britain.

M Gorbachev

Moscow,
The Kremlin

7 May 1985



10 Downing Street
LONDON

7 May 1985

His Excellency Mr M S Gorbachev
General Secretary of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party
Of the Soviet Union

Dear Mr Gorbachev

On this 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe, it is right that we should look back and pay tribute with pride and thankfulness for the heroism of those in both our countries who fought in a common cause, and with grief for the terrible sufferings involved. We in Britain rededicate ourselves on this occasion to the values of freedom with justice for which victory was won.

The experience of these 40 years points to the vital importance of our efforts to work patiently and realistically for better understanding and co-operation between our two countries and peoples, acknowledging our mutual desire for security and lasting peace.

I take the opportunity of this Anniversary day to send you and the Soviet people my best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher



JP
cc/Pross

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

6 May 1985

I enclose the signed original of the Prime Minister's VE Day message to Mr. Gorbachev. I should be grateful if arrangements could be made for it to be delivered urgently.

(C. D. POWELL)

The Resident Clerk,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 651 OF 6 MAY

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T 784/85

MIPT : SOVIET COMMEMORATION OF VE DAY : MESSAGES

1. FOLLOWING IS AGREED ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF MESSAGE FROM MR GORBACHEV TO THE PRIME MINISTER HANDED TO MY HEAD OF CHANCERY TODAY, 6 MAY.

BEGINS

HER EXCELLENCY
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
MRS. MARGARET THATCHER, M.P.
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN

DEAR MADAM PRIME MINISTER

ON THIS DAY OF THE MEMORABLE JUBILEE -- THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT VICTORY OVER HITLERITE FASCISM IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR -- THE COMRADESHIP-IN ARMS OF THE STATES OF THE ANTI-HITLERITE COALITION, IN WHICH BOTH OUR COUNTRIES PARTICIPATED, IS WARMLY RECALLED IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE SOVIET PEOPLE, WHO EXERTED GIGANTIC EFFORTS AND MADE HUGE SACRIFICES FOR THE SAKE OF DELIVERING MANKIND FROM FASCIST TYRANNY, HARBOURS FEELINGS OF RESPECT FOR THE GALLANTRY OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE WHO MADE A SIZEABLE CONTRIBUTION TO ACHIEVING THE VICTORY.

PEACE HAS BEEN REIGNING ON EUROPEAN SOIL FOR FORTY YEARS. PROCEEDING FROM THE EXISTING POST-WAR TERRITORIAL-POLITICAL REALITIES IN EUROPE IT IS IMPORTANT TO GO ON PRESERVING AND STRENGTHENING THE FOUNDATIONS OF SECURITY, PEACE AND COOPERATION ON THE CONTINENT AS LAID DOWN IN THE DECISIONS OF THE CRIMEA AND POTSDAM CONFERENCES AND CONFIRMED IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

THE EXPERIENCE WHICH THE PEOPLES OF OUR COUNTRIES LIVED THROUGH SHOWS THAT WAR SHOULD BE FOUGHT AGAINST BEFORE IT BREAKS OUT. WHAT IS IMPERATIVE TO AVERT A NEW WORLD WAR IS A CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLES, CONSISTENT EFFORTS BY ALL STATES AIMED AT STOPPING A DANGEROUS BUILD-UP OF NUCLEAR ARMS, PREVENTING THE MILITARIZATION OF SPACE, AND REMOVING THE MILITARY THREAT HANGING OVER THE WORLD. THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH GREAT BRITAIN -- ITS FORMER ALLY IN THE ANTI-HITLERITE COALITION -- IN ACHIEVING THESE NOBLE GOALS.

ON THIS MOMENTOUS DAY PLEASE ACCEPT, MADAM PRIME-MINISTER, SINCERE WISHES OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

M. GORBACHOV

MOSCOW, THE KREMLIN,
MAY 7, 1985

SUTHERLAND

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FM MOSCOW 061400Z MAY 85

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 649 OF 6 MAY

ADVANCE COPY

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Ps/No 10 A JT

YOUR TELNO 466 : SOVIET COMMEMORATION OF VE DAY : MESSAGES

1. HEAD OF CHANCERY TOOK ACTION WITH SECOND EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT TODAY, 6 MAY. IT IS AGREED THAT:-

- (A) BOTH MESSAGES WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE SOVIET MORNING PRESS ON 8 MAY. HEMANS INFORMED USPENSKY THAT THE TEXTS WOULD BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS IN LONDON ON 7 MAY UNDER EMBARGO WHICH WOULD ENSURE THAT THE MESSAGES WERE NOT PUBLISHED BEFORE 8 MAY.
- (B) THE RUSSIANS INSISTED ON THE MESSAGES BEING DATED 7 MAY DESPITE THE REFERENCES IN THE TWO TEXTS TO 'THIS' DAY. THE RUSSIAN LOGIC WAS THAT THE MESSAGES MUST HAVE BEEN EXCHANGED IN ADVANCE IN ORDER TO APPEAR IN THE MORNING PRESS AND THAT IT WOULD LOOK UNCONVINCING TO DATE THEM 8 MAY WHEN THEY HAD CLEARLY BEEN EXCHANGED BEFORE.
- (C) THE FULL TEXT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE INCLUDING THE ADDITIONAL SENTENCE WILL BE PUBLISHED. DISCUSSION OF IT DID NOT INDUCE DISCUSSION OF ANY OTHER PARTS OF EITHER TEXT.
- (D) SEE MIFT FOR FULL TEXT OF MRS THATCHER'S MESSAGE AS HANDED TO SOVIET MFA.
- (E) THE SOVIET MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAD PRODUCED A DIFFERENT TRANSLATION FROM THE RUSSIAN. IT CLOSELY RESEMBLES THAT HANDED OVER IN LONDON BUT IN THE ABSENCE OF A COPY OF THE RUSSIAN TEXT HANDED OVER IN LONDON I CANNOT SAY WHETHER THE ORIGINALS ARE THE SAME. HEMANS SUGGESTED A NUMBER OF MINOR CHANGES IN THE TRANSLATION ALL OF WHICH WERE READILY ACCEPTED BY USPENSKY. MY SECOND IFT CONTAINS THE FULL ENGLISH TEXT WHICH IT WAS AGREED WOULD BE THE ONE ISSUED IN LONDON AND USED IN ANY ENGLISH TRANSLATION ISSUED BY TASS OR NOVOSTI IN MOSCOW. THE MFA WERE RELUCTANT TO REOPEN THE QUESTION OF TRANSLATION BY LOOKING AT OUR TEXT AND AS IN SOME RESPECTS THE MFA VERSION IS A BETTER AND CLOSER TRANSLATION THAN THE REVISED VERSION BASED ON THAT HANDED OVER IN LONDON, HEMANS DID NOT CONSIDER IT NECESSARY TO INSIST.

2. HEMANS INFORMED USPENSKY THAT WE WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO GIVE THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN LONDON A SIGNED ORIGINAL ON 7 MAY. USPENSKY DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THERE WOULD BE A SIGNED ORIGINAL IN MOSCOW. HE UNDERTOOK TO LOOK INTO IT URGENTLY.

3. I AM INFORMING MY FFENCH AND AMERICAN COLLEAGUES.

SUTHERLAND

NNNN

PRIME MINISTER

MESSAGE TO MR. GORBACHEV

I think we have found a way of slightly warming the message up without changing the "official" text. Could you please add in manuscript on the end:

"I take the opportunity of this anniversary day to send you and the Soviet people my best wishes."

We shall tell the Russians that you added this in your own hand.

Could you also please put

"Dear Mr. Gorbachev".

The experts think this is more appropriate since you are not addressing him as Party Secretary on this occasion.

C.D.P.

6 May 1985



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

5 May 1985

The Duty Clerk
No.10 Downing Street
LONDON S W1

Dear Duty Clerk,

VE DAY: EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES

1. In his letter of 1 May Charles Powell recorded the Prime Minister's agreement to an exchange of messages with Mr Gorbachev and enclosed the text of the Prime Minister's message.
2. The Soviet Embassy have today delivered the text of Mr Gorbachev's message to the Prime Minister. We in turn handed over the text of the Prime Minister's message. I enclose copies of the texts.
3. The Russians said that they envisaged publication of the exchange in the Soviet press on 8 May. We said that we would report the text of Mr Gorbachev's message immediately and would confirm the details of publication after consulting Ministers.
4. We have discussed this with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the following reflects his views. Inevitably the Gorbachev message sets out firmly many of the well-known Soviet positions. But despite this it is, by Soviet standards, forthcoming in tone about the British contribution to the war (in contrast to some recent Soviet propaganda in the run-up to the commemorations in Moscow). It also avoids any attack on the FRG through references to "revanchism" or indeed on the United States. It could therefore have been a good deal worse. It offers some points on which we could build in future discussions.
5. A point which could cause comment is the contention that the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements 'determined' the basis for "security, peace and co-operation" in Europe. This is of course unwelcome and will attract criticism here. But the message will in any case be published in Moscow. If we are pressed afterwards to comment on this point we would say that we have always advocated the full implementation of the Yalta and Potsdam decisions. We have consistently argued for the full implementation of the Helsinki Final Act which inter alia provides for the peaceful change of frontiers and freer exchanges of people and information. But beyond this we would try to avoid being drawn into detailed textual comment on the Soviet message.

/6. The Foreign



6. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary proposes to inform the Russians now that we agree to publication of the texts on 8 May. They would be released in London either by the FCO News Department or, if the Prime Minister preferred, by No.10 under embargo on 7 May for publication on 8 May. I should be grateful if you would let us know the Prime Minister's preference as soon as possible.
7. The Soviet message is in fact dated 4 May. We have dated the Prime Minister's as 8 May. We will tell the Russians that the signed original of both messages must be dated the same day, preferably 8 May. We would also make it clear, if asked, that while there was prior agreement on an exchange of messages there was no pre-negotiation of the texts.
8. Our latest information from Moscow about the French and Americans is that although a US/Soviet exchange of messages has been agreed in principle, the US Ambassador still had neither an American nor a Soviet text. The French also intend to exchange messages but have not yet received a text from Paris. In earlier discussions the French said that their message would be very much on the same lines as ours.
9. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary proposes that we should now tell the French and Americans that our exchange of messages has taken place and that we are agreeing to joint publication on 8 May.
10. I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretary in the MOD and to the Cabinet Secretary's Private Secretary.

D. F. Richmond

D F Richmond

Resident Clerk

TRANSLATION

Her Excellency
Mrs Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister of Great Britain

Dear Madam Prime Minister

On the day of the memorable jubilee, the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory over Hitlerite fascism in World War II, we in the Soviet Union warmly remember the combat co-operation among the states-members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, of which our countries were participants. The Soviet people, which exerted gigantic efforts and made tremendous sacrifices in the name of saving mankind from fascist tyranny, treat with respect the courage of the British people which made a substantial contribution to the achievement of the victory.

For forty years peace has reigned on the European soil. Proceeding from the existing post-war territorial and political realities in Europe, it is important to maintain and further strengthen the basis of security, peace and co-operation on the continent as they were determined in the decisions of the Crimea and Postdam conferences and confirmed in the Helsinki Final Act.

The experience which the peoples of our countries have lived through shows that it is necessary to fight against war before it begins. In order to prevent a new world war, a climate of trust and mutual understanding among peoples is urgently needed, as well as consistent efforts by all states with the aim of stopping a dangerous build-up of nuclear armaments, preventing the militarisation of space, averting the

/the military

the military threat which hangs over the world. The Soviet Union is ready to co-operate with her former ally in the anti-Hitlerite coalition - Great Britain - in achieving these noble goals.

Please accept, Madam Prime Minister, on this memorable day, sincere wishes of peace and prosperity to the people of Great Britain.

(signed)

M GORBACHEV

Moscow, The Kremlin

4 May 1985

On this 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe, ~~it is right that we should look back~~ ^{we} and pay tribute with pride and thankfulness for the ~~concern~~ ^{the Soviet Union and the United States and other} heroism of those in both our countries who fought in a ~~common cause~~ ^{common cause} and with ~~grief~~ ^{grief} for the terrible sufferings ~~involved~~ ^{involved}. We in Britain re-dedicate ourselves on this ~~occasion~~ ^{day} to the values of freedom with justice for which victory was won.

of so many ~~people~~ ^{people} will be forever remembered.

The ~~experience of these 40 years points to the vital~~ ^{may I remind you that we shall} importance of our efforts ~~to work~~ ^{to work} patiently and ~~realistically~~ ^{persistently} for better understanding and co-operation between our two countries and peoples, ~~acknowledging~~ ^{acknowledging} our mutual desire for security and lasting peace.

~~Our generation has a duty to the~~ ^{to do all} future ~~to see that such conflict does~~ ^{to avoid} not happen again.

8 May 1985

It is the purpose - duty of our generation to do all that we can to see that such ~~conflict~~ ^{major} never happens again.

On this 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe, we pay tribute with pride and thankfulness for the courage and heroism of those in both our countries who fought in a common cause. Their sacrifice and the terrible sufferings of so many families will be for ever remembered. We in Britain re-dedicate ourselves on this day to the values of freedom with justice for which victory was won.

It is the purpose and duty of our generation to do all that we can to see that such tragic conflict never happens again.

May I assure you that we shall work patiently and persistently for better understanding and co-operation between our two countries and peoples, acknowledging our mutual desire for security and lasting peace.

8 May 1985



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

5 May 1985

The Duty Clerk
No.10 Downing Street
LONDON S W1

Dear Duty Clerk,

VE DAY: EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES

1. In his letter of 1 May Charles Powell recorded the Prime Minister's agreement to an exchange of messages with Mr Gorbachev and enclosed the text of the Prime Minister's message.
2. The Soviet Embassy have today delivered the text of Mr Gorbachev's message to the Prime Minister. We in turn handed over the text of the Prime Minister's message. I enclose copies of the texts.
3. The Russians said that they envisaged publication of the exchange in the Soviet press on 8 May. We said that we would report the text of Mr Gorbachev's message immediately and would confirm the details of publication after consulting Ministers.
4. We have discussed this with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the following reflects his views. Inevitably the Gorbachev message sets out firmly many of the well-known Soviet positions. But despite this it is, by Soviet standards, forthcoming in tone about the British contribution to the war (in contrast to some recent Soviet propaganda in the run-up to the commemorations in Moscow). It also avoids any attack on the FRG through references to "revanchism" or indeed on the United States. It could therefore have been a good deal worse. It offers some points on which we could build in future discussions.
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/6. The Foreign



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7. The Soviet message is in fact dated 4 May. We have dated the Prime Minister's as 8 May. We will tell the Russians that the signed original of both messages must be dated the same day, preferably 8 May. We would also make it clear, if asked, that while there was prior agreement on an exchange of messages there was no pre-negotiation of the texts.
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D. F. Richmond

D F Richmond

Resident Clerk



TRANSLATION

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Mrs Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister of Great Britain

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The experience which the peoples of our countries have lived through shows that it is necessary to fight against war before it begins. In order to prevent a new world war, a climate of trust and mutual understanding among peoples is urgently needed, as well as consistent efforts by all states with the aim of stopping a dangerous build-up of nuclear armaments, preventing the militarisation of space, averting the

/the military



- 2 -

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Please accept, Madam Prime Minister, on this memorable day, sincere wishes of peace and prosperity to the people of Great Britain.

(signed)

M GORBACHEV

Moscow, The Kremlin
4 May 1985



On this 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe, it is right that we should look back and pay tribute with pride and thankfulness for the heroism of those in both our countries who fought in a common cause, and with grief for the terrible sufferings involved. We in Britain re-dedicate ourselves on this occasion to the values of freedom with justice for which victory was won.

The experience of these 40 years points to the vital importance of our efforts to work patiently and realistically for better understanding and co-operation between our two countries and peoples, acknowledging our mutual desire for security and lasting peace.

8 May 1985

PM's REVISED VERSION

On this 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe, we pay tribute with pride and thankfulness for the courage and heroism of those in both our countries who fought in a common cause. Their sacrifice and the terrible sufferings of so many families will be forever remembered. We in Britain re-dedicate ourselves on this day to the values of freedom with justice for which victory was won.

It is the purpose and duty of our generation to do all that we can to see that such tragic conflict never happens again.

May I assure you that we shall work patiently and persistently for better understanding and co-operation between our two countries and peoples, acknowledging our mutual desire for security and lasting peace.

8 May 1985

I remember the thrill and relief after the previous day's waiting for the Prime Minister's announcement of the end of the War in Europe. My parents went out on the Balcony in response to the huge crowds outside. I think we went on the Balcony nearly every hour, six times, and then when the excitement of the floodlights being switched on got through to us, my sister and I realised we couldn't see what the crowds were enjoying. My mother had put her tiara on for the occasion, so we asked my parents if we could go out and see for ourselves. I remember we were terrified of being recognised, so I pulled my uniform cap well down over my eyes. A grenadier officer amongst our party of about 16 people said he refused to be seen in the company of another officer improperly dressed, so I had to put my cap on normally. We cheered the King and Queen on the Balcony and then walked miles through the streets. I remember lines of unknown people linking arms and walking down Whitehall, all of us just swept along on a tide of happiness and relief. I remember the amazement of my cousin, just back from four and a half years in a Prisoner of War camp, walking freely with his family in the friendly throng. And I also remember when someone exchanged hats with a Dutch sailor, the poor man coming along with us in order to get his cap back. After crossing Green Park we stood outside and shouted "We want the King", and we were successful in seeing my parents on the Balcony, having cheated slightly because we sent a message into the house to say we were waiting outside. I think it was one of the most memorable nights of my life.

