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PREM 19/2569

PART 3

1087

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SECRET

Confidential Filing

Visit by President Reagan to the UK

USA

VISITS BY SUBSEQUENT US PRESIDENTS.

PE 1: JANUARY 1981

PE 3: JUNE 1984

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
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<u>23.9.88</u>							
<u>PART 3 ENDS</u>							

PREM 19/2569

NEO: Briefing for the PM's meeting\* with  
President Reagan is to be found at  
the back of this file in the attached  
folder.

\* 5 June 1984

PART 3 ends:-

CDP to US AMB 23/9/89 .

PART 4 begins:-

WASH TEL 856 28/3/89 .



EAM  
FILE

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

23 September 1988

I am sure the Prime Minister will be very grateful for the photographs sent under cover of your letter of 16 September which I have passed to her.

CHARLES POWELL

His Excellency Charles H. Price, II

R24.

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
LONDON

September 16, 1988

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.  
Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1A 2AA

*Dear Prime Minister,*

I am passing along a number of photos that were taken at the time of the President's visit. It may well be that you have received some directly from the White House, but if not these might be of interest.

With warm personal regards,

*Sincerely,  
Charlie*

Charles H. Price, II  
Ambassador



*File Minister* (2) *cc/c*

*000122/7*

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
LONDON

July 21, 1988

*ms*

Dear Prime Minister:

The President has asked me to deliver to you the text of his letter of July 14, which has just been received at the Embassy. As soon as the signed original arrives, I will see that it is delivered to you as well.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

*Charles H. Price II*  
Charles H. Price, II  
Ambassador

Enclosure

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,  
Prime Minister,  
10 Downing Street,  
London, SW1.



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

13 June 1988

FILE  
DCA  
Cif file?

My dear Lord Mayor.

I should have written before to express my great gratitude and appreciation to you for arranging the magnificent ceremony in the Guildhall on 3 June at which President Reagan delivered his report on the recent Summit Meeting in Moscow. The pageantry and splendour of the occasion, which will have been seen by millions of people on television, were a fitting way to celebrate what will probably be President Reagan's last visit to this country. You also provided a platform for a truly historic speech which all those present found deeply moving. I am most grateful to you and your colleagues for the signal honour done to a great friend and ally of our country.

I should be glad if you would also pass on my thanks and appreciation to all those who made the arrangements for the occasion for their outstanding work, and in particular to the Remembrancer and his staff.

Warm regards.

Yours sincerely

Raymond Hanley

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor of London

KK

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# The Royal Institute of International Affairs

Chatham House 10 St James's Square London SW1Y 4LE  
Telephone 01 930 2233 Fax 01 839 3593

*Di Rio*  
*cop*  
*4/6*

Patron Her Majesty the Queen  
Chairman Christopher Tugendhat  
Director Admiral Sir James Eberle GCB

Rt.Hon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP  
The Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1A 2AA.

*14/6*

3 June 1988

*mt*

*Dear Prime Minister*

I should like to thank you on behalf of the Royal Institute of International Affairs for contributing so substantially to the success of President Reagan's visit to the Guildhall under our auspices. As you can imagine, we regard the event as one of the most important in which we have been involved for a very long time. To be able to receive the President at Guildhall in conjunction with the Corporation of London would, in any circumstances, be an honour, but to be able to do so on his return from Moscow and during his final visit to the United Kingdom must give the event added significance.

Your close friendship and cooperation with him has not only been a notable feature of your period in office, but also of great benefit to this country. It gives us, therefore, an especial pleasure that you were able to thank him both personally and on behalf of the whole country for his achievements at a meeting held under our auspices. On a personal note, too, I should, if I may, like to thank you.

*With best wishes*  
*Yours truly,*  
*Christopher*

Christopher Tugendhat

SECRET & PERSONAL

10

FILE  
PA



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

3 June 1988

I enclose a copy of my notes of the  
Prime Minister's meeting with President  
Reagan as promised.

(C.D. POWELL)

His Excellency The Honourable Charles H. Price II

SECRET & PERSONAL

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PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN

The Prime Minister met President Reagan yesterday evening for some 45 minutes before the dinner in his honour. The President was accompanied by Secretary Shultz, Senator Baker, General Powell, the United States Ambassador and Mrs. Ridgway. The Foreign Secretary, HM Ambassador Washington and Sir Percy Cradock were also present.

The Prime Minister congratulated the President on what had been from every angle a very successful Summit meeting in Moscow. It was not yet generally perceived how much the President had succeeded in changing the nature of East/West relations over his period in office. The Summit had been a further important step in shaping those relations for the future. She believed that the impact on ordinary people in the Soviet Union would have been particularly important. Now that they had seen for themselves the sort of person that the President was, it would be much more difficult for the Soviet authorities to convince them that the United States was ever likely to attack the Soviet Union. The President's speeches had been particularly effective, notably that at Moscow University. All those who had worked so hard on preparing this and earlier summits, in particular Secretary Shultz, deserved the highest praise. The Prime Minister continued that she would very much like to hear the President's personal impressions of the situation in the Soviet Union and get his feel for what was going on there.

The President said that he thought the Summit had indeed been a useful step in the process of improving relations. He had been very much impressed by how the streets of Moscow had been lined with people every day and every hour of his visit. There was absolutely no question about the sincerity of their welcome. He agreed with the Prime Minister that ordinary people simply would not believe that the United States threatened their lives. He had been struck by the contribution to society of women in the Soviet Union: they gave great stability to the whole social structure. The President continued that Mr. Gorbachev had appeared as sure of himself as ever and determined to press right ahead with reforms despite the obvious political and bureaucratic obstacles. He was a dedicated Socialist but there was no doubt that he wanted to make major changes in the Soviet Union. The President said that he had tried to convey the message that the United States wished to encourage the reform process which could in itself make a very important contribution to improved relations. He had also committed himself to work for continuity in United States/Soviet relations into the next Administration. He had told Mr. Gorbachev not to expect any great changes in relations whatever the outcome of the Presidential election. The President added that he had particularly enjoyed his exchanges with the non-official community, the writers, churchmen, refuseniks and the ordinary people in the streets.

The Prime Minister said that she thought the President had been right to give prominence to human rights matters and to make clear that it was not enough for the Soviet authorities to release a few individuals: there had to be more far-reaching institutional and legal changes. She was glad he had put particular emphasis on freedom of worship. In all these areas

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a great deal remained to be done. The President said that he had been deeply moved by the tragedy of some of the individual cases which he had come across. He had handed over a further list of these to Mr. Gorbachev. Secretary Shultz said that the United States had developed a very broad dialogue with the Soviet authorities on human rights. For instance, they had held direct discussions about conditions under which people were sent to psychiatric hospitals and the American Psychiatric Association would shortly be sending doctors to confer with their Soviet counterparts and discuss procedures. He believed that the Soviet leadership was using the device of pressure from the United States to make their own professional people talk to their American opposite numbers. In that sense, the Americans were doing what the Prime Minister had urged: they were addressing not just individual cases but the whole system. President Reagan continued that he had told Mr. Gorbachev that he quite understood his concern that unrestricted emigration could lead to a brain drain. He had gone on to say that the problem would be less acute if people could practice their religion freely. He believed that many Soviet Jews would prefer to remain in the Soviet Union if they were able to worship there. He believed that granting freedom of worship would earn the Soviet leadership particular credit abroad.

The President gave a rapid summary of the main discussions on arms control, matching closely the account given by Secretary Shultz to NATO. They had moved the START negotiations forward a bit, in particular verification of ALCMs and mobile missiles, but there was still a long way to go. There had been no progress on SLCMs or strategic defence. He was determined not to back away an inch on strategic defence. He could not predict when there would be a START agreement but would not be rushed. The President added that he continued to believe that NATO must move ahead with modernisation of its short-range nuclear forces. It was important not to allow the West Germans to get boxed in to prevent modernisation. They must be persuaded to approach it in a positive way. The United States would continue to insist that a balance had to be achieved in conventional forces in Europe before there could be negotiations to remove short range nuclear weapons. He was grateful for the reception given in London to Mr. Taft: if other NATO members had matched Britain's performance on defence spending there would be no problem. The Prime Minister said that she was glad the President had made clear he would not retreat on the strategic defence initiative. Quite apart from its specific purpose, it would guarantee that the West retained the technological edge which was in itself an enormous deterrent. Secretary Shultz referred to the significance of the Joint Verification Experiment Agreement on Nuclear Tests. This would involve large numbers of American technicians with their equipment actually working at Soviet nuclear test sites where no foreigners had ever been before.

The Prime Minister said that she had noted that the President had not discussed Eastern Europe with Mr. Gorbachev. She thought this was right: we should treat the Eastern European countries as independent. She wondered what feel the President had for the extent to which the military and the KGB in the Soviet Union were fully behind glasnost. The President said that he had been much distressed by the way in which the KGB

had treated Soviet citizens on the streets. People in the crowds had been good-natured but had been quite brutally treated. Secretary Shultz said that the most senior members of the armed forces realised that there would have to be political change and reform or else the country's ability to support the military would decline. But there was not much visible evidence of the results of glasnost. General Powell referred to conversations which he had had with Marshal Akhromeyev and Mr. Dobrynin. Akhromeyev had described the difficulties he had encountered in persuading other senior military officers of the need to accept changes, not just political reform but changes in military thinking, such as the concept of sufficiency of forces and the switch to defensive doctrine. General Powell had asked him why these changes were not yet visible in the structure of Soviet forces or in their military exercises. Akhromeyev had replied that this would take time but the Americans should keep watching and would see that the Soviet forces were changing their doctrine. It was a slow business shifting the military bureaucracy and the defence industries. Dobrynin, for his part, had claimed that Gorbachev was now questioning all military programmes brought before him and would no longer automatically accept them just because the military told him that the Americans were developing this or that system. General Powell cautioned that these statements might of course have been tailored for American consumption. The Prime Minister said that she thought Mr. Gorbachev realised that the military could not be allowed to go on pre-empting resources on the present scale. But equally she thought he found it difficult to know how to change that.

The Prime Minister asked whether the President had got any impression of Ligachev's position. Senator Baker said that he had sat next to Ligachev on a couple of occasions. He had seemed secure and on board with Gorbachev.

The Prime Minister enquired about discussion of regional issues. The President said that he had praised the Soviet decision to withdraw from Afghanistan. They had also discussed the possibility of a settlement in Angola. Secretary Shultz added that some progress had been made in the recent talks on Angola in London and in the Americans' judgment that would not have happened unless the Soviets had wanted it. There had been further good constructive discussions in the margins of the Summit and the Americans had agreed to go along with a target date for agreement of 29 September, the tenth anniversary of United Nations SCR 435. But they had stressed that national reconciliation was an essential element in a settlement. The Prime Minister said she was sceptical whether the Cubans wanted to withdraw from Angola. Secretary Shultz said that he was not so sure.

The Prime Minister referred to the request we had had from Vice President Ramirez of Nicaragua to visit London. She had seen Ramirez two or three years ago and had been very tough with him. She wondered whether the President would prefer her to haul Ramirez over the coals again or to refuse a meeting. She had no particular wish to see him. The President said that he would prefer the Prime Minister to "leave him out there".

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The President said he would like to invite the Prime Minister to pay an official visit to Washington in November. It would probably be the last official visit of his Presidency and nothing would give him more pleasure than for the Prime Minister to make it. He understood that the date of 16 November would be convenient. The Prime Minister said that she was greatly honoured and accepted the invitation with pleasure.

3 June 1988

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Subject cc next

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

3 June 1988

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doubt that he wanted to make major changes in the Soviet Union. The President said that he had tried to convey the message that the United States wished to encourage the reform process which could in itself make a very important contribution to improved relations. He had also committed himself to work for continuity in United States/Soviet relations into the next Administration. He had told Mr. Gorbachev not to expect any great changes in relations whatever the outcome of the Presidential election. The President added that he had particularly enjoyed his exchanges with the non-official community, the writers, churchmen, refuseniks and the ordinary people in the streets.

The Prime Minister said that she thought the President had been right to give prominence to human rights matters and to make clear that it was not enough for the Soviet authorities to release a few individuals: there had to be more far-reaching institutional and legal changes. She was glad he had put particular emphasis on freedom of worship. In all these areas a great deal remained to be done. The President said that he had been deeply moved by the tragedy of some of the individual cases which he had come across. He had handed over a further list of these to Mr. Gorbachev. Secretary Shultz said that the United States had developed a very broad dialogue with the Soviet authorities on human rights. For instance, they had held direct discussions about conditions under which people were sent to psychiatric hospitals and the American Psychiatric Association would shortly be sending doctors to confer with their Soviet counterparts and discuss procedures. He believed that the Soviet leadership was using the device of pressure from the United States to make their own professional people talk to their American opposite numbers. In that sense, the Americans were doing what the Prime Minister had urged: they were addressing not just individual cases but the whole system. President Reagan continued that he had told Mr. Gorbachev that he quite understood his concern that unrestricted emigration could lead to a brain drain. He had gone on to say that the problem would be less acute if people could practice their religion freely. He believed that many Soviet Jews would prefer to remain in the Soviet Union if they were able to worship there. He believed that granting freedom of worship would earn the Soviet leadership particular credit abroad.

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The Prime Minister referred to the request we had had from Vice President Ramirez of Nicaragua to visit London. She had seen Ramirez two or three years ago and had been very tough with him. She wondered whether the President would prefer her to haul Ramirez over the coals again or to refuse a meeting. She had no particular wish to see him. The President said that he would prefer the Prime Minister to "leave him out there".

The President said he would like to invite the Prime Minister to pay an official visit to Washington in November. It would probably be the last official visit of his Presidency and nothing would give him more pleasure than for the Prime Minister to make it. He understood that the date of 16 November would be convenient. The Prime Minister said that she was greatly honoured and accepted the invitation with pleasure.

I am recording one or two other matters separately. Over dinner the discussion was largely general. The Prime Minister and the President had some discussion of the forthcoming Presidential election and Vice President Bush's prospects.

I am copying this letter to Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

(C. D. POWELL)

A. C. Galsworthy, Esq., C.M.G.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SECRET

SECRET 8



file JD3 BKF

bc: PC  
CDP

Mr. ...

Subject cc mark

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

3 June, 1988.

Dear Tony,

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN:  
MISCELLANEOUS POINTS

It might be helpful if I record a number of miscellaneous points gleaned from various members of the United States delegation during yesterday evening's dinner at No.10.

According to the Prime Minister, the President said to her more than once that he had told Mr. Gorbachev that he would like to find ways of helping him which would not attract any publicity. He gave as an example the agreement to allow Russian baptists (?) to leave the American Embassy in Moscow in return for which he had lifted the embargo on grain sales to the Soviet Union. The Prime Minister said that she thought it was a mistake to make specific bargains of this sort, although she agreed that in general it was in our interest to encourage Mr. Gorbachev.

Mr. Gorbachev had talked a great deal of the Chernobyl accident which had quite clearly made a lasting impression, and seemed genuinely to affect his views of nuclear weapons. The President had been particularly struck by this, in part because it led Mr. Gorbachev to similar conclusions about the desirability of eliminating nuclear weapons altogether.

The Americans said they found it hard to understand why Gorbachev had put on such a performance over the draft statement which he had proposed on peaceful co-existence. He must have known that he would not get his way on this, yet he had put a tremendous effort into trying to do so and discussion had become very heated. They could not work out whether it was a miscalculation on his part, or whether he had wanted to show his colleagues in the Politbureau how hopeless this sort of mission was. They remained puzzled.

Secretary Shultz showed great interest in the Prime Minister's view of Mr. Ryzhkov. The American delegation as a whole seem to have been considerably impressed by him, and see him as a man of the future.

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We were told that Mr. Gorbachev specifically confirmed to the President at one point, in private conversation, that he had been baptised.

Finally, I might record a comment by Senator Baker who said that he found Mr. Gorbachev very impressive, but liked him a little less every time they met.

I am sending copies of this letter to Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely,  
Chris Powell

C.D. Powell

A.C. Galsworthy, Esq., C.M.G.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SECRET

Letter from Powell to Galsworthy dated 3 June 1988

SECRET AND PERSONAL

File

KK

Mta record



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

Subject cc MASTER

3 June 1988

From the Private Secretary

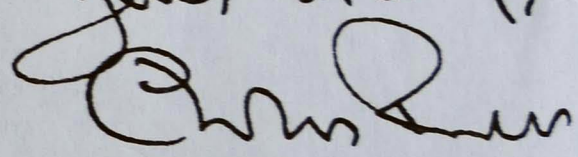
Dear Tom,

**PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN:  
ECONOMIC SUMMIT**

It became evident from the Prime Minister's discussion with President Reagan last night and from contacts with other members of the White House staff that it might embarrass Vice-President Bush if the subject for informal discussion by Heads of Government at the Summit was to be the problem of the escalating costs of health and social services. Welfare was likely to be a major theme in the United States election campaign with Dukakis pressing for improvements, and the Vice-President would be in difficulty if associated with the notion of cutting back.

In the light of this, the Prime Minister does not wish us to press for discussion of the issue. I have so informed Nigel Wicks.

I am copying this letter to Alex Allen, but it should not be seen by anyone other than those involved in the Sherpa meeting.

Yours sincerely,  
  
(C. D. POWELL)

A. C. Galsworthy, Esq., C.M.G.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SECRET AND PERSONAL



FILE

COPY NO. 3 OF 3 COPIES

cc Sir P. Cradock

Mta neora

Subject cc master

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

3 June 1988

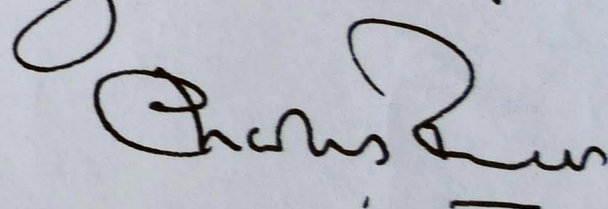
Dear Tony,

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN:  
GORDIEVSKY

At the end of her meeting with President Reagan yesterday, the Prime Minister asked whether the President had raised with Mr. Gorbachev the question of Gordievsky's family. The President himself was clearly unsighted, but Secretary Shultz said that Gordievsky's case had been at the top of the list of cases which the President had handed to Mr. Gorbachev. Shultz himself had raised it with Shevardnadze, and had pointed out that the Americans had allowed the family of their defector Howard to join him in the Soviet Union. But he had received to satisfactory response.

The Prime Minister said that she did not believe that the Russians would ever allow Gordievsky's family to leave, but would use them to try to lure him back to the Soviet Union. But it was very important for Gordievsky's morale that we should continue to raise the matter on every appropriate occasion with the highest Soviet authorities.

I am copying this letter to C.

Yours sincerely,  


(C. D. POWELL)

A. C. Galsworthy, Esq., C.M.G.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

PRIME MINISTER

c.c. Mr. Thatcher

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ADDRESS AT THE GUILDHALL, 3 JUNE

The programme is as follows:

- 1115 depart No.10  
1135 arrive Guildhall  
met by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress  
Mr. and Mrs. Tugendhat  
Mr. and Mrs. Wilson  
proceed to Print Room
- 1140 President and Mrs. Reagan arrive and proceed to  
Print Room  
President introduced to those present.
- 1150 President and Mrs. Reagan )  
Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher) sign the  
Distinguished Visitors Book
- 1157 Procession forms up (Prime Minister behind the  
Lady Mayoress, Mr. Thatcher behind Mrs. Reagan)
- 1200 Procession enters Great Hall and takes seats on  
dais (Prime Minister next to Mrs. Reagan,  
Mr. Thatcher next to the Prime Minister)  
National Anthems are played.
- 1202 Lord Mayor's Speech
- 1205 President Reagan speaks
- 1230 Prime Minister speaks (N.B. Wait for Toastmaster  
to announce)
- 1235 Procession goes out in same order as before
- 1240 Bid farewell to the President and Mrs. Reagan on  
the Porch.
- 1243 Depart.

CDP

2 June, 1988.

JD3BKD

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SIC

MOSCOW SUMMIT: JOINT US/SOVIET STATEMENT

1. THE OFFICIAL PART OF THE MOSCOW SUMMIT CONCLUDED WITH THE ISSUING OF A JOINT STATEMENT AT 1300Z THIS AFTERNOON. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MAIN POINTS FROM THE STATEMENT:

INTRODUCTION...

THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY VIEW THE MOSCOW SUMMIT AS AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THE PROCESS OF PUTTING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS ON A MORE PRODUCTIVE AND SUSTAINABLE BASIS. ...

SERIOUS DIFFERENCES REMAIN ON IMPORTANT ISSUES(SMI CLN) THE FRANK DIALOGUE WHICH HAS DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES REMAINS CRITICAL TO SURMOUNTING THESE DIFFERENCES. ...

THE TALKS TOOK PLACE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE WHICH PROVIDED AMPLE OPPORTUNITY FOR CANDID EXCHANGE. AS A RESULT, THE SIDES ACHIEVED A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHER'S POSITIONS. ...

THE TWO LEADERS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE EXPANDING POLITICAL DIALOGUE THEY HAVE ESTABLISHED REPRESENTS AN INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE MEANS OF RESOLVING ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND CONCERN. ...

ARMS CONTROL ...

THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY SIGNED THE PROTOCOL ON THE EXCHANGE OF INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY ...

ON THE ELIMINATION OF THEIR INTERMEDIATE-RANGE AND SHORTER-RANGE MISSILES. THE TWO LEADERS WELCOMED THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THIS HISTORIC AGREEMENT, ...

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THE TWO LEADERS NOTED THAT A JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF A TREATY ON REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS HAS BEEN ELABORATED. THROUGH THIS PROCESS, THE SIDES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO RECORD IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT EXTENSIVE AND SIGNIFICANT AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND ALSO TO DETAIL POSITIONS ON REMAINING AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT. WHILE IMPORTANT ADDITIONAL WORK IS REQUIRED BEFORE THIS TREATY IS READY FOR SIGNATURE, MANY KEY PROVISIONS ARE RECORDED IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT ...

THE SIDES HAVE CONTINUED NEGOTIATIONS TO ACHIEVE A SEPARATE AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE ABM TREATY BUILDING ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT JOINT STATEMENT DATED DECEMBER 10, 1987.

THE JOINT DRAFT TREATY...REFLECTS THE EARLIER UNDERSTANDING ON ESTABLISHING CEILINGS OF NO MORE THAN 1600 STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE DELIVERY SYSTEMS AND 6000 WARHEADS AS WELL AS AGREEMENT ON SUBCEILINGS OF 4900 ON THE AGGREGATE OF ICBM AND SLBM WARHEADS AND 1540 WARHEADS ON 154 HEAVY MISSILES. ...

THE DELEGATIONS HAVE ALSO PREPARED JOINT DRAFT TEXTS...WHICH... BUILD ON THE VERIFICATION PROVISIONS OF THE INF TREATY, EXTENDING AND ELABORATING THEM AS NECESSARY TO MEET THE MORE DEMANDING REQUIRMENTS OF START. THE START VERIFICATION MEASURES WILL, AT A MINIMUM, INCLUDE:

- A. DATA EXCHANGES ...
- B. BASELINE INSPECTIONS ...
- C. ON-SITE OBSERVATION OF ELIMINATION OF STRATEGIC SYSTEMS NECESSARY TO MEET THE AGREED LIMITS.
- D. CONTINUOUS ON-SITE MONITORING...
- E. SHORT-NOTICE ON-SITE INSPECTION ...
- G. PROHIBITION OF THE USE OF CONCEALMENT ...

DURING THE COURSE OF THIS MEETING IN MOSCOW, THE EXCHANGES ON START RESULTED IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONAL COMMON GROUND, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREAS OF ALCMS AND ... MOBILE ICBMS. ...

THE SIDES ALSO DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF LIMITING LONG-RANGE, NUCLEAR-ARMED SLCMS. ...

THE LEADERS REAFFIRMED THE COMMITMENT OF THE TWO SIDES TO CONDUCT IN A SINGLE FORUM FULL-SCALE, STAGE-BY-STAGE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ISSUES RELATING TO NUCLEAR TESTING. ...

PAGE 2  
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MDADAN 8304

THE TWO LEADERS ... REAFFIRMED THEIR CONVICTION THAT UNIVERSAL ADHERENCE TO THE NPT IS IMPORTANT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. ...

THE LEADERS EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF STRENGTHENING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN THE WHOLE OF EUROPE. THEY WELCOMED PROGRESS TO DATE ON DEVELOPMENT OF A MANDATE FOR NEW NEGOTIATIONS ON ARMED FORCES AND CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS....

#### HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS

THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY ENGAGED IN A DETAILED DISCUSSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS. THE LEADERS REVIEWED THE INCREASINGLY BROAD AND DETAILED U.S.-SOVIET DIALOGUE IN THIS AREA AND AGREED THAT IT SHOULD BE CONDUCTED AT ALL LEVELS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE SUSTAINED, CONCRETE PROGRESS. ...

#### REGIONAL ISSUES

THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY THOROUGHLY DISCUSSED A WIDE RANGE OF REGIONAL QUESTIONS, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST, THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE HORN OF AFRICA, CENTRAL AMERICA, CAMBODIA, THE KOREAN PENINSULA, AND OTHER ISSUES. ...

ALTHOUGH THE DISCUSSIONS REVEALED SERIOUS DIFFERENCES BOTH IN THE ASSESSMENT OF THE CAUSES OF REGIONAL TENSIONS AND IN THE MEANS TO OVERCOME THEM, THE LEADERS AGREED THAT THESE DIFFERENCES NEED NOT BE AN OBSTACLE TO CONSTRUCTIVE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND USSR. ...

#### BILATERAL ...

THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY WELCOMED THE CONCLUSION OF A NUMBER OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WHICH OPEN NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR FRUITFUL COOPERATION ...

THE TWO LEADERS WELCOMED THE START OF BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON COMBATTING NARCOTICE TRAFFICKING. ...

THEY EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT, OVER THE COURSE OF THEIR DIALOGUE, PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE CONTACTS AND EXCHANGES BETWEEN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED AND BECOME ONE OF THE MOST DYNAMIC ELEMENTS IN THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. ...

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THE TWO LEADERS EXPRESSED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC MOVEMENT, WHICH PROMOTES INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING THROUGH ATHLETIC COMPETITION. ...

THE TWO LEADERS EXPRESSED THEIR SATISFACTION WITH ACTIVITIES SINCE THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT IN EXPANDING COOPERATION WITH RESPECT TO GLOBAL CLIMATE AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE,

...SPACE...

THE TWO LEADERS AGREED TO A NEW INITIATIVE TO EXPAND CIVIL SPACE COOPERATION BY EXCHANGING FLIGHT OPPORTUNITIES FOR SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS TO FLY ON EACH OTHER'S SPACECRAFT, ...

THEY NOTED SCIENTIFIC MISSIONS TO THE MOON AND MARS AS AREAS OF POSSIBLE BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. ...

THE TWO SIDES RECONFIRMED THEIR STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE EXPANSION OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS ...

THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY REAFFIRMED THEIR AGREEMENT TO OPEN CONSULATES GENERAL IN KIEV AND NEW YORK AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE. ...