(This piece was with Godfrey Talbot (ex-BBC Court Correspondent) - please credit)



10 DOWNING STREET

Note for VE Day / 8 May file.

I told MoD to plan on the basis that DT, MA would be accompanying the PM. The PM has not yet, however, to confirm this.

MUSA 2/5

Subject

cc Hasler
OPS

CONFIDENTIAL

15687 - 1

OO MOSCOW

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. 177185

GRS 150

CONFIDENTIAL

FM F C O 011630Z MAY 85

TO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW

TELEGRAM NUMBER 434 OF 1 MAY

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, UKDEL NATO

40TH ANNIVERSARY: ATTENDANCE AT SOVIET COMMEMORATION

MIPT

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER TO
MR GORBACHEV. BEGINS.

ON THIS 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN
EUROPE, IT IS RIGHT THAT WE SHOULD LOOK BACK AND PAY TRIBUTE
WITH PRIDE AND THANKFULNESS FOR THE HEROISM OF THOSE IN BOTH
OUR COUNTRIES WHO FOUGHT IN A COMMON CAUSE, AND WITH GRIEF
FOR THE TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS INVOLVED. WE IN BRITAIN
REDEDICATE OURSELVES ON THIS OCCASION TO THE VALUES OF FREEDOM
WITH JUSTICE FOR WHICH VICTORY WAS WON.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THESE 40 YEARS POINTS TO THE VITAL IMPORTANCE
OF OUR EFFORTS TO WORK PATIENTLY AND REALISTICALLY FOR BETTER
UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND
PEOPLES, ACKNOWLEDGING OUR MUTUAL DESIRE FOR SECURITY AND
LASTING PEACE.

ENDS.

HOWE

NNNN

X

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RESEARCH D

MR JENKINS

DEFENCE D

MR DEREK THOMAS

NAD

CONFIDENTIAL

D. R.

CF

For your file psc.

8.5.85

PRIME MINISTER

VE DAY SERVICE AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY

You are attending the VE Day Service at the Abbey on Wednesday at 1100. Mr Thatcher and Mr Alison are due to accompany you, and places are being reserved for them.

Mr Thatcher, however, need not think it obligatory to attend because others being invited to the Service are going without their spouses.

Could you let me know please whether Mr Thatcher wishes to go?

Yes no

Mark Addison

Mark Addison

1 May 1985

NOTE FOR THE FILEVE Day Service at Westminster Abbey

Mr Pullen, of the Chapter Office, has written with an Order of Service which explains that the Prime Minister should arrive at the Great West Door, at 11.07 am, to be greeted by the Dean and conducted to her stall in Quire.

I have alerted Mr Pullen that the Prime Minister may be accompanied by Mr Alison and Mr Thatcher. I spoke to Jeremy Wright, MoD, and told him who would be in the Prime Minister's party. He will be letting me know if there are any difficulties. I shall then ask the Prime Minister to confirm that Mr Thatcher will also be going, in view of the general no-spouse policy.

MoD will also be supplying a list of all those attending, particularly Cabinet Ministers, and a seating plan. The Order of Service indicates which Royals will be attending.

The detectives are already in touch with the Chapter Office about security.

The Chapter Office will be sending me a note on the arrangements for leaving the Abbey. The procedure will be reverse for the order of arrival. The clergy procession will lead off, followed by the Royals, the Lord Mayor of Westminster and then the Prime Minister. Civilians will be in morning dress or dark lounge suits. Officers in ceremonial day dress, no swords but with decorations and medals.

MAA

Mark Addison

1 May 1985

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

LA KLB
L02 ADM
efi P. Crook
1 May 1985

VE DAY: REPRESENTATION IN MOSCOW

The Prime Minister has considered the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's minute of 30 April conveying his proposals for our representation at Soviet commemorations of VE Day in Moscow.

The Prime Minister is content with what is proposed and does not consider that the information about the intentions of the Opposition need affect the Government's decision. She is also willing to send a message to Mr. Gorbachev. I should be grateful if this could be telegraphed to Moscow.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence) and to Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

CHARLES POWELL

Len Appleyard, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

CP

L02 ADN

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR. GORBACHEV

On this 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe, it is right that we should look back and pay tribute with pride and thankfulness for the heroism of those in both our countries who fought in a common cause, and with grief for the terrible sufferings involved. We in Britain rededicate ourselves on this occasion to the values of freedom with justice for which victory was won.

The experience of these 40 years points to the vital importance of our efforts to work patiently and realistically for better understanding and co-operation between our two countries and peoples, acknowledging our mutual desire for security and lasting peace.

May 1985

MJ2ATQ

file



bc: PC

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

30 April 1985

For Colin.

40th Anniversary of VE Day: Reception at the Soviet Embassy

Thank you for your letter of 29 April conveying the Foreign Secretary's proposals on Ministerial attendance at the Soviet Ambassador's reception for the 40th anniversary of VE Day.

The Prime Minister is content with the Foreign Secretary's proposals.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to all members of Cabinet and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours sincerely,

Charles Powell

Colin Budd Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SB

Mark



10 DOWNING STREET

Robin Butler

Who is invited?
(PM + DT?
Michael Allison?)
What arrangements
for detectives?
What time does
PM arrive and
wear?
Is there a seating
plan?

FRB

You expressed an interest in the

in the arrangements for the VE
Day Service at Mary (particularly
in view of the St Pauls / Fulklands
renewed escapade).

MOB have no plans to
celebrate anything in addition
to the music (at the flag) which
was seen by the PM. He agreed
the arrangements proposed.

Met 30/4



10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

I have subsequently
heard that Denis Healey
and George Robertson
are going to
Moscow to attend all
or part of the
ceremonies.

You will wish to No
consider whether this should
affect the decision that the
Government should be
represented by the Ambassador.
C.D.P

le ①



PM/85/38

PRIME MINISTER

Time Minute
 The main question is whether the Ambassador should attend the military parade (like the French) rather than stay away (like the Americans). There are quite good reasons for attending, provided we explain ourselves carefully to the Americans. Agree? Agree also message to Gorbachev?

I should shorten it as it will

VE Day : Representation in Moscow

1. On 2 April I minuted about representation in Moscow at the Soviet commemorations of VE Day which are to be held on 8/9 May.
2. Since my minute we have received a formal invitation from the Russians to send a small delegation of two or three people to Moscow. We have also a clearer idea of the events to which we are being invited and have discussed these with our allies and partners, in particular the French and Americans.
3. The main change is that the French have now decided that they should be represented at all the events in Moscow, including a military parade, by their Ambassador. We understand that the Ambassador will be accompanied at the parade by a French veteran from the Normandy-Nieman Air Squadron which fought with the Russians during the war. The Americans, on the other hand, have decided that they will not be represented at a parade in Moscow, although their Ambassador will probably represent them at other events. They have so informed the Russians (before our consultations with them were completed). There has also been a discernible diminution in the Soviet propaganda attacks on alleged revanchist and militarist tendencies in the FRG.
4. Against that background, I would propose that we should be represented in Moscow on the following basis:
 - (a) Sir Iain Sutherland should lay a wreath on 8 May at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Moscow, 'on behalf of the British Government and people to commemorate

/ the



the 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War', (ie in line with our own commemoration). He would be accompanied by his Defence Attaché. The French and Americans have not yet decided whether to lay national wreaths but it is likely that they will.

- (b) Sir Iain Sutherland should be given discretion to attend a meeting in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses (for a speech by Mr Gorbachev). The Americans (and some of our other NATO allies) may decide not to attend unless the Russians tell them beforehand what will be in the speech. I doubt if this is realistic.
- (c) Sir Iain Sutherland should attend the military parade together with the Secretary and the National Vice Chairman of the Royal British Legion (who have been invited separately and who will be going independently and in a non-official capacity). This is different from our normal policy of not being represented at military parades in Moscow since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, at above the level of Counsellor/ Assistant Military Attaché. This parade is of course commemorating an allied victory in the last war and therefore does not need to create a precedent for our post-Afghanistan policy. Apart from the French, the Australians and Norwegians have told us that they will be represented by their Ambassadors at the parade. The Canadians will be represented by a Counsellor in the absence of their Ambassador.
- (d) Sir Iain Sutherland should attend a reception following the parade.
- (e) In addition, Sir Iain Sutherland or the Assistant Naval Attaché should lay a wreath at the memorial in Murmansk commemorating wartime cooperation among the allies. (We laid a wreath there in 1975 and the US Ambassador intends to lay a wreath there on this occasion.)

/ Given



5. Given the positions adopted by the French and Americans, allied unity is not possible. I think, however, it would be better for the three Western Wartime Allies if we could adopt two, and not three, different positions. The Americans are something of a special case at the moment since they are still in dispute with the Russians over the shooting of Major Nicholson (which caused them to withdraw official representation from the Elbe Reunion celebrations). They therefore have a particular reason for not attending the parade. For us to join the Americans rather than the French would prolong the present cool period through which Anglo-Soviet relations are passing after the expulsions; and representation by our Ambassador at all the Soviet events would correspond with the fact that we are inviting Ambassadors to our corresponding ceremony in London. It is nevertheless important that we should explain our position to the Americans very carefully before we speak to the Russians. If necessary, I would propose to go over the ground personally with George Shultz and the other Foreign Ministers concerned at the Bonn Economic Summit on 2 May to ensure that our public presentation plays down differences between the US, the French and ourselves.

6. There is in addition the question of an exchange of messages. We have agreed with the French and Americans that it would be desirable for such exchanges to take place, although the Americans may try (unrealistically, I suspect) to insist on seeing in advance the text of the Soviet message to them. I / attach a draft of a message which, subject to your views, you might send. We would tell the Russians that we proposed, as in 1975, for the exchange to be between yourself and the General Secretary. Their recent practice has, however, varied and they may say that the messages should be between yourself and the Soviet Government or Leadership. It would be desirable to get our position vis-à-vis the Russians on the 40th

/ Anniversary



Anniversary on public record and hopefully also published in their press. We will tell the Russians that the exchange should take place on 8 May.

7. If you are content with the above, I would propose that we should inform the Russians of our decision on 3 May, having checked previously with the US and French. We would publicise our decision on the same day.

8. I am sending copies of this minute to the Defence Secretary and Sir Robert Armstrong.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'G. Howe', written in a cursive style.

(GEOFFREY HOWE)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
30 April 1985

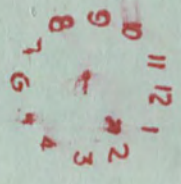


DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR GORBACHEV

On this 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe, it is right that we should look back and pay tribute with pride and thankfulness for the herosim of those in both our countries who fought in a common cause, and with grief for the terrible sufferings involved. We in Britain rededicate ourselves on this occasion to the values of freedom with justice for which victory was won.

[We are glad to commemorate 40 years of peace, reconstruction in our countries, and reconciliation in Europe. At the same time we recognise the tragic nature of the divisions and conflicts which persist in our continent and beyond.] The experience of these 40 years points to the vital importance of our efforts to work patiently and realistically for better understanding and cooperation between our two countries and peoples, acknowledging our mutual desire for security and lasting peace.

DEFENCE: VE Day
Oct 84



30 APR 1985

CONFIDENTIAL

AC 1.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

29 April, 1985

Prime Minister
Content?
CDP 29/4.

Dear Charles,

Yes no

40th Anniversary of VE Day: Reception at the Soviet Embassy

on 7 May

line

We sent you a holding/on 18 April about Ministerial attendance at the Soviet Ambassador's reception for the 40th Anniversary of VE Day.

Although we have not yet managed to agree all the details of representation in Moscow with our Western Allies, it is clear that all will be represented in one way or another at most of the Soviet events. The Foreign Secretary therefore believes that we should not delay any longer in replying to Mr Popov's invitations.

✓ The Foreign Secretary would intend to go to the Reception himself, and would be content that those Junior Ministers who have regular and substantive business with the Russians should also attend.

✓ Since this reception commemorates the end of the War, the Foreign Secretary believes it would also be appropriate for a Junior MOD Minister accompanied by members of the Armed Forces to attend if they so wish.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries of all members of the Cabinet, to those of other Ministers with responsibility for Departments, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

REFERENCE VE DAM

OUR 84

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

20 APR 1985

11 12 1
10 9 8 7 6 5 4
3 2 1
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Telephone
01-212 3434

DEPARTMENT OF THE
ENVIRONMENT
2 MARSHAM STREET
SW1P 3EB



*with
CP 2004*

*With the Compliments of
the Private Secretary to
the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State
Sir George Young*

STORING MESSAGE STORE FULLX
22221 DOEMAR 6

Chelsa Powell.

*You may be
interested to see.
MBA 30/4*

TO: MR GRIFFIN
DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT
LG5 DIVISION
ROOM PI/177
2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P

FROM: PETER BRAYSHAW
DG/ADG/PR/SC
ROOM 209
GLC, COUNTY HALL
LONDON SE1 7PB

APRIL 26TH

SUBJECT SECRETARY OF STATES CONSENTS SS/735

FURTHER TO MY CONVERSATION WITH MR WOODWARD OF YOUR DEPT.
I GIVE BELOW AN OUTLINE OF THE PROPOSED CELEBRATIONS FOR
V.E. DAY.

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT EFFORTS BE MADE TO INVOLVE AS MANY OF
THE ALLIED COUNTRIES AS POSSIBLE, TO ENCOURAGE AND DEVELOP THE
SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP WHICH HAS, FOR EXAMPLE, LED NORWAY TO
PRESENT LONDONERS EACH YEAR WITH A CHRISTMAS TREE FOR TRAFALGAR
SQUARE.

AN ORCHESTRA FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS BOOKED TO
PERFORM IN THE ROYAL FESTIVAL HALL IN THE EVENING OF MAY 8TH,
AND APPROACHES WILL BE MADE TO INVOLVE THEM IN THE CELEBRATIONS.

IT IS ALSO RECOMMENDED THAT THE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO THE WAR
EFFORT BY THE SOVIET UNION BE RECOGNISED, AND THE INTENTION IS TO
INVITE AN ENSEMBLE FROM THE SOVIET UNION TO TAKE PART IN THE
EVENTS. SINCE TIME IS SO SHORT, IT MUST BE STRESSED THAT SUCH AN
INVITATION, ALTHOUGH ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE, MAY NOT BE TRANSLATED
INTO A DEFINITE COMMITMENT, SHOULD THE COUNCIL AGREE TO ACCEPT
THESE PROPOSALS.

IT IS HOPED THAT THE CHAIRMANS OFFICE WILL BE ABLE TO INVITE
BOTH THE AMERICAN AND SOVIET ARTISTS AND REPRESENTATIVES AN
OPPORTUNITY TO GET TOGETHER WITH VISITORS FROM OTHER ALLIED
COUNTRIES.

POPULAR INVOLVEMENT

TO CAPTURE THE SPIRIT OF THE ORIGINAL VE DAY CELEBRATIONS, IT IS IMPORTANT TO INVOLVE AS MANY OF THE ORDINARY PEOPLE OF LONDON AS POSSIBLE. OVER THE YEARS, IT HAS BEEN PROVED THAT AMONG THE MOST POPULAR EVENTS, AND THOSE WHICH INVOLVE THE WIDEST RANGE OF AGE AND SOCIAL GROUPS, ARE FIREWORKS DISPLAYS SUCH AS THOSE ORGANISED FOR THAMESDAY AND SOUTH BANK SPLASH.

IT IS THEREFORE PROPOSED THAT A LARGE SCALE FIREWORKS DISPLAY, IN KEEPING WITH THE SPIRIT OF CELEBRATION IN 1945, BE ORGANISED ON THE RIVER.

IN ADDITION, IT IS PROPOSED THAT STREET PARTIES, LIKE THOSE WHICH CELEBRATED THE END OF THE WAR ALL OVER LONDON, BE ORGANISED. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT RESOURCES BE MADE AVAILABLE TO MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC WHO WISH TO ORGANISE PARTIES TO CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY. RESOURCES WOULD INCLUDE INFORMATION SHEETS, FINANCIAL HELP WITH PUBLICITY AND ADVERTISING, THE PROVISION OF STREET ENTERTAINERS, AND HELP WITH LIASON WITH LOCAL POLICE AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

IN EARLY EVENING, IT IS PROPOSED TO PROVIDE STREET ENTERTAINERS, BANDS ETC. ALONG THE SOUTH BANK TERRACES, WITH FOOD DRINK ON SALE, AND STALLS AVAILABLE TO PEACE GROUPS ETC., LEADING UP TO THE FIREWORKS DISPLAY DESCRIBED.

FOLLOWING THE FIREWORKS DISPLAY, IT IS PROPOSED THAT DANCING TO FORTIES DANCE BAND MUSIC BE ORGANISED IN JUBILEE GARDENS.

ONE NOTABLE FEATURE OF THE BRITISH CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR EFFORT WAS THE WAY IN WHICH WOMEN BECAME INVOLVED, AND HIGHLY

XXXXXX

WHICH HAD BEEN REGARDED AS THE PROVINCE OF MEN: FIRE FIGHTING, FACTORIES, MUNITIONS WORK, AGRICULTURE ALL BECAME RELIANT ON THE WORK OF WOMEN.

THE WOMEN'S THEATRE GROUP WILL BE ASKED TO PRESENT TWO P PERFORMANCES OF THE PRODUCTION ANYWHERE TO ANYWHERE, WHICH DEALS WITH THE EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN IN LONDON DURING THE WAR, AND THE CHANGES IN THEIR LIVES WHEN THE WAR ENDED.

PETER BRAYSHAW

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29 APR 1985



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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

25 April 1985

VE DAY: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT TO A GERMAN WAR
CEMETERY

Herr Teltschik telephoned this evening from the Federal chancellery in Bonn to express concern about UPI reports of the Prime Minister's alleged criticism in the House of Commons this afternoon of President Reagan's visit to a German war cemetery in Bitburg.

We do not yet have the official Hansard record of the Prime Minister's exchange with Mr. Winnick. I enclose an unofficial record produced from the tapes.

I explained to Mr. Teltschik the nature of Prime Minister's Questions. I said that the Prime Minister had been at pains not to criticise President Reagan but to make clear that the United States' actions were a matter for them alone. She had however expressed personal understanding for the point of view of Mr. Winnick that visits to cemeteries where members of the SS were buried could cause offence to the families of victims of the SS and those who fought them.

You may like to inform the Embassy in Bonn of this and encourage them to take the same line.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence).

CHARLES POWELL

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

RESTRICTED

Q: DAVID WINNICK

Is it not time that the Rt Honourable Lady came off the fence and said the British Government will be represented in Moscow for the celebrations there of the 40th anniversary of the end of the war. And while she's about it would she tell the US President that for him to visit a cemetery in Germany where SS mass murderers are buried is not only deeply insulting and offensive for the memory of their victims but is no less insulting and offensive to all those who fought in the last war to destroy Nazi tyranny.

A: PRIME MINISTER

I believe that we should probably be represented in Moscow by HM Ambassador in Moscow. With regard to the Hon Gentleman's comments about the German cemetery, I am not responsible for the activities of the United States - I am not responsible for those - but I have considerable sympathy with what the Hon Gentleman has said.



Telephone:
01 - 222 5152

Receiver General:
W. R. J. Pullen, C.V.O., J.P., LL.B., F.C.I.S.

Our Ref.

Your Ref.

The Chapter Office,
Dean's Yard,
Westminster Abbey,

London, SW1P 3PA

Prime Minister ⁴
You may like
to see.
FEBB
25.4

23 April 1985

The Rt. Hon. Michael Alison
No. 10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

Am'd
25/4 MA

ms

Dear Mr. Alison,

With reference to our recent conversation, I now enclose as promised a copy of the latest draft of the Order of Service for the Special Service in Westminster Abbey at 11.30 a.m. on Wednesday 8 May to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. No doubt the Prime Minister will be interested to see this.

The Order of Service has been produced after full consultation with representatives of the Church of Scotland, the Roman Catholic Church, the Free Church Federal Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Chaplain and the Chaplain General to the Forces.

I expect you will have already been informed by the Ministry of Defence that the Dean and Chapter do not propose to ask for financial compensation from the Government for loss of income arising from the closure of the Abbey for final preparations and rehearsals on 7 May or for the closure on 8 May. We will however be asking the BBC and Thames Television for compensation in respect of loss of income arising from the closure on Monday 6 May (Public Holiday) and the afternoon of Wednesday 8 May when they will be de-rigging.

Yours sincerely,

W.R.J. Pullen
Receiver General

Enc. P.S. I had already altered my copy of the draft with some additions I knew about and some suggestions I included for the Dean's consideration. There is to be a meeting here tomorrow afternoon to finalise it. RP

Latest Proof
19/5/85 possible
subject to further
amendments.

Westminster Abbey



SERVICE
TO
COMMEMORATE
THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
END OF THE
SECOND WORLD WAR

WEDNESDAY 8 MAY 1985
11.30 A.M.

This Service combines a number of different notes or themes which are expressed both in words and in symbolic actions.

In our prayers it is impossible specifically to mention all for whom we wish to pray. During periods of silence you are given the opportunity to remember before God your own particular concerns.

Among our thanksgivings on this day, the fortieth anniversary of the end of the War in Europe, we express our gratitude to God for victory granted to us; for the courage and self-sacrifice of our own people and those of other nations through whom that victory was won; and for those who died that we might live.

In our prayers for reconciliation and healing we remember others as well as ourselves, especially all those who because of the War lost their health and their prospects. We pray that we may strive to promote the freedoms which they fought to preserve.

In our acts of penitence and dedication we look back with sorrow for our past faults and failures and to the future with renewed determination to play our part in forwarding God's loving purposes of freedom and prosperity for all peoples.

Our words will be illuminated and expressed in symbol and ceremonial.

A procession in which representatives of different Churches walk side by side symbolizes reconciliation. The standards of the Royal British Legion, followed by representatives of the community, symbolize loyalty to a common cause and remind us that the wellbeing of all depends upon the dedication of each to the service of God and one another. Flowers of many kinds and colours are reminders of the rich diversity and interdependence of the peoples of the world. In the dance the young people and their garlands are symbols of life renewed, bringing a vision of hope. Candles around the grave of the Unknown Warrior remind us that the supreme sacrifice made by the dead shines as a light and an inspiration to us who follow them. Other candles, carried by Christian leaders, remind us that in our lives we are called to witness to Christ, the Light of the World, Who on the Cross triumphed over the powers of darkness and offers to the world new life and hope.

and other
Ex Service
Organisation

in a
procession
of

from other
countries

and the Dean and Chapter of the Great London Council are
At 11.05 am The Lord Mayor of London ~~is~~ received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and conducted to ~~his~~ stall in Quire.

their places
At 11.06 am The Speaker of the House of Commons is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and conducted to his stall in Quire.

At 11.07 am The Prime Minister is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and conducted to her stall in Quire.

At 11.08 am The Lord Chancellor is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and conducted to his stall in Quire.

At 11.09 am The Lord Mayor of Westminster in Civic State is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and conducted to his stall in Quire.

At 11.10 am Her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra, the Hon Mrs Angus Ogilvy and the Hon Angus Ogilvy are received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

At 11.12 am Their Royal Highnesses Prince and Princess Michael of Kent are received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

At 11.14 am His Royal Highness The Duke of Kent is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

At 11.16 am Her Royal Highness Princess Alice, Duchess of Gloucester and Their Royal Highnesses The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester are received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

At 11.18 am Her Royal Highness The Princess Margaret, Countess of Snowdon is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

The members of the Royal Family are conducted to their places in the Lantern.

At 11.20 am Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

At 11.25 am Her Majesty ^The Queen, His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh and His Royal Highness The Prince Edward are received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

A fanfare is sounded.

x

No/then

The Procession of the Archbishop of Canterbury together with the Senior Chaplains of the Services and the Representatives of other Churches of Great Britain and Northern Ireland moves to places in the Sacrament in the following order:

~~The Army Chaplain General, The Venerable~~
Frank Johnston

THE CHAPLAIN IN CHIEF
ROYAL AIR FORCE
THE VENERABLE GLYN
RENSW DEN QHC

^{GENERAL,}
The Chaplain of the Fleet
^{ARMY}
THE VENERABLE
FRANK JOHNSTON CB QHC

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
The Chaplain in Chief, CHAPLAIN
The Royal Air Force OF THE FLEET
THE REVEREND WILLIAM
TAYLOR
BHC

Signature

The Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council
The Reverend Tudor Jones D.D.

His Eminence Basil Hume
Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster

The Right Reverend John M.K. Paterson
Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland

The Primateal Cross

^{MC.}
The Most Reverend and Right Honorable Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan

THE REVEREND MALCOLM WEISMAN C.F. SENIOR JEWISH CHAPLAIN TO HER MAJESTY'S FORCES

(IN FULL)

Their Majesties, and Their Royal Highnesses, and the Procession of the Collegiate Body, move from the West End of the Church to places in the Lantern and Sacrament.

A fanfare is sounded and all sing.

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

The Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness with the Majesty Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother and His Royal Highness Prince Edward

GOD save our gracious Queen,
Long live our noble Queen,
God save the Queen.
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us:
God save the Queen.

Not on this land alone—
But be God's mercies known
From shore to shore.
Lord, make the nations see
That men should brothers be,
And form one family,
The wide world o'er.

All sit for the Dean to give

THE BIDDING

WE meet to give thanks to God our Father for the ending of a war which brought liberation from tyranny; and in the light of this achievement, purchased at an incalculable cost, we pledge ourselves to create a future worthy of the sacrifices which made this future possible. Though not forgetting those things which are behind, woven as they are into the fabric of a past history, we yet, in their aftermath, look forward in faith and hope to the years ahead, determined, under God and through his grace, to build a better and more loving world. Challenges are opportunities; dangers are to be met by defiance; failure of nerve by resolution of will.

Such is the spirit of this service: May God's blessing rest upon us as we unite in a common cause – and upon those whom we honour today with pride, gratitude and affection.

THANKSGIVING

All stand to sing the Hymn during which the Standards of the ^{MM}Royal Ex-Service Organisations followed by representatives of the whole community are borne from the West End of the Abbey and placed in the Sacarium.

The Union Standard

The Royal British Legion National Standard

The Royal Naval Association
National Standard

The Royal Air Force Association
National Standard

The Royal British Legion
Scotland National Standard

The Royal British Legion Women's
Section National Standard

A War Widow

A Victoria Cross Holder

A Royal Naval Rating

A Member of the Land Army

A Member of the Women's
Royal Voluntary Service

An Airman

A Fireman

A Representative of Industry

A Policeman

An Ambulanceman

A Merchant Seaman

A Soldier

PRAISE, my soul, the King of heaven;
To his feet thy tribute bring.
Ransomed, healed, restored, forgiven,
Who like me his praise should sing?
Praise him! Praise him!
Praise the everlasting King.

Praise him for his grace and favour
To our fathers in distress;
Praise him still the same for ever,
Slow to chide, and swift to bless.
Praise him! Praise him!
Glorious in his faithfulness.

Father-like, he tends and spares us;
Well our feeble frame he knows;
In his hands he gently bears us,
Rescues us from all our foes.
Praise him! Praise him!
Widely as his mercy flows.

Angels, help us to adore him;
Ye behold him face to face;
Sun and moon, bow down before him;
Dwellers all in time and space.
Praise him! Praise him!
Praise with us the God of grace.

Praise my soul
John Goss (1800-1880)

Psalm 103
H.F. Lyte (1793-1847)

All remain standing for the Prayers of Thanksgiving led by The Right Reverend John M.K. Paterson, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

LET us give thanks to Almighty God, who created, and preserves us day by day, who in Christ has triumphed over evil and death, and whose Spirit abides with us to inspire, to guide and to support.

In particular we offer our thanksgiving:

for the ending, forty years ago, of the Second World War in Europe and the Far East.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

For those who, counting their lives not dear unto themselves, made the supreme sacrifice that others might live in freedom.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

For the self-giving, heroism and courage of those who fought in the armed services; for those who served the community in civil defence, in hospitals and relief agencies; who worked in factories, on the land, or at sea.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

For the sober satisfaction when hostilities ceased of duty done, a tyranny overthrown, and captives liberated.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

For acts of compassion and caring, relieving the violence of war, which shone through and illuminated days of darkness.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

For dedication to a common cause and a sense of comradeship/shared by people in all walks of life.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

For the courage of those who still bear the scars of war; for the continuing fortitude of the bereaved; for the ex-service organizations and their work.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

For the founding of the United Nations, born out of the travail and heartache of war, to keep the peace and engender goodwill.

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

Blessing and honour and glory and might be unto our God for ever and ever.
Amen.

*separate
insert
for own leaders?*

*and in the
Home Guard?*

and involvement?

All sit for the Commemoration of all those who died in the Second World War. The band plays Ceremonial Parade by Arthur Bliss.

Candles are lit at the Grave of the Unknown Warrior and are carried with the Procession of Leaders of Christian Churches from Continental Europe, the United States of America and Japan, through the Nave and Quire to be set before the High Altar.

SUPERINTENDENT EGGO HAFERMANN REPRESENTING
THE PROTESTANT CHURCH OF THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

SUPERINTENDENT WERNER KRÄTSCHELL REPRESENTING
THE PROTESTANT CHURCH OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC

Six Names and Titles

REPRESENTATIVE FROM JAPAN
MINISTER FROM HOLLAND

THE BISHOP OF BAYEUX
BISHOP PHILARET (MOSCOW)
A BISHOP FROM POLAND

THE MOST REVEREND JOHN M ALWIN PRESIDING
BISHOP AND PRIMATE OF THE EPISCOPAL
CHURCH IN THE USA

As the Procession reaches the Sacarium the Christian leaders from the British Isles move to greet their brethren and to escort them to places in the Sacarium.

As a bell tolls all stand and the Army Chaplain General says:

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, we give thee humble thanks for the memory and good example of those who gave their lives in the service of their countries: we bless them for their courage and devotion, even unto death. Accept their sacrifice, we beseech thee; let it not be in vain that they have died: and in thy mercy send thy peace into the hearts of all men everywhere: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Amen.

All remain standing to sing the Hymn

O GOD, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home;

Beneath the shadow of thy throne
Thy saints have dwelt secure;
Sufficient is thine arm alone,
And ~~of~~ defence is sure.

Our

Before the hills in order stood,
Or earth received her frame,
From everlasting thou art God,
To endless years the same.

A thousand ages in thy sight
Are like an evening gone;
Short as the watch that ends the night
Before the rising sun.

Time, like an ever-rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away;
They fly forgotten, as a dream
Dies at the opening day.

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Be thou our guard while troubles last,
And our eternal home.

St Anne
Supplement to the New Version 1708

Psalm 90
I. Watts (1674-1748)

PENITENCE

All sit for the First Lesson read by a Nurse.

ISAIAH 6, 1-8

IN the year that King Uzziah died I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of glory. And the posts of the door moved at the

voice of him that cried, and the house was filled with smoke. Then said I, Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts. Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar: And he laid it upon my mouth, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged. Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then said I, Here am I; send me.

All kneel for the Prayers of Penitence, led by His Eminence Basil Hume, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

Let us in sincerity and truth seek the forgiveness of God:
for not keeping faith in days of peace with those died and for our not measuring up to the splendour of their sacrifice.

Lord in mercy,

Hear our prayer.

for our incapacity, at enormous price, to resolve our conflicts, between or within nations, by peaceful means and without resort to violence or the threat of violence

Lord in mercy,

Hear our prayer.

So in penitence we pray:

From fostering animosity, from prejudice, complacency, arrogance and self-righteousness.

Good Lord deliver us.

From selfish preoccupation with our own interests and indifference to the needs of others.

Good Lord deliver us.

Father, forgive what we have been,
sanctify what we are,
order what we shall be:
through Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen.

All sit for the Choir to sing the Anthem.

TURN back, O Man, forswear thy foolish ways,
Old now is Earth, and none may count her days,
Yet thou, her child, whose head is crowned with flame,
Still wilt not hear thine inner God proclaim:
Turn back, O Man, forswear thy foolish ways.

Earth might be fair and all men glad and wise.
Age after age their tragic empires rise,
Built while they dream and in that dreaming weep.
Would man but wake from out his haunted sleep,
Earth might be fair and all men glad and wise.

Earth shall be fair and all her people one;
Nor till that hour shall God's whole will be done.
Now, even now, once more from earth to sky
Peals forth in joy man's old undaunted cry:
Earth shall be fair and all her folk be one.

Old 124th

Genevan Psalter 1552

arranged by Gustav Holst (1874-1934)

Clifford Bax (1886-1962)

RECONCILIATION AND HEALING

All sit for the Second Lesson, read by

Name

In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus teaches forgiveness and reconciliation.

IF you are offering your gift at the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar and go; first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift.

You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy.' But I say to you, Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father who is in heaven; for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust.

For if you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father also will forgive you; but if you do not forgive men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

Judge not, that you be not judged. For with the judgment you pronounce you will be judged, and the measure you give will be the measure you get. Why do you see

the speck that is in your brother's eye, but do not notice the log that is in your own eye? Or how can you say to your brother, 'Let me take the speck out of your eye,' when there is the log in your own eye? You hypocrite, first take the log out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to take the speck out of your brother's eye.

So whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.

St Matthew 5: 23-24, 43-45; 6:14-15; 7: 1-5, 12

All kneel for the Prayers of Reconciliation, led by the Reverend Dr. Tudur Jones, Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council.

LET us turn to God opening our hearts to our fellow men so that in enmity to none and charity to all we may:

maintain the process of reconciliation with former enemies and find ways to restore our relationship with those who were our allies in way.

Lord hear us.

Lord graciously hear us.

That we may exchew the divisive evils of racial prejudice and fanaticisms whether political or religious.

Lord hear us

Lord graciously hear us.

That we may work for peace, the peace that begets justice and the justice which fulfills itself in love, and in sacrificial self-giving.

Lord hear us.

Lord graciously hear us.

Grant us grace, O Lord, to learn of thy judgments which overtake us when we set brother against brother and nation against nation. Give us wisdom and strength to fashion better instruments for our common life, so that we may dwell in concord under thy providence, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

All stand to sing the Hymn.

THY Kingdom come, O God,
Thy rule, O Christ, begin;
Break with thine iron rod
The tyrannies of sin.