#### FUTURE MEETINGS

THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY, RECOGNIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR PERSONAL INVOLVEMNET IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, INSTRUCTED SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ AND FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE TO MEET AS NECESSARY AND TO REPORT TO THEM ON WAYS TO ENSURE CONTINUED PRACTICAL PROGRESS ACROSS THE FULL RANGE OF ISSUES. EXPERT-LEVEL CONTACTS WILL ALSO CONTINUE ON AN INTENSIFIED BASIS. ...

2. WE WILL SEND A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE FOURTH DAY OF THE SUMMIT AND OUR COMMENT BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM ON 2 JUNE.

CARTLEDGE

YYYY

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MDADAN 8304

DISTRIBUTION

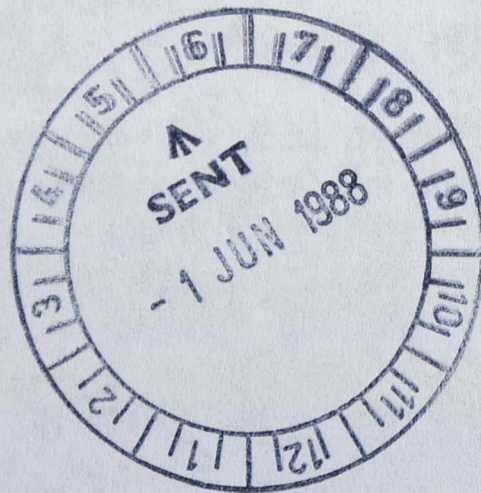
22

ADVANCE 22

.EAST WEST US/SOVIET RELATIONS  
PS  
PS/MRS CHALKER  
PS/LORD GLENARTHUR  
PS/MR MELLOR  
PS/PUS  
SIR J FRETWELL  
MR BOYD  
MR RATFORD  
MR GOULDEN  
MR FEARN

HD/NAD  
HD/SEC POL DEPT  
HD/ACDD  
HD/SOVIET DEPT  
HD/DEFENCE D.  
RESIDENT CLERK  
MR POWELL NO.10 DOWNING STREET  
MR D NICHOLLS DUS(P) MOD  
D.NUC(POL)SY MOD  
DACU MOD  
CDI MOD

NNNN





10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*file from  
cell  
orig in box*

*From the Private Secretary*

1 June 1988

I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from President Reagan about the exchange of Instruments of Ratification of the INF Treaty in Moscow today.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Brian Hawtin (Ministry of Defence) and to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

C. D. Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SECRET

010

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
LONDON

June 1, 1988

Dear Prime Minister:

The President has asked me to deliver to you the enclosed letter which was received at the Embassy today. There will be no signed original.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

*Richard Ogden*

Charles H. Price, II  
Ambassador

Enclosure: SECRET

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,  
Prime Minister,  
10 Downing Street,  
London, SW1.

SECRET 5

June 1, 1988

Dear Margaret:

I have just exchanged the INF Treaty Instruments of Ratification with General Secretary Gorbachev. The treaty we have worked together to bring about is now fully in force. I want to take this opportunity to share with you my gratitude for the part the United Kingdom played in the process which brought us to this point. In particular, I wanted to thank you for your personal efforts and support throughout.

More than six years ago, I proposed the zero option. Many critics believed this proposal was just a dream. But, with your support, the dream has become a reality. Together, we in NATO proved the critics wrong. We showed that strength, resolution, and unity are the keys to preserving our collective security.

The fact that the United Kingdom and the other basing countries followed through on the commitments we made together in 1979 was essential to our success. I am sure that the lessons of the INF experience will serve NATO well as, together, we meet the challenges we will surely face in the future.

I am looking forward to our visit June 2 and 3.

Sincerely,

/S/

Ronald Reagan

SECRET

Foreign Policy

EAST / WEST Relations

P. 8



EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
LONDON

June 1, 1988

*CP*

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With best wishes.

Sincerely,

*Richard Ogden*

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Ambassador

Enclosure: SECRET

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,  
Prime Minister,  
10 Downing Street,  
London, SW1.

PRIME MINISTER **SECRET** 4

*Rini Nixon* (2)  
CAN  
June 1, 1988  
1/6

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. 184a/88

*Subject accord  
a note*

*W*

Dear Margaret:

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I am looking forward to our visit June 2 and 3.

Sincerely,

/S/

Ronald Reagan

**US Declassified**

**SECRET**



01. VI

01. VI

Handwritten mark or signature in blue ink, possibly a stylized 'W' or 'V'.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

31 May 1988

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister's meeting with President Reagan: Agriculture

The Embassy in Washington have established (their telno 1338) that when President Reagan sees the Prime Minister he is likely to refer to the slow progress in GATT negotiations on agriculture.

The American position has in fact been the main obstacle. They have refused to discuss immediate steps to reduce support and protection to agricultural production unless everyone else accepts their target of abolishing all such support by the year 2000. This has permitted others to claim that the US is not prepared to negotiate seriously. It has thus discouraged the tabling of sensible short/medium term proposals. The Americans further damage their case in Europe by repeatedly disparaging the Community's February CAP reforms.

Against this background the Prime Minister might wish to say that the key question is how to unblock the negotiations. She might remind the President of her wholehearted commitment to agricultural reform and liberalisation; and her determination to bring the issue to the top of the agenda both in the Community ("future financing" negotiations) and more widely (their joint effort at the Tokyo Summit).

She might go on to point out that the initial Community exercise has gone well, with an Anglo-Dutch alliance overcoming strong Franco-German opposition to ensure that future real growth of CAP spending, now subject to a legally binding limit, will come down from 10% to under 2% a year, with automatic price cuts when pre-set production levels are overshot. Savings from the stabilisers will be \$4 billion in the 3 years 1988/90. In cereals alone, if production continues to rise, there will be price cuts of 15% (and savings of \$4 billion over 4 years). For oilseeds, existing measures save about \$1 billion a year, and the new measures should save a further \$1 billion by 1990. In addition the Community agreed in February on a new set-aside programme which will be worth 600 mecu a year in 1992. On the other hand we note with concern that the US has just announced a substantial cut in set-aside acreage for 1989 (Washington telno 1356). Of course the Community must do more: we are determined that it should; but it doesn't help our campaign when US officials rubbish the real gains that have been made, at our insistence, and the US moves in the wrong direction.



The Prime Minister might go on to emphasise that US pressure for the year 2000 target for achieving zero support world-wide is no less counter-productive. We would be delighted if zero support could be attained, but for the French and Germans, not to mention the Japanese, a step by step approach is painful enough: political commitment in 1988 to zero/2000 is clearly impossible, and demanding it discourages acceptance of the need for further steps soon.

By analogy with arms control, what is needed now is:

- (a) a commitment by all parties to substantial and progressive multilateral disarmament (in both support and protection);
- (b) specific commitments, at the December GATT MTM, to early "build down" reductions; and
- (c) agreement on effective verification and counting rules.

The Prime Minister might add that the key requirement is to get the negotiators negotiating. We shall continue to work on the French and Germans, and the absence of further elections for either may make progress easier in the second half of the year. But the US will have to negotiate too. The US electoral considerations are well understood, but to seek - and inevitably fail - at the Summit and the MTM to secure a zero/2000 commitment, or to continue to play down the significance of the EC's reforms, is surely more likely to increase than allay protectionist sentiment in Congress and the Farm Belt.

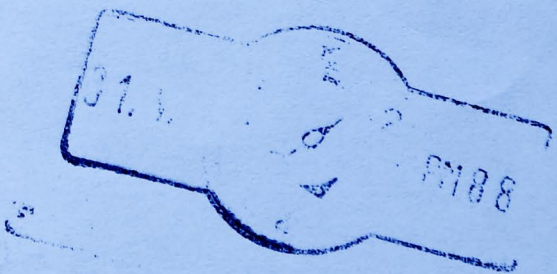
Copies of this letter go to Alex Allan at the Treasury, Shirley Stagg at MAFF, Neil Thornton at DTI, and Trevor Woolley in the Cabinet Office.

*Yours ever,*

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'L. Parker'.

(L Parker)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
PS/No 10 Downing Street





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL London SW1A 2AH

31 May 1988

Dear Charles,

President Reagan's Visit

Thank you for your letter of 19 May.

It has been difficult to predict in detail what would happen in Moscow. There were for example persistent rumours that Mr Gorbachev would spring a surprise, for example announcing withdrawal of some conventional forces from the GDR. In the event he has not (at least as yet) done so. We ourselves have been looking for further progress on the stable, long term management of East-West relations, rather than any spectacular breakthroughs.

President Reagan will obviously be able to give the Prime Minister a valuable first-hand account of his meeting with Gorbachev and his impressions of what is going on in the Soviet Union. However, before the Prime Minister receives the President for talks from 1815-1900 on 2 June, she will have seen telegrams from Moscow on Summit achievements as they happen, as well as Sir Michael Alexander's report on Mr Shultz's briefing of NATO Foreign Ministers in Brussels earlier that day. For their part, President Reagan and the US team will know that our prime concerns are those set out in the Prime Minister's personal message of 23 May.

Given that only <sup>60</sup>45 minutes are available (and that the Foreign Secretary and Mr Shultz will be able to go into the minutiae, particularly on regional issues, at their breakfast bilateral the next morning), the Prime Minister might begin by congratulating the President on his achievements in Moscow. She could then:

- seek his personal impressions of the mood and durability of Mr Gorbachev, and the implications of this for East-West relations and arms control;
- probe any developments of specific concern to the UK, eg effect of START on Trident;
- explore where, and how, the Afghanistan "model" might be applied next; and

/try

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- try to make time in the talks, or over dinner, to touch upon other important issues such as missile proliferation, the US Presidential elections and the Toronto Economic Summit.

Within this framework, the Prime Minister might wish to focus on a number of key points. Some possible questions are set out below, though clearly it will not be possible to go into much detail in the limited time available.

East-West

The Prime Minister might start by seeking the President's impression of Gorbachev's mood in the run-up to the June Party Conference. Is he confident of securing unambiguous support for his reform programme and the necessary personnel changes to get it implemented (the signs are that the latter at least have been postponed beyond the conference) ? Gorbachev looks likely to achieve a general endorsement of perestroika but seems to have been obliged to scale down some of his ambitions as regards specific means of pursuing it. The opposition will be there after the Conference, as it is now, although it may be increasingly difficult for opponents to express differing views. How serious are the differences within the Soviet leadership ? Is increasing glasnost (eg the recent publication of an article highly critical of the whole conduct of Soviet foreign policy in the late 1970s and early 80s and the current wholesale condemnation of the Stalin era etc) likely to encourage the reformers or strengthen the determination of conservatives to resist further change ? On the economic side, the Prime Minister could ask President Reagan whether in his view agriculture may provide the key to moving reform forward (as to an extent it did in Hungary and China) by offering the Soviet consumer more and therefore providing some genuine incentives for industrial workers.

The Prime Minister might also ask about the longer term prospects for US/Soviet and East-West relations. How can they develop most effectively without reliance on dramatic breakthroughs like INF, Afghanistan and START ? Will Gorbachev be tempted to turn more towards Europe in the inevitable interregnum next year before the new President is fully installed ?

Arms Control

START. How is work on START to be carried forward over the next 6 months. Has the President set himself a cut-off date, eg September, by which to achieve an agreement ? Any prospect of a Fifth Summit ? Or, more likely, will he continue negotiating to the end of his Presidency ? Beyond this, it would be useful to have the President's personal feel

/for

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← for whether there are any negotiation blockers, eg Soviet insistence on specific constraints on SLCMs. The Prime Minister might also wish to thank him for the Administration's assurances that a START Treaty will not affect the UK Trident programme.

← Defence and Space. In the space/defence field, a number of new proposals have been tabled by both sides, including a US package of predictability measures in which the Russians have shown some interest. The US has also proposed that space-based sensors, even where ABM-capable, should be unconstrained. But a breakthrough is unlikely at the Summit. Major differences remain unresolved. While there is a broad agreement that the Treaty will impose a period of non-withdrawal (7-9 years) from the ABM Treaty, there is no agreement on what space-based activities (notably testing of ABM-capable components) would be permitted during that period. The US want a more permissive regime than the Russians will accept. The Russians also refuse to contemplate a Treaty clause allowing for withdrawal from it when supreme national interests are jeopardised. Finally, there is no agreement on whether the two sides would continue to be bound by the Treaty at the end of the non-withdrawal period. Perhaps the key issue is that of permissible activities: the Prime Minister might wish to ask whether the President sees any middle ground.

Nuclear Testing. At the Summit, the two sides will probably sign a verification protocol to the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty, thus opening the way for its ratification. They should also be able to sign an agreement on the conduct of joint verification experiments at the Nevada and Semipalatinsk test sites. If successful, the data from these experiments will permit the conclusion of a verification protocol to the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty. The two Treaties are expected to be ratified together but time is running short if this is to be done before Congress rises in early October. The Prime Minister may wish to underline that for the foreseeable future, given that our security will depend on deterrence based in part on the possession of nuclear weapons, both the US and the UK will have a continuing requirement to test. While a CTB remains a long term goal, the step-by-step approach to limitations seems to us the right one.

Conventional Arms Control. How serious is Mr Gorbachev's interest in the forthcoming conventional stability talks, particularly in the light of his reported willingness to make the necessary concessions on human rights to allow the CSCE Review Meeting to conclude this summer and the conventional talks to get underway in the autumn? Are there signs of

/genuine

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genuine Soviet willingness to make the necessary conventional reductions in Europe to allow progress on this vitally important but long blocked subject? What leverage does this give the West? It would be interesting to know, too, whether Mr Gorbachev has sought to resurrect Soviet proposals for a data exchange in advance of the negotiations (something the Alliance has agreed should be resisted); and whether there was any evidence of a shift in Soviet thinking on dual-capability (on which the Allies have hitherto successfully opposed Warsaw Pact demands for a specific reference in the mandate for the negotiations). Finally, the Prime Minister could ask whether Mr Gorbachev had given any indication of the sort of proposals the Warsaw Pact are likely to put forward at the negotiations themselves: Soviet statements have suggested the possibility of a swap of Soviet tanks for NATO aircraft.

Chemical Weapons. We do not expect surprises. The Russians have been pressing for a positive Summit statement and there may be some minor but essentially presentational agreement. The Prime Minister may wish to confirm that matters were not taken further.

Ballistic Missile Proliferation. We recognise and share US concern. Soviet involvement is very important, given the situation in the Middle East. The Prime Minister raised the issue with Mr Gorbachev. Did the President? If so, with what reaction?

Regional Issues

A central question is whether Mr Gorbachev seems prepared to apply elsewhere the Afghanistan "model" for resolving regional conflicts. Southern Africa looks the most promising area in the run-up to the Summit. Did the President and Mr Gorbachev discuss Cambodia?

Toronto Economic Summit

Following her meeting with Prime Minister Mulroney on 23 May, the Prime Minister might sound the President on the issues for the Economic Summit. He will probably agree that the main economic theme should be the improvement of the world economy over the course of this second cycle of Summits - as a result of the adoption of policies which acknowledge that growth comes from controlling inflation and pursuing market-oriented supply side measures. On trade, we want in particular to emphasise the need for better adherence to GATT rules, including dispute settlement. (We understand that the President is likely to raise agriculture with the Prime Minister. We are writing separately about this.) On debt, we shall still be working at Toronto for agreement on the

/Chancellor's

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Chancellor's initiative, though the US are unlikely to agree to cut interest rates on rescheduled official debt. The Canadian compromise is very much second best.

On the political side, we want discussion to focus on East-West relations, the Middle East and terrorism. The Prime Minister might seek the President's support for the UK effort to secure Summit agreement on a further package of counter-terrorism measures following the Kuwait hijacking. Summit Seven terrorism experts will meet on 2 June before the final Sherpas' gathering.

The Prime Minister should perhaps also mention possible topics for the informal discussion at Toronto. We are taking informal soundings of the White House to see if there would be US electoral sensitivities to our proposal for discussion of health and social security provision and costs. If there are, the Prime Minister has already told the Canadian Prime Minister that she would be content with the French proposal (the impact of technology on the education system).

#### Arms Sales to Argentina

President Reagan raised the issue with the Prime Minister on 3 March and the position has been held. But the Americans have complained that their ban on major arms sales, plus Exercise Fire Focus and our plans for fishery studies around the FICZ and South Georgia, cause difficulties for Argentina and for US-Argentina relations. If President Reagan raises current fishery studies, he could be told that these are technical desk studies of available information to assess the threat to stocks. No decision has been taken to extend the FICZ. The Americans were the first to be informed and we see a role for them to reassure the Argentines. The US Administration must understand that the Falklands are British territory and we will fulfil our responsibilities, which include the conservation of fish stocks.

#### US Presidential Election

Although he successfully secured the Republican nomination, Vice President Bush is lagging behind Governor Dukakis in recent polls. How does the Vice President intend to reclaim the high ground? How does the President see things developing?

I am sending a copy of this letter to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,  
*L. Parker*

(L. Parker)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

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CEREMONIAL

THE ADDRESS ON  
THE FUTURE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS

BY

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AT

GUILDHALL

ON

FRIDAY, 3RD JUNE, 1988

AT 12 NOON

Amended 31st May, 1988

PROGRAMME

From 7.30 a.m.	ARRIVAL OF BROADCAST MEDIA AND PRESS	1
Between 10.15 a.m. and 11.15 a.m.	ARRIVAL OF GUESTS	2
11.15 a.m.	ARRIVAL OF THE LORD MAYOR	2
11.35 a.m.	ARRIVAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND MR. THATCHER	4
11.40 a.m.	ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. REAGAN	5
	PRESENTATIONS IN THE PRINT ROOM	6-7
11.59 a.m.	THE PROCESSION IN TO GREAT HALL	8-9
12.02 p.m.	THE LORD MAYOR'S SPEECH OF WELCOME	9
12.05 p.m.	THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT	10
12.30 p.m.	THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH OF THANKS	10
12.35 p.m.	THE PROCESSION OUT OF GREAT HALL	11
12.40 p.m.	DEPARTURE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. REAGAN	12
12.43 p.m.	DEPARTURE OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND MR. THATCHER	13
12.45 p.m.	DEPARTURE OF THE LORD MAYOR	13
	DRESS	14
	DISTRIBUTION	15-16

Except where otherwise specified all broadcast media, press and Public Relations Office staff on duty enter via the Guildhall Library entrance in Aldermanbury. The Court of Common Council, the guests, Officers, staff and other personnel on duty enter Guildhall via the revolving doors in Guildhall Yard.

ARRIVAL OF BROADCAST MEDIA AND PRESS

From 7.15 a.m.	Public Relations staff on duty.
7.30 a.m.	BBC and ITV arrive at Members' Car Park entrance.
8.00 a.m.	Other broadcast media arrive to set up equipment.
By 9.15 a.m.	All other staff on duty.
By 9.30 a.m.	Crown Catering staff in Library Reading Room, Print Room and Old Library, and equipment in Crypts, in position.
By 9.45 a.m.	The orchestra of the Grenadier Guards, led by Colour Serjeant Alan Branstone, take up position in Minstrels' Gallery.
By 9.55 a.m.	The City Lands and Bridge House Estates Committee and Officers to the Committee meet in the Chief Commoner's Parlour for briefing by the Chairman, the Chief Commoner, Mr. Brian Wilson, and the Remembrancer, Mr. Adrian Barnes.
Between 10.00 a.m. and 10.50 a.m.	Other press arrive. Refreshments for broadcast media and press are served in the Library Reading Room.
By 10.05 a.m.	State Trumpeters of the Blues and Royals and a detachment of the Company of Pikemen and Musketeers under the command of Captain Paul Rhodes take up their positions in the Minstrels' Gallery and Library Corridor respectively.
10.10 a.m.	Broadcast media leave Great Hall and move to Library for refreshments.
10.40 a.m.	Four coaches arrive in Aldermanbury with majority of 152 U.S. Press.

ARRIVAL OF GUESTS

- Between 10.15 a.m. and 11.15 a.m. Guests arrive and are directed to the Old Library (Blue tickets), or to the Print Room (Pink tickets) where the Chairman and Mrs. Wilson receive the principal guests. Refreshments are served.
- 11.00 a.m. Broadcast media, excluding stills photographers, move to Great Hall to take up positions.
- 11.09 a.m. The Chairman and Mrs. Wilson, with the Remembrancer, take up their positions on the Porch.
- 11.10 a.m. Stills photographers take up their positions in Great Hall via North Ambulatory.
- 11.12 a.m. The Chairman of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Mr. Christopher Tugendhat, and Mrs. Tugendhat arrive at the Porch entrance. They are received by the Remembrancer and the Chairman who presents Mrs. Wilson.

ARRIVAL OF THE LORD MAYOR

- 11.15 a.m. The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor, Alderman Sir Greville Spratt, and the Lady Mayoress, and the Sheriffs, Mr. Alderman Brian Jenkins and Mr. Deputy Richard Saunders, and their Ladies arrive at the Porch entrance. They are received by the Remembrancer and the Chairman who presents Mrs. Wilson and Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Tugendhat. A procession is formed by the Remembrancer -

## THE MARSHAL

THE MACE

MRS. TUGENDHAT

MR. TUGENDHAT

MR. ALDERMAN &amp; SHERIFF JENKINS

MR. SHERIFF &amp; DEPUTY SAUNDERS

THE SWORD

THE LORD MAYOR

THE LADY MAYORESS

MRS. JENKINS

MRS. SAUNDERS

CHIEF ASSISTANT CEREMONIAL OFFICER

and processes, via the Library Corridor, to the Print Room where Mr. Tugendhat presents the principal guests from the Royal Institute of International Affairs to the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress, and other presentations are made ad. lib.

The Chairman and Mrs. Wilson, with the Remembrancer, take their positions on the Porch.

Between 11.20 a.m.  
and 11.25 a.m.

The Secretary of State, The Honourable George P. Shultz, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, The Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe M.P., The Chancellor of the Exchequer, The Rt. Hon. Nigel Lawson M.P., and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, Sir Antony Acland, arrive at the Porch entrance and are received by the Remembrancer and the Chairman and Mrs Wilson. Thereafter they are escorted to the Print Room via the Library Corridor.

Between 11.20 a.m.  
and 11.35 a.m.

Journalists take their seats in Great Hall via North Ambulatory.

11.28 a.m.

In the Print Room the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress greet the Secretary of State, the Foreign Secretary, the Chancellor and Sir Antony Acland.

Thereafter the Chief Assistant Ceremonial Officer forms the procession by the door in the Print Room -

THE MARSHAL

THE MACE

THE SWORD

MRS. TUGENDHAT

THE LORD MAYOR

MR. TUGENDHAT

THE LADY MAYORESS

THE CHIEF ASSISTANT CEREMONIAL OFFICER

which proceeds to the Porch via the Library Corridor.

11.30 a.m.

The Ceremonial Assistant, Miss Frangelica O'Shea, escorts those to be presented to the President and Mrs. Reagan to their positions in the Print Room.

ARRIVAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND MR THATCHER

11.35 a.m.

The Prime Minister, The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher M.P., and Mr. Denis Thatcher with the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Charles Powell, arrive at the Porch entrance and are received by the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress. The Lord Mayor introduces the Lady Mayoress, Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Tugendhat, and the Chairman and Mrs. Wilson.

The Chairman and Mrs. Wilson then conduct the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher with Mr. Powell to the Print Room.

Before the arrival of the President and Mrs. Reagan the Remembrancer invites the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress and Mr. and Mrs. Tugendhat to take up their positions at the rear of the Porch as follows:-

	LADY MAYORESS	LORD MAYOR	P
			O
MRS. TUGENDHAT		MR. TUGENDHAT	R
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	MACE	SWORD	C
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ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS REAGAN

11.40 a.m.

The President of the United States of America and Mrs. Ronald Reagan arrive at the Porch entrance. The car parks right-hand on to the Porch.

The Lord Mayor receives the President and Mrs. Reagan and then introduces the Lady Mayoress and Mr. and Mrs. Tugendhat.

The procession is then formed by the Remembrancer in the Library Corridor as follows:-

## THE MARSHAL

THE MACE

THE SWORD

THE PRESIDENT

THE LORD MAYOR

MRS. REAGAN

THE LADY MAYORESS

MR. TUGENDHAT

MRS. TUGENDHAT

## THE REMEMBRANCER

and proceeds to the Print Room via the Library Corridor which is lined by a detachment of the Company of Pikemen and Musketeers.

11.42 a.m.

After the Print Room doors are closed the Toastmaster, Mr. Nicholas Reid-Hammond, requests all those in the Old Library to take their seats in Great Hall via the North-West and South-West exits.

Those in the Official Suite, as follows, are escorted from the Suite cars in Guildhall Yard to the Print Room via the Library Corridor.

His Excellency The Honourable Charles H. Price II,  
Ambassador of the United States of America to the  
Court of St. James's

Mrs. Charles Price

The Honourable Howard Baker,  
Chief of Staff to the President

Lieutenant General Colin Powell,  
Assistant to the President for National Security  
Affairs

The Honourable Rozanne Ridgway,  
Assistant Secretary of State for European and  
Canadian Affairs

THE PRINT ROOM

In the Print Room the Lord Mayor presents to the President and Mrs. Reagan:

Commander and Alderman Sir Robin Gillett  
The Senior Alderman

Alderman Sir Peter Gadsden  
Senior Alderman

Alderman Sir Christopher Leaver  
Senior Alderman

Mr. Alderman and Sheriff Brian Jenkins  
Sheriff of London

Mrs. Brian Jenkins

Mr. Sheriff and Deputy Richard Saunders  
Sheriff of London

Mrs. Richard Saunders

Mr. Bernard Harty  
The Chamberlain of London

Mr. Geoffrey Rowley  
The Town Clerk

Mr. Denis Butler  
The Comptroller and City Solicitor

Mr. Adrian Barnes  
The Remembrancer

Mr. Brian Wilson  
The Chief Commoner

Mrs. Brian Wilson

Mr. Peter Rigby  
The Chairman of the Policy and Resources  
Committee

Mr. Terence Donnelly  
The Chairman of the Coal, Corn and Rates Finance  
Committee

Mr. William Taylor  
Assistant Commissioner of the City Police

Mr. Tugendhat then presents to the President and Mrs. Reagan the following from the Royal Institute of International Affairs:-

The Right Honourable Lord Callaghan of Cardiff  
President

The Right Honourable Lord Grimond of Firth  
President

Mr. Christopher Stronge  
The Honorary Treasurer

Admiral Sir James Eberle  
Director

Dr. William Wallace  
Director of Studies

Brigadier William Woodburn  
Executive Director

Photographs are taken of the Presentations by the U.S. Official Photographer and the Corporation of London Official Photographer, Mr. Peter Holland.

After the Presentations the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress conduct the President and Mrs. Reagan to meet the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher and the other principal guests. Refreshments are served.

11.48 a.m.

The Toastmaster asks all those not in the procession nor being escorted to Great Hall by the Sheriffs and the Chairman and their Ladies to take their seats in Great Hall via the Recorder's Room Door. On the dais guests are shown to their seats under the direction of the Assistant Ceremonial Officer, Miss Joanna Piercey.

11.50 a.m.

The Lord Mayor invites the President and Mrs. Reagan and the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher to sign the Distinguished Visitors' Book (on table in South-West corner).

Thereafter Official Photographers leave the Print Room and take their positions on the special press platform in the West end of Great Hall via the Library Corridor and the South Doors.