Where is thy reign of peace
And purity and love?
When shall all hatred cease,
As in the realms above?

When comes the promised time
That war shall be no more,
And lust, oppression, crime
Shall flee they face before?

We pray thee, Lord, arise,
And come in thy great might;
Revive our longing eyes,
Which languish for thy sight.

Men scorn thy sacred name,
And wolves devour thy fold;
By many deeds of shame
We learn that love grows cold.

O'er this land and afar
Thick darkness broodeth yet:
Arise, O morning star,
Arise, and never set!

St. Cecilia
L.G. Hayne (1836-83)

L. Hensley (1824-1905)

All sit for:

THE SERMON

by

M.C.

*The Most Reverend and Right Honourable Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury,
Primate of all England and Metropolitan.*

All stand to sing the Hymn.

FOR the healing of the nations,
Lord, we pray with one accord;
For a just and equal sharing
of the things that earth affords.
To a life of love in action
help us raise and pledge our word.

Lead us, Father, into freedom,
from despair your world release;
That, redeemed from war and hatred,
men may come and go in peace.
Show us how through care and goodness
fear will die and hope increase.

All that kills abundant living,
let it from the earth be banned;
Pride of status, race or schooling,
dogmas keeping man from man.
In our common quest for justice
may we hallow life's brief span.

You, creator-God, have written
your great name on all mankind;
For our growing in your likeness
bring the life of Christ to mind;
That by our response and service
earth its destiny may find.

Mannheim
F. Filitz (1804-76)

Fred Kaan
(b.1929)

HOPE AND DEDICATION

All sit for the Third Lesson, read by His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh. K E K T O M

PHILIPPIANS 4: 4-8

REJOICE in the Lord always: and again I say, Rejoice. Let your moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand. Be careful for nothing; but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God. And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus. Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.

All remain seated for the Processional Dance of Hope to the music of which culminates in the formation of a Cross of Flowers before the High Altar. During the Dance reads

TRULY, truly, I say to you, unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit. *St. John 12: 24*

HE shall judge between many peoples, and shall decide for strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more; but they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of hosts has spoken. *Micah 4: 3, 4*

THE wolf shall dwell with the Lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the lion and the fating together, and a little child shall lead them. They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. *Isaiah 11: 6, 9*

HE has showed you, O man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God? *Micah 6: 8*

A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another; even as I have loved you, that you also love one another. *St. John 13: 34*

The Professional Dance ended all stand for the Reverend Alan Luff, Precentor and Sacrist of Westminster Abbey, to begin the Act of Dedication.

THIS world is God's world; his righteous will is our peace; his perfect Kingdom is our true Fatherland. Let us therefore rekindle in ourselves the vision without which the people perish; the undying hope that all God's children shall be one in a world made free and closer to the heart's desire.

Rabbi continues

Therefore we pledge ourselves to further its coming by our determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war

to make real our faith in the dignity and worth of the human person independent of class, colour, sex or creed,

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for treaty obligations can be maintained,

to promote better standards of life in larger freedoms,

to ensure that armed force shall not be used save in the common interest,

to accept a personal responsibility for the ordering of the common life of mankind.

I saw a new Heaven and a new earth, for the former things had passed away.

After a period of silence the Reverend Alan Luff, Precentor and Sacrist of Westminster Abbey, says:

O God, in whose will is our peace,
Grant us grace in all things
To know and to fulfill thy loving purposes,
Through Jesus Christ, Our Lord. *Amen.*

Let us sum up all our prayers and praises by saying together the words that Jesus taught us:

OUR Father, which art in heaven, hallowed by thy Name: thy kingdom come; they will be done; on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

All stand to sing the Hymn

CHRISt is the world's true light,
its captain of salvation,
The daystar clear and bright
of every man and nation;
New life, new hope awakes,
where'er men own his sway:
Freedom her bondage breaks,
and night is turned to day.

In Christ all races meet,
their ancient feuds forgetting,
The whole round world complete,
from the sunrise to its setting:
When Christ is throned as Lord,
men shall forsake their fear,
To ploughshare beat the sword,
to pruning-hook the spear.

One Lord, in one great name
unite us all who own thee;
Cast out our pride and shame
that hinder to enthrone thee;
The world has waited long,
has travailed long in pain;
To heal its ancient wrong,
come, Prince of Peace, and reign!

*Nun danket
J. Crüger (1598-1662)*

G.W. Briggs (1875-1959)

All kneel, for the Dean to give

THE BLESSING

All stand for the Choir to sing

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost;
As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

Herbert Howells (1892-1983)

from the 'Collegium Regale' Service

All remain standing as the Procession return to the West End of the Church.

The Bells of the Abbey Church are now rung.

Music after the Service:

Members of the Congregation are asked to remain in their places until directed to move by the Stewards.

CONFIDENTIAL

celc



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

18 April, 1985

*1) Mark
2) Andrew
to note
CDP
19/4.*

Dear Charles,

40th Anniversary of VE Day: Reception at the Soviet Embassy
on 7 May

A number of Ministers and officials in Whitehall have received invitations to attend a reception at the Soviet Embassy on 7 May to mark the 40th Anniversary of VE Day.

The Foreign Secretary believes that it would be right for us to be represented, possibly at Ministerial level, at the reception. But he would prefer to wait until a final decision has been taken on representation at the commemorative events in Moscow (a matter which we are currently discussing with our Allies) before giving advice to colleagues.

Meanwhile, I would be grateful if those to whom I am copying this letter would let this office know if an invitation has been received, and would not send any reply for the moment.

I am copying this to the Private Secretaries of all Members of the Cabinet, to those of other Ministers with responsibilities for Departments, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Your ever,
Le Appleyard
(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

119 APR 1985

10 11 12
9 10 11
8 9 10
7 8 9

CONFIDENTIAL

GR 240

CONFIDENTIAL

FM WASHINGTON 172210Z

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1287 OF 17 APRIL 1985

INFO PRIORITY MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, PARIS, BONN.

MY TELNO 1228: US/SOVIET REALTIONS AND V E DAY CEREMONIES IN MOSCOW

1. THE MEETING BETWEEN GENERAL OTIS AND GENERAL ZAITSEV ON 12 APRIL IS REGARDED HERE AS HAVING GONE REASONABLY WELL. ACCORDING TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT, ZAITSEV EXPRESSED HIS 'DEEP PERSONAL REGRET' ABOUT MAJOR NICHOLSON'S DEATH, AND SAID THAT INSTRUCTIONS HAD BEEN ISSUED TO SOVIET TROOPS NOT TO USE ARMS AGAINST US SERVICEMEN. THE US REQUESTS FOR COMPENSATION AND AN APOLOGY HAD BEEN REFERRED TO A POLITICAL LEVEL, AND FURTHER FOLLOW-UP WOULD BE REQUIRED.

2. AT OFFICIAL LEVEL AT LEAST, THE AMERICANS CONSIDER THIS TO BE A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME.

3. WE HEARD TODAY THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S RECOMMENDATION ON US PARTICIPATION AT V E DAY CEREMONIES IN MOSCOW HAD BEEN APPROVED, VIZ THAT (A) HIGH LEVEL MESSAGES WILL BE EXCHANGED. (THESE WOULD NOT BE PRENEGOTIATED, BUT WOULD BE SHOWN BY EACH SIDE TO THE OTHER BEFORE PUBLICATION:;) (B) AMBASSADOR HARTMAN WOULD REPRESENT THE US GOVERNMENT AT OFFICIAL CEREMONIES IN MOSCOW, BUT WOULD NOT BE PRESENT AT MILITARY FUNCTIONS; AND (C) THE US WOULD NOT ACTIVELY DISSUADE US VETERANS GROUPS FROM GOING TO MOSCOW.

WRIGHT

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET]

EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONS

LIMITED

SOVIET D

DEFENCE D

RESEARCH D

PLANNING STAFF

EED

NAD

WED

ACDD

FED

NED

PUSD

FS

PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MR RIFKIND

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

MR DEREK THOMAS

SIR W HARDING

MR FERGUSSON

MR GOODALL

MR JENKINS

MR WESTON

MR DAVID THOMAS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



JR(47)
bc PC

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

3 April 1985

VE DAY: REPRESENTATION IN MOSCOW

The Prime Minister has considered the Foreign Secretary's minute of 2 April about the response we should make to a Russian invitation to be represented at VE Day celebrations in Moscow on 8/9 May.

The Prime Minister agrees with the recommendations in paragraphs 4 and 5. As regards what we should say if the Russians confirmed that they intended to hold a military parade, the Prime Minister has commented that it would be difficult in those circumstances for us to be represented at all. But we should consider this only when we know their intentions.

I am sending copies of this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

(C. D. POWELL)

L.V. Appleyard, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

010

CONFIDENTIAL

CP ①



Prime Minister
Agree?
COP

PM/85/24

PRIME MINISTER

VE Day: Representation in Moscow

1. We have received informal soundings from the Russians about our likely response should they (as happened in 1975) issue a formal invitation to us to be officially represented as one of their three Western wartime allies at the commemorative celebrations which are being organised in Moscow on 8/9 May. They have also enquired about our willingness to exchange messages in connection with the anniversary.

2. The question has been discussed by FCO and MOD officials in the light of our own decision to hold a commemorative service on 8 May and invite accredited Ambassadors and High Commissioners in London, including the Soviet Ambassador. Account has also been taken of the 1975 precedent when Lord Mountbatten and a delegation of four represented us officially in Moscow and of the political and national importance which the Russians themselves, and many people in this country, attach to their sacrifices and role in the last war. We need to weigh against that the deterioration in East/West relations including the invasion and continued occupation of Afghanistan and the current Soviet propaganda campaign against alleged revanchist and militarist tendencies in the FRG.

3. We have sounded out the French and Americans about the possibility of being officially represented in Moscow by our Ambassadors accompanied by one or two wartime figures

/(retired officers)

CONFIDENTIAL



(retired officers) who had connections with the Eastern front. The French expressed strong reservations about any military representation on the grounds that there is likely to be a major military parade in Moscow. Attendance at that by a senior Western military figure would be at odds with the agreed Western policy of not attending Soviet parades at a senior diplomatic or military level since the invasion of Afghanistan. The Germans have made the same point vigorously. The Americans are generally in agreement with the line we propose to take with the Russians. A decision on whether in addition to their Ambassador, a wartime figure should also represent them, is being held for the time being.

4. I have discussed this with the Defence Secretary and would propose that during the course of this week we should inform the Soviet Charge d'Affaires in London that:

- (a) we agree in principle to an exchange of messages;
- (b) our approach to the 40th Anniversary is to emphasise the themes of reconstruction, reconciliation and peace;
- (c) if we were formally invited we would be prepared to be represented officially at the commemorations in Moscow, subject to confirmation from the Soviet side that their commemorations were being held in the same spirit as our own and were suitable;
- (d) we would appreciate an early response to our request for more detailed information about the events in Moscow.

5. I see advantage in an exchange of messages as that would enable us to put on public record before the events in Moscow

/our view



of the purpose of the commemoration. As far as the initial contact is concerned, we would ask the Russians to indicate what level they had in mind. On the basis of the 1975 precedent this should be between you and Mr Gorbachev. We would not, at this stage, give the Russians any indication of the possible level of our representation in Moscow.

6. It is possible that the Soviet response will turn out to be completely unsatisfactory and an unacceptable basis for official representation in Moscow. I think that is unlikely. The likelihood is that we will receive a reply which, while still indicating points of difference between our and the Soviet approaches to the Anniversary, would nevertheless enable us, the Americans and French to attend. If the Russians did confirm that they intended to hold a military parade we might have to make it clear to them that our representatives would not attend for that particular event although they would participate in the others, eg wreath-laying, receptions, etc.

It will be difficult if they do have a military parade for that

7. I should be grateful to know that you are content that we should act as proposed in paragraph 5.

8. I am sending copies of this minute to the Defence Secretary and Sir Robert Armstrong.

GEOFFREY HOWE

2 April, 1985



MO 27/5/1

NBPM

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1
Telephone 01-~~230722~~ 218 2111/3

21st March 1985

Dear Paul

VE-DAY CELEBRATIONS

I am sorry not to have replied before now to your letter of 28th February to Richard Mottram, concerning Mr Bernard Levin's proposals about attendance at the VE-day celebrations.

I have delayed responding until my Secretary of State had an opportunity to consider the overall question of who might be invited to attend the service to be held at Westminster Abbey on 8th May, to commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War. Lord Gowrie will by now have seen a copy of Mr Heseltine's minute of 19th March to the Prime Minister. This records his view that there should not be any representation from overseas, a category which would include Mr Levin's nominees. As Robin Butler pointed out in his letter of 4th March, an invitation to one overseas group could well make it difficult to avoid inviting others, shifting the balance towards an international commemoration which would present further problems.

I attach a draft which Lord Gowrie may wish to use in replying to Mr Levin.

I am copying this letter to Robin Butler (No 10), Len Appleyard (Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's Office) and Richard Hatfield (Sir Robert Armstrong's Office).

Yours ever
Simon Lowe
(S H LOWE)

P Thomas Esq
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster's Office

DRAFT REPLY FROM LORD GOWRIE TO MR BERNARD LEVIN

Thank you for your letter of 26 February, about participation in the service which is planned to mark the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War.

Whilst I fully appreciate the reasoning behind your suggestion, one of the guiding principles we have adopted in looking at the 8 May service is that it should be our own national commemoration. With the exception of representatives from Embassies and High Commissions in London, we shall be looking for the widest possible participation from those within this country, in all walks of life, who contributed to victory. We shall look to the Ambassadors and High Commissioners to represent fellow countrymen who played their part in this endeavour.

I hope that you will appreciate why we have been unable to take on your suggestion. We shall, of course, be seeking to stress the themes of reconciliation and reconstruction and our thoughts will also be with those who have made such an important contribution in this area.

Dajence Oct 84

VE DAY



22 MAR 1985



file

RAMA10 RM

CCPL

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

21 March, 1985

Dear Richard,

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Prime Minister has considered the Defence Secretary's minute of 19 March on this subject with the accompanying report by officials on the detailed arrangements for the Service of Commemoration at Westminster Abbey.

Subject to the views of colleagues the Prime Minister is content with the arrangements proposed and agrees that it would not be appropriate on this occasion to hold a reception following the Service.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Private Secretaries to members of the Cabinet and to Murdo Maclean (Chief Whip's Office) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

*Yours sincerely
C D Powell*

(C D Powell)

R Mottram, Esq.,
Ministry of Defence.

[Handwritten mark]



Prime Minister.

1 copy
28.1.

These are the proposed arrangements for the VE Day commemoration.

They seem generally in line with your views, except perhaps on the question of a reception afterwards (para. 12 of accompanying note).

MO 27/5/1

Agree proposed arrangements?

Wish to pursue further idea of a diplomatic

PRIME MINISTER

reception at No. 10? You will see that

para. 12 of the Report comes out against a Reception.

C.D.T. 20/3

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

On 14th February, you announced in the House of Commons that, as part of the arrangements to commemorate the end of the Second World War, a service would be held at Westminster Abbey on 8th May. It was stated that this service would commemorate the sacrifices made in all the theatres of war; that we would seek the widest participation from this country of those who contributed to the victory; and that the Ambassadors or High Commissioners of all countries represented in London would be invited.

2. Officials in this Department have since been involved in working up the detailed arrangements for the service. I attach a report which they have prepared, and which I have approved. I would like to expand on two of the categories of those who will be invited:

a. Parliamentary representatives. We are currently thinking in terms of inviting those Ministers and other politicians who are normally present at the Cenotaph ceremony, numbering about 40. The Whips in both Houses would then be asked to suggest appropriate candidates for the remaining 80 places allocated to parliamentary representatives.

b. Veterans. The Royal British Legion will have an important part to play in allocating seats to the various veterans associations. I am in no doubt that they will carry out this task with sensitivity and complete fairness; nevertheless it is an area which could be subject to controversy.

20 MAR 1985

9 10 11 12 1
8 7 6 5 4 3

ГОМДОМ

III

СОВЕТСКОМ





We therefore believe it would be helpful to provide guidelines on how the seats are to be allocated. The RBL have indicated that they would be content with such an approach, and the guidelines have been approved by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and myself.

3. The arrangements in Westminster Abbey are, of course, for the Dean to decide and officials here are in close touch with him.

However, we do need to go firm now on the lists of those who should be invited to submit names to attend. I would therefore be grateful / for your agreement to the principles set out in the attached report.

4. I am copying this minute to other members of the Cabinet, to the Chief Whip and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

W. H. H.

Ministry of Defence
19th March 1985

DEPARTMENT/SERIES PREM 19 PIECE/ITEM 1435 (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: Annex A to SCPH C37(17) dated 12 March 1985 (attachment to minute MO 27/5/1, 19 March 1985)	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	19 November 2013 @Wayland
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
MISSING	
NUMBER NOT USED	



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

8 March 1985

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from the Secretary-General of the European Parliament enclosing a resolution on the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of VE Day.

I am acknowledging the letter and do not think a substantive reply is required.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence).

(C.D. Powell)

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CSH



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

8 March 1985

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 1 March enclosing a resolution adopted by the European Parliament on the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the end of hostilities in Europe.

(C.D. Powell)

Mr. H.J. Opitz



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

6 March, 1985.

Souvenir Philatelic Cover to commemorate VE Day

You wrote to David Barclay on 8 February about a form of words for hand cancellation stamps to commemorate VE Day. Simon Lowe subsequently wrote on 22 February to suggest a parallel form of words for VJ Day.

I am confident that the Prime Minister would be content for the Post Office to be advised as proposed in the two letters.

I am copying this letter to Simon Lowe (Ministry of Defence).

(C.D. Powell)

Andrew Lansley, Esq.,
Department of Trade and Industry.

289



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

4 March 1985

VE-DAY CELEBRATIONS

The Prime Minister has seen Paul Thomas' letter of 28 February to you enclosing one from Mr Bernard Levin.

The Prime Minister understands why Mr Levin should propose that survivors of the German Resistance should be invited to the VE-day celebrations. But she thinks that the implications would need to be carefully thought through. It would be difficult, for example, to invite this group without also inviting representatives of the French Resistance. And this would lead on to other groups who would need to be considered. The Prime Minister fears that this would lead into areas which would be very controversial in the countries concerned and which also goes outside the concept that this is our own national commemoration.

I am copying this letter to Len Appleyard (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Paul Thomas (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster's Office) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

Richard Mottram, Esq.,
Ministry of Defence.

88

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Strasbourg,

-1. -3- 1985

85 05956

Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
SW1 LONDON

Dear Prime Minister,

Following a debate held under urgent procedure pursuant to Rule 48 of its Rules of Procedure, the European Parliament has adopted

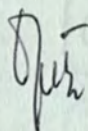
a resolution on the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the end of hostilities in Europe

and decided to forward the text to the governments of the Member States.

On behalf of the President of the European Parliament, I enclose an extract from the minutes of the relevant sitting, with Parliament's resolution.

The minutes will be published in the Official Journal of the European Communities pursuant to Rule 89(4) of Parliament's Rules of Procedure.

Yours sincerely,



H.-J. OPITZ

Encl.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

1984 - 1985 SESSION

EXTRACT

OF THE MINUTES
OF THE MEETING OF

THURSDAY, 14 FEBRUARY, 1985

IN THE CHAIR Siegbert ALBER, Vice-President

RESOLUTION

Commemoration of 40th anniversary of cessation of hostilities in Europe

The European Parliament,

- A. whereas 8 May 1985 marks the 40th anniversary of the cessation of hostilities in Europe which put an end to bloodshed on a scale unprecedented in the history of mankind in general and of Europe in particular,
 - B. whereas those huge sacrifices in human life and material loss instilled in the peoples of Europe an awareness of the tragedy of fratricidal conflicts on our continent and of their shared interest in the defence of freedom and democracy which are the only possible guarantees of respect for human rights and dignity,
 - C. whereas the Robert Schuman declaration, the 35th anniversary of which, by a fortunate coincidence, we commemorate on the following day, 9 May 1985, is the outcome of this awareness, and whereas the European Community which arose out of it is its political expression,
 - D. whereas the European Parliament, freely elected by universal suffrage, is the personification of the desire for brotherhood and solidarity of the European peoples belonging to the Community,
1. Declares that the mistakes, crimes and omissions which led the nations of Europe towards the abyss must never be repeated;
 2. Proclaims once again its attachment to democratic principles, the rules of international law and respect for the individual;
 3. Declares that the only way to avoid a repetition of the disasters of the past, ensure the full development of our peoples in freedom, security and prosperity and face up to the challenges of the present and the uncertainties of the future is through a tighter and more closely-knit union of the Member States;
 4. Expresses the hope that the European Community is only a first step along the path towards the unification of the European continent;
 5. Requests its President to submit to the enlarged Bureau proposals for a formal celebration on 8 May 1985 that will demonstrate the considerations and views expressed in this resolution, taking any steps that he deems appropriate to this end;
 6. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the governments and parliaments of the Member States and to the governments of the member States of the Council of Europe.

H.-J. OPITZ
Secretary-General

Horst SEEFELD
Vice-president



Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

Richard Mottram Esq
Private Secretary to the
Secretary of State
Ministry of Defence
Main Building
Whitehall
SW1 2HB

Prime Minister

This seems to me
a dangerous suggestion, where
we were to clear first with
the German Government that
they would not take offence (and
trying to clear it with the German
Government might itself cause offence).

28 February 1985

FERR

Also - we should then
need to have the
French, Russian, Polish
etc etc. no

1.3.

Dear Richard,

VE-DAY CELEBRATIONS

I attach a letter which Lord Gowrie has received from Bernard Levin suggesting that survivors of the German Resistance and the 20th July bomb-plot, and the widows and children of those involved, should be invited to the VE-day celebrations. (The reason why Mr Levin has approached Lord Gowrie in particular on this is that Lady Gowrie is the daughter of the Count von der Schulenburg).

Lord Gowrie strongly supports Mr Levin's suggestion for the reasons mentioned in the letter. I understand that MOD are taking the lead in making the arrangements for the celebrations and should therefore be grateful if you would put the suggestion to your Secretary of State and let me know the result.

I am copying this letter to Len Appleyard (FCO), Charles Powell (No 10) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever
Paul Thomas

PAUL THOMAS
Private Secretary

10 DEVONSHIRE PLACE,
LONDON, WIN IPB.
01-935 0046.

26th February 1985

Dear Greg

You will realise in a few lines why I am writing to you though it is far removed from your Ministerial responsibilities.

Amid the various arguments about the celebrations of VE-day, mainly over whether the Russians should be invited, there is one group that I think certainly should. There are a few (inevitably very few) survivors of the German Resistance and the 20th July bomb-plot; there are a few widows, together with their sons and daughters. One of these last is the son of Claus von Stauffenberg, who is a Colonel in the Bundeswehr, and another is Manfred Rommel, son of the general, who is now Mayor of Stuttgart, and who recently said (in public) 'Thank God we lost the war.' There is also the son of Count Moltke. (And of course the daughter of Count von der Schulenburg is alive and flourishing.) Would it not be a striking act of recognition of those who died in Germany to help bring about an Allied victory if these representatives, or some of them, were to be in the Abbey (I assume there will be an Abbey service) or at some other function of the celebrations? Not long ago, there was a friendly meeting between Manfred Rommel and Monty's son; I cannot imagine a more fitting sight, nor one calculated to stress the theme of reconciliation, than those two sitting side by side in the Abbey.

FROM BERNARD LEVIN

FROM BERNARD LEVIN

- 2 -

If you think there is merit in the suggestion (it came originally from that admirable man Herbert Sulzbach, who has spent his life in the cause of reconciliation) you will know best how to move it into the right areas. I thought of flying a kite in my Times column; if you think that that would help, or on the contrary hinder, I would be glad to hear.

All good wishes

Yours ever
Bernard

The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Gowrie,
34 King Street,
Covent Garden,
London WC2.

P.S. The Imogen Cooper series got off to a good start I thought.

Defense : 10/64
VE Day

51 MAR 1965





File ✓

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

26 February 1985

X-111

Israeli World Assembly to Commemorate the Defeat
of Nazi Germany

Thank you for your letter of 19 February.

The Prime Minister has approved the enclosed revision of the draft message to the Israeli World Assembly. It may now be delivered subject to clearance of our approach with the French and Americans as proposed in the last paragraph of your letter.

David Barclay

Peter Ricketts Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

881

Copy sent



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

ISRAELI WORLD ASSEMBLY

In commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the British people recall with sorrow and pride the sacrifices and sufferings of all those, military and civilian alike, who gave their lives in that struggle. We recall with special respect the unique and grievous sufferings of the Jewish people.

Even as we remember the past, we look forward with hope to a future in which differences will be resolved by negotiation, and the dignity of man will be revered. Together we renew our pledge to work for peace, with justice and freedom.

Margaret Thatcher

February, 1985.



②

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1
Telephone 01-~~930 7022~~ 218 2111/3

MO 27/5/1

22nd February 1985

Dear David

SOUVENIR PHILATELIC COVER TO COMMEMORATE VE DAY

I understand that you would find it useful to have the MOD's comments on Andrew Lansley's letter of 8th February concerning souvenir philatelic covers. Unfortunately we did not originally receive our copy of that letter and we have not therefore had an opportunity to consult with Regimental Associations.

Officials here, however, are concerned that the proposed form of words will tend to reinforce the impression that the events planned for 8th May are intended to cover the Anniversary of VE Day alone. As you know, the national commemoration planned for 8th May is intended to cover the end of the war in all theatres. In particular, the sensitivities of Far East veterans need to be taken into account.

While we would not suggest that a joint VE/VJ Day hand cancellation stamp should be produced, we would hope that DTI would authorise an additional form of words suitable for use on VJ Day (15th August). The full version of the slogan, with its emphasis on 40 years of peace and co-operation, would perhaps not translate readily to the Far East. The two versions might therefore be: "Fortieth Anniversary of VJ Day: 15th August 1945" and "VJ Day: 15th August 1945".

I am copying this letter to Andrew Lansley (DTI).

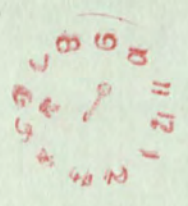
Yours ever
Simon Lowe

(S H LOWE)
Private Secretary

D Barclay Esq
10 Downing Street

Defence : VE Day Oct 84

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1
TELEPHONE 01-890 1033





①
NBPM

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1
Telephone 01-~~922 7022~~ 218 2111/3

MO 27/5/1

22nd February 1985

Dear Robin

You wrote to Denis Brennan on 6th February about the Lord Mayor of London's participation in the commemoration service for the 40th Anniversary of the end of the second world war.

The present view here is that the Lord Mayor of London should be invited to the service, as the country's leading civic figure. In addition, the Lord Mayor of Westminster will be there by right as an officer of the Abbey, and we will be looking at how other national civic dignitaries might be accommodated within a limited congregation. The priority will, of course, be to give the maximum number of seats to veterans of the war, civil and military, and so the distribution of seats to official representatives will have to be scrutinised carefully to maintain the right balance.

BF // I will, of course, let you know as soon as a firm decision is taken on the attendance of the Lord Mayor of London. We aim to do this within the next two weeks.

Yours ever

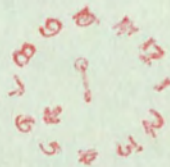
Simon Lowe

(S H LOWE)
Private Secretary

F E R Butler Esq
10 Downing Street

Defence: VE Day Oct 84.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1
Telephone 01-833 7031



B. R.

CR
Caroline

MR BUTLER

VE DAY

I expect none, except a service
at 1100. Keep free 1030 to lunchtime

FRB

Do you yet know what the Prime Minister's commitments are
going to be for this day other than the Service at Westminster
Abbey. I have got various requests, one or two from MPs,
which should now be dealt with.

22.2.

CR

20 February, 1985

[CR to discuss with Tessa - Ken Hargreaves' invitation
to tea at H/C].

CONFIDENTIAL

McBawell
25/2

C.P.P.



- 1) Mr Powell
- 2) Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

19 February 1985

Agree attached message?

Dear Charles,

Dub
25/2

Israeli World Assembly to Commemorate the Defeat of Nazi Germany

The Israelis plan a four day 'World Assembly' in May to commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany. In view of the militarism and probable anti-German flavour of the event, Sir Geoffrey Howe thinks we should keep our own involvement to the minimum level consistent with the need to avoid giving offence.

The Israelis have asked if the Prime Minister would send a message to the Assembly, for inclusion in a commemorative volume with other messages from Heads of Government or Heads of State. Sir Geoffrey Howe sees no harm and some good in a message reflecting our own approach. Moreover a refusal, if publicised by the Israelis, might arouse resentment in the Jewish community in Britain. We should, for presentational reasons, try to keep in step with our close Allies. Discussions with the French and Americans indicate that their thinking is not as far advanced as ours, but that they appear to agree with our general approach. We expect them to send messages in similar terms.

I enclose a draft message. If the Prime Minister is content we should clear our lines again with the French and Americans, and ask our Ambassador in Tel Aviv to convey the text to the Assembly on the Prime Minister's behalf.

Y

P F Ricketts

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT MESSAGE

In commemorating
~~The British Government and people are reflecting on the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War and its meaning for our own times.~~ *the British people* We recall with sorrow and pride the sacrifices and sufferings of all, *those* combatant and non-combatant alike, who gave their lives in that struggle, ~~so that justice and freedom could prevail.~~ We recall with special respect the unique and grievous sufferings of the Jewish people, ~~at that time.~~ *In that spirit* Such suffering must never be repeated. ~~For this reason we~~ *We* look forward with determination and hope to the future, ~~and~~ *and together* give thanks for our reconciliation with former adversaries; ~~together~~ *together* we renew our pledge to work for peace, justice and freedom.

Even as we remember
the past, we



10 DOWNING STREET

CF

M. arts ROAD

to submit advice

CM

Telephoned them 11.2.85

BF



DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY
1-19 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1H 0ET
TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-215 5422
SWITCHBOARD 01-215 7877

PS/
Secretary of State for Trade and Industry

8 February 1985

David Barclay Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Mr Powell

Dear David,

BF//MOO Submitting
Advice (Col's report)

SOUVENIR PHILATELIC COVER TO COMMEMORATE VE DAY

Although the Post Office does not intend to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of VE Day by issuing special postage stamps or souvenir philatelic covers, other organisations will wish to mark the occasion through the postal service. I understand that bodies such as regimental associations intend to issue souvenir covers for charitable purposes. Since Post Office approval is required for the design of the hand cancellation stamps on covers being sent through the postal service, its advice is being sought about appropriate wording.

2 In view of the sensitive nature of this event, the Post Office has asked this Department to suggest a form of words that would be likely to prove generally acceptable.

3 My Secretary of State has considered the matter and has concluded that we should tell the Post Office that the words "Fortieth Anniversary of VE Day: 8 May 1945: 40 years of peace and co-operation in Europe" are acceptable. Where a shorter form of words is required, the latter sub-clause might be omitted. At an extreme, only "VE Day: 8 May 1945" would be acceptable.

4 I should be grateful if you would confirm that the Prime Minister would be content for the Post Office to be advised accordingly. I am copying this letter to Dennis Brennan (Ministry of Defence).

Yours ever,
Andrew Lansley

ANDREW LANSLEY
Private Secretary

JH5ARP

11 FEB 1985

12 1 2 3 4

CONFIDENTIAL

11

CONFIDENTIAL



file VB

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

6 February 1985

Could I mention one small aspect of the many problems you will have to deal with on VE Day.

The Lord Mayor of London asked me to let him know when I could whether he was likely to be invited to the Commemoration of VE Day on 8 May. I should be grateful if we could help with this since there are some obvious sensitivities for him about the location of the service; and I should have thought that it might help with these if he were invited to the service, provided that this does not create difficulties with others.

BF |

Perhaps you could put down a marker to let me know when a decision has been made on this.

file VB

CT

Denis Brennan, Esq.,
Ministry of Defence.

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT/SERIES PREM 19 PIECE/ITEM 1435 (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Letter from Butler to Brennan dated 4 February 1985</i>	
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DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1435</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
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10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister

The Defence
Secretary will raise
this as an oral
item in Cabinet.

You will wish
to make your point
about the date.

CD?
30/11



Prime Minister *SP*

MO 27/5/1

A helpful paper which comes down in favour of:

- 1) a commemorative service in either Westminster Abbey or Albert Hall.
 MH prefer Westminster Abbey
- 2) not on either VE or VJ day but a date in between, preferably a Sunday in early July.
- 3) no military parades.

PRIME MINISTER

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

I agreed at Cabinet to bring forward proposals as to the form which a national celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War might take.

2. I attach a note which has been prepared by officials of my Department. I am quite clear in my own mind that a commemorative service in Westminster Abbey should be the principal event; that the actual anniversaries of VE Day and VJ Day should be avoided for the reasons set out in the note, and that a military parade would not be an appropriate means of celebration.

3. Subject to your views, I could circulate the attached paper to Cabinet colleagues for discussion on Thursday; alternatively I could put round a very short note setting out firm recommendations.

WJH

Ministry of Defence
29th January 1985

Agree that Defence Secretary should circulate brief recommendations to Cabinet? (on which you would subsequently consult the Queen)

SP
29/1

DRAFT

ANNEX A TO
D/D Pers/17/17/1
DATED 18 JAN 85

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

BACKGROUND

1. Government policy until recently has been:
 - a. No official national celebration.
 - b. Support bodies such as the Royal British Legion (RBL).
 - c. Use international fora such as the Economic Summit in Bonn.
 - d. Emphasis on reconciliation, peace and looking forward not backwards.

2. Following press interest, on 15 January the Prime Minister announced that there would be a national celebration of VE Day. The specific reference to VE Day throughout statements so far should be noted.

PRECEDENCE

3. There was no major national event to celebrate the 25th anniversary in 1970. The following events took place:
 - a. A reception in Lancaster House for 400 members of the Resistance. The Prince of Wales attended and the event was organised by Airey Neave.
 - b. Service of Commemoration in Saint Clement Danes for the Resistance.
 - c. A number of local regimental celebrations.

THEME

4. As brought out in the Prime Minister's statement the national commemoration should honour the dead and point to the reconciliation and reconstruction that has been achieved. It

should commemorate the achievement of restoration of peace 40 years ago, the achievement of reconciliation and 40 years of peace since then and our commitment to preserve peace in the future.