11.55 a.m.

When all is ready, the Remembrancer invites the Sheriffs and their Ladies and the Chairman and Mrs. Wilson, with the Chief Assistant Ceremonial Officer, Mr. Grant Simmonds, to escort the Secretary of State, The Honourable George P. Shultz, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe M.P., the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Rt. Hon. Nigel Lawson M.P., the American Ambassador, His Excellency The Honourable Charles H. Price II and Mrs. Price and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, Sir Antony Acland, to their seats in Great Hall.

THE PROCESSION IN TO GREAT HALL

11.57 a.m.  
(approx.)

When the Remembrancer is informed by the Chief Assistant Ceremonial Officer that those not in the procession have taken their places in Great Hall he forms the procession.

THE MARSHAL

THE MACE

THE SWORD

THE PRESIDENT

THE LORD MAYOR

MRS. REAGAN

THE LADY MAYORESS

MR. THATCHER

THE PRIME MINISTER

MR. TUGENDHAT

MRS. TUGENDHAT

REMEMBRANCER

11.59 a.m.

The Procession leaves the Print Room and on a cue from the Chief Assistant Ceremonial Officer the Toastmaster invites all those present to rise in their places for the arrival of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, the President and Mrs. Reagan, the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher and the other principal guests.

12 noon

The Procession proceeds into Great Hall by the Recorder's Room Door wheels half right and then full left so that the Marshal stops the Procession when he reaches the Podium and Sword and Mace divide, as follows, with chairs designated.

FANFARE

===== STEPS

			x SHERIFF JENKINS	
THE CHANCELLOR x			x x SHERIFF SAUNDERS	
THE FOREIGN SECRETARY x			x x	
MR. SECRETARY SHULTZ x			x x REMEMBRANCER	
MRS. TUGENDHAT x		x	x	
MR. TUGENDHAT x	PODIUM		x	
MR. THATCHER x			x	
PRIME MINISTER x	MARSHAL		x	
MRS. REAGAN x			x LADY MAYORESS	
PRESIDENT x			x LORD MAYOR	
	MACE		SWORD	
	PRESIDENT		LORD MAYOR	D
	MRS. REAGAN		LADY MAYORESS	O
	MR. THATCHER		PRIME MINISTER	O
	MR. TUGENDHAT		MRS. TUGENDHAT	R

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REMEMBRANCER

BLOCK FOR  
SWORD AND MACE

The Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress escort the President and Mrs. Reagan to their places together with the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher and Mr. and Mrs. Tugendhat. The Assistant Ceremonial Officer is in attendance. The Remembrancer moves to his chair on the North Side of the Dais and when all is ready cues the orchestra for the playing of the British and American National Anthems. After which all those present sit down and when all is ready, the Toastmaster moves to the microphone (South) on Dais.

12.02 p.m.

The Lord Mayor then makes his Speech of Welcome and introduces the President.

(Allocution by Toastmaster:

"Mr. President, Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, My Lords, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Ladies and Gentlemen, pray silence for the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor").

THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

12.05 p.m.  
(approx.)

The President then gives an Address on the Future of East-West Relations.

(Allocution by Toastmaster:

"My Lord Mayor, Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, My Lords, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Ladies and Gentlemen, pray silence for the President of the United States of America").

12.30 p.m.  
(approx.)

The Prime Minister makes a Speech of Thanks.

(Allocution by Toastmaster:

"My Lord Mayor, Mr. President, Your Excellencies, My Lords, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Ladies and Gentlemen, pray silence for the Prime Minister").

The Prime Minister returns to her seat at the conclusion of her speech and the Remembrancer moves to the microphone (North Side Dais).

THE PROCESSION OUT OF GREAT HALL

12.35 p.m.

A procession is formed, and moves by way of the front centre Dais steps, the central aisle and the Main (South) Doors to the Porch, the Remembrancer:

"May it please you, My Lord Mayor, Mr. President, Prime Minister, to process to the Porch, the procession being in the following order":-

## THE MARSHAL

THE MACE

THE SWORD

THE PRESIDENT

THE LORD MAYOR

MRS. REAGAN

THE LADY MAYORESS

MR. THATCHER

THE PRIME MINISTER

MR. TUGENDHAT

MRS. TUGENDHAT

THE OFFICIAL SUITE IN ATTENDANCE UPON THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. REAGAN

MR. SECRETARY SHULTZ

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR

MRS. PRICE

SENATOR BAKER

GENERAL POWELL

ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY

MR. ALDERMAN &amp; SHERIFF JENKINS

MRS. JENKINS

MR. SHERIFF AND DEPUTY SAUNDERS

MRS. SAUNDERS

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

THE FOREIGN SECRETARY

HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

THE CHAIRMAN

MRS. WILSON

REMEMBRANCER

The Assistant Ceremonial Officer and the Ceremonial Assistant move to be in Attendance at other end of the second row for the procession out and then to the Lower Library Corridor. The Chief Assistant Ceremonial Officer escorts Mr. Powell, who is leaving Guildhall with the Prime Minister, to the Corridor.

On reaching the Porch Doors the Procession turns left and proceeds along the Lower Library Corridor stopping at the first flight of steps.

The motorcade journalists are escorted to their cars.

The Toastmaster then asks all those present to remain in their places until after the departure of the principal guests.

The Assistant Ceremonial Officer then forms the line of Officers for presentation as follows, and the Lord Mayor presents to the President and Mrs. Reagan:

Colonel John Ansell  
The Swordbearer

Colonel David Tucker  
The Common Cryer and Serjeant-at-Arms

Colonel John Howard  
The City Marshal

Mr. John Lucioni  
The Keeper of Guildhall

Mr. Grant Simmonds  
The Chief Assistant Ceremonial Officer

Photographs are taken.

During the Presentations those in the Official Suite in Attendance upon the President and Mrs. Reagan are escorted to their cars with the exception of the American Ambassador and Mrs. Price who are leaving with the President and Mrs. Reagan.

Thereafter the Lord Mayor invites the President and Mrs. Reagan to bid farewell to Mr. and Mrs. Tugendhat, the Sheriffs and their Ladies, the Chairman and Mrs. Wilson, and the Remembrancer.

12.40 p.m.  
(approx.)

When all is ready the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher and the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress bid farewell to the President and Mrs. Reagan and escort them to their car.

12.43 p.m.

Thereafter the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress, with the Sheriffs and their Ladies, and the Chairman and Mrs. Wilson, bid farewell to the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher on the Porch.

12.45 p.m.

The Chairman and Mrs. Wilson, with the Remembrancer, bid farewell to the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress and the Sheriffs and their Ladies.

31ST MAY, 1988

REMEMBRANCER

## DRESS

Aldermen: Scarlet Gowns over Lounge Suit. Aldermen who have passed the Chair wear their Chains.

Common Councilmen: Mazarine Gowns over Lounge Suit.

Guests:

Gentlemen: Lounge Suit

Ladies: Day Dress with Hat and Gloves

DISTRIBUTION

The Mansion House

The Private Secretary to the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor

The Lady Mayoress

The Swordbearer

The Common Cryer and Serjeant-at-Arms

The City Marshal

The Yeoman (Toastmaster)

The Central Criminal Court

The Sheriffs

The Sheriffs' Ladies

Guildhall

The Three Senior Aldermen

The Chamberlain

The Town Clerk

The Commissioner of the City Police

The Comptroller and City Solicitor

The Chief Commoner

The Chairman of the Policy and Resources Committee

The Chairman of the Coal, Corn and Rates Finance Committee

The Public Relations Officer

The Keeper

Crown Catering

The Private Secretary to the American Ambassador

The Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister

Brigadier Woodburn, The Royal Institute of International Affairs

The Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps

The Vice-Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps

Colonel Peter Durrant, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Captain Rhodes, The Company of Pikemen and Musketeers

The Director of Music, Grenadier Guards

The Director of Music, Blues and Royals

Neil Eccles, BBC, ITV

Colin Hughes, BBC Radio

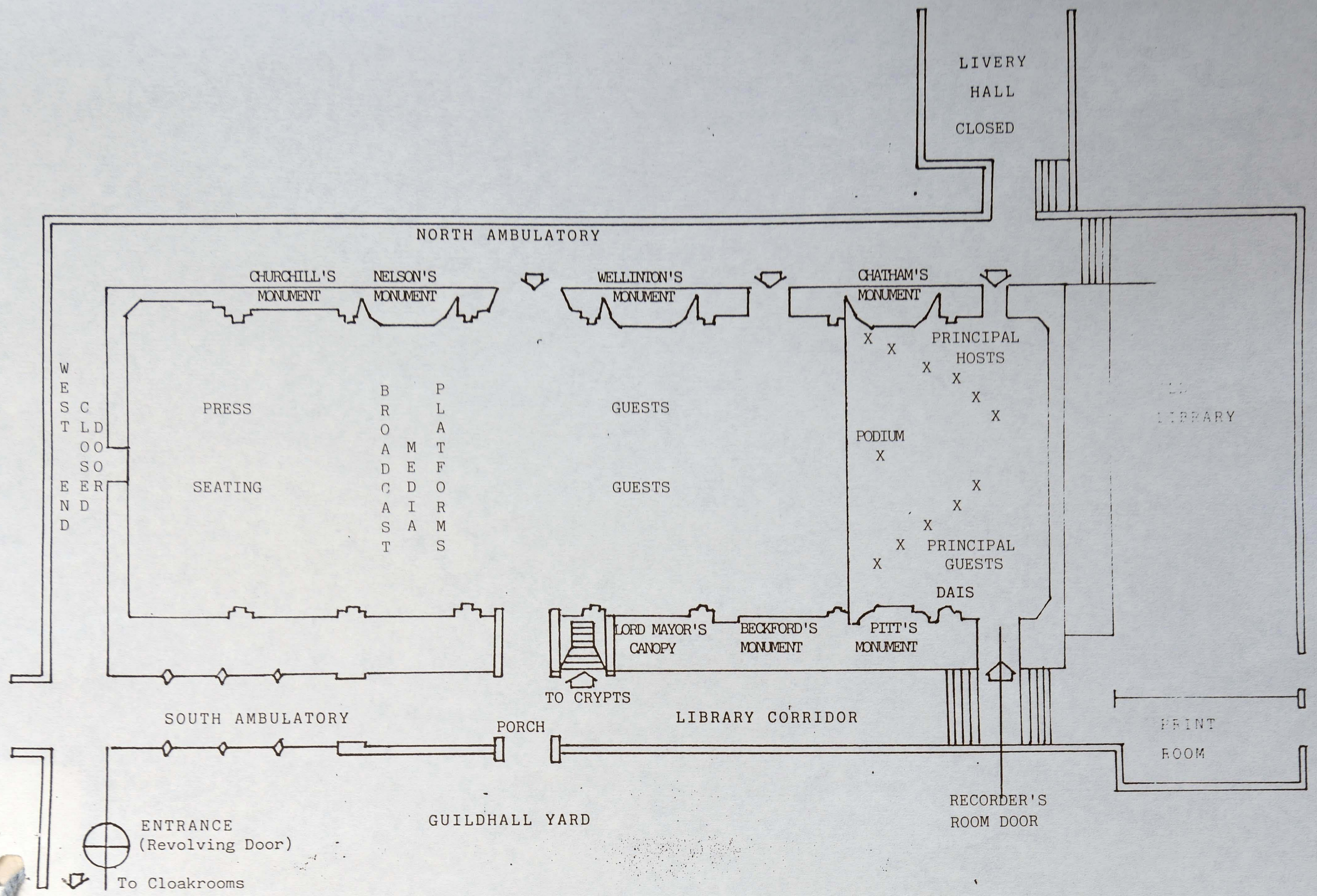
Peter Hubbard, ITN

Barbara Simon, C.O.I.

Clark Adams, ABC

Paul Storey, NBC

Jodie Dufresne, U.S. Embassy



Prime Minister (2)

You may like  
to glance at  
this over the  
week-end.

COO  
27/5

mt.

CEREMONIAL

THE ADDRESS ON  
THE FUTURE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS  
BY  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
AT  
GUILDHALL  
ON  
FRIDAY, 3RD JUNE, 1988  
AT 12 NOON

ARRIVAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND MR THATCHER

11.35 a.m.

The Prime Minister, The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher M.P., and Mr. Denis Thatcher arrive at the Porch entrance and are received by the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress. The Lord Mayor introduces the Lady Mayoress, Mr. and Mrs. Christopher Tugendhat, and the Chairman and Mrs. Wilson.

The Chairman and Mrs. Wilson then conduct the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher to the Print Room.

Before the arrival of the President and Mrs. Reagan the Remembrancer invites the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress and Mr. and Mrs. Tugendhat to take up their positions at the rear of the Porch as follows:-

	LADY MAYORESS	LORD MAYOR	P
			O
MRS. TUGENDHAT		MR. TUGENDHAT	R
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	MACE	SWORD	C
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ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS REAGAN

11.40 a.m.

The President of the United States of America and Mrs. Ronald Reagan arrive at the Porch entrance. The car parks right-hand on to the Porch.

The Lord Mayor receives the President and Mrs. Reagan and then introduces the Lady Mayoress and Mr. and Mrs. Tugendhat.

The procession is then formed by the Remembrancer in the Library Corridor as follows:-

## THE MARSHAL

THE MACE

THE SWORD

THE PRESIDENT

THE LORD MAYOR

MRS. REAGAN

THE LADY MAYORESS

MR. TUGENDHAT

MRS. TUGENDHAT

## THE REMEMBRANCER

and proceeds to the Print Room via the Library Corridor which is lined by a detachment of the Company of Pikemen and Musketeers.

11.42 a.m.

After the Print Room doors are closed the Toastmaster, Mr. Nicholas Reid-Hammond, requests all those in the Old Library to take their seats in Great Hall via the North-West and South-West exits.

Those in the Official Suite are escorted from the Suite cars in Guildhall Yard to the Print Room via the Library Corridor.

THE PRINT ROOM

In the Print Room the Lord Mayor presents to the President and Mrs. Reagan:

Commander and Alderman Sir Robin Gillett  
The Senior Alderman

Alderman Sir Peter Gadsden  
Senior Alderman

Alderman Sir Christopher Leaver  
Senior Alderman

Mr. Alderman and Sheriff Brian Jenkins  
Sheriff of London

Mrs. Brian Jenkins

Mr. Sheriff and Deputy Richard Saunders  
Sheriff of London

Mrs. Richard Saunders

Mr. Bernard Harty  
The Chamberlain of London

Mr. Geoffrey Rowley  
The Town Clerk

Mr. Denis Butler  
The Comptroller and City Solicitor

Mr. Adrian Barnes  
The Remembrancer

Mr. Brian Wilson  
The Chief Commoner

Mrs. Brian Wilson

Mr. Peter Rigby  
The Chairman of the Policy and Resources  
Committee

Mr. Terence Donnelly  
The Chairman of the Coal, Corn and Rates Finance  
Committee

Mr. William Taylor  
Assistant Commissioner of the City Police

Mr. Tugendhat then presents to the President and Mrs. Reagan the following from the Royal Institute of International Affairs:-

The Right Honourable Lord Callaghan of Cardiff  
President

The Right Honourable Lord Grimond of Firth  
President

Mr. Christopher Stronge  
The Honorary Treasurer

Admiral Sir James Eberle  
Director

Dr. William Wallace  
Director of Studies

Brigadier William Woodburn  
Executive Director

Photographs are taken of the Presentations by the U.S. Official Photographer and the Corporation of London Official Photographer, Mr. Peter Holland.

After the Presentations the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress conduct the President and Mrs. Reagan to meet the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher and the other principal guests. Refreshments are served.

11.48 a.m.

The Toastmaster asks all those not in the procession nor being escorted to Great Hall by the Sheriffs and the Chairman and their Ladies to take their seats in Great Hall via the Recorder's Room Door. On the dais guests are shown to their seats under the direction of the Assistant Ceremonial Officer, Miss Joanna Piercey.

11.50 a.m.

The Lord Mayor invites the President and Mrs. Reagan and the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher to sign the Distinguished Visitors' Book (on table in South-West corner).

Thereafter Official Photographers leave the Print Room and take their positions on the special press platform in the West end of Great Hall via the Library Corridor and the South Doors.

11.55 a.m.

When all is ready, the Remembrancer invites the Sheriffs and their Ladies and the Chairman and Mrs. Wilson, with the Chief Assistant Ceremonial Officer, to escort the Secretary of State, The Honourable George P. Shultz and Mrs. Shultz, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe M.P., the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Rt. Hon. Nigel Lawson M.P., the American Ambassador, His Excellency The Honourable Charles H. Price II and Mrs. Price and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, Sir Antony Acland, to their seats in Great Hall.

THE PROCESSION IN TO GREAT HALL

11.57 a.m.  
(approx.)

When the Remembrancer is informed by the Chief Assistant Ceremonial Officer that those not in the procession have taken their places in Great Hall he forms the procession.

THE MARSHAL

THE MACE

THE SWORD

THE PRESIDENT

THE LORD MAYOR

MRS. REAGAN

THE LADY MAYORESS

MR. THATCHER

THE PRIME MINISTER

MR. TUGENDHAT

MRS. TUGENDHAT

REMEMBRANCER

11.59 a.m.

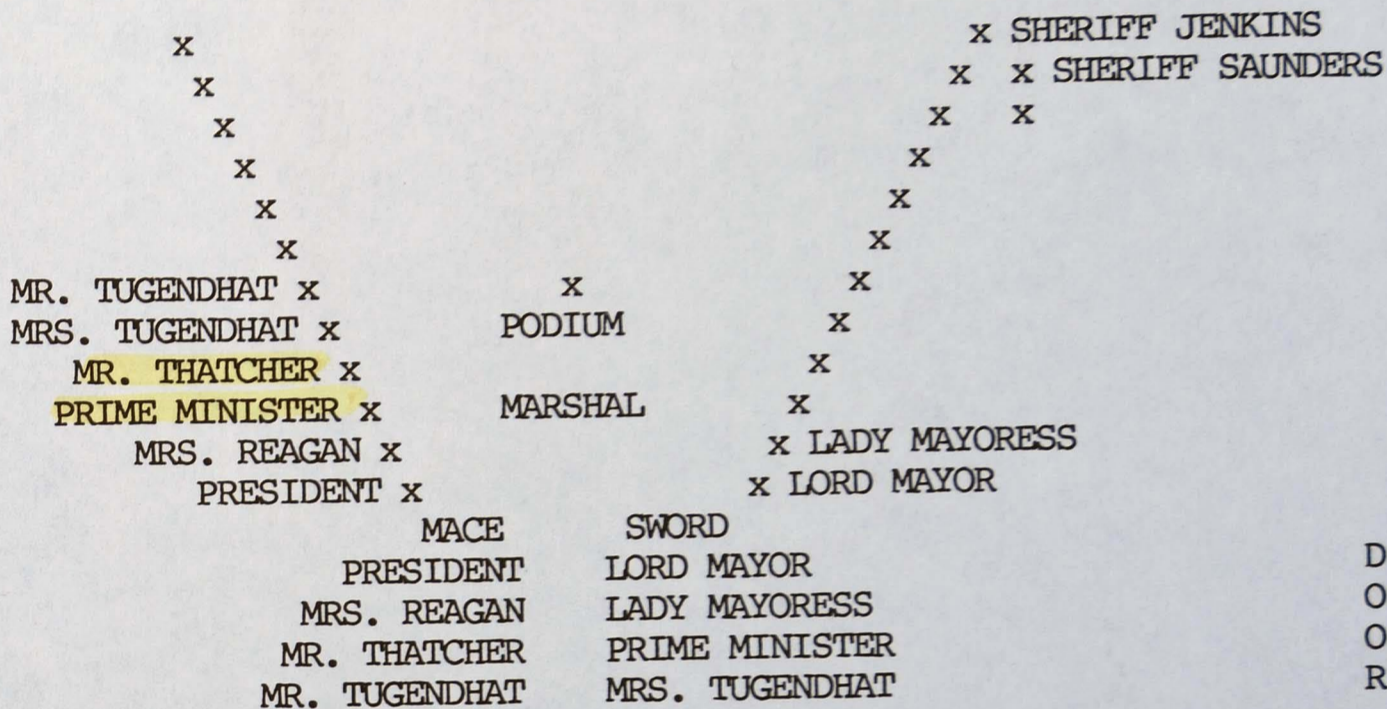
The Procession leaves the Print Room and on a cue from the Chief Assistant Ceremonial Officer the Toastmaster invites all those present to rise in their places for the arrival of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, the President and Mrs. Reagan, the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher and the other principal guests.

12 noon

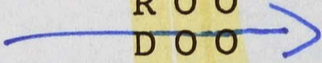
The Procession proceeds into Great Hall by the Recorder's Room Door wheels half right and then full left so that the Marshal stops the Procession when he reaches the Podium as follows with chairs designated.

FANFARE

STEPS



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REMEMBRANCER

BLOCK FOR  
SWORD AND MACE

The Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress escort the President and Mrs. Reagan to their places together with the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher and Mr. and Mrs. Tugendhat. The Assistant Ceremonial Officer is in attendance. The Remembrancer moves to his chair on the North Side of the Dais and when all is ready cues the orchestra for the playing of the British and American National Anthems. After which all those present sit down and when all is ready, the Toastmaster moves to the microphone (South) on Dais.

12.02 p.m.

The Lord Mayor then makes his Speech of Welcome and introduce the President.

(Allocution by Toastmaster:

"Mr. President, Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, My Lords, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Ladies and Gentlemen, pray silence for the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor").

THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

12.05 p.m.  
(approx.)

The President then gives an Address on the Future of East-West Relations.

(Allocution by Toastmaster:

"My Lord Mayor, Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, My Lords, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Ladies and Gentlemen, pray silence for the President of the United States of America").

12.30 p.m.  
(approx.)

The Prime Minister makes a Speech of Thanks.

(Allocution by Toastmaster:

"My Lord Mayor, Mr. President, Your Excellencies, My Lords, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Ladies and Gentlemen, pray silence for the Prime Minister").

The Prime Minister returns to her seat at the conclusion of her speech and the Remembrancer moves to the microphone (North Side Dais).

[Five minutes  
allowed]

THE PROCESSION OUT OF GREAT HALL

12.35 p.m.

A procession is formed, and moves by way of the front centre Dais steps, the central aisle and the Main (South) Doors to the Porch, the Remembrancer:

"May it please you, My Lord Mayor, Mr. President, Prime Minister, to process to the Porch, the procession being in the following order":-

## THE MARSHAL

THE MACE

THE SWORD

THE PRESIDENT

THE LORD MAYOR

MRS. REAGAN

THE LADY MAYORESS

MR. THATCHER

THE PRIME MINISTER

MR. TUGENDHAT

MRS. TUGENDHAT

THE OFFICIAL SUITE IN ATTENDANCE UPON THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. REAGAN

## MR. SECRETARY SHULTZ

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR

MRS. PRICE

## SENATOR BAKER

GENERAL POWELL

ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY

MR. ALDERMAN &amp; SHERIFF JENKINS

MRS. JENKINS

MR. SHERIFF AND DEPUTY SAUNDERS

MRS. SAUNDERS

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

THE FOREIGN SECRETARY

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR

MRS. PRICE

HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

THE CHAIRMAN

MRS. WILSON

REMEMBRANCER

On reaching the Porch Doors the Procession turns left and proceeds along the Lower Library Corridor stopping at the first flight of steps.

The motorcade journalists are escorted to their cars.

The Toastmaster then asks all those present to remain in their places until after the departure of the principal guests.

The Assistant Ceremonial Officer then forms the line of Officers for presentation as follows, and the Lord Mayor presents to the President and Mrs. Reagan:

Colonel John Ansell  
The Swordbearer

Colonel David Tucker  
The Common Cryer and Serjeant-at-Arms

Colonel John Howard  
The City Marshal

Mr. John Lucioni  
The Keeper of Guildhall

Mr. Grant Simmonds  
The Chief Assistant Ceremonial Officer

Thereafter the Lord Mayor invites the President and Mrs. Reagan to bid farewell to Mr. and Mrs. Tugendhat, the Sheriffs and their Ladies, the Chairman and Mrs. Wilson, and the Remembrancer.

12.40 p.m.  
(approx.)

When all is ready the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher and the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress bid farewell to the President and Mrs. Reagan and escort them to their car.

12.43 p.m.

Thereafter the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress, with the Sheriffs and their Ladies, and the Chairman and Mrs. Wilson, bid farewell to the Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher on the Porch.

12.45 p.m.

The Chairman and Mrs. Wilson, with the Remembrancer, bid farewell to the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress and the Sheriffs and their Ladies.

## DRESS

Aldermen: Scarlet Gowns over Lounge Suit. Aldermen who have passed the Chair wear their Chains.

Common Councilmen: Mazarine Gowns over Lounge Suit.

Guests:

Gentlemen: Lounge Suit

Ladies: Day Dress with Hat and Gloves

PRIME MINISTER

## MEETING WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN

You are to meet President Reagan on Thursday afternoon, followed by a dinner.

Arrangements

The President and Mrs. Reagan are to have tea with The Queen from 1715 to 1755. The President will then drive direct from the Palace to the official welcoming ceremony in the FCO Courtyard at 1800. (Mrs. Reagan will return to the American Embassy to receive Prince Charles.) The ceremony will take the normal form (weather permitting - and the forecast is not very good). You will then walk over to No. 10 and turn and pose for photographs on the doorstep. There will be large stands for the photographers set up in the Street as at the time of the election. There will then be further photographs in the front hall. The meeting itself will be in the Cabinet Room and start at about 1815. When both delegations are in place, two television cameras and two still photographers will be admitted. (On security grounds we apparently have to keep the curtains drawn while they are there, so that the pictures cannot be used by terrorists to identify the exact position of the room).

There is approximately one hour for the meeting before you move upstairs. Mrs. Reagan and Mrs. Price will arrive at 1920: you may wish to ask Mr. Thatcher to meet them. Dinner is in the Pillared Room, I suggest at 1945. The Americans hope you will agree to let their official photographer in at the beginning and for the toasts. After dinner you will want to see how the President feels about watching the Beating the Retreat at 2130. The options are to watch from the windows of the Blue Room (where the view is rather obscured) or to go through to the Cabinet Secretary's office. Arrangements have been made for this and the American party are aware of the possibility. If the President elects to leave early, some of the other members of the party may nonetheless like to stay

and watch.

### Substance of the Talks

Clearly the main subject of the discussion will be the Moscow Summit. You will want to congratulate the President on his performance, especially on human rights. There is no doubt that he seized the initiative and for once put Gorbachev on the defensive. The difficulty will be to get him away from anecdotes and on to serious judgements. Particular aspects you will want to explore are:

✓ - Gorbachev. How did he seem? Is there any sign that his position is at risk? How serious are the differences in the Soviet leadership? Will his reform programme go through? Does he face a back-lash from old-style communists? Is reform of agriculture likely to prove the key to successful economic reform? How far does the President judge that new thinking is really spreading to foreign policy and defence?

✓ - Arms control. You will want to thank the President for the Administration's assurance that a START Agreement will not affect our Trident programme. What are the prospects of reaching a START agreement in the remaining period of his Presidency? What are the main obstacles in his view? Was there any shift in Gorbachev's view on the acceptability of strategic defence and on what activities are permissible under the ABM Treaty? How serious is Soviet interest in conventional arms control? Are they ready for genuine reductions? Do they accept the exclusion of dual capable systems?

✓ - Human Rights. What concrete improvements does he expect to see? Was he given any explicit promises or assurances by Mr. Gorbachev, eg. on Jewish emigration or freedom of worship for Jews and Christians?

- Regional Issues. Did he get anywhere on the Middle East, either Arab/Israel or Iran/Iraq? Is there any prospect of the Russians unblocking a follow-up resolution to SCR 598? Did he raise the dangers of the proliferation of ballistic missiles and chemical weapons in the area? Did they get into detailed discussion of Angola? How does the President assess the prospects for progress? Did Gorbachev give any indication of a time-table for withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia?

The second main issue should be the Toronto Economic Summit. By and large we are in agreement with the Americans on most issues. You will want to feel out how far we can go in Summit language on the US deficit without causing electoral embarrassment to George Bush. (The same applies to the choice of the escalating costs of health and social services provision as the subject for informal discussions.) We shall want to get something on debt, preferably the full substance of the Chancellor's initiative, and on terrorism. The President intends to raise with you the question of agriculture. The need here is to persuade the Americans to set themselves a realistic objective. There is no way you can get the other Europeans to accept an explicit goal of the abolition of all subsidies. We must not make the best the enemy of the good.

You ought to thank the President for the invitation to visit Washington in November. We hope by Thursday to have agreed on dates and the visit can be announced.

He may raise arms sales to Argentina, although you dealt with this pretty firmly in Brussels.

There is a point on Nicaragua on which you might consult him. The Nicaraguans are asking whether you would see President Ortega or Vice-President Ramirez. The question is whether it is better to refuse to see them on the grounds that it adds to their prestige; or to see them and give them hell and let the

press know you have (and as you did with Ramirez in 1985). I incline to the latter, but you will want to find out whether it would upset the President.

You will want to talk about the US Presidential Election prospects, but this might best be done over dinner.

Some more detailed background letters are in the folder. We should have further information by Thursday on the outcome of the Summit (which may obviate the need to ask some of the above questions).

You will remember that the President intends to raise in Moscow the case of Gordievsky's family and you will want to ask him whether there was any response.

C.D.P.

C. D. POWELL

31 May 1988

SLHAWR

Edge

Rear Admiral A. J. Cooke, C.B.  
The Private Secretary to the Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor

Telephone: 01-626 2500

The Mansion House,  
London, EC4N 8BH

PS/KH

27th May, 1988

Dear Mr. Powell,

CDM

Address in Guildhall by  
The President of the United States of America  
Friday, 3rd June 1988

Further to our telephone conversation yesterday afternoon, I enclose a draft of the few words which we are proposing the Lord Mayor uses when welcoming President Reagan to Guildhall on Friday, 3rd June.

As I indicated, this draft will not be seen by the Lord Mayor until his return from overseas next Wednesday when, of course, he may decide to make changes to it. I should be grateful, though, should you have any comments or suggested amendments if you would kindly give me a ring.

Yours sincerely,  
Tony Lake

Enc.

C.D. Powell, Esq.,  
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister,  
10 Downing Street,  
London S.W.1.

DRAFT OF 27.5.88

THE RT HON THE LORD MAYOR'S ADDRESS OF WELCOME  
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
GUILDHALL

FRIDAY, 3RD JUNE 1988.

MR PRESIDENT, ETC.,

ON BEHALF OF THE CORPORATION AND CITIZENS OF LONDON, AS WELL AS THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, IT GIVES ME A FEELING OF PRIDE AND DESTINY TO WELCOME YOU MOST WARMLY, MR PRESIDENT, TO OUR ANCIENT GUILDHALL; THIS CRADLE OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY THAT SERVED AS A MODEL FOR OUR OWN PARLIAMENT, AND A PLACE WHERE A STATUE OF THAT OTHER MIGHTY PROTAGONIST OF THOSE VALUES, WINSTON CHURCHILL, SITS BROODING OVER THE EVENTS OF HISTORY.

EVENTS WHICH DURING MOST OF THE PAST DECADE YOU HAVE HELPED FASHION, SIR, BY NEGOTIATING INITIATIVES THAT HAVE CAPTURED THE HEARTS AND HOPES OF ALL ~~FREE THINKING AND~~ FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE OF THE WORLD; A WORLD WHICH YOUR ASTRONAUTS HAVE TWINNED WITH THE MOON AND OUTER SPACE.

MR PRESIDENT, THE WALLS OF THIS GREAT HALL ONCE ECHOED THE VOICE OF GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT SHORTLY AFTER HE RELINQUISHED HIS PRESIDENCY, AND THEY HAVE HEARD THE WORDS OF PEACE UTTERED BY PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON, WHOSE SURNAME YOU BEAR AS A SECOND CHRISTIAN NAME. BUT THE PROBLEMS THAT THOSE HOLDERS OF YOUR HIGH OFFICE FACED WERE NOTHING COMPARED WITH THOSE YOU HAVE ENDURED DURING YOUR PURSUIT OF STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION.

IN SHAKESPEARE'S "KING HENRY V" THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY DESCRIBES THE KING'S STATESMANLIKE SKILLS THUS:

"TURN HIM TO ANY CAUSE OF POLICY,  
THE GORDIAN KNOT OF IT HE WILL UNLOOSE,  
FAMILIAR AS HIS GARTER".

MR PRESIDENT, YOU HAVE INDEED UNRAVELLED THE <sup>NET</sup>~~SKEIN~~ OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION THAT HAS ENMESHED WORLD POLITICS FOR FOUR DECADES, AND IN SO DOING FULFILLED THE BELIEF OF JOHN MILTON, AN IMMORTAL SON OF THIS CITY, "THAT PEACE HATH ITS VICTORIES, NO LESS RENOWNED THAN WAR".

<sup>YOURS</sup>~~IT~~ IS A VICTORY GARLAND TO BE WORN WITH PRIDE, AS AT YOUR WISH AND THROUGH THE AUSPICES OF OUR OWN PIONEERING AND PRESTIGIOUS ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, YOU NOW ADDRESS US ON A MATTER OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO ALL PERSONS POPULATING THIS PLANET... THE FUTURE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

27.V. C. P. 1928

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HONG KONG FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY

MY TELNO 1285 (NOT TO ALL) : PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT TO

LONDON: THE US BACKGROUND

SUMMARY

1. A BAD PATCH AGAIN FOR REAGAN AT HOME, FROM WHICH FOREIGN POLICY IN GENERAL, AND THE MOSCOW SUMMIT IN PARTICULAR, OFFER THE BEST HOPE OF RECOVERY. A SENSE OF DRIFT AND DISAPPOINTMENT AS THE ADMINISTRATION GRADUALLY RUNS OUT OF STEAM. NEVERTHELESS, THE PRESIDENT IS LIKELY TO BE IN GOOD FORM. BUSH'S CHOICE BETWEEN IDENTIFYING HIMSELF WITH THE ADMINISTRATION AND DISTANCING HIMSELF FROM IT MORE ACUTE THAN EVER.

DETAIL

2. BEFORE PRESIDENT REAGAN VISITS LONDON, YOU MAY LIKE A SNAPSHOT OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION WHICH THE PRESIDENT LEAVES BEHIND HIM IN WASHINGTON.

3. BARRING AN UNFORESEEN UPSET IN MOSCOW, THE PRIME MINISTER IS LIKELY TO FIND THE PRESIDENT HIS USUAL CHEERFUL AND APPARENTLY RELAXED SELF, WITH GOOD REASON TO BE PROUD OF THE PROGRESS HE HAS HELPED MAKE IN US/SOVIET RELATIONS IN GENERAL, AND OF THE INF TREATY AND THE AGREEMENT ON AFGHANISTAN IN PARTICULAR. AT HOME, HOWEVER, APART FROM THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE REVELATION OF THE IRAN-CONTRA OPERATION IN NOVEMBER 1986, THE PAST FEW WEEKS HAVE BEEN AMONG THE MOST DIFFICULT OF HIS PRESIDENCY. THE PRESIDENT'S TROUBLES HAVE INCLUDED:

(A) THE CONTINUING EMBARRASSMENT OF POLICY TOWARDS PANAMA. AS BUSH, JIM BAKER AND OTHERS HAVE POINTED OUT, BOTH IN PRIVATE AND INCREASINGLY IN PUBLIC, THE ATTEMPT TO DROP CHARGES AGAINST (IN DUKAKIS'S WORDS) QUOTE A DRUG RUNNING DICTATOR UNQUOTE DID NOT SIT EASILY WITH THE ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO A TOUGHER ANTI-DRUG POLICY, NOR WITH THE FIRST LADY'S JUST SAY NO CAMPAIGN.

ALTHOUGH THE BREAKDOWN OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH NORIEGA ON 25 MAY REMOVES THE PLEA-BARGAINING DIFFICULTY, IT LEAVES THE ADMINISTRATION WITH AN AWKWARD CHOICE BETWEEN ACQUIESCING IN THE PRESENT SITUATION OR SOMEHOW STEPPING UP THE PRESSURE ON NORIEGA, PERHAPS INITIALLY VIA OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. I FOUND BUSH VERY PREOCCUPIED WITH THIS ISSUE WHEN I SAW HIM PRIVATELY EARLIER THIS WEEK.

- (B) MEESE. THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL'S REPORT ON THE WEDTECH AFFAIR IS EXPECTED EARLY NEXT MONTH, AND MAY WELL CRITICISE THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR ETHICAL LAPSES. BUT, WITHOUT SOME MAJOR NEW DEVELOPMENT, MEESE IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO BRAZEN THINGS OUT, AND THE PRESIDENT WILL REMAIN RELUCTANT TO PRESS HIM TO GO, THIS ALSO TO THE DISCOMFORT OF BUSH.
- (C) ASTROLOGY. ALTHOUGH POLLS HAVE SHOWN THAT A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF AMERICANS SET SOME STORE BY ASTROLOGY, REGAN'S REVELATIONS HAVE EXPOSED THE PRESIDENT TO QUITE UNPRECEDENTED RIDICULE IN A WAY WHICH HAS BEEN WOUNDING TO HIM AND MRS REAGAN IN PERSONAL TERMS, AND EXTREMELY DAMAGING POLITICALLY. MRS REAGAN TOLD MY WIFE AND ME RECENTLY THAT THE PRESS HAD MADE THEIR LIVES MISERABLE, AND SHE CERTAINLY FEELS BITTERLY ABOUT IT. THE WHITE HOUSE'S HALF-HEARTED ATTEMPTS TO DISCREDIT REGAN'S ACCOUNT HAVE TENDED TO COMPOUND THE DIFFICULTY.
4. IN RECENT MONTHS, THE PRESIDENT'S APPROVAL RATING HAS BEEN HOVERING IN THE 48-52 PER CENT BAND. BUT TWO RECENT POLLS HAVE SHOWN IT DROPPING SIGNIFICANTLY TO 46 AND 43 PER CENT. FURTHER POLLS ARE EXPECTED IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, AND WILL BE IMPORTANT INDICATORS OF WHETHER THE DAMAGE WHICH THE PRESIDENT HAS SUSTAINED IN RECENT WEEKS IS LIKELY TO HAVE LONGER-TERM IMPLICATIONS, NOT LEAST FOR BUSH.
5. AGAINST THE RATHER SOMBRE BACKGROUND OF RECENT EVENTS AT HOME, COMMENTATORS ARE ALREADY STARTING TO DRAW UP BALANCE SHEETS OF THE REAGAN YEARS. ALTHOUGH THE CONCLUSIONS THEY DRAW DEPEND LARGELY ON POLITICAL AFFILIATION, THERE IS AN INESCAPABLE FEELING OF DRIFT AND DISAPPOINTMENT ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S PERFORMANCE IN HIS SECOND TERM. IN ADDITION, WITH LESS THAN 6 MONTHS TO GO BEFORE THE ELECTIONS, THERE IS A DISTINCT SENSE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS NOW GRADUALLY RUNNING OUT OF STEAM, AT LEAST ON DOMESTIC ISSUES. THE MAJOR SUCCESSES OF THE REAGAN YEARS - THE DEFENCE BUILD-UP, THE MASSIVE ECONOMIC EXPANSION, THE IMPROVEMENT IN US/SOVIET RELATIONS (OF WHICH THE INF TREATY AND THE WITHDRAWAL FROM

AFGHANISTAN ARE THE TWO MOST OBVIOUS FRUITS) - ARE IN MANY WAYS OFFSET, THE COMMENTATORS MAINTAIN, BY THE FAILURES - THE TWIN DEFICITS, THE IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR, AND THE SUCCESSION OF SCANDALS INVOLVING PRESENT AND FORMER MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION. BOTH THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND THE FAILURES ARE ATTRIBUTED TO THE SAME PHENOMENON : THE PRESIDENT'S UNUSUAL, AND UNUSUALLY RELAXED, STYLE OF LEADERSHIP. AS ONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S FORMER ADVISERS (MARTIN ANDERSON) PUT IT IN A RECENT BOOK PRAISING REAGAN'S ACHIEVEMENTS, THE PRESIDENT'S QUOTE HIGH ROLLING, HIGH RISK ... UNIQUE MANAGEMENT STYLE HAD ENORMOUS POWER AND EFFICACY WHEN IMPLEMENTED PROPERLY ... BUT IT WAS A FLAWED STYLE WITH ... POTENTIAL FOR DISASTER UNQUOTE.

6. THESE MAINLY DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES CONTRAST HOWEVER WITH THE BRIGHTER PICTURE OF COORDINATION OF US FOREIGN POLICY (WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF PANAMA). THE ADMINISTRATION MACHINE IS NOW RUNNING VERY SMOOTHLY. WITH THE COMBINATION OF HOWARD BAKER AND HIS DEPUTY, AND OF SHULTZ, CARLUCCI AND POWELL, THE PRESIDENT HAS AT LAST FOUND A TEAM TO WHOM HE CAN COMFORTABLY DELEGATE THE DAY TO DAY RUNNING OF OVERSEAS AFFAIRS. THIS MACHINE MAY NOT PRODUCE ANY MAJOR SUCCESS IN THE REMAINING MONTHS OF THE ADMINISTRATION. BUT, EQUALLY, IT IS UNLIKELY TO COME TO A STANDSTILL. CENTRAL AMERICA APART, FOREIGN AND DEFENCE POLICY SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE MANAGED IN A COMPETENT AND POSITIVE FASHION, AND THE EFFORT TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARDS A START AGREEMENT WILL, BARRING SURPRISES OUT OF MOSCOW, CONTINUE.

7. THAT SAID, AND AS SO OFTEN IN THE PAST, THE PRESIDENT MAY HAVE BEEN DOWN, BUT HE IS VERY FAR FROM OUT. ALTHOUGH THE ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT YET APPEAR TO HAVE ANY CLEAR IDEA OF HOW IT WILL BRING DOWN THE CURTAIN ON THE FIRST TWO-TERM PRESIDENCY IN NEARLY THREE DECADES, THERE ARE HIGH HOPES THAT THE MOSCOW SUMMIT WILL MARK THE BEGINNING OF A MORE UP-BEAT HOME STRETCH. THE PRESIDENT'S VISITS TO LONDON, AND TO TORONTO FOR THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT, MAY ALSO HELP TO DISTRACT ATTENTION FROM HIS DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES. IN PERSONAL TERMS, THE PRESIDENT IS PHYSICALLY AS SPRITELY AND TEMPERAMENTALLY AS OPTIMISTIC AS EVER : AT A REPUBLICAN RALLY RECENTLY HE CLAIMED, IN CHARACTERISTIC FASHION, THAT RAMBO'S RETURN TO THE SCREEN IN A THIRD FILM ALMOST MADE THE PRESIDENT WISH HE COULD SERVE A THIRD TERM.

8. FOR BUSH, THE PRESIDENT'S DIFFICULTIES, NOTABLY OVER MEESE AND NORIEGA, HAVE SERVED ONLY TO DEEPEN HIS DILEMMA

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OF TRYING TO TAKE CREDIT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION'S ACHIEVEMENTS WHILE DISTANCING HIMSELF FROM ITS FAILURES. AS HE HAS FALLEN FURTHER BEHIND DUKAKIS IN THE POLLS, BOTH NATIONWIDE AND IN CALIFORNIA, SO THE PRESSURE ON BUSH FROM SENIOR REPUBLICANS TO CUT LOOSE FROM THE PRESIDENT HAS INCREASED. SO FAR, HOWEVER, HE AND HIS STAFF HAVE TAKEN ONLY TENTATIVE STEPS IN THAT DIRECTION (NOTABLY BY LEAKING ACCOUNTS OF WHITE HOUSE MEETINGS AT WHICH BUSH IS SAID TO HAVE DISAGREED WITH THE PRESIDENT), BUT ARE ALL TOO AWARE THAT THE BENEFITS OF SUCH A MOVE COULD WELL BE OUTWEIGHED BY A LOSS OF SUPPORT IN OTHER AREAS OF THE ELECTORATE WHICH REAGAN HAS DEVELOPED SO SUCCESSFULLY. BUSH GAVE ME THE IMPRESSION THAT HE HAS NOT YET SORTED OUT HIS POSITION ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES. THE FINAL CAMPAIGN IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IS NOT YET JOINED, BUT HE MUST DO SO SOON.

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THE HAGUE

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PRIME MINISTER

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT: SPEECHES

You will need to speak twice during President Reagan's visit: the dinner on Thursday evening and after his address at the Guildhall on Friday morning.

Dinner Speech

You saw my first draft and commented that you would probably make a rather shorter speech, saving some of the material for the Guildhall. I now attach a revised and shorter version.

Guildhall

This is going to be a more difficult occasion to judge. I attach a first draft of some remarks. You will probably want to be quite brief so as not to detract from the impact of the President's address, which will be the main feature. Equally, you will want to pay a public tribute to him fitting to the occasion. The Lord Mayor's introductory remarks are going to be very brief (copy in folder).

We shall not know what the President will say until very shortly beforehand. I have asked the White House for the earliest possible advance text.

You will want to consider using an autocue. The President will certainly make use of his. The whole event will be televised.

I also attach in the folder, for reference, the speech which the President gave to Members of both Houses of Parliament in June 1982.

C. D. POWELL

27 May 1988

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CCPC



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 May 1988

ms  
R. Hunter  
CDD  
26/5

Dear Charles,

President Reagan's Visit to London, 2-3 June

I attach the "definitive" programme referred to in the last paragraph of my letter of 18 May. It awaits only some details from the Remembrancer about arrangements at Guildhall on 3 June. As soon as these arrive, and subject to any comments from you, we shall print.

You should be aware (your letter of 19 May) that on 2 June Mrs Reagan will arrive for drinks at No 10 at 1920. As we currently understand it from the Americans, she will be accompanied by Mrs Price (who will wish to be at Winfield House for the arrival and departure of the Prince of Wales). You should also be aware that Mr Takeshita has now decided not to attend the Guildhall speech.

Yours ever,

L Parker

(L Parker)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

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Attachment to: FCO to CDP. 26/5

Pres. Reagan's visit to London.

Gold Crest

HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE  
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Visit of  
The President of the  
United States of America  
and Mrs. Reagan

2 to 3 June 1988

The President of the United States of America and Mrs. Reagan will be accompanied by:

The Honourable George P. Shultz,  
Secretary of State

Mrs. George Shultz

His Excellency The Honourable Charles H. Price II,  
Ambassador of the United States of America to the Court of  
St. James's

Mrs. Charles Price

The Honourable Howard Baker,  
Chief of Staff to the President

Lt. General Colin Powell,  
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

The Honourable Rozanne Ridgway,  
Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian  
Affairs

*The visitors will stay at :*

Winfield House  
Outer Circle, Regent's Park, N.W.1

and

The Churchill,  
Portman Square, W.1

Programme

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THURSDAY, 2 JUNE

(See page for programme for The Honourable George P. Shultz)

By 1105 hrs Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington and Lady Acland arrive at the Special Waiting Room, Heathrow Airport (Southside)

By 1110 The American Ambassador and Mrs Price arrive at the Special Waiting Room, Heathrow Airport (Southside)

By 1115 The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, The Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe, M.P. and Lady Howe arrive at the Special Waiting Room, Heathrow Airport (Southside)

By 1120 The Lord-in-Waiting to Her Majesty The Queen, The Lord Beaverbrook, arrives at the Special Waiting Room, Heathrow Airport (Southside)

1135 The Special Aircraft conveying The President of the United States of America and Mrs Reagan lands and taxis to the Airport Apron.

The Lord Beaverbrook, with the Reception Party walks from the Special Waiting Room to the Apron.

Aircraft doors open

The American Ambassador and Mrs Price go on board to greet The President and Mrs Reagan.

The President and Mrs Reagan, the American Ambassador and Mrs Price leave the Aircraft. They are greeted at the foot of the steps by The Lord Beaverbrook on behalf of Her Majesty The Queen, The Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe, M.P. and Lady Howe on behalf of Her Majesty's Government and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington and Lady Acland.

Thereafter The President and Mrs Reagan board their helicopter for the flight to Winfield House, arriving at 12 noon.

1650 The President and Mrs Reagan leave Winfield House by car for Buckingham Palace

1700 The President and Mrs. Reagan arrive at the Grand Entrance of Buckingham Palace via the Centre Gate and Centre Arch

THURSDAY, 2 JUNE (contd)

The Buckingham Palace Detachment of The Queen's Guard will turn out in the Forecourt. A Royal Salute will be given and the Drummer will sound

The President and Mrs Reagan have Tea with Her Majesty The Queen

1755 hrs The President leaves Buckingham Palace for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Quadrangle

*Mrs. Reagan leaves Buckingham Palace for Winfield House arriving at 1805 hours*

1740 A Guard of honour found by 1st. Battalion Welsh Guards under the command of Major T.C.S. Bonas with the Regimental Colour, the Band of the Regiment, and the Corps of Drums of the Battalion, is formed up in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Quadrangle

1745 Members of the Official Suite arrive and are met by The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, The Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe, M.P.

Major-General Christopher Airy, General Officer Commanding London District and Major-General Commanding the Household Division, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas Erskine Crum, Brigade Major Household Division, arrive

1755 The Prime Minister, The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P. arrives via the Main Archway and is received by Major-General Airy and escorted to the right (west) of the dais

1800 The President arrives and is received by the Prime Minister, who presents Major-General Airy

Major-General Airy escorts the President to his place on the dais

The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State take up their positions to the right and behind the dais.

The Captain of the Guard of Honour orders "Guard of Honour Royal Salute, Present Arms"

The Band plays the National Anthem of the United States of America

The Captain of the Guard of Honour orders "Slope Arms" and "Shoulder Arms" and presents his Guard of Honour to The President.

THURSDAY, 2 JUNE (contd)

The Major-General then accompanies The President and the Captain of the Guard of Honour, on the inspection.

The Prime Minister, The President, and those participating in the talks leave the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Quadrangle via the Main Archway for 10 Downing Street.

1815 hrs The Prime Minister has talks with The President.

1815 *His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales calls on Mrs. Reagan at Winfield House*

1900 Guests arrive at 10 Downing Street.

1920 *Mrs. Reagan and Mrs. Price arrive at 10 Downing Street. Mrs Price accompanies.*

1900 The Prime Minister and Mr Thatcher on behalf of Her Majesty's Government give a Dinner in honour of The President of the United States of America and Mrs Reagan in the Pillared Room

for  
1930

At the end of the Dinner The Prime Minister proposes a Toast and The President replies.

The Prime Minister accompanied by Mr Denis Thatcher conducts The President and Mrs Reagan to watch the Ceremony of Beating Retreat.

The President and Mrs Reagan leave 10 Downing Street for Winfield House.

FRIDAY, 3 JUNE

(See page for programme for The Honourable George P. Shultz)

By 1130 hrs Distinguished Guests arrive at Guildhall

1135 The Prime Minister, The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P. and Mr. Thatcher arrive at Guildhall, (Dance Porch) and are received by the Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor, Alderman Sir Greville Spratt and The Lady Mayoress. The Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor will present the Chief Commoner and Mrs. Brian Wilson.

The City Remembrancer, Mr. Adrian Barnes conducts them to the Print Room.

1140 The President and Mrs. Reagan and their Official Suite arrive at Guildhall (Dance Porch) and are received by the Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor and The Lady Mayoress. They are conducted to the Print Room where refreshments are served.

1150 Those not in the Lord Mayor's Procession take their seats in Great Hall.

Thereafter the Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor and those below proceed to Great Hall and take their seats on the dais.

The Lord Mayor	The President
Mrs. Reagan	Mr. Thatcher
etc.	etc.

The State Trumpeters of the Blues and Royals will sound the fanfare.

The British and American National Anthems are played.

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor introduces The President who gives an address on the future of East-West relations

At the end of the address the Prime Minister proposes a Vote of Thanks

The Prime Minister and Mr. Thatcher bid farewell to The President and Mrs. Reagan

FRIDAY, 3 JUNE (contd)

The Rt.Hon.The Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress bid farewell

- 1240 hrs The President and Mrs.Reagan leave Guildhall
- 1245 The Prime Minister and Mr.Thatcher leave Guildhall
- 1300 The President and Mrs.Reagan arrive Winfield House
- 1330 The President and Mrs.Reagan leave Winfield House by helicopter for Heathrow Airport (Southside)
- 1350 The President and Mrs.Reagan board a Special Flight and depart for Washington

The Lord Beaverbrook will bid farewell on behalf of Her Majesty The Queen and the Rt.Hon.Sir Geoffrey Howe, M.P. on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, Sir Anthony Acland will also bid farewell

PROGRAMME FOR THE HONOURABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ

THURSDAY, 2 JUNE

1530 hrs Arrive London Heathrow Airport by Special Flight  
from Brussels  
Special Waiting Room, Southside

Met by the Special Representative of the Secretary  
of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,  
Sir David Muirhead

1540 Leave the airport by car  
(approx)

1620 Arrive at The Churchill  
(approx) Portman Square, W.1

1730 Leave the hotel  
(approx)

1745 Arrive Foreign and Commonwealth Office Quadrangle  
(approx) King Charles Street, S.W.1

Attend Guard of Honour Ceremony

Programme for the rest of the day as for The  
President

PROGRAMME FOR THE HONOURABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ

FRIDAY, 2 JUNE

- 0735 hrs      Leave the hotel
- 0745            Arrive 1 Carlton Gardens  
*Photocell.*  
Breakfast with the Secretary of State for Foreign and  
Commonwealth Affairs,  
The Rt.Hon.Sir Geoffrey Howe, M.P.
- Talks with the Secretary of State for Foreign and  
Commonwealth Affairs,  
The Rt.Hon.Sir Geoffrey Howe, M.P.
- 0900            Leave 1 Carlton Gardens
- 0910            Arrive Winfield House  
Outer Circle, Regents Park, N.W.1
- 1120            Leave Winfield House
- 1140            Arrive Guildhall
- Attend address given by The President of the United  
States of America
- 1240            Leave Guildhall
- 1300            Arrive Winfield House
- 1330            Leave Winfield House by helicopter
- 1345            Arrive London Heathrow Airport  
Southside
- [1350           Mrs. Shultz boards Special Flight for Washington]
- 1405            The Honourable George P. Shultz boards Special Flight
- at 1430        The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth  
Affairs,  
The Rt.Hon.Sir Geoffrey Howe, M.P.,  
and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington,  
Sir Anthony Acland,  
will bid farewell

DIRECTORY

<i>Foreign and Commonwealth Office</i>	
Protocol Department	01-210 6365
North American Department	01-270 2661
Ambassadors' Door East	01-270 3190
<i>Embassy of the United States of America</i>	
Grosvenor Square ,W.1	01-499 9000
<i>Winfield House</i>	
Outer Circle,Regent's Park,N.W.1	01-499 9000
	and ask for Winfield House
<i>London Heathrow Airport</i>	
Special Waiting Room,Southside	01-745 5247
<i>The Churchill</i>	
Portman Square,W.1	01-486 5800
<i>Buckingham Palace</i>	01-930 4832
<i>10 Downing Street</i>	01-270 3000
	and ask for 10 Downing Street
<i>Corporation of London</i>	
Guildhall	01-606 3030
<i>1 Carlton Gardens,S.W.1</i>	01-270 4271

GUARD OF HONOUR  
DIAGRAM

CAR PLANS

CAR PLANS

CAR PLANS

DISTRIBUTION

No 10 Downing Street (3)

Press Office (3)

Mr Fountain

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Private Secretary (3)

Mrs Chalker (2)

Lord Glenarthur (2)

Mr Mellor (2)

PS/PUS (2)

Sir John Fretwell

Mr Gillmore

Mr Fearn

Mr Boyd

NAD: (7)

Soviet Dept: (2)

Security Policy Dept: (2)

Sir Antony Acland

Protocol Dept: (6)

OSTD: Mr Papworth

Security Dept: Mr Copson

Government Hospitality Fund (5)

London Heathrow

Special Facilities, Mr Baxendale

Guildhall (Remembrance Office) (4)

Buckingham Palace

Sir William Heseltine (2)

Prince of Wales Office (2)

Special Branch

City of London Police

Chief Supt Eskriett

Headquarters, London District

General Christopher Airy

Lt Colonel Erskine Crum

United States Embassy (?)