5. The British Legion feel most strongly that the emphasis must be that of "peace and reconciliation etc." and not on celebrating victory. They believe in this connection that the overall significance of 1945 in creating peace should be commemorated without any specific direction at either VE or VJ Day. Indeed the date should be neutral in order to avoid resentment by VJ veterans if there were a VE day event, and to avoid coincidence with the anniversaries of the dropping of atom bombs on Japan. The British Legion stresses the need to avoid militarism, a view they have repeated in the press.

6. This is the generally held view of the Service Departments and FCO, and leads to the approach that military pageant and martial display by either serving forces or veterans should play second place to the commemorative aspects and should be avoided. It is thought that this is in accord with the Prime Minister's feelings.

FORM OF COMMEMORATION

7. Possible ceremonies are listed below with comment:

a. A Thanksgiving Service in St Pauls (2400 capacity).

This was suggested by No. 10 but was not favoured by them following the controversy over the Falklands Thanksgiving Service held there and possible procedural difficulties.

Additionally it is to be used for the South Atlantic Memorial service on 14 June.

b. Westminster Abbey (2000 capacity) is thought more appropriate because:

- (1) The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior is there.
- (2) It might be easier to arrange.
- (3) It has an appropriate national place in the minds of people.

c. A Service in St Margarets Westminster, the MPs Chapel.

- (1) This would be seen by the public as too low key an affair and aimed at too narrow a congregation.
- (2) Should MPs wish to hold a service to commemorate their previous thanksgiving in 1945 that should be in addition the national event.

d. A Joint Session of Parliament in Westminster Hall.

(capacity 2000 seated + 1000 standing)

- (1) This might be seen as too politically oriented. It is thought not to be appropriate and unlikely to meet the wishes of the broad masses calling for the commemoration. A parliamentary occasion could be additional to another commemorative event.
- (2) In any event a recommendation on this as a form of commemoration might be inappropriate from the MOD.

e. The Annual British Legion Festival of Remembrance in the Albert Hall. (capacity 6400)

- (1) The RBL are strongly opposed. This is a traditional Legion-only affair held in Remembrance of our Dead of all wars, not just WW2. It is not therefore an appropriate occasion.

(2) RBL would also be averse to anything tied in with the Cenotaph ceremonies which equally remember all wars. They have fought to preserve the tradition of the Remembrance Day celebrations throughout the country and would not wish to change that position.

f. Open Air Service on Horse Guards Organised by the Armed Forces. This is a possibility but again the RBL were concerned about the "militaristic setting". Furthermore there could be problems over weather, fatigue for the elderly, and security.

8. The Requirement for a Parade or Rally.

a. The desirability of some sort of parade or rally in conjunction with a service was considered:

(1) There is a strong view that military parades either alone or in conjunction with a service are not appropriate.

(2) The parading of RBL and Association banners either after a service or in a rally in Hyde Park is felt to be bordering on the jingoistic and may conflict with the commemoration of peace. The RBL feel that the veterans are more vulnerable to fatigue and the event would be hostage to the weather.

(3) Security is a factor which becomes a greater problem in an outside event.

9. Other Possibilities

a. The use of the Army Wembley Musical Pageant (21/22 June) as an already planned and more jolly commemoration occasion:

(1) The participation could be changed to exclude foreign bands and to make it a tri-Service affair.

(2) The use of a pre-planned event would not satisfy the public clamour for a national commemoration in its own right.

b. A service could be held in the Albert Hall (capacity 6400) thus combining a commemorative service with the participation of maximum numbers of veterans (perhaps including banners etc.) with official participants:

(1) The idea is generally favoured and the flexibility in planning possibilities appreciated.

(2) There is a view that a service not in a church does not have the same meaning.

(3) A parade of banners inside the Hall allows the active participation of Veterans Associations in a less conspicuously military way.

(4) It might be felt to be too much like the RBL Poppy Festival in November.

10. Summary.

a. A commemorative service should be the principle event.

b. Preferred venues:

Westminster Abbey or the Albert Hall

c. There should be no outdoors parade even of Association banners as not appropriate to the theme of peace. If the Albert Hall is chosen then there is an option to bring the banners into the form of service.

DATE

11. There should be only one commemorative day to mark the end of the War in 1945, and Wed 8 May and Thu 15 August should therefore be avoided.

DEPARTMENT/SERIES PREM 19 PIECE/ITEM 1435 (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
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20. The FCO expect pressure from the Soviet Union to attend ceremonies there which will require consideration and consultation with Allies. Soviet ceremonies will be so different from our own that precedence is unlikely to be set, ie they are celebrating victory. Other nations' events may pose a problem of precedence but as ours is a domestic national day, Ambassadors would be the right level of foreign representation.

FINANCE

18. No estimate of costs can be made until decisions are taken on the various options outlined above. Once a decision is taken it will be necessary for a detailed budget to be drawn up, and for this to be approved as a proper charge on defence votes. However, costs should be relatively small, particularly if a church service is chosen, and should largely consist of travel and subsistence costs of Service and official civilian personnel attending; if the Royal Albert Hall were to be chosen as the venue, hire costs would also be incurred. Costs should lie where they fall. The RBL have agreed that any veterans attending should pay their own way. If, as is expected, the commemoration is a state occasion, with senior Royalty attending, police and security costs should not be a charge to MOD.

DEFENCE: Celebration of
VE day: Oct 1984,

Prime Minister

Ref. A085/269

MR BUTLER

I suggest that you should see Mr. Heseltine's suggestions before agreeing to putting them on the Cabinet agenda - we do not want him to create another row in Cabinet. We are trying to get an advance copy for you.

40th Anniversary of Victory in Europe
 We are promised a copy tomorrow morning.

At Cabinet on 24 January, the Secretary of State for Defence said that he would put proposals to colleagues very shortly ^{FEB} about the arrangements to mark the 40th Anniversary of the ending ^{28.1} of the Second World War in Europe. The Prime Minister made it clear that she wished to reach a final decision on this issue as quickly as possible and in any case within the next fortnight. A decision is therefore needed quickly on the way in which the Secretary of State for Defence's proposals should be addressed.

2. The Defence and Overseas Policy Committee would normally be an appropriate forum for such matters; but given the high degree of Parliamentary and public interest in the matter, and the difficulty of getting together a meeting of OD in the near future, I think that it would be best to add it to the agenda for the Cabinet itself for either 31 January or 7 February, depending on when the Secretary of State for Defence circulates his proposals.

3. If the Prime Minister agrees with this approach, I shall make the necessary arrangements for the Secretary of State for Defence's proposals to be taken in Cabinet.

REA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

I should prefer to discuss them with

The Queen first. May we see them please

28 January 1985

We may have allowed him to offer

ms

David Barclay Esq
No 10 Downing Street



CO 271

WITH

THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE

PRIVATE SECRETARY

We spoke. I attach the draft ^{with} of Mr Kee's speech for the Adjournment Debate this evening for your information. Anne Bennett

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE, WHITEHALL 28/1/85

Telephone: 01-218 9000
01 218 6312

Jan19.1et

I welcome the opportunity presented by the Hon Gentleman initiating this debate to explain a little more fully the Government's thinking on this very important issue.

We have stated on a number of occasions over the past week that we have decided that the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War should be ^{appropriately} marked by ~~national commemorative celebrations~~. We are particularly conscious of the high degree of public interest that there has been on this question and understand and sympathise with the feelings that have been expressed.

We are still considering the form that the ^{commemorative} ~~commemorative celebrations~~ should take and a number of options are being ~~closely~~ studied; we presently envisage, however, that ~~the commemorations will include~~ a Service of Thanksgiving at which those who gave their lives will be honoured and the spirit of peace and reconciliation will be stressed ~~would no doubt be~~

In planning these celebrations we are also carefully considering the nature and extent of representation from other countries. We shall of course taken into account the views that have been expressed to us from various quarters including those of the Hon Gentleman before taking any decisions. My Rt Hon Friend the Prime Minister has already announced that there will be many representatives of foreign and commonwealth governments to whom we shall extend invitations to take part in the commemoration, either as High Commissioners or as Ambassadors, including those from the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union. We shall, of course, wish to ensure that this does not become a divisive issue, or give grounds for offence to our allies, past or present. As the Prime Minister has said we will need to consult widely and determine the form of celebration before making final decisions.

We shall, as always, remember the contribution made by our Allies in the Second World War and our joint victory over tyranny [if appropriate - not least immense Soviet achievement, referred to by Mr Cartwright].

[If Mr Cartwright strongly pursues theme of Soviet wartime achievement - The Hon Member referred to the Soviet wartime achievement. We have always recognised the immense sacrifices of the Soviet people during the War. It is striking that the Soviet Union seems reluctant to recognise the reconciliation and changes that have been achieved by these sacrifices. Indeed in contradiction of present-day realities, they have in recent months pursued a campaign accusing the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany of harbouring militarist and revanchist ambitions. It is particularly sad that they have stressed this theme in their approach to the 40th anniversary, which we all feel should be an occasion for commemorating the achievements of 40 years of peace.]

However, as the Prime Minister said in the House on 15 January, we will aim in the commemorative celebrations to focus not only on the anniversaries but also on the achievements of the last 40 years in preserving peace with freedom. We shall, of course, have very much in mind the reconstruction and reconciliation that has been achieved in this time. As we approach this 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War we are very mindful that our adversaries at that time are now our Allies and conscious of the considerable efforts that have been made to build constructively on the sacrifices of the war years and the achievement of reconciliation.

As my Rt Hon Friend the Prime Minister made clear after her discussions with Chancellor Kohl, we see 1945 as a year which saw a new rebirth of freedom: a freedom which we must preserve for future generations.

I would also stress, and this will be reflected in the tone of the celebrations, that VE day did not mark the end of the Second World War and our commemorations will focus on the ending of war both in Europe and in the Far East and on the heroic sacrifice of the Allied forces in all theatres.

[Hon Members have expressed the view in this House that those who fought in the Far East should not be forgotten. I can reassure them that the gallantry these men displayed and the suffering and privations they underwent are not forgotten; and that they will be equally honoured in our commemorative celebrations].

However, the Hon Gentleman has specifically referred in this short debate to Victory in Europe Day, and I believe it would be appropriate to spend a few moments considering the events which have followed that victory.

In 1945 Europe had been torn apart by the devastating conflict which had embroiled its nations for six years. This year we are able to celebrate 40 years of continuous peace in Europe. It is not by chance that the longest period of peace in Europe this century has coincided with the existence of the Atlantic Alliance.

The quintessential purpose of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is the preservation of the principles of freedom and democracy. Its strength lies in the determination of its signatories to do all in their power to safeguard peace and international security, and in their willingness to work together in a wholly defensive alliance. It is a measure of the remarkable success that NATO has had in meeting its objectives that the thirty five years of its existence have been marked by an unbroken period of peace in Europe. This has been at a time when we have been faced with the advent of weapons of unprecedented power. There has been conflict and

unrest in one or more parts of the world more or less throughout the entire period, and there has been no weakening, indeed the opposite, in the challenge posed by the Soviet Union and her Warsaw Pact allies.

What then has been the key to the continued effectiveness of our transatlantic Alliance? There have, of course been difficulties and differences of opinion - this is natural in an Alliance of independent nations. But it is the main strength of NATO that its members, with common aims and interests, can discuss and resolve their problems together. NATO is an association of free States, joined together to preserve their security by collective self-defence, and to strengthen peace by means of constructive dialogue. Our solidarity does not conflict with the ability of each country to pursue its own policies. We are a partnership of equals with none dominant and none dominated, but we are committed to close consultation and cooperation in pursuit of our successful aims.

In addition to guaranteeing our security, we of course see the need to build the foundations of lasting peace, to develop balanced East-West relations and to contribute to peaceful progress worldwide. We shall continue to pursue these ends with our allies in NATO.

DEFENSIVE BRIEFING - Q & A

- Q. Will the Government accept any Soviet invitation to their celebrations in Moscow?
- A. We have not yet received an invitation from the Russians. If we do, we shall have to balance a number of factors before deciding on our final response. We shall have in mind the immense sacrifice of the Soviet Union in the last war, but the progress at present in the anti-German propaganda campaign in the Soviet Union is something else of which we shall have to take account.
- Q. Will the government be attending other international events associated with the end of the Second World War (eg the anniversary of the Dresden bombing)?
- A. We shall consider invitations to commemorative events case by case and in consultation with our friends and allies bearing in mind our view that any event of this sort should honour the sacrifices of the war in a spirit of reconciliation, and avoid polemics.
- Q. How has the attitude of Germany affected the government's position on this question?
- A. Of course, it is entirely a matter for us to decide how to commemorate this anniversary but I firmly believe that nothing should be done which is triumphalist or anti-German in spirit. This subject was raised in discussions between the Prime Minister and Chancellor Kohl and I believe that the Chancellor wholly shares our view that this commemoration should aim to honour the dead whilst stressing the themes of peace and reconciliation.
- Q. Is the Government considering military parades to mark the anniversary?
- A. The form that the celebrations will take has yet to be decided.

Q Will the government consider arranging the commemorative events so that they will involve ordinary people rather than diplomats or political leaders?

A. As I have said we have yet to decide on the form that the commemoration will take; [I believe, however, that it is most likely and fitting that representation from overseas will take the form of High Commissioners or Ambassadors as appropriate]

Q. Will there be celebrations for both VE and VJ Day?

A. We shall commemorate the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War and the peace that has ensued. This will naturally include the ending of the conflict in all theatres.

BACKGROUND

US of S(DP) will be aware of the considerable Parliamentary and press interest in the question of celebrating the 40th anniversary of VE Day.

This question first arose in the House of Commons on 15 October during Prime Minister's Question Time when the PM agreed that the Government would arrange national celebrations. She was subsequently asked about the commemoration of the War in the Far East: the representation of the Soviet Union in any commemorative events and the need to keep celebrations international in character (the last by Mr Cartwright) (relevant Hansard extracts attached). She has agreed that the celebrations will include victory in the Far East as well as Europe and that the celebration will be essentially national with involvement from overseas and commonwealth countries. The subject was also brought up in the press conference following the Prime Minister's discussion with Chancellor Kohl last week (extracts from the press conference are attached).

There is not a great deal that can usefully be said at this stage about the proposed celebrations as the form that they will take is still being discussed. I attach a submission from DCDS(Prog & Pers) to S of S outlining a number of possible options which are still under consideration by the Secretary of State. In particular it is understood that he is giving further thought to levels of representation and the question of a parade. Further briefing will be submitted if necessary before the debate.

It has been agreed throughout that the commemoration should take the form of a celebration not only of victory but of the achievement of reconstruction, reconciliation and retention of peace with freedom for the last 40 years.

There has been some controversy about the level of Soviet involvement appropriate to any celebrations in view of their considerable contribution to the War in Europe. The line taken has been that we are very aware of their contribution but that we deplore any attempt to exploit the occasion by fostering anti-Germany feeling or attributing totally unsubstantiated claims of German revanchism. An invitation to attend celebrations in the Soviet Union has not yet been received but a supplementary is included to cover any questioning on this point.

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1435</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

15 January 1985

Dear Richard,

Commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary of VE Day

Robin Butler's letter of 14 January recorded discussion by Ministers of various options for commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary of VE Day. Len Appleyard's letter of 15 January gave a line for Prime Minister's Questions. I now enclose the text of the Prime Minister's answers.

It is, I think, for the Ministry of Defence to come forward with some specific proposals for discussion by Ministers. I should be grateful to receive these as soon as possible.

I am copying this to Len Appleyard (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), David Morris (Lord Privy Seal's Office), Janet Lewis-Jones (Lord President's Office), Alex Galloway (Paymaster General's Office) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely
Charles Powell

Charles Powell

Richard Mottram Esq
Ministry of Defence.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO GEOFFREY RIPPON MPV E DAY

I know that there is a good deal of feeling that we should have a national celebration of VE Day. I understand that feeling and believe that we should celebrate not only victory but peace with freedom and the fact that for some forty years we have had peace with freedom across Europe. We are considering the form of a national commemoration which will honour the dead and point to the reconciliation and re-construction that has been achieved. We shall make an announcement in due course.

PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO JOHN CARTWRIGHT, MP

I believe that we are entitled to national celebrations and I have said that we shall be bringing forward some proposals. I hope that these will celebrate the victory of freedom over tyranny and that they will also celebrate forty years of peace with that freedom. It will, therefore, be a celebration with two aspects to it.



CABINET OFFICE
70 Whitehall,
London SW1A 2AS
Telephone 01-233 3340

15 January 1985

Dear Robin,

CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF VE DAY

The Paymaster General has seen your letter of 14 January to Len Appleyard.

As you know, Mr Gummer is strongly of the opinion that we should celebrate VE Day. He has asked me to underline his belief that a clear role for the Church in Thanksgiving ought not to be avoided, although the exact form this takes should protect us as far as possible from unseemly wrangles.

I am sending copies of this letter to Len Appleyard (Foreign Secretary's Office), Janet Lewis-Jones (Lord President's Office), Richard Mottram (Defence Secretary's Office), David Morris (Lord Privy Seal's Office) and to Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

Alex Galloway

A K GALLOWAY
Private Secretary

F E R Butler Esq
10 Downing Street

Depne : VE day 10/84

GARNET OFFICE
2nd Floor
2nd Floor
2nd Floor



15 JAN 1985

COPIED FROM



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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

15 January, 1985.

Will you please thank the Lord Privy Seal very much for his letter of 15 January, and for the extracts from the Chips Channon and Harold Nicholson diaries. I have passed these on to those who are considering the alternatives for the commemoration of VE Day.