~~Mr Gysar~~ (2)

Mr Tensdale

Mr Brithorite  
Mr Munro  
Mr Rufford  
Mr Kent  
Mr Goulden

Police Planners (2)

CLOSED UNDER THE  
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
ACT 2000

Enc. Parker/Powca 26/5/88



RECEIVED  
MAY 26 1988  
MIS

MR. POWELL

Prime Minister ①  
Content with table  
plan?

Dinner for The President of the United  
States and Mrs. Reagan on 2 June

CDP  
25/5

I attach the list of guests attending  
the Dinner for the President of the  
United States on 2 June together with a  
draft seating plan.

If you agree the seating plan, could  
it please go into the Prime Minister's  
weekend box for approval?

Sue Goodchild

---

25 May 1988

LIST OF GUESTS ATTENDING THE DINNER TO BE GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER  
AND MR. DENIS THATCHER IN HONOUR OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA AND MRS. REAGAN ON THURSDAY, 2 JUNE 1988 AT 7.00 PM  
FOR 7.30 PM LOUNGE SUIT

The Prime Minister  
and Mr. Denis Thatcher

The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
and Mrs. Reagan

The Honorable George Shultz  
and Mrs. Shultz

His Excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America  
and Mrs. Price

The Honorable Howard Baker

Chief of Staff to the  
President

Lieutenant General Colin Powell

National Security Adviser

The Honorable Rozanne Ridgway

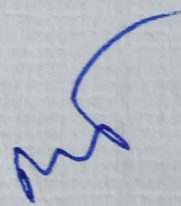
State Department

Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe, MP  
and Lady Howe

Sir Antony Acland  
and Lady Acland

Sir Robin Butler  
and Lady Butler

Mr. Charles Powell  
and Mrs. Powell



Mrs. Powell

Sir Robin Butler

Lieutenant General Colin Powell

Mrs. Price

Lady Acland

Rt.Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe

The Honorable George Shultz

MRS. REAGAN

PRIME MINISTER

MR. DENIS THATCHER

FIREPLACE THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN

Mrs. Shultz

Lady Howe

Sir Antony Acland

HE The Ambassador of the United States of America

The Honorable Howard Baker

The Honorable Rozanne Ridgway

Lady Butler

Mr. Charles Powell

ENTRANCE

WINDOWS

ZCZC  
ORWBAN 0471  
CONFIDENTIAL  
OO FCOLN  
FM WASHI TO FCOLN  
250345Z MAY  
GRS 590

CONFIDENTIAL  
DEDIP  
FM WASHINGTON  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 1332  
OF 250345Z MAY 88

*Change for Wed*

*Pullback*

*Mr Powell*

*Over the line*

*No 10 Downing St*

*Send - (copy/orig) to [unclear]*

*Speller  
Loghouse*

*Have a list to work  
looking for last week  
planned to take it part of it.  
At least 3 weeks will  
small case of people who work  
about together.*

*Admirals.*

*Pain caused to be  
my attention on it.*

STRICTLY PERSONAL FOR PS, PS/PUS AND POWELL, NO 10  
PRIME MINISTER'S TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

1. I WAS ASKED TO PROVIDE SOME IDEAS WHICH MIGHT BE USED IN THE  
PRIME MINISTER'S REMARKS AT THE DINNER FOR PRESIDENT AND MRS REAGAN  
ON 2 JUNE.

2. I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER  
TO TOUCH ON THE FOLLOWING BROAD ELEMENTS OF SUCCESS WHICH HAVE  
CHARACTERISED THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION:

- DEFENCE. THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE AMERICA STRONG AGAIN:  
US DEFENCE SPENDING LAST YEAR WAS 282 BILLION DOLLARS,  
MORE THAN DOUBLE THE 134 BILLION DOLLARS SPENT IN THE  
LAST YEAR OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADMINISTRATION.
- NEGOTIATING FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH. THIS APPROACH  
PRODUCED THE HISTORIC INF TREATY (THE FIRST AGREEMENT  
TO REDUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, SETTING PRECEDENTS IN ASYMMETRICAL  
REDUCTIONS AND VERIFICATION); AND MORE RECENTLY THE  
FIRST SOVIET WITHDRAWALS FROM AFGHANISTAN.
- THE LONGEST PEACETIME ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN US HISTORY -  
SIXTY-SIX CONSECUTIVE MONTHS OF GROWTH. THE PRESIDENT  
IS PARTICULARLY PROUD THAT 16 MILLION NEW JOBS HAVE  
BEEN CREATED DURING HIS ADMINISTRATION.
- TAX REFORM. SYSTEM GREATLY SIMPLIFIED. NOW ONLY TWO  
RATES OF PERSONAL TAXATION: 15 PER CENT AND 28 PER CENT  
(THE LATTER DOWN FROM 70 PER CENT).

3. AS FOR SPECIFIC EVENTS, THE FOLLOWING POINTS COULD BE MENTIONED  
AND WOULD GIVE THE PRESIDENT PLEASURE:

- HIS COURAGE AFTER THE 1981 ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT. THE  
PRESIDENT QUOTED WINSTON CHURCHILL: QUOTE THERE IS NO MORE  
EXHILARATING FEELING THAN BEING SHOT AT WITHOUT RESULT  
UNQUOTE.
- WILLIAMSBURG ECONOMIC SUMMIT. THE PRIME MINISTER  
WILL REMEMBER THAT SHE AND THE PRESIDENT AGREED THEN  
THAT BUT FOR A QUIRK OF HISTORY SHE RATHER THAN  
HE WOULD HAVE BEEN HOSTING THE SUMMIT.
- THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO THE WEST COAST IN 1983, IN POURING  
RAIN. TWO REAGAN HIGHLIGHTS: SPENDING THEIR WEDDING  
ANNIVERSARY ON THE ROYAL YACHT (QUOTE I PROMISED YOU MANY  
THINGS BEFORE WE GOT MARRIED NANCY, BUT I NEVER PROMISED YOU  
THIS UNQUOTE); AND DRIVING THE QUEEN TO HIS RANCH.
- THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE JOINT HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT  
ON THE SPREAD OF DEMOCRACY.

4. OF THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL QUALITIES, HIS COURAGE AND HIS  
OPTIMISM STAND OUT. HE WOULD I AM SURE LIKE TO BE REMEMBERED AS THE  
MAN WHO RESTORED FAITH IN THE AMERICAN DREAM.

5. FINALLY, THERE SHOULD CERTAINLY BE A REFERENCE TO MRS REAGAN. ONE  
OF THE PRESIDENT'S FAVOURITE ANECDOTES IS ABOUT HER QUOTE JUST SAY  
NO UNQUOTE ANTI-DRUG CAMPAIGN: A LITTLE GIRL IN A SCHOOL ROOM ASKED  
HER ONE DAY WHAT SHE SHOULD DO WHEN SOMEONE OFFERED HER DRUGS. MRS  
REAGAN REPLIED QUOTE JUST SAY NO UNQUOTE. ONE ANSWER IN A SCHOOL  
ROOM TO ONE LITTLE GIRL. TODAY THERE ARE OVER TWELVE THOUSAND QUOTE  
JUST SAY NO UNQUOTE CLUBS IN SCHOOLS ACROSS THE UNITED STATES.

ACLAND

YYYY  
FCO PLEASE PASS TO POWELL, NO. 10.

ORWBAN 0471  
**NO DISTRIBUTION**  
NNNN

PS

PS/PUS

Mr Powell - No 10 Downing St.

CONFIDENTIAL

*Sila*  
*LD. 77*



*loc.*  
*Mr. FOUNTAIN*

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

MR. WOOLLEY

**PRIME MINISTER'S DINNER FOR MR. REAGAN**

As you know, the Prime Minister is giving dinner at No.10 for Mr. Reagan on Thursday, 2 June. Depending on how tired he feels, he may opt to watch the Beating the Retreat after dinner. The present plan is that he should do so from No.10. But we should not exclude the possibility that the Prime Minister might at the last minute suggest that there would be a better view from the Cabinet Secretary's Room. We shall need to be sure that we can gain access instantly if this arises, and that the area is cleared (the Secret Service will no doubt take it over). Could you please make such arrangements as are necessary on the Cabinet Office side of the dividing door to make sure this option is open. I am asking Mr. Fountain to make the necessary arrangements on this side.

CDP

25 May. 1988.

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*lo*

CAB/WTE 001/21

O 211150Z MAY 88  
FM CABINET OFFICE LONDON  
TO THE WHITE HOUSE

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L

PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO GENERAL POWELL, ASSISTANT  
TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, FROM MR. CHARLES  
POWELL IN MRS. THATCHER'S OFFICE

MESSAGE BEGINS

DEAR COLIN

I WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO SEE YOU WHILE YOU ARE IN LONDON AND COULD  
MANAGE ANY TIME ON 2 JUNE BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL AT  
NO.10 FOR TALKS AT 1800 THAT DAY. LET ME KNOW IN DUE COURSE WHAT  
TIME SUITS YOU BEST.

WARM REGARDS,

CHARLES.

MESSAGE ENDS

BT

NNNN

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OAAMZYUW YEKADS 0036 1412303-MNSH--YEXCABO.  
ZNY MMNSH  
ZKZK OO SOA DE  
O 202303Z MAY 88 ZYH ZFF-1 ZFF-4  
FM WHITE HOUSE  
TO CABINET OFFICE LONDON

ZEM

C O N F I D E N T I A L VIA CABINET OFFICE CHANNELS

QQQQ

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO CHARLES POWELL, OFFICE OF  
THE PRIME MINISTER, FROM COLIN L. POWELL, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

MAY 20, 1988

DEAR CHARLES:

I WOULD LIKE TO SEE YOU FOR A FEW MINUTES WHEN I AM IN LONDON WITH  
THE PRESIDENT ON THURSDAY, 2 JUNE 1988. I WILL HAVE A BETTER FEEL  
FOR THE TIME AFTER THE PRESIDENTS SCHEDULE IS FIRMED UP.

WARM REGARDS

COLIN

£0036

NNNN

VXCZCWA0005  
OANZYUW YEKAD5 0036 1412003-M SH--YEXCARO  
ZYH 125H  
ZKXK CO 20A DE  
O 202903Z MAY 88 ZYH 277-1 277-4  
FM WHITE HOUSE  
TO CABINET OFFICE LONDON

FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS  
THE PRIME MINISTER, FROM COLIN L. POWELL, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO CHARLES POWELL, OFFICE OF  
C-01 FILE M T L A L VIA CABINET OFFICE CHANNELS

MAY 20, 1988

DEAR CHARLES:

I WOULD LIKE TO SEE YOU FOR A FEW MINUTES WHEN I AM IN LONDON WITH  
THE PRESIDENT ON THURSDAY, 2 JUNE 1988. I WILL HAVE A BETTER FEEL  
FOR THE TIME AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE IS FIRMED UP.

WARM REGARDS

COLIN

214  
MAY 28

00036

FILE  
JA

MR. TAYLOR

**PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN**

As I told you, the Prime Minister has decided to hold her meeting with President Reagan on 2 June in the Cabinet Room. It would be very helpful to have name-plates for the table. They should read as follows:

US side

President of the United States  
(if this is too long for the name-plate: President Reagan)

Secretary Shultz

Senator Baker

General Powell

Ambassador Price

Mrs. Ridgway

UK side

Prime Minister

Foreign Secretary

Sir A. Acland

Sir P. Cradock

Mr. C.D. Powell

I attach a seating plan.

(C.D. POWELL)

20 May 1988

SEATING PLAN

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN: 2 JUNE

CABINET ROOM

General Powell

Senator Baker

President Reagan

Secretary Shultz

Ambassador Price

Mrs. Ridgway



Sir A. Acland

Foreign Secretary

Prime Minister

Mr. C.D. Powell

Sir P. Cradock

CONFIDENTIAL



file RR  
(23)  
ccpc

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

19 May 1988

**PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT**

Thank you for your letter of 18 May. It is good news that the Prince of Wales will look after Mrs. Reagan between 1800 and 1900 hours.

I agree about the agenda for the talks. We shall need to think carefully what the 'two or three other subjects' should be, in particular whether there are points on Trident which ought to be raised, and whether any understandings need to be struck about a desirable outcome on the main issues at the Economic Summit. Arms sales to Argentina is another topic which may need to be raised.

I note the arrangements proposed for the Guildhall and Mr. Takeshita's proposed attendance.

C D POWELL

Lyn Parker, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

KK



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

CONFIDENTIAL

18 May 1988

Dear Charles,

President Reagan's Visit

Thank you for your letters of 13 and 16 May.

MRS REAGAN

The Prince of Wales has agreed to look after Mrs Reagan between 6 and 7 pm on 2 June. He will be in direct touch with her to discuss what she would most like to do. We shall let you know as soon as a decision is taken. At present it seems unlikely that Mrs Reagan will come to the FCO quadrangle for the Guard of Honour. The first opportunity for the Prime Minister to welcome her will probably be on arrival at No 10 at 7 pm for dinner.

SIZE OF US PART AT TALKS AND DINNER

We have told the Americans that the Prime Minister would not wish notetakers to be present at the talks. They for their part have confirmed that their official party is unlikely to be augmented. We should therefore be able to keep the dinner at its present size. We have asked Sir Antony Acland for his suggestions for the Prime Minister's remarks at dinner.

GUILDHALL SPEECH

The Lord Mayor considers that it would be entirely appropriate if the Prime Minister could speak for 5 minutes after the President (The Lord Mayor proposes to introduce him). He imagines that the Prime Minister will wish to conclude her remarks by thanking the President, the Corporation and the City of London.

BRIEFING

We assume that the the talks at No 10 will focus on President Reagan's visit to Moscow, with time for 2 or 3 other subjects to be touched upon briefly. If you agree,

/we

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we will brief on these lines, aiming to get a letter to you on 31 May.

OTHER RELATED EVENTS

Secretary Shultz will be having a separate meeting with the Foreign Secretary over breakfast on 3 June. President Reagan has agreed to receive the Japanese Prime Minister at Winfield House from 1030-1100 on 3 June. Mr Takeshita has also asked if he might attend the Guildhall speech: this would provide an opportunity for the Prime Minister to have a few words with him if she wished.

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

We hope to give you the definitive draft programme, including administrative arrangements (Prime Minister's arrival time at the Guildhall etc) early next week.

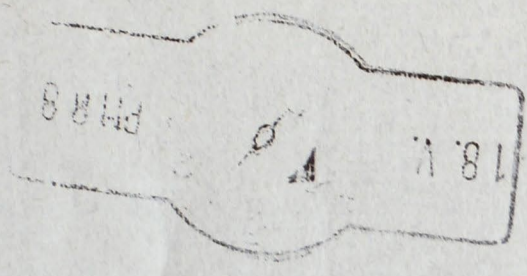
*How's over, high notes*

(L Parker)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

USA: Visit of Pres Reagan Pt 3



MR. BATES

c Mr Fountain

PRIME MINISTER'S TALKS WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN

The Prime Minister has decided that she would like to hold the talks with President Reagan on 2 June in the Cabinet Room. I have pointed out that we have almost never allowed photographs in the Cabinet Room. The Prime Minister has nonetheless said that she thinks the President would like a picture there. So I am afraid that we must address the question whether to agree to this and if so how to manage it. Mr. Fountain's advice must be crucial, and I know he is not at all keen. But it might perhaps be more manageable if the numbers were kept very restricted indeed, for instance two television cameras and two still photographers. I should be grateful if Mr. Fountain could let me have his advice on this.

CHARLES POWELL

17 May 1988

VC3AYT

PRIME MINISTER

TALKS WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN

We believe that the President will be accompanied at the talks at No.10 by at least five senior officials, and possibly six or seven. You have agreed to attendance by the Foreign Secretary and Sir Antony Acland (and possibly one more). That means we are talking about 13/14 people in all. I think this really means a meeting in the Cabinet Room. The President  might welcome the symbolism of that. The only alternative would be to re-arrange the White Room long-ways, so that you and the President sit almost side-by-side at the top by the windows, with the furniture arranged to allow advisers to sit in two facing rows down the length of the room (see diagram attached).

Prefer the Cabinet Room?

or

Prefer the White Room with furniture re-arranged?

Photocall

The Americans are pressing for a photocall of the talks. We cannot do that in the Cabinet Room, for security reasons, unless we override all precedents except the BBC film. The photocall would have to be in the ante-room. There would be no problem with the White Room.

CDP

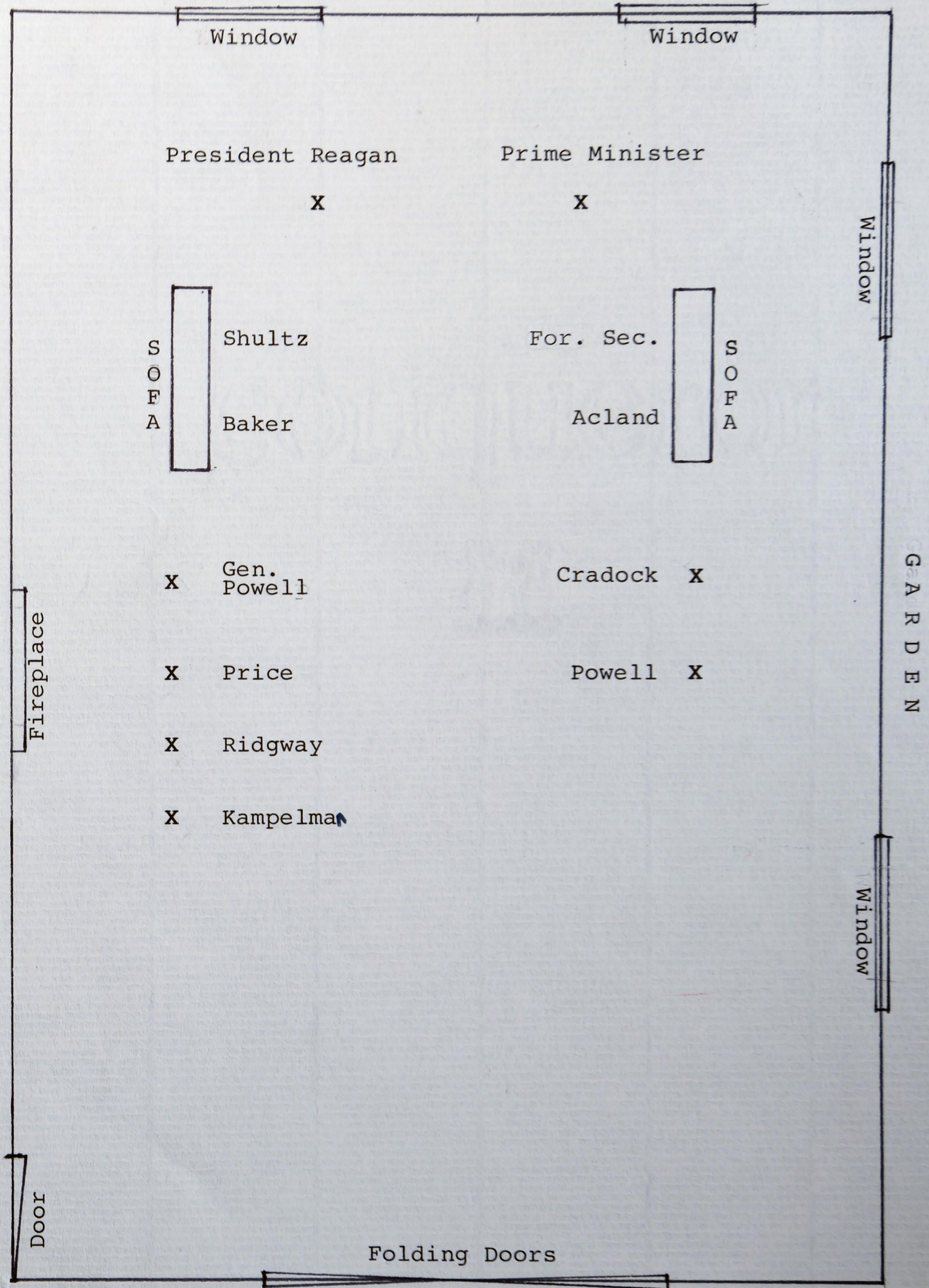
*I think he would like a picture in the Cabinet room -*

Charles Powell

16 May 1988

1013

# WHITE ROOM



President Reagan  
X

Prime Minister  
X

S  
O  
F  
A

Shultz  
Baker

For. Sec.  
Acland

S  
O  
F  
A

X Gen. Powell

Cradock X

X Price

Powell X

X Ridgway

X Kampelma

Fireplace

Door

Folding Doors

Window

Window

GARDEN

CONFIDENTIAL

FILE

KK



dc PC

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

16 May 1988

**PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT**

Thank you for your letter of 13 May. I think the Prime Minister would be content with the arrangements proposed for the President's arrival and departure. I note what you say about possible additions to the official party on the American side. But I know the Prime Minister would hope that the Americans would not try to expand attendance at the talks, and she would prefer not to add anyone further to the dinner. I have explained to the Prime Minister about the podium at the Guildhall. Finally, I look forward to hearing what arrangements can be devised for Mrs. Reagan during the time of the Prime Minister's talks with the President.

(CHARLES POWELL)

Lyn Parker, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

W

CONFIDENTIAL

CCPC  
2



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 May 1988

Dear Charles

Prime Minister  
To note how thin  
is developing.  
flap. CBP 13/5

President Reagan's Visit

Thank you for your letter of 10 May giving the Prime Minister's views on the programme for the visit. At a meeting with the US Survey Team yesterday, we pursued those points, as well as others. The following emerged.

ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE ARRANGEMENTS

The President's firm policy, pursued over recent visits, is that his hosts should not have to appear at "minimal arrival and departures" ie ones where he is simply changing planes. Following yesterday's discussion the Americans told us that they have now consulted the President personally. He said that it would be a great inconvenience for the Prime Minister to come to the airport; although the British were known to have strong ceremonial rules, he would not expect this. On arrival, we therefore suggest that the President and Mrs Reagan be greeted by the Lord in Waiting and Sir Geoffrey and Lady Howe. The Lord in Waiting and Sir Geoffrey would be in attendance on departure.

THE OFFICIAL PARTY

The Americans have said that there could "possibly" be one or two additions to their official party. This reflects the fact that people like Max Kampelman and Paul Nitze may fly with the President from Moscow. We have pointed to the possible problem that this may cause for the dinner party, which both sides wish to keep "small". I suggest that we look at the issue when we have a final list of those accompanying the President. We expect this shortly. For the moment, you may wish to consider whether the guest list for dinner could, if necessary, be slightly expanded.

/Talks

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TALKS AT NO 10

The American's recognise that the Prime Minister wishes to keep this meeting small. They have so far asked only if, in addition to the principals you name, notetakers will be permitted on either side. I assume this is the case.

MRS REAGAN

The question of how Mrs Reagan spends her time on 2 June between Buckingham Palace (1755) and pre-dinner drinks at NO 10 (1900 onwards) is still unresolved and she has not yet been consulted. The strong feeling among the US team is that she will certainly want to be with President Reagan in the FCO quadrangle for the formal greeting (particularly since the Prime Minister will not be at Heathrow). They think it unlikely that she will then wish to spend the best part of half an hour in a car travelling to and from Winfield House to change for dinner, when this will effectively give her only 15 minutes or half an hour maximum "productive time" at Winfield House. We are currently exploring other options and will revert.

GUILDHALL SPEECH

The Lord Mayor has welcomed our proposal that the Prime Minister should say a few words on this occasion. We shall be discussing with his office on 13 May how this will best fit into the programme. At present, it looks as though he might (as you suggest) like the Prime Minister to speak after President Reagan. In doing so, she could perhaps make any pertinent points and thank the Lord Mayor and President for their various contributions. I shall write again as soon as we have guidance on how long the Prime Minister should speak for. 5 minutes seems probable.

You should be aware that the Guildhall have agreed that the President's podium should be flown in for his use. I mention this because it has on the front the Great Seal of the United States. Any television pictures would accordingly show the Prime Minister speaking over that Seal. There is apparently no suitable British insignia in the background to balance this.

/PRESS

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

PRESS

The latest estimates from the Americans show that some 300 members of the US Press Corps will accompany the President from Moscow to London, with a further 15 accompanying Secretary Shultz, following his detour to NATO, Brussels.

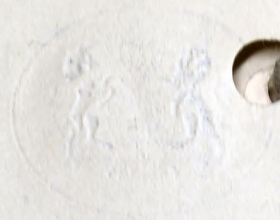
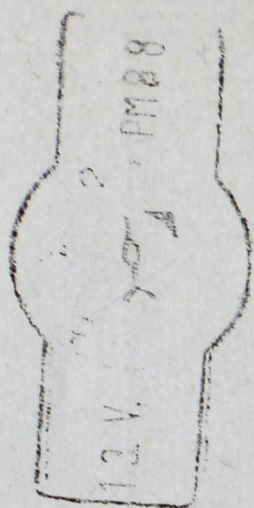
*Yours ever,* *L Parker*

(L Parker)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

USA: Visits by President Pt. 3.



cc MALTA: Relations Nov 80

SRI LANKA: Visit of Pres

Jaywardene  
P12

SAUDI ARABIA: Visit by Crown

Prin Abdulah Oct 82

TANZANIA: Visit by Pres Nyerere Aug 79

TURKEY: Visit by Pres Evren Mar 88

RESTRICTED



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

Shwskf

etc

From the Private Secretary

13 May 1988

Dear Tom

FORTHCOMING FOREIGN VISITORS: SPEECHES

It may be helpful to set down the likely requirement for draft speeches on occasions when the Prime Minister is giving a lunch or dinner for a distinguished foreign visitor over the next few months. They are as follows:

- President Reagan. This will be a small dinner and a speech by the Prime Minister is likely to be of a highly personal nature. But it would be helpful if Sir Antony Acland could be asked to suggest one or two points for it, in particular references which would give the President pleasure (i.e. specific events, decisions or achievements of his Presidency). It would be helpful to have this by 26 May.