David Morris, Esq.,
Lord Privy Seal's Office.

ds



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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

15 January, 1985.

In my letter of yesterday, I mentioned the service in St. Margarets, Westminster, arranged by members of the House of Commons on VE Day 1945. I enclose copies of extracts from the diaries of Chips Channon and Harold Nicholson which refer to this service.

I am copying this letter to Len Appleyard (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), David Morris (Lord Privy Seal's Office), Janet Lewis-Jones (Lord President's Office), Alex Galloway (Paymaster General's Office), and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

E. E. R. BUTLER

Richard Mottram, Esq.,
Ministry of Defence.



PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1A 2AT

15 January 1985

Dear Robert,

I think the enclosed extracts from the Henry Channon and Harold Nicholson diaries will give an idea of the Service of Thanksgiving on May 8 1945.

May 8 1985 will be a Wednesday, and quite a suitable day for a morning service.

It seems the favoured term was "German domination" and not "Nazi domination".

JOHN BIFFEN

F E R Butler Esq
PPS/Prime Minister
No 10 Downing Street

HAROLD NICOLSON'S DIARIES

DIARY

7th May, 1945

At 3 comes the news that an hour ago Schwerin von Krosigk¹ had spoken on the wireless from Flensburg.² He has said that Germany was obliged to surrender unconditionally, crushed by the overwhelming might of her enemies. Ben and I dash to tell Vita who is in the courtyard. The three of us climb the turret stairs, tie the flag to the ropes, and hoist it in the soft south-west breeze. It looks very proud and gay after five years of confinement.

I decide to go up to London. The news of Schwerin's broadcast has apparently spread. In Staplehurst we see a handful of children fluttering little flags. When I get to London there are flags everywhere. At Cannon Street I see the B.B.C.'s Chief Engineer, Noel Ashbridge, escaping exhausted from London. He says that everything is completely tied up, that we cannot get Moscow to agree to a time for a simultaneous announcement and that everything is to be postponed until tomorrow.

I dine at Pratts, which is empty and dull. Coming back, I find a few instances of celebration. A Jewess in a paper cap is strolling down St James's Street turning a rattle. A few drunken soldiers.

H.N. TO N.N.

8th May, 1945

Sissinghurst

The normality continued in the morning. I attended a meeting of the *Institut Français* and lunched at the Beefsteak. By that time things began to liven up. There was some cheering in the streets and crowds in Leicester Square. But when I had finished my luncheon, I found a very different scene. The whole of Trafalgar Square and Whitehall was packed with people. Somebody had made a corner in rosettes, flags, streamers, paper whisks and, above all, paper caps. The latter were horrible, being of the comic variety. I also regret to say that I observed three Guardsmen in full uniform wearing such hats: they were *not* Grenadiers; they belonged to the Coldstream. And through this cheerful, but not exuberant, crowd I pushed my way to the House of Commons. The last few yards were very difficult, as the crowd was packed against the railings. I tore my trousers in trying to squeeze past a stranded car. But at length the police saw me and backed a horse

¹ He had been Minister of Finance continuously since his appointment by von Papen in 1932, and was Foreign Minister in the Doenitz Government.

² The town on the Danish border where Doenitz had set up his rump Government.

V. E. DAY

7th May, 1945
Krosigk¹ had
Germany was
overwhelming
is in the court-
g to the ropes,
ery proud and
s broadcast has
ldren fluttering
erywhere. At
el Ashbridge,
g is completely
e for a simul-
ostponed until
k, I find a few
olling down St

into the crowd, making a gap through which, amid cheers, I was squirted into Palace Yard. There I paused to recover myself, and seeing that it was approaching the hour of 3 pm., I decided to remain there and hear Winston's broadcast which was to be relayed through loudspeakers. As Big Ben struck three, there was an extraordinary hush over the assembled multitude, and then came Winston's voice. He was short and effective, merely announcing that unconditional surrender had been signed, and naming the signatories. (When it came to Jodl, he said 'Jodel'¹.) 'The evil-doers', he intoned, 'now lie prostrate before us.' The crowd gasped at this phrase. 'Advance Britannia!' he shouted at the end, and there followed the Last Post and *God Save the King* which we all sang very loud indeed. And then cheer upon cheer.

8th May, 1945
Sissinghurst
meeting of the
t time things
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I found a very
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they were *not*
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e crowd was
g to squeeze
backed a horse
at by von Papen
rump Govern-

I dashed back into the House and into the Chamber. After the roar and heat outside, it was like suddenly entering an Oxford quadrangle on Eights Week night. Cool and hushed the Chamber was, with P. J. Grigg answering questions as if nothing unusual were impending. The clock reached 3.15, which is the moment when Questions automatically close. We knew that it would take Winston some time to get to the House from Downing Street in such a crowd. We therefore made conversation by asking supplementary questions until 3.23. Then a slight stir was observed behind the Speaker's chair, and Winston, looking coy and cheerful, came in. The House rose as a man, and yelled and yelled and waved their Order Papers. He responded, not with a bow exactly, but with an odd shy jerk of the head and with a wide grin. Then he started to read to us the statement that he had just made on the wireless. When he had finished reading, he put his manuscript aside and with wide gestures thanked and blessed the House for all its noble support of him throughout these years.

Then he proposed that 'this House do now attend at the Church of St Margaret's, Westminster, to give humble and reverend thanks to Almighty God for our deliverance from the threat of German domination'. The motion was carried, and the Serjeant at Arms put the mace on his shoulder and, following the Speaker, we all strode out. Through the Central Lobby we streamed, through St Stephen's Chapel, and out into the sunshine of Parliament Square. We entered St. Margaret's by the West door which was furthest away from us, and that meant a long sinuous procession through a lane kept open for us through the crowd. I had expected some jeers or tittering, since politicians are not

¹The Chief of Hitler's Operational Staff of the Wehrmacht.

HAROLD NICOLSON'S DIARIES

popular and in the mass they seem absurd. But not at all. Cheers were what we received, and adulation. The service itself was very short and simple, and beautifully sung. Then the Chaplain to the Speaker read in a loud voice the names of those who had laid down their lives: 'Ronald Cartland; Hubert Duggan; Victor Cazalet; John Macnamara; Robert Bernays'—only the names of my particular friends registered on my consciousness. I was moved. The tears came into my eyes. Furtively I wiped them away. 'Men are so emotional', sniffed Nancy Astor, who was sitting next to me. Damn her.

Then back we streamed into the House and adjourned for the day. Winston made a dash for the smoking-room. When he was passing through Central Hall the crowd there broke into loud clapping. He hesitated and then hurried on. A little boy dashed out: 'Please, sir, may I have your autograph?' Winston took a long time getting out his glasses and wiping them. Then he ruffled the little boy's hair and gave him back his beastly little album. 'That will remind you of a glorious day', he said, and the crowd clapped louder than before. In the smoking-room Kenneth Pickthorn produced a bottle of champagne and we clinked glasses.

Then came an anti-climax. I was taken out in a police-car to beyond Kensington to lecture to a Police course. They were very intelligent for bobbies, and I quite enjoyed it. And then, with great difficulty because the streets were blocked, I was taken back by the police-car to the Travellers where I dined with Robin McDouall and a nice naval friend of his called Wyndham Goodden. We had champagne and then went downstairs to the inner room to listen to the King's wireless address.

I went on to a party at Chips Channon's. Why did I go to that party? I should have been much happier seeing all the flood-lighting and the crowds outside Buckingham Palace. But I went and I loathed it. There in his room, copied from the Amalienburg, under the lights of many candles, were gathered the Nurembergers and the Munichois celebrating *our* victory over *their* friend Herr von Ribbentrop. I left early and in haste, leaving my coat behind me. A voice hailed me in Belgrave Square. It was Charles, seventh Marquess of Londonderry,¹

¹ Lord Londonderry was Secretary of State for Air, 1931-35. He was severely attacked in England by Labour and pacifist circles for opposing the abolition of bombing aircraft by international agreement. He met the Nazi leaders in 1936 and 1937. Ribbentrop came to stay with him. He died in February 1949, as the result of a gliding accident in 1947.

A GRIN ON BIG BEN'S FACE

Hitler's friend. As we walked towards his mansion in Park Lane, he explained to me how he had warned the Government about Hitler; how they would not listen to him; how, but for him, we should not have had the Spitfires and 'all this', waving a thin arm at the glow above a floodlit Buckingham Palace, at the sound of cheering in the park, and at the cone of searchlights which joined each other like a maypole above our heads.

Enraged by this, I left him in Park Lane and walked back through the happy but quite sober crowds to Trafalgar Square. The National Gallery was alive with every stone outlined in flood-lighting, and down there was Big Ben with a grin upon his illumined face. The statue of Nelson was picked out by a searchlight, and there was the smell of distant bonfires in the air. I walked to the Temple and beyond. Looking down Fleet Street one saw the best sight of all—the dome of St Paul's rather dim-lit, and then above it a concentration of searchlights upon the huge golden cross. So I went to bed.

That was my victory day.

As soon as the war with Germany was over, the thoughts of Parliament turned towards the General Election. In the previous October, Churchill had suggested that an Election should be held within a month or two of the defeat of Germany. Now he changed his mind. He considered that the Coalition should remain together until after the defeat of Japan, and that the death of Roosevelt and the disquieting attitude of Russia since Yalta made a unified British Government all the more essential. The Labour Party took a different view. The present Parliament, they argued, was already ten years old, and the urgency of certain social reforms was already in dispute between the Parties. On 23rd May Churchill therefore announced that Parliament would be dissolved on 15th June and that Polling Day would be on 5th July. In the interval, he formed his 'Caretaker Government', composed of Conservatives and Independents only.

As Harold Nicolson records, the Japanese war aroused little interest in Britain. The fall of Rangoon to General Slim's 14th British Army on 2nd May had not even been mentioned in his Diary, nor was the fierce fighting by the Americans for Okinawa in April, May and June. Apart from the mounting Party battle at home, attention was focused on the behaviour of the Communists in Europe and of France in the Middle East. The most critical situation developed at Trieste and in southern Austria, which Tito's victorious partisans claimed as their own, although

CHANNON

THE END OF THE WAR

6 May

The Wavells have now been here over six weeks. Will they never return? Their visit was ill-timed, even tactless. HMG was against it but Wavell whilst a scholar, a good man, and a great soldier, is no politician. He has been blundering and a bore to both Winston and the Cabinet. I am sorry for him, as he is in real jeopardy. To be dégomme after only a year and a half of Vice-royalty would be a tragedy, but Rab Butler thinks that he may survive.

8 May

VE Day, at last.

The night before war was declared, I was in the Cabinet Room of 10 Downing Street, watching Neville Chamberlain, who looked broken-hearted, and running errands back and forth from the FO and telephoning to Nevile Henderson, and coping with Red Boxes, when a thunderstorm broke – a storm such as I have never seen.¹ It did not stop and Peter Loxley and I had to sally forth, and arrived home drenched. There was rain as if the very gods were weeping (only once had I known a storm like it in England – the night Mme Fahmy murdered her husband at the Savoy, while I, the Prince of Wales and Prince Paul were dancing at Mrs Rupert Beckett's ball).

Early this morning, too, I was awakened by the rain – intense, Wagnerian rain, which lasted for a long time; the noise brought back, as nothing else could, that September night of 1939. . . .

Before lunch I walked through the Ritz, which was beflagged and decorated: everyone kissed me, Mrs Keppel, the Duchess of Rutland and Violet Trefusis all seized me alternately. . . . The streets were almost empty, as there is a bus-strike, and taxis refused to go out – there were a few singing people, that's all.

At the House, Questions lasted interminably, and there was an atmosphere of expectancy in the crowded Chamber. Every seat was occupied; the Ambassadors were all present, peers queued up. At three o'clock, in the Whips' Room, I heard the PM make the official announcement over the wireless that the war in Europe was at an end. I then returned to the Chamber, but owing to the ovation Winston was having in the streets, he was delayed, and for a few embarrassed minutes we had nothing to do. Members, amused, asked desultory questions, keeping their eyes on the door behind the Speaker's chair. The Serjeant-at-Arms was in Court Dress, the Speaker wore his robes with gold braid, etc. (I have never seen this done before – though I suppose it was done at the Coronation.) At last Winston, smiling and bent, appeared, and had a tremendous reception. Everyone (except the recently elected cad for Chelmsford) rose and cheered and waved handkerchiefs and

¹ See pp. 212-4.

CHIPS, THE DIARIES OF SIR HENRY CHANNON

Order Papers . . . Winston smiled and half bowed – as he often does, and turning towards the Speaker, read out the same short announcement of the surrender of Germany which he had already given over the wireless. The House was profoundly moved, and gave him another great cheer; but his reception, even at a supreme moment like today, did not equal Mr Chamberlain's great ovation after Munich. Then Winston, in a lower voice, added his personal thanks and praise for the House of Commons and the Democratic System: some Members wept, and the PM moved that we repair to St Margaret's to offer thanks to Almighty God using the identical phraseology employed by Lloyd George in 1918. The Speaker headed the procession, followed by Winston, who walked with Arthur Greenwood. We walked through St Stephen's Hall and outside, where there was a terrific crowd, the sun was shining. There were bells, police carved a way for us, and we must have looked like a picture by Giovanni Bellini as we filed, 500 strong, into St Margaret's for a short and impressive service.

10 May

It is my private opinion that the PM is universally admired but little liked, which is sad. But for the last few days he has certainly enjoyed his moment of triumph, and his car has been frequently mobbed: people climbed all over it on the way to the House on Tuesday and thus delayed him, and I am told that last night he stood on top of it outside the Ministry of Health. Today in the House, he was buoyant and gay, and later in the Smoking Room, when he was sitting with Jay Llewellyn he smiled at me, and I murmured a few conventional words of congratulation. He thanked me, but, as always, made me feel shy. As I walked away I thought of Coronation evening, and how he had telephoned and proposed bringing Mrs Churchill and two of his daughters to Belgrave Square, which he duly did, and stayed half the night¹ . . . how much has happened to us all since then.

13 May

I went to St Paul's for the great Thanksgiving Service, very hot in my morning clothes: the great cathedral was crowded, and I watched all the notabilities of the earth come in, and listened to the cheers of the crowds outside. At length the procession of clergy moved to the door to receive the Sovereigns who then proceeded up the aisle. Their Majesties looked young and smiling – though the King looked drawn, but he has the Windsor gift of looking half his age. Behind him walked Queen Mary whom I had not seen since before the war. She looked magnificent – even beautiful, and was gloriously arrayed and bejewelled

¹ See p. 122.

*Above Chips
Hellenes and
Right With*

[15 JAN 1985]

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CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 January 1985

Dear Robin,

Commemoration of the Anniversary of VE Day

You asked in your letter of 14 January for advice on a number of possibilities for the commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of VE Day; and for advice on the line which the Prime Minister should take at Parliamentary Questions today.

/ / I enclose a line to take and notes for supplementaries for Question Time. This reflects discussion with Richard Mottram in the Ministry of Defence, who are responsible for any domestic arrangements to commemorate VE Day.

The line recognises that there should be a national commemoration of the 40th anniversary, giving due prominence to the theme 40 years of peace and reconciliation. The various possibilities mentioned in your letter will no doubt need further consideration. The Foreign Secretary personally sees some attraction in the idea of adapting the annual British Legion Service of Remembrance.

On the international aspects of VE Day, we have consulted our closest allies. None of them has in mind an international commemoration. The German Government are, however, thinking of holding a domestic Service of Thanksgiving in Cologne Cathedral, and there will be a special session of the German Parliament. It is also likely that President Reagan will stay on in Germany for a few days after the Bonn Economic Summit, which would give the opportunity for a German-American gesture of reconciliation if the two leaders wished to follow the example of Kohl and Mitterrand at Verdun.

The Foreign Secretary believes that, while we should continue to keep abreast of the plans being developed by our allies, we have no interest in proposing that there should be a large scale international commemoration of VE Day sponsored by the Western allies. Any such event would raise difficult problems about how to involve the Russians without causing deep offence to the Germans (whom the Russians are almost daily accusing of 'revanchism' and militarism). The Germans would have no reason to object to a purely domestic British

/ commemoration ...

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commemoration of VE Day. What they would resent would be any hint of triumphalism or association with 'revanchist' charges. Our objective should therefore be to ensure that any commemoration takes as its theme reconciliation and looks towards the future; and that the memory of the dead is suitably honoured. It would of course, as the draft replies to supplementaries suggest, be entirely appropriate to use the forthcoming 10th Anniversary of the CSCE Final Act to develop the theme of reconciliation. The 30th Anniversary of the Austrian State Treaty (15 May) will offer another occasion.

The Russians are taking soundings about attendance by their wartime allies in the major celebration which they plan on 8-9 May, and which they are likely to use to promote their propaganda charges of revanchism. If an invitation does issue, we shall consult carefully with the US and France on whether to accept, keeping the Germans fully informed. Chancellor Kohl will wish to discuss this question in detail with the Prime Minister on 18 January.

We shall wish to speak quickly to the German Ambassador after the Prime Minister has spoken in the House today, to explain our thinking.

[REDACTED] A supplementary reply reflects this.

I am copying this letter to Janet Lewis-Jones (Lord President's Office), Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence), David Morris (Lord Privy Seal's Office), Alex Galloway (Paymaster General's Office) and Sir Robert Armstrong.

*Yours ever,
Len Appleyard*

(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

Robin Butler Esq
No 10 Downing Street

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PRIME MINISTER'S QUESTION TIME : 15 JANUARY

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF VE DAY

Line to Take

Entirely right that everyone who wishes to have opportunity to recall the sacrifices of the War, and commemorate not just victory but also 40 years of peace in Europe. We are considering the form of a national commemoration which will both honour the dead, and point to reconciliation and reconstruction that has been achieved; and will make an announcement in due course.

Supplementaries

An International Commemoration

No proposal for this. There will be occasions such as the 10th Anniversary of the CSCE Final Act to mark the theme of peaceful reconciliation and to look to the future.

Soviet Wartime Achievement

We have always recognised the immense achievement and sacrifice of the Soviet people during the War.

Soviet Invitation for this year

No formal invitation has yet been received. If invited we will consider carefully and coordinate with our wartime allies. We shall also take account of the nature of what is proposed, which should commemorate peace, reconciliation and reconstruction.

The German Position

No question of a German 'veto' on British arrangements. Entirely for us to decide. But it is my firm view that nothing that is done should be done in a triumphalist or anti-German spirit.

Normandy Landings 40th Anniversary

The French Government issued an invitation. Clearly right to accept.

Involvement of Germans/Italians/Russians in British National Ceremony

Something to be considered in due course.



Have you changed your position?

The question of a national commemoration is a matter for us to decide. We have not said that we were opposed to this. On the contrary, can see why there is strong feeling in the country in favour. Theme of reconciliation is one which would be welcomed by other governments (so no question of being put off by the views of others).

17



Mr Munro
Munro

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

From The Minister of State

7 January 1985

M. Anderson
Lady Youngs off
we making to plan
change!
18M 9/1

WRC 227/1	
09 JAN 1985	

Dear Mr. Cartwright,

18

Thank you for your letter of 12 December to Geoffrey Howe about the 40th Anniversary of the end of the War. I am replying in Geoffrey's absence overseas.

The Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of D-Day originated with French war veterans associations at the initiative in particular of M. Raymond Triboulet, a former Minister of War Veterans and President of the Normandy Landings Committee. The arrangements were subsequently taken over by the French Government. I think the German reaction to the Commemoration illustrates the difficulty of mounting official events which both honour sacrifices made in the past and acknowledged the peaceful evolution of Germany (and Italy and Japan) since the end of the war. But I agree with you that, in the light of the D-Day Commemoration, many people in this country are expecting a celebration of the end of the war. We look forward therefore to considering how best the Government could be involved in celebrations organised by bodies, such as the British Legion, when we know more of their plans. I believe our objective should be to highlight not only the achievements of those who won the war in 1945 but also of our former enemies who since then have built stable democratic societies and are now our partners and allies. The Economic Summit in Bonn (2-4 May) and the likely high-level meeting in July/August to mark the 10th Anniversary of the Helsinki Accords are two opportunities to develop these themes in 1985.

You asked that if celebrations are held they should be truly international in character. The Allied countries included not only the US, France and the Soviet Union, but also the Commonwealth, South Africa and Pakistan and, in Eastern Europe, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and ~~Romania~~ ^{Yugoslavia}. An invitation confined to the wartime allies would have to exclude the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and possibly Italy as well as Bulgaria, Finland, Romania and Hungary. While a celebration on these

/lines

John Cartwright Esq MP
House of Commons
LONDON SW1A 0AA



lines would have the merit of not distorting history it would hardly do justice to the realities of present-day politics and our flourishing post-war partnership with Germany, Italy and Japan.

An opinion poll carried out in 1983 indicated that many people in Britain now regard the Germans as our best friends in Europe. I think we need to take account of this evolution in popular attitudes in our approach to the anniversaries of 1985. We do not want to neglect either our own achievements, or the achievements of others, including the Soviet Union and Poland. We will look with an open mind at any opportunities to honour these achievements without polemics and without distortions of either the wartime or the post-war facts of history in Europe. But I am afraid we have yet to see any evidence that the Russians are approaching the occasion in the same balanced way: their propaganda alleging present-day German 'revanchism' suggests just the opposite. In the circumstances, I see a real risk that any official British international celebration confined to wartime allies could appear at best nostalgic, and at worst anti-German, unbalanced and open to historical distortion by the Soviet Union.

Your friends

Diana Young

Baroness Young

M. Anderson

World this Weekend - Interview with Lady Young - 13 January 1985

Bill Frost:

Lady Young: I would like to make it absolutely plain that the Government recognise that we won a very great and remarkable victory in 1945, that our forces were magnificent and thanks to their courage we are now able to live in peace and freedom. But the fact is that we have peace today not just because of victory in 1945 but because of NATO and political developments in Europe, notably the Community. And fortunately we are now allies and friends of our former enemies, a fact we must recognise and welcome. And therefore we do need to consider what our friends think.

Bill Frost: So you're willing to be involved in but not to sponsor or organise such ~~RR~~ events.

Lady Young: Well, what we have said is that we look to these sort of events, we would be glad to be involved in celebrations organised by the British Legion. We also considered the possibility of other events in the course of the year, for example the Economic Summit in Bonn, which will take place early in May, the likely high level meeting in July and August to mark the tenth anniversary of the Helsinki Accord. There are a number of events in the course of the year in which we could mark the 40th anniversary.

Bill Frost: >I think what Mr Cartwright and others wanted was an official British celebration. What's the real objection to that when so many would seem to want it?

Lady Young: I cannot of course speak for what the German Government might say, but the fact was that they were

concerned about what happened last year for the 40th anniversary of the Normandy Landings. And I think we have to take into consideration their view. And the fact of the matter is that on these matters we want to do two things. We want in considering anniversaries like VE Day first to honour our war dead. But we also need to look forward and not back. And I do think we need to avoid encouraging or joining in what the Russians are saying about German militarism.

Bill Frost: You said in your letter to Mr Cartwright that such celebrations could be open to what you called historical distortion by the Soviet Union. Do you not think that that threatens to jeopardise the relationship between Britain and Russia which seems to be improving so dramatically following Mr Gorbachev's visit?

Lady Young : No I think we have to consider both arguments. We have of course to consider the arguments of the celebration and the recognition of Russia's contribution in the Second World War. But we also have to consider the political realities of Europe today.

cc PS
PS / Lady Young
PS / Mr. Ripston
PS / Mr. Renton
PS / PUS
Mr. D. Thomas
Mr. Jenkins
WED
Samed Dept
FED

News Dept
(Copies All)
No. 10 Press Office

15 JAN 1985



Subject "master"



M.F.J.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

14 January 1985

Dear Len,

Celebration of the Anniversary of VE Day

The Prime Minister did not have an opportunity to raise with the Foreign Secretary at lunch this morning the widespread criticism of the Government's decision not to arrange a celebration of the 40th anniversary of VE Day.

The Prime Minister, however, did refer to this matter in a discussion with other colleagues before lunch, and a number of possibilities were mooted, with various advantages and disadvantages.

It was generally recognised that a national Service of Thanksgiving in St. Paul's Cathedral would raise difficulties about those to be invited as well as security problems, and would also give rise to controversy about the contents of the service as had happened over the Thanksgiving Service for the Falklands campaign. A joint session of Parliament in Westminster Hall, at which representatives of the Armed Services, ex-servicemen's organisations and the bereaved could be present, would diminish some of these problems but there might be pressure to arrange a similar event to mark the anniversary of Victory over Japan next year. An alternative, which could also cater in due course for Victory over Japan, would be to use the annual British Legion's Service of Remembrance at the Albert Hall. Other possibilities which were mentioned were an open air service on Horse Guards organised by the armed forces or a repeat of the service in St. Margaret's, Westminster, which, in the recollection of some of those present, the House of Commons had attended when Victory in Europe was announced in 1945.

The Prime Minister would be grateful for further advice from the Foreign Secretary on whether, in the light of the reaction to the announcement so far made, any of these possibilities should be further considered. I am afraid that we will anyway need your urgent advice on the line which the Prime Minister should take on this matter in case it is raised at Parliamentary Questions tomorrow: Tim Flesher has commissioned briefing on this. The subject is also likely to come up in the bilateral meeting with the German Government on Friday.

888

I am copying this letter to Janet Lewis-Jones (Lord President's Office), Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence), David Morris (Lord Privy Seal's Office), Alex Galloway (Paymaster General's Office) and Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours ever,

Robin Butler

Len Appleyard Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

MJ2ABG



alt

Ref. A084/2325

MR POWELL

NBPM

CDP 12/ki

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's Private Secretary sent me a copy of his letter of 6 November about the commemoration of the end of the Second World War.

2. I should have thought that it was a good idea to use the Bonn Economic Summit as a timely occasion for setting the tone on the Western side. The Economic Summit will happen just before the anniversary of VE Day; and at the Summit the main combatants on both sides of the Second World War will be represented. It would surely be possible to think in terms of a declaration which made a good deal of the point that 40 years after the end of the Second World War combatants on both sides are now working closely together for peace and mutual prosperity.

I am sending copies of this minute to the Private Secretaries to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Secretary of State for Defence.

** Other than the Russians*

RA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

9 November 1984

DEFENCE: Celebration of VE Day

Oct 84



DEFENCE
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
CANTONMENT ROAD
WINDSOR
BERKSHIRE
RG4 0AH



JWRALH

bcPC

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

7 November 1984

COMMEMORATION OF THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Thank you for your letter of 6 November setting out the Foreign Secretary's preliminary views on the celebration of VE Day in 1985 and the United Kingdom's participation in such events as are organised.

The Prime Minister is content for work to proceed on the lines recommended by the Foreign Secretary. She agrees in particular that we should not try to copy the Franco-German reconciliation ceremony at Verdun.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (MOD) and to Bryan Cartledge (Cabinet Office).

(C.D. POWELL)

C.R. Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

①
CJP

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 November, 1984

Prime Minister
 Content with general
 line of what Sir G.
 Howe proposes?

Dear Charles, CDP
 6/xi

Yes - Our general
 theme is held
 every year at the Cenotaph.

Commemoration of the End of the Second World War ms

In your letter of 2 October about the 1985 celebration of VE Day you said the Prime Minister would like considered recommendations in due course. We are looking at this carefully together with our French, German and American allies. This letter takes account of their present thinking but is only a very preliminary response.

The essence of the problem is how to manage our participation in events staged by Others (we do not at present envisage any official British events) so that we respect the achievements and sacrifices of those who won the War against Fascism, including our former Eastern allies (Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia) without giving offence to the Germans, and for that matter the Italians and Japanese. Our objective must be to shift the emphasis in the direction of reconciliation and looking towards the future. It is already clear that the Soviet authorities for their part will exploit the anniversaries as an occasion for anti-Western and particularly anti-German propaganda, perhaps as much for internal reasons as for any effect they may hope to have in the West. They will accuse the FRG - and also Japan - of continued "revanchism" and aggressive intent, pointing to the Kohl Government's higher profile on the issue of German reunification as well as the recent INF deployments in the Federal Republic. Gromyko spoke extensively on these lines during his recent meetings with Western leaders in America.

The issues facing us in 1985 may thus be summed up as:

- how to combat Soviet 'revanchist' propaganda (including Soviet distortion of the roles of the Powers in winning the last war);
- how to associate the FRG with Allied commemorations and make clear our support for Germany's (and Italy's and Japan's) present-day course;
- how to respond to the Russians' expected invitation to their own Commemoration Parade in Moscow on 9 May;



- whether to hold a British national celebration and whom to involve;

? 1985 It may be helpful to look first at a list of the main wartime anniversaries in 1984 with, in the right-hand column, a list of other events in 1985 which provide openings or challenges for a coordinated Western strategy:

1985

Main 40th

Anniversaries

Yalta 12 February 1945

VE Day 8 May 1945

Potsdam 2 August 1945
VJ Day 2 September 1945

Relevant Events

Sir Geoffrey Howe's visits to Romania and Bulgaria 9-13 February

Hungarian Foreign Minister to UK from 5-7 March

Sir Geoffrey Howe's visits to Poland, CSSR, GDR 8-13 April

Bonn Economic Summit in early May

Moscow commemorating ceremonies on 8 and 9 May: probably similar ceremonies in other East bloc capitals too

30th Anniversary of Warsaw Pact on 14 May

Gromyko's visit to UK in late May

NATO Ministerial Meeting 6-7 June

10th Anniversary of Helsinki Final Act in late July/early August

UN Charter (40th Anniversary on 24 October 1985 but date of any special celebration not fixed)



Sir Geoffrey's provisional recommendations are as follows:

I The proposed 10th Anniversary of the CSCE Final Act is perhaps the best occasion for a commemoration of the end of World War II. Although it is not due to take place in Helsinki until August 1985, it will bring together all the combatants on both sides in Europe, as well as the USA, Canada and a number of neutrals. The Russians must be expected by then to have done a good deal of banging on the "revanchist" drum, but the atmosphere of the CSCE meeting should limit their ability to go on doing so. In addition, we should use the Bonn Economic Summit, which is likely to be held just before the 9 May commemoration in Moscow, as a timely occasion for setting the tone on the Western side. This would have the merit of bringing in the Japanese as well. The seven heads of State and government might issue a statement recalling the sacrifices made, the need for reconciliation, the need to settle disputes by peaceful means, and meet the challenges of the future by cooperation. These thoughts could then reappear in the NATO Ministerial communique in early June, rather in the same way as the Summit communique from Versailles was reflected in the Bonn Summit communique in June 1982. There is evidence that the Germans are already thinking on these lines. All this would prepare the way for the wider CSCE meeting in August.

II We should coordinate carefully with our allies - especially the Germans, bearing in mind their sensitivities and their criticism of the 40th anniversary of the D Day landings - about attendance at any Soviet functions. We will need to act in step with the Americans and the French. So far we know no more of what the Russians have in mind than was contained in the June resolution of the CPSU central committee which announced a 'festival of the whole people'. The main event is likely to be a 'solemn meeting of representatives of the working people of Moscow and the servicemen of the Moscow garrison' on 8 May, and a wreath laying on 9 May. The Russians have not yet made clear whether they intend to invite foreign representatives (diplomatic or from abroad), but the 1975 precedent would suggest that they will. On that occasion we sent a non-governmental delegation, mainly of those who had been involved with the Russians in the War, led by Lord Mountbatten.

III As of now it is not clear what the British Legion intend to organise, but we understand that the MOD are not planning any specifically British celebration of VE day. If there were to be a ceremony organised independently, the Government would no doubt wish to be associated with it. An added advantage would be that we could arrange for the



Soviet Ambassador to be invited. But it is not generally our practice to celebrate anything but 25th and 50th anniversaries. This year's celebration of D-day was only held when it was because of the fear that many of those attending would not be alive on the 50th anniversary. The French also held a joint reconciliation ceremony with the Germans at Verdun on 22 September; this went well and did much to mollify German sensitivities. But on balance we do not see merit in trying to stage a similar Anglo-German event on the VE Day anniversaries.

Agreed

IV We should take all suitable opportunities throughout the year to set the historical record straight as regards contributions to the victory in 1945; and to defend our German, Italian and Japanese partners from 'revanchist' propaganda.

Sir Geoffrey agrees that we should give thought to the best way of marking the UN 40th anniversary as part of the overall Western effort. But he does not think this should be the West's main platform. It is unlikely that we shall be able to make much use of it as part of the strategy outlined above. Preparations for the 40th Anniversary have already started in New York, where the non-aligned are proposing that there should be a special declaration and a high level commemorative meeting on 24 October (at the 15th and 25th Anniversaries Heads of Government attended). We doubt that these activities, if eventually agreed, will provide much scope for positive initiatives to project the Western position. Like most such events at the UN their shape will be largely dictated by the concerns of the non-aligned and we will need to be on the look-out for Soviet attempts to exploit the events to their own advantage.

Finally, it has been suggested that we should drop the concept of celebrating "VE Day" and refer instead to commemorating the anniversary of the end of the second World War - on the basis that this phrase, although more cumbersome, has the merit of looking forward rather than back. Sir Geoffrey is not yet sure that this perfectly understandable suggestion will not arouse an adverse reaction that could turn out to be counterproductive.

Sir Geoffrey would be grateful to know if the Prime Minister is content for work to proceed on these lines.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram in the Ministry of Defence and to Bryan Cartledge in the Cabinet Office.

*Yours ever,
Colin Budd*

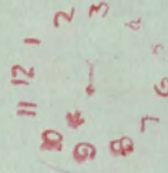
C D Powell Esq
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CONFIDENTIAL

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Private Secretary

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

2 October 1984

Celebration of VE Day

Towards the end of the restricted session of the Seminar on NATO strategy, Sir J. Graham raised the question of celebration of the 40th anniversary of VE Day which falls next year. We needed to take account of German sensibilities, particularly after the experience of celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Normandy landings. It seemed possible that the French had in mind to do something though he had no details.

In discussion the awkward conjunction of the Economic Summit in Bonn next autumn was noted. One suggestion was that to make a link with the celebration of the United Nations 40th anniversary. But it was pointed out that arrangements for this were well advanced. The Prime Minister took the view that we should encourage the Americans to arrange some celebrations in the United States. This would make it less difficult for the Germans.

The Prime Minister would like to see some considered recommendations on this in due course.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence).

Charles Powell

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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