- President of Tanzania. We need a draft for an after-dinner speech by 26 May (to allow for the Whitsun recess). It should have some historical and personal allusions.

- Crown Prince Abdullah. We need to establish whether or not there will be speeches. If there are to be, then a draft will be needed by Wednesday 8 June.

- President Evren. Again we need to decide whether there will be speeches. If there are, then a draft would be needed by 6 July.

- President Jaywardene. I am not sure whether his visit is confirmed yet. Assuming it is, we shall need a speech (bearing in mind that the Prime Minister has already made speeches both at Downing Street and in Sri Lanka on occasions when he has been present). A draft please by Wednesday 20 July.

- Prime Minister of Malta. We shall need a draft speech by 7 September.

You sincerely  
(C. D. POWELL)  
Chris Powell

A. C. Galsworthy, Esq., C.M.G.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

RESTRICTED

FILE  
A.P.

PRIME MINISTER

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT: 2/3 JUNE

I understand that President Reagan will be bringing you a piece of Steuben glass when he comes. Do you have any ideas about what you might like to give him? Your gifts to him in the past have been a map of North America (framed) and a carriage clock. Silver Armada dish? (The Steuben glass is quite expensive.)

Also, would you wish to give anything to Mrs. Reagan? You have given her a musical box from Halcyon Days before.

(TESSA GAISMAN)

13 May 1988

CONFIDENTIAL

V2AUA



cpc  
Sue G.

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

10 May 1988

*From the Private Secretary*

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT

Thank you for your letter of 9 May about the programme for President Reagan's visit. The Prime Minister is content with the programme set out in your letter. She is perfectly happy to accept the President's suggestion that she should not go to Heathrow to meet him or take leave, provided we are absolutely confident that this is his personal view. As regards the talks at No. 10, the Prime Minister agrees it would be better if Mrs Reagan were to go direct from Buckingham Palace to Winfield House, returning to No. 10 at 1900, since there is really no way in which we could look after her during the talks. I assume that the President will be accompanied for the talks by Secretary Shultz, Senator Baker, General Powell, Ambassador Price and Mrs Ridgway. Since this is likely to be the last formal meeting with the President, the Prime Minister suggests that the Foreign Secretary and Sir Antony Acland should attend on our side.

For the dinner the Prime Minister proposes to invite the official US party mentioned in your letter. On our side she will invite the Foreign Secretary and Lady Howe, Sir Antony and Lady Acland, Sir Robin and Lady Butler and Mr and Mrs Powell. She notes that the President may not wish to stay the full length of the Beating the Retreat ceremony.

The Prime Minister is inclined to agree that it would be slightly odd if she were not to speak at all at the Guildhall ceremony and would be grateful if you would explore with the Lord Mayor whether it would not be appropriate for her to say a few words following the President's address.

Finally, I agree that we should treat this as "a special visit" when it comes to allocation of costs.

CHARLES POWELL

Lyn Parker, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT

There are a number of points in the attached letter about President Reagan's visit which need decisions.

Arrival and Departure

The President apparently wants to go straight from his aircraft to his helicopter on arrival, and fly direct to Winfield House where he will rest. He is reported to say that he will be perfectly happy not to be met by you until he arrives at the FCO Quadrangle for the Guard of Honour ceremony at 1800. Accept this? <sup>Yes no</sup> Or prefer to go to Heathrow all the same?

Similarly on departure, the President is quoted as saying he would be perfectly content to say goodbye to you at the Guildhall before returning to the Embassy to helicopter to Heathrow. Agree to this? <sup>Yes no</sup>

Participation at Talks

I imagine the Americans will want to have Shultz, Baker, Powell, Ridgway and Price present. Will you want to confront them alone as usual? Or add the Foreign Secretary and Sir Anthony Acland? <sup>As it is the last time add F.S. - AA</sup>

Guest List at Dinner

You have already commented separately on this.

Beating the Retreat

The White House are content for the President to view it from No. 10 (even though the view is not unobstructed). He may not want to stay for it all. <sup>mt</sup>

President Reagan's Speech at Guildhall

At present it is envisaged that the Lord Mayor will introduce the President, who will then give his report on the Moscow Summit. The event will be televised world-wide. The question is whether you should speak briefly at the end, to thank the President and make one or two brief comments on his achievements at the Summit (and perhaps of his Presidency as a whole, since this will be a last chance to do so). The remarks would have to be largely extempore. My own view is that it would look odd to a British and world audience if you did not do so. Agree to our discussing this with the Lord Mayor?

Yes no

C.D.P.

Charles Powell

10 May 1988

CONFIDENTIAL

*cc/c*



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

9 May 1988

*Dear Charles,*

President Reagan's Visit (2 - 3 June)

We have held several rounds of talks with the Americans on the programme for the visit outlined on page 2 of your letter of 15 April. The US survey team will pay their next visit on 12 May.

It would be helpful if you could confirm before that meeting whether the Prime Minister is content with the timed outline below, the last element of which (the President's arrival time at Heathrow) has just been notified by the White House. The White House have indicated that the President will want to rest after arrival and then preferably make only one movement from Winfield House each day. The programme is predicated on that.

2 JUNE

1135 President and Mrs Reagan arrive at Heathrow, Southside. Greeting. Helicopter off immediately to Winfield House

1700 Tea with HM The Queen

1755 Depart Buckingham Palace

1800 Greeted by Prime Minister in FCO quadrangle.

Guard of Honour

1815 To No 10 for talks, passing press stand outside No 10 for further photo opportunity

1900 Dinner guests arrive for drinks

1930 Dinner

2130 Watch all or part of Beating Retreat from No 10

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CONFIDENTIAL



3 JUNE

[to [Japanese Prime Minister calls on President  
be Reagan at Winfield House]  
fixed]

1140 President Reagan arrives Guildhall

1205- President Reagan's address (audience invited by  
1230 the Corporation and City of London, the Royal  
Institute of International Affairs and the FCO)

1240 Depart Guildhall for Winfield House to say  
farewell to Embassy staff

Helicopter to Heathrow, Southside

Approx

1400 Depart for United States

PRIME MINISTER'S INVOLVEMENT IN ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE

The White House have said that the President wishes to have a very quick transit from his plane to the helicopter at Heathrow. He would quite understand if, in these circumstances, the Prime Minister would like him to be greeted by someone else, and for Mrs Thatcher to welcome him and Mrs Reagan formally as they arrive in the FCO quadrangle at 1800. He has likewise said that he does not want to trouble the Prime Minister on departure and would be happy to say farewell to her at the Guildhall, if she thought this appropriate. He will be driving from the Guildhall to Winfield House to board the helicopter and say goodbye to Embassy staff, who will be assembled there.

TALKS AT NO 10

We understand that Mrs Reagan may wish to accompany the President from the Palace to the FCO Quadrangle. This would mean finding a way to look after her for the 45 minutes duration of the talks. A better solution would be for her to go back from the Palace to Winfield House to change if she wishes (or, if necessary, from the FCO Quadrangle) returning to No 10 in time for drinks before dinner. We will discuss this further with the Americans.

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GUEST LIST FOR DINNER AT NO 10 ON 2 JUNE

The official US party will consist of the President and Mrs Reagan, the Shultz's, Ambassador and Mrs Price, Chief of Staff and former Senator Howard Baker, General Colin Powell and Mrs Rozanne Ridgeway of the State Department. Ambassador Price has expressed the hope that the Secretary of State and Lady Howe plus Sir Antony and Lady Acland (who will be in the UK at the time) will be able to attend, as well as yourself. This would fit in with the numbers which the Prime Minister and Ambassador Price discussed, as recorded in your letter of 15 April.

BEATING RETREAT

This begins at 2130 and the White House are content for the President and Mrs Reagan to view this from No 10. Given the President's travels, they point out that he may not wish to stay for the full length of the ceremony.

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ADDRESS AT GUILDHALL ON 3 JUNE

The list of guests invited by the Corporation and City of London/RIIA/FCO is attached. As far as we are aware, there is no present plan for the Prime Minister to speak. Since this event is to be televised worldwide, the Prime Minister may wish to consider speaking, perhaps to thank the Lord Mayor and President Reagan for the occasion and to make whatever other points seem appropriate in the light of President Reagan's remarks. Would you like us to explore this with the Lord Mayor?

STATUS OF THE VISIT

We have agreed with the Americans that this visit will be "a special visit", ie neither a working visit nor a guest of government/state visit. This means that we will bear certain of the costs and they will bear others. They have accepted this. The Reagans wish to stay at Winfield House and the remainder of the official suite at the Churchill Hotel (at their expense). Our costs relate principally to the parts of the programme in which Buckingham Palace and the Prime Minister are host, as well as part of the cost for stands for the press corps. In the circumstances, this seems a perfectly equitable arrangement.

*long over*

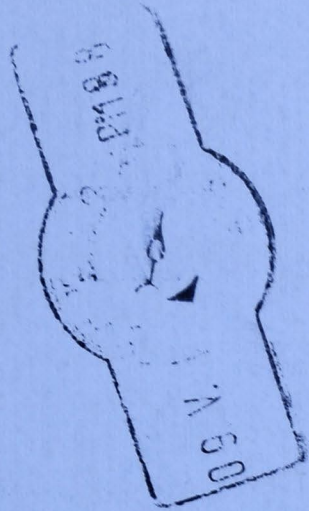
*L Parker*

(L Parker)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
PS/10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

USA: Visit of Pres Reagan



File

PRESIDENT REAGAN GUILDHALL SPEECH  
3 JUNE 1988

FCO CONTRIBUTION TO GUEST LIST

A UK GOVERNMENT

1 CABINET MINISTERS

The Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher FRS MP 10 Downing Street, SW1A 2AA	Prime Minister
The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Whitehall, SW1A 2AL	Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
The Rt Hon Nigel Lawson MP HM Treasury, Parliament St, SW1P 3AG	Chancellor of the Exchequer
The Rt Hon Douglas Hurd CBE MP Home Office, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, SW1H 9AT	Secretary of State for the Home Department
The Rt Hon George Younger MP Ministry of Defence, Main Building, Whitehall, SW1A 2HB	Secretary of State for Defence
The Rt Hon John Wakeham MP Privy Council Office, Whitehall, SW1A 2AT	Lord President of the Council
The Rt Hon The Lord MacKay of Clashfern House of Lords, SW1A 0PW	Lord Chancellor
The Rt Hon The Lord Young of Graffham Department of Trade and Industry, 1 Victoria St, SW1H 0ET	Secretary of State for Trade and Industry
The Rt Hon The Lord Belstead House of Lords, SW1A 0PW	Lord Privy Seal
<u>RESERVES</u>	
The Rt Hon Tom King MP Northern Ireland Office, Whitehall, SW1A 2AZ	Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
The Rt Hon Kenneth Clarke QC MP Lancaster Place, Strand, WC2E 7ED	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster
The Rt Hon Cecil Parkinson MP Department of Energy, Thames House South, Millbank, SW1P 4QJ	Secretary of State for Energy

OTHER MINISTRIES

The Rt Hon Lynda Chalker MP  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,  
Whitehall, SW1A 2AL

Minister of State, FCO

The Lord Glenarthur  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,  
Whitehall, SW1A 2AL

Minister of State, FCO

Mr David Mellor QC MP  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,  
Whitehall, SW1A 2AL

Minister of State, FCO

Mr Ian Stewart MP  
Ministry of Defence, Main Building,  
Whitehall, SW1A 2HB

Minister of State for the  
Armed Forces, MOD

RESERVES

The Hon Alan Clark MP  
Department of Trade and Industry,  
1 Victoria St, SW1H 0ET

Minister for Trade, DTI

The Lord Trefgarne  
Ministry of Defence, Main Building,  
Whitehall, SW1A 2HB

Minister of State for  
Defence Procurement, MOD

B PARLIAMENT

1 HOUSE OF LORDS - SW1A OPW

01-219-3000

The Rt Hon The Lord Wilson of Rievaulx KG OBE, House of Lords, SW1A OPW	Former Prime Minister
The Rt Hon The Lord Carrington KG CH KCMG MC NATO, Boulevard Leopold III, 1110 Brussels, Belgium	Secretary-General, NATO
The Rt Hon The Lord Cledwyn of Penrhas CH House of Lords, SW1A OPW	Opposition Spokesman on Foreign Affairs
The Rt Hon The Lord Pym MC House of Lords, SW1A OPW	Former Foreign Secretary
The Rt Hon The Lord Jenkins of Hillhead House of Lords, SW1A OPW	Chancellor, The University of Oxford
The Rt Hon The Viscount Whitelaw CH House of Lords, SW1A OPW	
The Rt Hon The Viscount Tonypany House of Lords, SW1A OPW	Former Speaker, House of Commons
The Lord Beloff House of Lords, SW1A OPW	
The Lord Gladwyn GCMG GCVO CB House of Lords, SW1A OPW	

RESERVES

The Rt Hon The Lord Irving of Dartford  
House of Lords, SW1A OPW

The Lord Graham of Edmonton  
House of Lords, SW1A OPW

The Rt Hon The Lord Diamond

3 HOUSE OF COMMONS - House of Commons,  
London, SW1A 0AA

01-219-3000

The Rt Hon Bernard Weatherill MP  
The Rt Hon Edward Heath MBE MP  
The Rt Hon Neil Kinnock MP  
Mr Robert MacLennan MP  
The Rt Hon David Steel MP  
The Rt Hon Dr David Owen MP  
The Rt Hon James Molyneaux MP  
The Rt Hon Gerald Kaufman MP  
The Rt Hon David Howell MP  
The Rt Hon Michael Jopling MP  
The Rt Hon John Morris QC MP  
The Hon Archibald Hamilton MP  
The Rt Hon Roy Hattersley MP  
The Rt Hon Denzil Davies MP  
Mr Michael Mates MP  
The Rt Hon Merlyn Rees MP  
Sir Peter Emery MP

(17)

RESERVES: HOUSE OF COMMONS

01-219-3000

The Rt Hon Dr John Gilbert MP

The Rt Hon Denis Healey CH MBE MP

Sir Philip Goodhart MP

The Rt Hon Peter Shore MP

Mr Bowen Wells MP

Mr Paddy Ashdown MP

Mr Julian Critchley MP

Mr Ted Rowlands MP

Sir Peter Hordern MP

Mr Michael Marshall MP

The Hon Charles Morrison MP

The Rt Hon Jack Ashley CH MP

Mr Brynmor John MP

Dr Alan Williams MP

(14)

D OFFICIALS

Sir Robin Butler KCB CVO Cabinet Office, 70 Whitehall, SW1A 2AS	Secretary to the Cabinet
Sir Percy Cradock GCMG Cabinet Office, 70 Whitehall, SW1A 2AS	Adviser on Foreign Affairs
Mr Charles Powell 10 Downing Street, SW1	Private Secretary to the Prime Minister
Sir Patrick Wright KCMG	Permanent Under-Secretary, FCO
Sir Antony Acland GCMG KCVO	Ambassador at Washington
Sir John Fretwell GCMG	Political Director, FCO
Mr David Gillmore CMG	Deputy Under-Secretary, FCO
Mr Robin Fearn CMG	Assistant Under-Secretary, FCO
The Hon David Gore-Booth	Head of Policy Planning Staff, FCO
Mr Roger Hervey CMG	Vice Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps
Sir Oliver Wright GCMG GCVO DSC	Former Ambassador at Washington
Sir John Graham Bt GCMG	Former Ambassador and UK Permanent Representative at NATO
Lt Gen Sir John Richards KCB	Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps
1*The Rt Hon Sir William Heseltine KCB KCVO	Private Secretary to the Queen
Sir Michael Quinlan KCB	Permanent Under-Secretary, MOD
2*Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Fieldhouse GCB GBE	Chief of the Defence Staff
Mr David Nicholls CMG	Deputy Under-Secretary, MOD
Sir Clive Whitmore KCB CVO	Former Permanent Under- Secretary, MOD

(19)

RESERVES

Mr David Ratford CMG CVO

Assistant Under Secretary, FCO

Mr Simon Hemans CVO

Head of Soviet Dept, FCO

Mr Christopher Meyer

Head of News Dept, FCO

General Sir Richard Vincent KCB DSO  
(Reserve for 2\*)

Vice Chief of the Defence Staff

Mr Robin Janvrin

Press Secretary,  
Buckingham Palace

(5)

E DIPLOMATIC CORPS

HE Mr Tasas Panayides	Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps
3*HE Mr Shridath Ramphal AC Kt CMG QC	Commonwealth Secretary General
HE Mr R Roy McMurtry QC	High Commissioner for Canada
HE Monsieur Jean-Paul van Bellinghen	Ambassador for Belgium
HE Mr Peter Dyvig	Ambassador for Denmark
HE Vicomte Luc de La Barre de Nanteuil	Ambassador for France
HE Baron Rüdiger von Wechmar GCVO	Ambassador for the Federal Republic of Germany
HE Monsieur Stephanos G Stathatos	Ambassador for Greece
HE Mr Ólafur Egilsson	Ambassador for Iceland
HE Signor Boris Biancheri	Ambassador for Italy
HE Monsieur Jean Wagner	Ambassador for Luxembourg
HE Monsieur Hans Jonkman GCVO	Ambassador for The Netherlands
HE Mr Rolf T Busch	Ambassador for Norway
HE Senor Don José J Puig De La Bellacasa GCVO	Ambassador for Spain
HE Senhor Joao Hall Themido GCVO	Ambassador for Portugal
HE Mr Rahmi Gümrükçüoğlu	Ambassador for Turkey
HE Mr Leonid M Zamyatin	Ambassador for the Soviet Union
HE Mr Ji Chaozhu	Ambassador for China
HE Mr Toshio Yamazaki	Ambassador for Japan
HE Mr Andrew O'Rourke	Ambassador for Ireland
HE Mr Yehuda Avner	Ambassador for Israel
HE Mr Yousef Sharara	Ambassador for Egypt

(22)

RESERVES

HE The Honourable Douglas McClelland AC

High Commissioner for  
Australia

HE Mr Bryce Harland

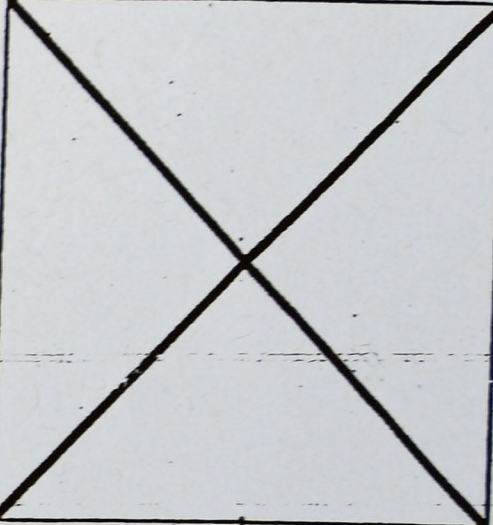
High Commissioner for  
New Zealand

Chief Emeka Anyaoku (Reserve for 3\*)

Deputy Secretary-General,  
Commonwealth Secretariat

F BUSINESS

The Rt Hon Robin Leigh-Pemberton	Governor	Bank of England, EC2R 8AH
Sir Nicholas Goodison	Chairman	Stock Exchange, EC2
Sir John Hoskyns	Director	Institute of Directors
Sir Peter Walters	Chairman	BP, Britannic House, Moor Lane, EC2Y 9BU
The Lord Hanson	Chairman	Hanson Trust PLC 1 Grosvenor Place, SW1X 7JH
The Lord King of Wartnaby	Chairman	British Airways and Babcock International PLC, Cleveland House, St James's Sq, SW1Y 4LN
Sir David Scholey CBF	Chairman	SG Warburg & Co Ltd
Sir Nicholas Henderson GCMG	Director	Hambros Bank (and former Ambassador at Washington) 6 Fairholt St, SW7 1EG
Sir James Cleminson MC	Chairman	British Overseas Trade Board, Loddon Hall, Hales, Norfolk
The Earl of Cromer KG GCMG MBE PC		Former Ambassador at Washington
The Lord Prior	Chairman	GEC
H MISCELLANEOUS		
Mr Alfred Cahen	Secretary General	Western European Union, 9 Grosvenor Place, SW1 Tel: 01-235-5351
Mr Norman Willis	General Secretary	Trade Union Congress, Great Russell St, WC1B 3LS Tel: 01-636-4030

DEPARTMENT/SERIES	PREM 19	Date and sign
PIECE/ITEM ..... (one piece/item number)	2569	
Extract details: Attachment (Guildhall invitations) to letter from Parker to Powell dated 9 May 1988		
CLOSED UNDER FOI EXEMPTION ..... 40(2) ..	19/7/14	
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Use black or blue pen to complete form.

Use the card for one piece or for each extract removed from a different place within a piece.

Enter the department and series,  
eg. HO 405, J 82.

Enter the piece and item references, .  
eg. 28, 1079, 84/1, 107/3

Enter extract details if it is an extract rather than a whole piece.  
This should be an indication of what the extract is,  
eg. Folio 28, Indictment 840079, E107, Letter dated 22/11/1995.  
Do not enter details of why the extract is sensitive.

If closed under the FOI Act, enter the FOI exemption numbers applying to the closure, eg. 27(1), 40(2).

Sign and date next to the reason why the record is not available to the public ie. Closed under FOI exemption; Retained under section 3(4) of the Public Records Act 1958; Temporarily retained; Missing at transfer or Number not used.

*File 88*

PRIME MINISTER

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT

You are giving a small dinner for President and Mrs. Reagan on the evening of 2 June which Mr. Thatcher will attend. He has asked whether you would also wish him to attend the event in the Guildhall the following morning at which President Reagan will speak. Mrs. Reagan will also be present.

Mr. Thatcher has an engagement that day but would be ready to cancel it if you so wished.

C. D. POWELL

3 May 1988

SLHAVM

*File M*

**MR. THATCHER**

President Reagan will be making his speech at the Guildhall late morning on Friday 3 June. Mrs. Reagan will be present as will the Lord Mayor and his wife.

Would you like to attend this?

**P A BEARPARK**

28 April 1988

CONFIDENTIAL

② CCFC



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 April 1988

John Channing

mt

John White

CDP 15/4

President Reagan's visit : Possible meeting with Mr Takeshita

When Mr Murata, the Japanese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs (PUS equivalent), saw Sir Patrick Wright on 12 April, he told him in strict confidence that the Japanese had been talking to the White House about a possible meeting between Mr Takeshita and President Reagan during the latter's visit to the UK at the beginning of June. Mr Takeshita attached importance to seeing the President immediately after the Moscow Summit, and would prefer to do this in London rather than Brussels (because of NATO). Mr Takeshita begins a visit to France, Belgium and Netherlands on 2 June so a meeting in London would not be inconvenient for him. The Japanese are thinking in terms of a meeting of 30-40 minutes with President Reagan.

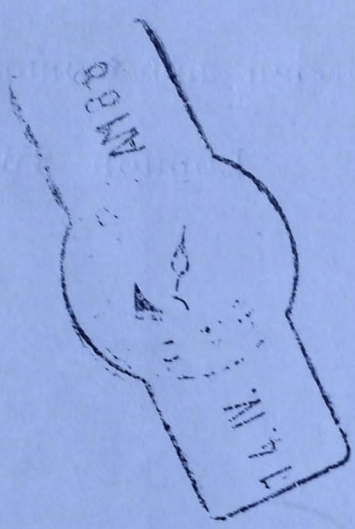
We are not asked to do anything at this stage. The Japanese or the Americans will let us know if the idea comes off. This letter is to give you advance warning of this possible complication in the President's programme. Mr Murata stressed the Japanese need to keep the knowledge of this idea to a very limited circle.

John Channing

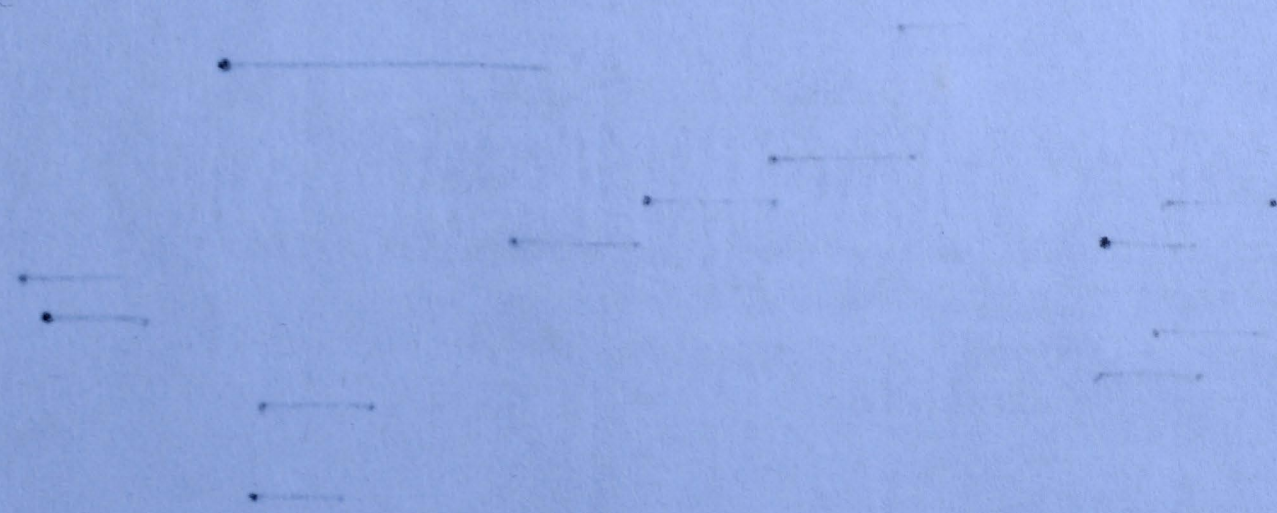
(R N Culshaw)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
PS/No 10 Downing Street

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Handwritten signature or initials.



*capl*

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

MO 14/2L

31st March 1988

*CDP  
31/3**See Tony,*PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT

In his letter to you of 28th March, <sup>Hap</sup> Charles Powell suggested that President Reagan might attend Beating Retreat on 2nd June.

The General Staff here has put forward a number of suggestions you may wish to consider in discussions with the Americans. First, if security permitted, the President might be invited to take the salute (although we should need to know fairly soon if he wished to do so); and secondly, that if he wished simply to watch, the best place by far from which to do so is the Major General's office in Horse Guards. The parade faces this room, which is always used by the Queen Mother and other members of the Royal Family for the Birthday Parade.

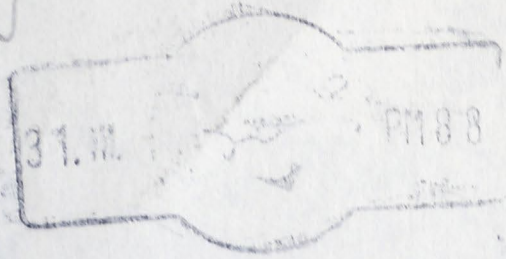
I am sending copies of this letter to Charles Powell (No 10) and to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

*Yours sincerely  
 D C J Ball*

(D C J BALL)  
 Private Secretary

Tony Galsworthy Esq  
 Foreign and Commonwealth Office

USA - visit of President Reagan PRS



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

COPIES  
3/15

Bill Tapp

RECEIVED

to his father...  
the General...  
you may wish to consider...  
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for...  
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SRWBTC  
etc

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

30 March 1988

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT

Thank you for your letter of 29 March with some preliminary suggestions about the programme for President Reagan's visit. We cannot do much more until we know when the President will arrive. But I think the Prime Minister would be content with the general shape of what is proposed. She would have no objection to a small dinner if this is what the President really wants. Whether it can be kept as small as suggested in your letter is another matter: I think the Prime Minister would be reluctant to exclude Howard Baker and Colin Powell if they are part of the President's entourage.

(C. D. POWELL)

Lyn Parker, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

h

cell.  
①

CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister



You will want to note this planning Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Are you content with London SW1A 2AH

29 March 1988

the idea of a small dinner? I think it might be difficult to exclude General Powell.

CDD 2913. Yes Mr Y

Dear Charles,

President Reagan's Visit

The White House are still putting details together. Among other things, we have yet to learn whether President Reagan will fly directly to London from Moscow, or whether he will first brief NATO. Accordingly, this letter is by way of an interim reply to yours of 28 March.

Subject to knowing the precise arrival time of the President and Mrs Reagan, we see the main points of the programme as follows:

2 June

- Between 12 noon and 3 pm.....Arrival at London airport. (depending on inclusion or exclusion of trip to NATO) Met by Prime Minister. Helicopter to Winfield House.
- Mid afternoon.....President & Mrs Reagan (time to be fixed) received by The Queen for tea.
- (time to be fixed).....Guard of Honour, Foreign Office Quadrangle.
- (time to be fixed).....Meeting with Prime Minister.
- approx 1930.....Dinner, No 10 Downing Street.
- 2130.....View Beating Retreat from No 10 (see below).

3 June

- About noon.....President Reagan's speech at the Guildhall. Leave immediately afterwards for Heathrow.

Prime Minister's dinner

The US Embassy have said that they would very much like to pursue the idea discussed earlier with you, namely

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a very small private dinner. By small they have in mind the Reagans, The Shultzs and the Prices on their side. On our side, they would hope for a similar number including the Secretary of State and Lady Howe. We are looking into the possibility of the President attending Beating Reatreat. I will reply substantively on this when we have discussed it with the Americans.

President Reagan's speech at the Guildhall

The intention is that this should be President Reagan's first report on the Moscow Summit to the outside world. Having made the speech, he will want to depart immediately for Washington so that he can land in time to appear on the 6 pm TV network news programmes. The US Embassy are explaining the situation to the Guildhall and the others involved, and assure us that suitable arrangements can be made.

Detail

If you agree the above in principle, we will submit a fully timed programme when we have discussed it further with the Americans.

*Conf over*

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'L Parker'.

(L Parker)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
PS/No 10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL



29. III  
FMSB

CONFIDENTIAL

*File* TDSBIG



bc P.C.

cc S. GOODCHILD

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

28 March, 1988.

*From the Private Secretary*

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT

President Reagan's visit to the United Kingdom on 2/3 June has now been announced. We assume that the main items in his programme will be dinner at No.10 on the evening of 2 June: an Audience with The Queen on the morning of 3 June: and a lunch at the Guildhall on 3 June at which the President will give a speech.

I imagine that this is likely to be sufficient, on the heels of a tiring Summit in Moscow, although we ought to offer a brief meeting with the Prime Minister (particularly if the President does not brief NATO leaders in Brussels). But there is one further suggestion that the Prime Minister would like us to investigate, and that is the possibility of the President attending Beating Retreat on the evening of 2 June. It is the sort of occasion which he might enjoy. Concern about security may make it impractical for him to go on to the Horse Guards Parade itself. But he could watch it from No.10 and perhaps better still from the Cabinet Secretary's room. Dinner would have to start earlier than usual, say 1930 for 2000, to be sure of being in place by 2130. You may like to discuss this possibility with the Americans.

I am copying this letter to Ian Andrews (Ministry of Defence) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

C.D. Powell

A.C. Galsworthy, Esq., CMG,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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PRIME MINISTER

## PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT

President Reagan is to visit the United Kingdom on 2/3 June. He is likely to arrive from Moscow (but possibly from Brussels if he stops to brief NATO) on the afternoon of 2 June, and leave for Washington on the afternoon of 3 June. The main events planned are a dinner at No.10 on the evening of 2 June, a meeting with The Queen on the morning of 3 June and a lunch at the Guildhall on 3 June at which the President would make a speech. (I assume you would attend.) *Yes*

I have tried to think of ways in which we could make the visit special, since it is his last one. But the President will be tired after Moscow and I doubt that his staff would want a fuller programme. The only thing that occurs to me is that there is a Beating The Retreat on the evening of 2 June at 2130. I think it's the sort of occasion which he might enjoy. One possibility would be to have a dinner a bit early - say *yes* 1930 - and then take the President out to watch, or even take the salute at the Beating The Retreat. Would you like me to pursue this idea?

CDP

(C.D. POWELL)

25 March 1988

DALAEY

*I think security would be very concerned - but we could watch from No 10 - or from Robin's rooms (under the bed!)*

SLWBT17



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

9 March 1988

Dear Lynn,

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO THE UK

Thank you for your letter of 8 March about President Reagan's forthcoming visit to London. To take your points in order

- The Prime Minister will certainly wish to have talks followed by a lunch or dinner. It is hard to know which until we know when President Reagan is coming and how long he will stay. We will fall in with whichever is the most convenient for him.
- I think a red carpet guard at Heathrow would be sufficient. I would expect the Prime Minister to go out to Heathrow to meet the President. I assume we shall be making arrangements to bring him into the centre of London by helicopter.
- The Prime Minister would want a full guard of honour in the Foreign Office courtyard for the visit. She has made a couple of additional points about this. First, if at all possible she would like a red carpet to be laid along the path which the President (or any future President expecting a guard of honour in the courtyard) would follow during his inspection. Secondly, she wonders whether we could not arrange for rather more of an audience to witness the ceremony. For instance, members of the American Embassy, No.10 Downing Street staff and Foreign Office staff might be invited to turn out to greet the President so that there is something of a crowd.

Yours sincerely,  
C. D. Powell

(C. D. POWELL)

Lyn Parker, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

8 March 1988

*Dear Charles,*

President Reagan's Forthcoming Visit to the UK

You have kindly agreed to arrange for the US Survey Team to visit Number 10 on Friday, 11 March. They will also be going into a great deal of detail with our Protocol Department about a hypothetical programme. It would be very helpful if you could give me some indication of the line we might take on the following points:

- Other things being equal, would the Prime Minister wish to have talks/lunch or talks/dinner? (In the event, this may very well be determined by the timing of the visit.) You should also be aware that, subject to the diary, HM The Queen would wish to invite the President to tea;
- The US Embassy have said that the President will arrive at LHR Southside. Would a Red Carpet Guard be acceptable? There is not sufficient room for a full Guard of Honour there, and there will be reconstruction work in progress on a new building immediately alongside the present one;
- A full Guard of Honour is not normally provided for a Head of State on a working visit. Would the Prime Minister nevertheless wish to give President Reagan a Guard of Honour (subject to the availability of the Household Division) in the FCO Courtyard?

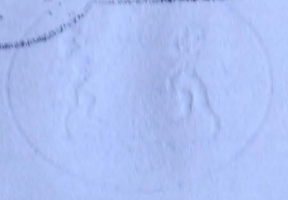
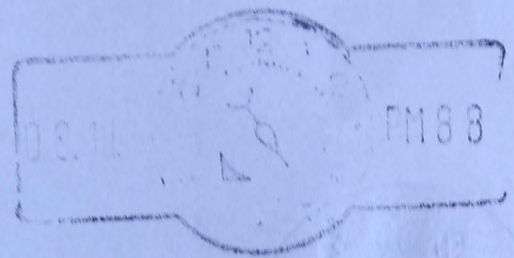
You should also be aware that, although the US Embassy think it unlikely that the President will wish to make a speech while he is in London, they intend to reconnoitre Chatham House and the Guildhall just in case.

*Yours ever,*  
*L Parker*

(L Parker)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL



London and County Office

London E.W. 2. 11

*Prime Minister*

*COB*

*MS*

JUST A FEW SENTENCES TO LET YOU KNOW THAT THE PRESIDENT APPRECIATES THE INVITATION CONTAINED IN YOUR TELEGRAM OF JANUARY 12, AND WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO STOPOVER IN LONDON ON HIS WAY BACK FROM MOSCOW. WE DON'T KNOW YET WHEN THAT WILL BE, BUT HAVE

PAGE 02 RUEADWW0691 C O N F I D E N T I A L EYES ONLY NODIS A MAY-JUNE TIMEFRAME IN FIND. TIGHT SCHEDULING SIMPLY PRECLUDES A VISIT TO LONDON EITHER BEFORE OR AFTER THE NATO SUMMIT IN EARLY MARCH WHERE OF COURSE, THE PRESIDENT LOOKS FORWARD TO SEEING MRS. TRATCHER.

COLIN L. POWELL

DECL: OADR

BT #0691

CONFIDENTIAL -- EYES ONLY FOR CHARLES POWELL

NNNN

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

*January*  
20 February 1988

POSSIBLE VISIT BY PRESIDENT REAGAN

The Americans have begun to put out feelers about a possible visit by President Reagan to the United Kingdom in the course of the summer. Although there has been no firm proposal yet, one possibility is that he might come on his way back from a US/Soviet Summit in Moscow. There are no firm dates for that Summit - and may not be until March - but it seems likely to be in the second half of May. The White House are thinking in terms of the President arriving in the late afternoon, staying a night, having talks with the Prime Minister and perhaps seeing The Queen the next day, a lunch or dinner at No. 10 with departure either that evening or the following morning.

I have made clear that the Prime Minister would welcome a visit subject to the dates being convenient. From our point of view, dates to avoid in that period are 18 May (the visit of the Swedish Prime Minister), 25 May (when the Prime Minister has an important political engagement) and 29/31 May (Prime Minister's visit to Poland).

I have warned the Palace of the possibility of a visit.

CHARLES POWELL

A. C. Galsworthy, Esq., C.M.G.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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ce file  
LOGAQL*

*Rho*

PERSONAL

PRIME MINISTER

POSSIBLE VISIT BY PRESIDENT REAGAN

The United States Ambassador tells me that the President would very much like to pay a brief farewell visit to London during the final weeks of his Presidency. Although he was not in a position to make any formal proposal on dates, it was quite likely he would suggest coming here on his way back from the Moscow Summit. This would probably put a visit somewhere in the second half of May. In response to my question, Charlie Price said that he had no reason to think the President would propose coming here on his way to or from the NATO Summit in early March.

I said that I was sure you would welcome a visit, indeed you had it in mind to propose one. Obviously the longer notice we could be given about likely dates the better given the need to take account of State Visits and other events already planned. I could see the difficulty of being precise if there was still no firm date for the US/Soviet Summit in Moscow. But even a general indication of the likely week would be helpful.

I hope this is in accordance with your views.

C.D.P.

(C.D. POWELL)

20 January 1988

DCAAGF

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10 DOWNING STREET

*And*

Prime Minister.

David Hart sent this to me, and I judge that it may give you an insight which would not come through the normal channels. If it is rubbish I apologise for wasting your time!

*David*

David Wolfson.

D.H. HAS SUPPORTING MATERIAL IF (UNLIKELY)

YOU WANT FURTHER INFORMATION.

INFLUENCING THE PRESIDENT.

I have just returned from two weeks in Washington.

I have several friends who are senior members of the Administration. I have been able, therefore, to get a very clear idea of their fundamental outlook and of their attitude to Britain.

I attach a list of the names and rank of the people I spoke to.

The Defence Department and the National Security Council are the most influential of the great departments of state. Baker, Weinberger, Casey are probably the three most influential men. In that order. Accordingly, I concentrated on the White House, the Pentagon and the NSC.

My first discovery was the least pleasant. Anglo-gloom prevails. Not just because of Grenada. No one of consequence was aware in any depth either of the great moral or of the substantial material changes that have taken place in Britain since 1979. Not because the information was unavailable to them. Because they have not focused on it. Even Bill Casey, head of the CIA, was sufficiently surprised at the economic indicators I was able to suggest Britain can now boast that he asked me to dictate a note to his secretary setting them out.

(A friend of mine at the Pentagon told me that he has seen a late 1983 CIA report which suggested that you were unpopular with your party, that you were unpopular in the country and that the 1983 election result was a freak outcome of our electoral system! The CIA is not without its wets.)

President Reagan admires you greatly and broadly sees the world as you do.

With such a great advantage over all other allies it is astonishing and depressing that his closest advisors are not informed of the changes that have taken place in Britain.

There are several reasons.

First, Our Embassy is not admired by the Reaganauts and I think the feeling is reciprocated. Quite a few of my Reaganaut friends have never been invited to the Embassy and no attempt has been made to get to know them. Many Reaganauts are under the strong impression that the Embassy feels more comfortable with the Democrats.

Second. The Embassy and the FO here broadly take the view that the Administration speaks with many voices and so it is difficult to predict what line they are going to take on any

issue. A dictatorship speaks with only one voice. But it is no easier to predict, for example, Soviet actions.

Third. Because there is great admiration for you throughout the US, and a great reluctance to criticise you for what the Administration sees as a British failure over Grenada, the Foreign Office is blamed. This naturally affects the ability of the Embassy to function effectively.

My second discovery was also surprising. I am sure that the libertarian revolution that you have led in Britain is much more firmly based, much more secure on the street, in Britain, than President Reagan's Conservative revolution in the US.

All the more vital that you should exert the maximum amount of influence over US policy making.

Especially if the Administration's latest thinking on the Soviet Union is correct. The view is, in brief, first, that the Soviet economy, far from growing slowly, as most Western observers believe, is contracting. Second, that the Soviet leadership's perceptions of themselves have changed in two important ways. They have lost faith in their ability to win the international ideological struggle. They have acquired faith, for the first time, in their ability to undertake military adventures far from home.

N.B. In the same way that many in the Administration are extraordinarily un-cosmopolitan, some almost insular, we in Europe are dangerously unaware of the depth of our great ally's deepest concern. The problems of their southern border. It affects all their thinking on all other matters including their approach to us.

Consider the importance of Central America to the US. Half US shipping tonnage and imported oil passes through Caribbean sea lanes. Two thirds of all their foreign trade passes through the Panama Canal and Caribbean sea lanes. About 800,000 people have become refugees from the Central American area. Many of them are illegal immigrants to the US. Quite apart from the other Hispanic illegal immigrants.

The consequences for the Alliance of continuing to ignore US problems in the area are grave. If present Administration policies fail, our lack of support and understanding and influence could be disastrous.

Their greatest fear is that as a result of the determined destabilisation of the area by the Soviet Union and Cuba, El Salvador will lead to Guatemala which will lead to Mexico which will itself acquire a government sympathetic to or else dominated by the Soviet Union. Then nearly one hundred million people on their border will be under the influence or control of pro-Soviet regimes. Then, the large Hispanic

population in the Southern US could be subverted. Then, a potential civil war would break out. A kind of Northern Ireland.

Fred Icklé, very influential with the President, told me that if the Hispanics began to cause trouble the US would become 'a very unlovely place with consequences for all the allies.'

If the US got bogged down in Central America and received no political help from its European allies there is no doubt at all that it would seriously affect its resolve to defend Europe.

No one in Washington is speaking of military assistance. What they want is limited political assistance.

There is no doubt of the Soviet, Cuban and Libyan involvement. Nicaragua has 10,000 Cubans within its borders and at least 300 Soviet advisors. There are also probably more than 200 East European advisors. The guerillas in El Salvador are undoubtedly financed and armed by Nicaragua. The Soviets have spent over \$350 million in Nicaragua since 1980. American army rifles captured in Vietnam by the Vietcong have been taken by the Guetamalan government from captured anti-government Guetamalan guerillas.

President Reagan and his advisors feel hurt in your case, annoyed in the case of the rest of Europe, that his European allies cannot seem to see how seriously worried the Administration is by this problem.

N.B. He needs your help. I believe that in private discussions, he will ask you for it.

There are two opportunities.

Salvador. There is no doubt that this unhappy country is making strenuous and often heroic attempts to become a genuine democracy. Most observers consider the recent Presidential elections both free and fair. Despite the circumstances. There is no doubt that they have terrible problems. Nicaragua is trying to subvert the country. The US Administration often spends the limited funds Congress will permit in the most bureaucratic and wasteful way. The Salvador army is responsible for many civilian killings. (President Duarte is trying to eliminate this. Some senior army officers have been arrested.)

Nothing would please President Reagan more, nothing would put you in a stronger position to influence him and make demands of him, (reduce the deficit, buy more arms from us) than if you were to state publicly, with or without the other Europeans, whilst the President is in London, that you understand the legitimate concerns of the US in Central

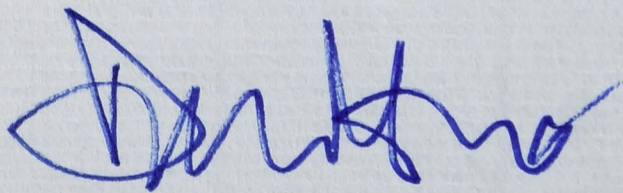
attempts to assist President Duarte and the Salvadorean people to restore democracy in El Salvador and resist the attempts at subversion by the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Belize. The administration believes that there is a real opportunity for progress over the border dispute. They would like to see a joint Thatcher-Reagan initiative. They say the window of opportunity for this is not wide and will be open very shortly. They believe such an initiative has a high probability of success, since both parties are now ready for a settlement. If it worked it would be very good for your prestige in the Caribbean area and enable you to pull out the garrison fairly quickly. If it failed the world would much more readily blame the intransigent locals rather than two good hearted, peace seeking, world leaders. Officials I spoke to were extremely keen on this.

God forbid the Third World War. But if it is to be, it is more than likely to start in Central America. Because the Administration sees the area as a kind of last ditch. We are therefore all inescapably involved, whether we like it or not, in Central America. By offering private sympathetic understanding and carefully considered public political support to President Reagan on El Salvador and by joining with him on a Belize initiative you can greatly increase your influence over the US Administration at a very dangerous time.

If the going with the Soviets gets rough, and it well might, your steady advice, could well exert what might be a world saving influence.

I cannot emphasize strongly enough what an opportunity this presents for you.



David Hart. 28th May 1984.

This note was prepared as a result of discussions in Washington between the 14th and 25th May with the following:

William Casey, Head of the CIA.

Dr Fred Icklé, Under Secretary Of Defence for Policy.

Dr Constantine Menges, Special Assistant to the President for Latin American Affairs.

Herb Meyer, Vice Chairman of the National Intelligence Committee.

Richard Pearl, Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security Policy.

Dr Robert Scheuttinger, Director of Policy Planning, Pentagon.

Eliot Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, State Department.

Richard Hass, Director European Affairs, State Department.

Ed. Feulner, President Heritage Foundation.

Robert Reilly, Special Assistant to the President, Public Liason.

Prof. S. Thompson, until recently deputy head of the USIA.

Anthony Dolan, Chief Speechwriter to the President.

Dr Edward Luttwak, Advisor to Pentagon, considered to be one of the world's greatest strategists.

Peter Sommer, Head of the Europe Desk at the National Security Council.

Aram Backshian, ex Chief Speechwriter to the President, now columnist with the Wall St Journal.

Susanne Garment, columnist with Wall St Journal.

S E C R E T

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cc MASTER



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

6 June 1984

TALKS WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

You will wish to know that, in the course of her tete-a-tete with President Reagan last evening, the Prime Minister referred briefly to the Laker case.

The Prime Minister told the President that we could not accept that US law should be unilaterally applied to matters which should properly be dealt with in the US/UK Bilateral Aviation Agreement and that we much hoped that officials would be able to find a workable solution soon.

I am not sending copies of this letter to other Departments, since they are aware of this part of the conversation from the more general record they have already been sent.

(DAVID BARCLAY)

Miss Dinah Nicholls,  
Department of Transport.

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

5 June 1984

**US Declassified**

Dear Peter,

Talks with the President of the United States

The Prime Minister had a tête-à-tête conversation with President Reagan this evening from 1810-1915 hours. No notetakers were present. The Prime Minister gave me a general account of the conversation afterwards.

With regard to the Economic Summit, Mrs. Thatcher said that she was determined not to countenance an attack on American economic policy. But it would clearly be necessary to consider the sustainability of recovery and the problem of the present level of interest rates - and in this context the US deficit was significant. The Prime Minister also discussed with the President the general approach which the Summit might adopt to the problem of international debt.

No mention was made in this conversation of the handling by the Summit of the question of terrorism or of the UK environment initiative.

The Prime Minister decided not to discuss with the President the US proposals for amendments to the draft Declaration on Democratic Values (Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 5 June). But I was able to discuss this matter with various members of the President's party and I have minuted separately to Sir Robert Armstrong on this point.

The Prime Minister discussed East/West relations with the President in general terms. She emphasised that we took a global view of East/West relations and were not limited in our thinking to the problems presented for Europe by the current state of the relationship. Mrs. Thatcher's general impression was that the US Government was rather at a loss as to how to proceed in the field of East/West relations.

There was some discussion of the situation in the Gulf

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and in particular of the new development today involving the shooting down of an Iranian aircraft by the Saudis over their own territorial waters. Mr. Shultz told the Prime Minister later that, contrary to some reports, it appeared that there had been no attack on a vessel in Saudi waters but that an Iranian aircraft which had entered the area had simply been shot down.

The Prime Minister told President Reagan that we had decided to maintain the British garrison in Belize for at least two years unless circumstances changed (and I rather believe that the Prime Minister conveyed the impression that the effect of this decision was that the garrison would remain indefinitely unless there was a radical change in the situation). She emphasised that we did not intend to make this decision public. It was an example of our commitment to the US policy of promoting stability in Central America. The President expressed gratitude for this decision. On Central America more generally, the Prime Minister emphasised that we appreciated the global significance of US efforts in the area.

The Middle East was also discussed. The Prime Minister said that she was anxious that, following the US elections, there should be a new American initiative in the area. President Reagan said that this was his intention - and confirmed, in answer to the Prime Minister's question that she could so inform King Hussein. The prospect of the West Bank being included in a confederation with Jordan was also discussed. President Reagan apparently said that if Arafat would recognise Israel's right to exist the situation would be much easier. The Prime Minister gave it as her view that Arafat's present situation was difficult.

With regard to the President's visit to Ireland, the Prime Minister thanked him for his public references to the evils of terrorism and the US policy of non-intervention in the problem of Northern Ireland.

There was little time to raise bilateral trade problems. However, the Prime Minister mentioned the question of luxury cars and said that we would be handing a paper to the President's party. I gave to Mr. Sommer of the National Security Council a copy of the aide memoire enclosed with Ruth Thompson's letter of 4 June to Andrew Turnbull and I attach a copy of this for ease of reference. I also discussed the problem in general terms with Mr. Sommer and Mr. Baker.

The Prime Minister also told the President, with regard to the Laker case, that we could not accept that US law should be unilaterally applied to matters which should properly be dealt with in the US/UK Bilateral Aviation

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Agreement and that we much hoped that officials would be able to find a workable solution soon.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to David Peretz (HM Treasury), Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence), John Lyon (Northern Ireland Office), Callum McCarthy (Department of Trade and Industry) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office). The contents of the letter should be closely protected.

*Yours ever*

*John Colan.*

Peter Ricketts Esq  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

MFJAAV

SECRET

AIDE MEMOIRE

HMG are greatly concerned at legislative proposals now before Congress to limit the tax benefits on passenger cars used for business. The provisions of a bill adopted by the House of Representatives would set the limit at \$21,000; under a similar bill adopted by the Senate the limit would be set at \$15,000.

Whether or not these provisions are protectionist in intent, it is quite certain that they would be discriminatory in effect. Almost all cars costing over \$21,000 are imported. Most such cars are exported to the United States from the United Kingdom and the FRG. Even the lower limit of \$15,000 exceeds the average retail price of a US car. It follows that, in either case, the potential loss of tax benefits would bear more heavily upon imported cars.

HMG understand that the US Treasury Department has opposed the provisions on grounds of tax policy, preferring stricter rules for personal use of business assets generally, which in addition, would be free of objection on grounds of discrimination.

HMG would welcome advice on the steps which the US Administration proposes to take to secure amendments to the bills to remove their discriminatory provisions.

SUBJECT FILED ON: USA. Econ<sup>c</sup> Situation Pt 2

AIDE MEMOIRE

The position of Her Majesty's Government on a possible tax on luxury automobiles contained in the Aide Memoire of June 5, 1984, which was handed to United States officials in London, has been conveyed to appropriate officials in Washington.

The United States Administration has, of course, been following closely the negotiation in the House-Senate conference on tax reform measures, including the provisions to limit overstatement of tax deductions for cars used for business purposes. As Her Majesty's Government is aware, the Administration opposed the proposals to set specific caps on the value of a car which could be claimed for tax credits or depreciation, and worked instead for stricter reporting and substantiation requirements as well as a percentage business use threshold before

Embassy of the United States of America,

London, June 26, 1984.

accelerated depreciation and tax credits are available.

In the process, the Administration pointed out the concern expressed particularly by the Governments of Great Britain and West Germany over the impact such a value cap would have on imported vehicles.

On June 18, the Congressional conferees reached a compromise agreement on revised provisions governing use of luxury vehicles for business purposes. They abandoned the cap approach and provided instead that taxpayers may recover the cost of an automobile at the rate of six thousand dollars per year (four thousand dollars the first year). In addition, the conferees generally limited the investment tax credit available for automobiles to one thousand dollars. The conferees also agreed on other provisions, including a business use threshold.

It is unlikely that these provisions will undergo further change in conference. However, we would underline that these new depreciation rules for automobiles are not discriminatory in relation to imports, since they allow taxpayers to recover the full cost of any automobile used

for business purposes. The Administration believes the attempt to tighten the provisions on the business deductibility of vehicles is an appropriate effort by the Congress to restrict what has been a seriously abused loophole in the existing tax code, an effort which is only a part of the process aimed at reducing the federal deficit.

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

5 June 1984

Dear Peter,

VISIT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN

The Prime Minister gave a working dinner for President Reagan here this evening. The other guests were Mr. Shultz, Mr. Regan, Mr. Baker, Mr. McFarlane, the US Ambassador - and on our side the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry and Sir Oliver Wright. The discussion over dinner, which was of a rather general nature, lasted for some two hours.

The first subject addressed was that of East/West relations. The Prime Minister said that she was impressed by the fundamental isolation of the Soviet leadership. It was ironic that Gromyko, who had more acquaintance with the outside world than other members of the regime, seemed to be so influential. She recalled that when she had visited Moscow for the funeral of Mr. Andropov she had told Chernenko that he, President Reagan and she herself were all members of a generation who remembered the last war and that this gave them a special duty to prevent a recurrence of war. Chernenko had appeared to be responsive to that thought. Mr. Shultz said that it was true that the Soviet Union was inspired by a certain patriotism and a recollection of the trials of World War II. The Prime Minister said that it was difficult to see how we could break the isolation of the Soviet leadership, except by trying to persuade some of its members to visit the West. Mr. Shultz commented that there was some evidence of disagreement within the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the present foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This tended to show that the leadership was not collective but compartmentalised. Gromyko was certainly in control of the Foreign Ministry but it was doubtful how far his influence

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spread. The degree of disagreement which the US detected in the Soviet Foreign Ministry was most unusual.

President Reagan said that he had been impressed by a recent article in the Economist which suggested that the reason for the current withdrawal from affairs by the Soviet Leaders was that they were short of answers to contemporary problems. Sir Oliver Wright suggested that the Kremlin was very conscious of failure - both the failure to prevent INF deployment and also the failure of the Soviet system more generally. People like Gromyko who knew the West were even more conscious of these shortcomings.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that he had been struck by the continuity in Russian/Soviet foreign policy. But it was now on "automatic pilot" and this took the form of hibernation and sullen withdrawal. It took an exceptional leader to break out from this attitude. Sir Oliver Wright said that Kruschev, one of the few Soviet leaders who had actually been dismissed, had wanted to break out of the isolation and compete with the West.

President Reagan commented that the Russians were anxious to be regarded as a super power. But they were so in one sense only - the military sense. This was the only area in which they had any distinction.

The Prime Minister enquired about President Reagan's recent visit to China. President Reagan said that he had enjoyed the experience. He and Mr. Shultz had shown remarkable self-control when given a Chinese lecture on the value of economic incentives. He wondered whether China might depart from socialism without being aware that it was doing so. Deng Xiaoping had brought up the issue of Taiwan. He had replied that this was China's problem but they must settle it peacefully or they would put the United States in great difficulty. Later Deng Xiaoping had said that Taiwan could retain its own systems provided China acquired sovereignty. This appeared to be similar to the Chinese attitude over Hong Kong. The Prime Minister said that this was true but the Chinese, though they talked of maintaining Capitalist systems, had no idea what this meant. They did not appreciate that in our society a citizen could sue his Government. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary observed that it was the gap in China's thinking which was impressive. If one had been brought up all one's life as a Communist, it required an enormous intellectual leap to get to the point of advocating eg a freely convertible currency. But even when that point had been reached a profoundly illiberal political system was still in being. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that China claimed that it wished Hong Kong to retain its present commercial freedom - but at the same time expected Hong Kong and its citizens to

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- 3 -

behave as Peking thought right. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said that Taiwan had a higher degree of independence than Hong Kong. Hong Kong could never thrive unless it was on good terms with China. The British task was to obtain a credible agreement so that businessmen would continue to use Hong Kong. If we succeeded it would be a remarkable achievement. President Reagan observed that China had now opened up fourteen cities for overseas investment. He had been struck by the fact that, in their talks with him, the Chinese had always used the word "Socialist", never "Communist". The Prime Minister said that the salient point about the Western companies which now invested in China was that they had their base in a free society. But from 1997 onwards Hong Kong firms would no longer be based in a free society. Just at the moment when we had thought we were making some progress in our negotiations, Deng Xiaoping had stated publicly that Chinese troops would be introduced into Hong Kong after 1997.

Mr. Regan observed that by 1997 there would be a new generation in charge in China. We simply did not know whether the current Chinese experiment would last. It was possible that another Stalinist regime would be in place. The Secretary of State for Trade suggested that the Chinese leadership, presiding over a nation of one billion people with bad communications, a low standard of living and an economic structure in disarray, might conclude that the neighbouring economic systems of Taiwan and Hong Kong were the right goal - but they would still be faced with the problem of introducing that system without losing political control. President Reagan said that there were now some twelve thousand Chinese students in the United States. It was possible that when they returned to China they would not be content with the prevailing system.

The Prime Minister said that she would like to have some discussion of the aims of the Economic Summit. At Williamsburg we had had to reach agreement on INF deployment as well as the strengthening of economic recovery and the restraint of protectionism. At this Summit we had to work for the continuation of economic recovery on a sustainable basis without inflation; the management of the international debt problem in such a way that countries and banks were held accountable for their own actions; the handling of the problem of increasing demands for welfare expenditure unaccompanied by a willingness to finance that expenditure; and resistance to demands for protectionism. It was also desirable that the Summit should pursue a global concept of East/West relations and consider the situation in the Gulf.

In parenthesis she said that she believed it desirable to work out an intellectually acceptable basis for counter subversion in independent states and for action to prevent

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peoples being oppressed by regimes which they did not want - but agreed, in response to a question from Mr. Shultz, that this was not a matter for the Summit.

Following some discussion of the relationship of welfare provision to economic recovery, the Prime Minister said that it was necessary to consider whether democracies which became "claimant societies" could succeed. Another major question which would arise at the Summit was that of international debt. Mr. Regan suggested that the debt problem posed a precarious situation but it was no worse than it had been at Williamsburg or Versailles. It could of course be exacerbated by other events eg in the Gulf. Mr. Shultz said that the case by case strategy, accepted earlier, had basically worked. But Argentina had not been brought into that strategy and there was a need to confront that country with hard decisions. There was a fundamental problem with countries which wanted to attract resources but had done so by going into debt rather than attracting equity. Agreeing, the Prime Minister said that there were certain countries which were able to repay their debts but were not prepared, as they should be, to do so by selling assets. Mr. Shultz said that most Summit statements expressed sympathy for the debtors. It would be helpful if on this occasion the Summit said that it wished to assist but the best form of assistance was for the industrialised countries to open up their markets and for the debtor countries to make investment easier. The Chancellor of the Exchequer emphasised that it was essential to prevent the possible emergence of a debtors' cartel. This meant rescheduling debts in ways that were favourable to those countries with praiseworthy policies and harsher for those with other policies. In passing, the Prime Minister referred to the fact that Argentina had bought a further ten Exocets from France.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary observed that a number of the current debt problems were due to mistakes which had occurred well in the past. In finding solutions, we had to adopt a measured and patient attitude. It was necessary to strike the right balance between optimism and pessimism. But we needed to offer the prospect of the problems being surmounted.

With regard to the US deficit, we should resist an attack at the Summit on US policies but the problem could not be ignored. Mr. Regan agreed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out that, despite some improvements in the debt situation over the last two years, today's markets were very fragile. It was therefore essential that the message on this matter from the Summit should be exactly right.

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I am copying this letter to David Peretz (HM Treasury) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office). Its contents should be closely protected.

*you see*

*for later*

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

BEMAAG

CONFIDENTIAL

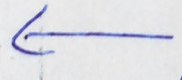
Talks with President Reagan

Economic Summit

- ✓ No ganging up against US
- But must consider sustainability of recovery and interest rate problems:
- ✓ US deficit clearly significant.
- ✓ Approach to debt problem.
- ✗? Want serious discussion of terrorism.
- ✗? Statement on democratic values.
- ✗? Please support environment initiative.

how did he react  
it handled.

US address -  
Coles  
in brief to



East/West relations

"Washington Statement" good message of Alliance unity. Must convince Russians we are not aggressive and that we respect their security interests - they must respect ours. We should think about initiative to restart negotiations and create more trust.

Your Dublin speech on willingness to discuss no first use of force useful

/ Gulf

Come a at time

try to look at it

on line - not just news  
Europe - but global.

on - most days of it - SA.

Gulf

*My said  
Aves ple bed the  
shel said for ple dot  
don without actual oply*

Iranian offensive? Iraqis can hold?  
Glad you are sending Stinger missiles  
and tanker aircraft to Saudis - can  
they repel attacks in their waters?  
US/UK talks useful. Agreed military  
action a last resort.

No lethal equipment supplied to Iran.

Belize

*M - 2 yrs but  
full intel.  
How we are called to  
you pol = C.A.  
He was very polite.*

New decision - will keep garrison for  
at least two years unless circumstances  
change. Will not make public.  
But want to work out with your people  
ways of ensuring Belize's long-term  
security. Agree?

Central America

*M - should we  
understand libel act*

Recognise huge importance to US.  
Support you on preventing spread of  
Communism.  
But methods must promote the objective -  
doubts about Contras in Nicaragua and  
mining of Nicaraguan ports.

/ China

China

His assessment?

Hong Kong negotiations - glad to hear from Shultz that you will tell the Chinese of US interest in satisfactory settlement.

Arab/Israel

Promised Hussein that I would urge you to resume active mediation after US elections.  
Prospects?

*He said I'd have to  
- I said he'd do it.*

*ed. Sam after  
check and be used int.  
He said you - e ad. little  
I'm in it  
I'm afraid to be used  
with Paul*

Southern Africa

Botha visit.

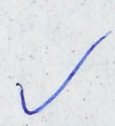
Northern Ireland

Grateful for remarks in Ireland.  
Want progress - but immensely difficult.

US/UK trade relations

(i) we have important decisions on protectionist cases - must resist / protectionist

*I said it's all  
delit  
remit  
I'd don't tell  
by what*



protectionist pressure.

✓ (ii) luxury cars: disturbed by proposal to set limit to tax credit on business cars at figure which discriminates against imported cars. Delete ceiling or set it lower.

(iii) COCOM Computers

Regret agreement delayed. Believe you are trying to extend embargo too widely (eg. low-powered computers freely available on retail market).

(iv) Unitary Taxation

Welcome 'water's edge' principle. But concerned implementation may be delayed by failure to resolve dividend issue.

Also, would welcome US/UK discussion of confusion over definition.

✓ (v) Laker

Can't accept unilateral use of US law to matter provided for in bilateral aviation agreement.

We must tell our officials to find workable solution before summer holidays.

CONFIDENTIAL

a R



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

5 June 1984

RR  $\frac{4}{6}$   
f.a.

Jan John

Prime Minister's Meeting with President Reagan on 5 June  
East/West Relations

Peter Rickett's letter of 4 June enclosed revised briefs for the Prime Minister's meeting with President Reagan later today.

I now enclose copies of two telegrams from Moscow giving the Soviet reaction to the NATO Foreign Ministers' meeting in Washington, and the text of the Tass statement on Dr Sakharov and Mrs Bonner - "They are in good health and are not starving". The Prime Minister may wish to glance at these before her meeting with President Reagan.

We have also now seen the text of Mr Chernenko's speech at a dinner for President Ceausescu last night in Moscow. We do not consider that it represents a direct Soviet response to President Reagan's speech in Dublin. The gap in time between the two speeches was at most 3½-4 hours. The passage in Chernenko's speech on the No First Use of Force was drafted in standard terms, and indicated no awareness of President Reagan's reference to this point in his speech to the Irish Parliament.

For the rest, Mr Chernenko's speech took a familiar line in attempting to denigrate Western arms control policy and place the blame on the US for the total lack of progress. We can expect an authoritative Soviet comment on President Reagan's speech soon going beyond the initial Soviet press agency report that the speech contained nothing new on INF, and criticising President Reagan for "speaking much but saying little".

(R B Bone)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

Ry  
P. 12h + 1/2  
D. G.  
5.6

GRS 738  
UNCLASSIFIED  
FM MOSCOW 041259Z JUN 84  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 680 OF 4 JUN  
INFO PRIORITY UKDEL NATO, WASHINGTON,  
INFO ROUTINE OTHER NATO AND EAST EUROPEAN POSTS, UKIIS NEW YORK,  
UKDIS GENEVA IN NEW YORK, UKDEL CDE STOCKHOLM, UKDEL VIENNA,  
MODUK (DS12),  
INFO SAVING TOKYO, PEKING, ULAN BATOP

NAC MINISTERIAL MEETING : SOVIET RESPONSE

SUMMARY

1. AN AUTHORITATIVE TASS STATEMENT ON 2 JUNE WAS SHARPLY CRITICAL OF THE OUTCOME OF THE WASHINGTON MEETING AND SAID THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP SAW IT AS EVIDENCE OF NATO'S INTENTION TO CONTINUE A MILITARIST COURSE.

DETAIL

2. THE MAIN POINTS OF THIS WORDY STATEMENT WERE:

- A) ALL THE TALK AT THE WASHINGTON MEETING OF NATO'S PEACEFUL INTENTIONS AND WISH FOR EAST/WEST DIALOGUE WAS JUST CAMOUFLAGE FOR THE TRUE NATURE OF THE BLOC. "NATO WAS AND REMAINS A TOOL FOR PREPARING AGGRESSION AND SERVES THE INTERESTS OF THE MOST BELLICONS~~E~~ CIRCLES, ABOVE ALL THE USA". THE MAIN PROPOSITION THROUGHOUT THE COMMUNIQUE AND THE "WASHINGTON DECLARATION" WAS AN EMPHASIS ON MILITARY STRENGTH AND ON DIKTAT TOWARDS OTHER STATES.
- B) HOW COULD ONE BELIEVE ASSERTIONS ABOUT NATO'S DEFENSIVE CHARACTER, WHEN THE MEETING HAD RECONFIRMED AN UNWILLINGNESS TO ADOPT A PLEDGE NOT TO MAKE FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND WHEN ITS PARTICIPANTS DID NOT RESPOND TO THE WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL FOR A TREATY ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE ?
- C) WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS THE PARTICIPANTS DID NOT WISH TO REDUCE NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE; THEY HAD DECLARED THEIR INTENTION TO CONTINUE INF DEPLOYMENT. THE RECENT APPEAL BY THE LEADERS OF SIX STATES HAD BEEN IGNORED.

/D)

- D) NATO'S OBSTRUCTIONIST POSITION WAS ALSO REFLECTED IN ITS APPROACH, FOR EXAMPLE, TO THE MILITARISATION OF SPACE, ABM SYSTEMS, CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND MBFR. EVIDENCE OF A LACK OF INTEREST IN BANNING CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND REDUCING FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WAS THE COLLECTIVE PRAISE FOR THE SO-CALLED AMERICAN INITIATIVES. THESE WERE ESSENTIALLY AIMED AT CREATING FURTHER BARRIERS TO THE SOLUTION OF THESE ISSUES.
- E) STEPS TAKEN TO EXTEND THE AREA OF ACTIVITIES OF NATO DID NOT TALLY WITH ITS STATEMENTS ABOUT STRIVING FOR PEACE AND STABILITY: " EVERYWHERE THE UN CHARTER AND THE NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ARE TRAMPLED UNDERFOOT AND THE POLICY OF STATE TERRORISM IS PERPETRATED."
- F) THERE HAD BEEN SUPPORT FOR FRG AMBITIONS TO ABSORB THE GDR, VIZ: ATTEMPTS TO CALL IN QUESTION THE WHOLE PACKAGE OF TREATIES DESIGNED TO ENSURE A PEACEFUL AND STABLE EUROPEAN CONTINENT. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NEVER PERMIT A RETURN TO THE TRAGIC PAST.
- G) THE NATO COUNTRIES' APPROACH TO THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE ALSO SHOWED THAT IT DID NOT IN FACT WANT TO BUILD UP TRUST.
- H) NOTHING CONCRETE LAY BEHIND THE STATEMENTS ABOUT A WISH FOR DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND FOR NEGOTIATIONS. THE USA AND NATO RESPONDED NEGATIVELY TO ALL THE PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST STATES.
- I) THE WASHINGTON DOCUMENTS SPOKE ABOUT MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TRADE AND COOPERATION, BUT NEW STEPS WERE BEING TAKEN TO DISRUPT THIS AND TO USE TRADE AS A MEANS OF POLITICAL PRESSURE.
- J) ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES DID NOT MAKE NATO'S DECLARED "CONSTRUCTIVENESS" IN ITS APPROACH TO RELATIONS WITH THEM ANY MORE CONVINCING.
- K) TASS WAS AUTHORISED BY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP TO DECLARE THAT THE OUTCOME OF THE WASHINGTON SESSION OF THE NATO COUNCIL WAS SEEN IN THE SOVIET UNION AS EVIDENCE OF THAT BLOC'S INTENTION TO CONTINUE A MILITARIST COURSE."
- L) ANY ATTEMPTS TO HARM THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE USSR AND ITS FRIENDS WERE DESTINED TO FAIL. WASHINGTON, BONN AND OTHER NATO CAPITALS SHOULD NOW UNDERTAKE PRACTICAL STEPS IN THE INTERESTS OF DETENTE.

2. OTHER SOVIET PRESS COMMENT ON THE NAC HAS FOCUSED MAINLY ON  
OUT-OF-AREA ACTIVITIES, INF, PRESSURE ON THE NETHERLANDS, AND  
DIVISIONS WITHIN NATO. THE WEST EUROPEANS WERE SAID TO BE IN  
GENERAL MORE INTERESTED IN EAST/WEST CONTACTS, PARTICULARLY TRADE,  
THAN THE AMERICANS. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE COMMENT SPECIFICALLY ON  
THE WASHINGTON STATEMENT ON EAST/WEST RELATIONS: PRAVDA (2 JUNE)  
SAID THAT ALTHOUGH IT FOLLOWED THE USUAL AMERICAN LINE OF STRESSING  
MILITARY STRENGTH THE FACT OF ITS PUBLICATION WAS INDICATIVE OF  
GROWING CONCERN IN WESTERN EUROPE ABOUT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S  
CONFRONTATIONAL EAST/WEST POLICIES. ANOTHER TASS COMMENTARY (3 JUNE)  
DESCRIBED THE OVERALL OUTCOME OF THE WASHINGTON MEETING AS THE SAME  
OLD "HAWKISH SCREAM OF THE MILITARISTS."

FCO PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES

SUTHERLAND

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

LIMITED

SOV D

EED

DEF D

ACDD

NAD

WED

NEWS D

PS/MR RIFKIND

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

SUR J BULLARD

MR WRIGHT

SUR W HARDING

MR JENKINS

MR CARTLEDGE

MR D THOMAS

MR MILES

DWF/F 004/5

(6)

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OO FCO (DESKBY 050900Z)

RR WASHINGTON

RR PARIS

RR BONN

RR ROME

RR UKDEL NATO

GRS 388

UNCLASSIFIED

DESKBY 050900Z

FM MOSCOW 050710Z JUN 84

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 684 OF 5 JUN

INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, ROME, UKDEL NATO

MY TELNO 681 : SAKHAROV

**IMMEDIATE**

ADVANCE COPY

PS  
PS/Mr Ruffkind  
PS/PS  
Sir J Bullard  
Mr Jenkins  
Mr Renwick

HO/Sov D  
" ECP  
" ELD (E)  
" WCD  
" News D  
" Info D  
" UND

1. ON 4 JUNE THE ENGLISH SERVICE OF TASS ISSUED A STATEMENT THAT SAKHAROV AND MRS BONNER WERE IN GOOD HEALTH AND NOT FASTING. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT.

BEGINS. THE US SECRET SERVICES AND THEIR BACKERS WOULD NOT RECONCILE THEMSELVES TO THE FACT THAT THEIR ACT OF PROVOCATION WITH SAKHAROV AND BONNER HAS BEEN A FLOP AND KEEP SPREADING EVER NEW FALSE REPORTS BASED ON NOTHING MORE THAN INVENTION. THOSE WHO ARE REPEATING THE RUMOURS ABOUT "THE DEATH OF SAKHAROV" AS A CERTAIN ITALIAN WOMAN "JOURNALIST" IS DOING, ARE MERELY BURYING HIM ALIVE. WE ARE NOT GOING TO TAKE UNDER PROTECTION SAKHAROV AND BONNER BUT NEITHER CAN WE ALLOW ALL THIS TO BE USED FOR LIBELOUS ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA. INSTIGATORS OF PROVOCATIONS CRAVE SENSATIONS. BUT THE REAL SENSATION IS THAT THE DIRTY ROLE WHICH THE US SECRET SERVICES AND AMERICAN OFFICIAL CIRCLES BACKING THEM ARE PLAYING IN ALL THIS CASE HAS NOW BEEN

ENGLISH SERVICE  
AND MRS BONNER WERE IN GOOD HEALTH AND NOT FASTING.  
FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT.

BEGINS. THE US SECRET SERVICES AND THEIR BACKERS WOULD NOT RECONCILE THEMSELVES TO THE FACT THAT THEIR ACT OF PROVOCATION WITH SAKHAROV AND BONNER HAS BEEN A FLOP AND KEEP SPREADING EVER NEW FALSE REPORTS BASED ON NOTHING MORE THAN INVENTION. THOSE WHO ARE REPEATING THE RUMOURS ABOUT "THE DEATH OF SAKHAROV" AS A CERTAIN ITALIAN WOMAN "JOURNALIST" IS DOING, ARE MERELY BURYING HIM ALIVE. WE ARE NOT GOING TO TAKE UNDER PROTECTION SAKHAROV AND BONNER BUT NEITHER CAN WE ALLOW ALL THIS TO BE USED FOR LIBELOUS ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA. INSTIGATORS OF PROVOCATIONS CRAVE SENSATIONS. BUT THE REAL SENSATION IS THAT THE DIRTY ROLE WHICH THE US SECRET SERVICES AND AMERICAN OFFICIAL CIRCLES BACKING THEM ARE PLAYING IN ALL THIS CASE HAS NOW BEEN EXPOSED FOR ALL TO SEE. IT IS THEY AND NO ONE ELSE THAT MADE PLANS FOR SAKHAROV'S "HUNGER STRIKE" AND FOR BONNER'S ATTEMPT TO SEEK "POLITICAL ASYLUM" IN THE US EMBASSY IN MOSCOW AND HER CONTACTS OF A PROVOCATIVE NATURE WITH WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS. ALL THESE PLANS HAVE COLLAPSED AND HERE A VERY UNSEEMLY ROLE PLAYED BY SOME STAFF MEMBERS OF THE US EMBASSY IN MOSCOW HAS BECOME CLEAR. INDEED, IT WAS NOT OUT OF MAGNANIMITY THAT THEY HAVE HAD TO ADMIT THAT THEY HAVE BEEN ORCHESTRATING ALL THAT ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN. A NUMBER OF WESTERN PERIODICALS ARE NEVERTHELESS CARRYING ON THEIR HUE AND CRY ABOUT THE HEALTH OF SAKHAROV AND BONNER. THEY ARE IN GOOD HEALTH AND ARE NOT STARVING EXCLAM. AS FOR THE CARE SHOWN BY THE US SECRET SERVICES ABOUT THEIR HEALTH, IT CAN BE VIEWED IN ONLY ONE LIGHT: THEY WANT MERELY TO SMEAR THE SOVIET UNION. THE US ADMINISTRATION, TOO, ACTING ON THE PRESUMPTION THAT THE WORSE THE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION THE BETTER FOR THE US ADMINISTRATION AS INTERNATIONAL TENSION HELPS VERY MUCH IN THE ARMS RACE. SO THEY ARE WHIPPING IT UP WITHOUT SHRINKING FROM ANYTHING.

WE SHOULD POINT OUT IN ADDITION THAT SOME GULLIBLE PEOPLE HAVE JOINED IN THE ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN INSTIGATED IN THE WEST FROM THE WHITE HOUSE. REGRETTABLY, THEY BELIEVE LIES RATHER THAN FACTS. BUT THE FACTS ARE, WE REPEAT: SAKHAROV AND BONNER ARE IN GOOD HEALTH. PERHAPS, THEY IN THE WESTERN CENTRES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR DIFFERENT NEWS BUT WE CANNOT TELL THEM ANYTHING DIFFERENT.

ENDS.

SUTHERLAND

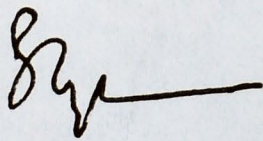
cc Mr Coles  
Press Officers

MR MURRAY

REAGAN DINNER

The Prime Minister wants you to bring the two waves of pool photographers for the pre-dinner photocall in from the State Dining Room and out the same way.

In other words, could you please assemble the two waves of pool photographers/press in the State Dining Room and return them there after each of the sessions without going into the Pillared Room.



BERNARD INGHAM  
4 June 1984

GRS 430  
UNCLASSIFIED  
DESKBY 041130Z  
FM DUBLIN 041042Z JUN 84  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO DESKBY 041130Z  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 245 OF 4 JUNE 1984  
INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, NIO BELFAST, BIS NEW YORK

MIPT (NOT TO ALL): REAGAN'S SPEECH TO IRISH PARLIAMENT: NORTHERN IRELAND

VIOLENCE

1. PRESIDENT REAGAN BEGAN BY REFERRING TO THE HARRODS BOMB AND THE SHOOTING OF AN IRISH POLICEMAN AND A SOLDIER BEFORE CHRISTMAS:

"THESE TWO EVENTS, OCCURRING 350 MILES APART - ONE IN IRELAND, ONE IN BRITAIN - DEMONSTRATED THE PITILESS, INDISCRIMINATE NATURE OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE, A VIOLENCE EVIL TO ITS CORE AND CONTEMPTIBLE IN ALL ITS FORMS. AND IT SHOWED THAT THE PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND ARE TAKING A TOLL ON THE PEOPLE OF BOTH BRITAIN AND IRELAND, NORTH AND SOUTH.

YET THE TROUBLE IN THE NORTH AFFECTS MORE THAN JUST THESE TWO GREAT ISLES. WHEN HE WAS IN AMERICA IN MARCH, YOUR PRIME MINISTER COURAGEOUSLY DENOUNCED THE SUPPORT A TINY NUMBER OF MISGUIDED AMERICANS GIVE TO THESE TERRORIST GROUPS. I JOINED HIM IN THAT DENUNCIATION, AS DID THE VAST MAJORITY OF IRISH-AMERICANS.

I REPEAT TODAY: THERE IS NO PLACE FOR THE CRUDE, COWARDLY VIOLENCE OF TERRORISM - NOT IN BRITAIN, NOT IN IRELAND, NOT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. ALL SIDES SHOULD HAVE ONE GOAL BEFORE THEM: LET US STATE IT SIMPLY AND DIRECTLY: TO END THE VIOLENCE, TO END IT COMPLETELY, TO END IT NOW."

THE FORUM

2. THE PRESIDENT THEN DISCUSSED THE US ATTITUDE TO THE NEW IRELAND FORUM'S REPORT AND THE NEED FOR RECONCILIATION:

"THE TERRORISM, THE SENSE OF CRISIS THAT HAS EXISTED IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAS BEEN COSTLY TO ALL. BUT, LET US NOT OVERLOOK LEGITIMATE CAUSE FOR HOPE IN THE EVENTS OF THE LAST FEW MONTHS. AS YOU KNOW, ACTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS HERE IN DUBLIN AND IN LONDON IS CONTINUING. THERE IS ALSO THE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF THE NEW IRELAND FORUM. THE FORUM'S RECENT REPORT HAS BEEN PRAISED: IT HAS ALSO BEEN CRITICIZED: BUT THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT MEN OF PEACE ARE BEING HEARD AND THEIR MESSAGE OF RECONCILIATION DISCUSSED.

THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES IN ALL OF THIS IS CLEAR: WE MUST NOT AND WILL NOT INTERFERE IN IRISH MATTERS, NOR PRESCRIBE TO YOU SOLUTIONS OR FORMULAS. BUT I WANT YOU TO KNOW WE PLEDGE TO YOU OUR GOOD WILL AND SUPPORT, AND WE ARE WITH YOU AS YOU WORK TOWARD PEACE.

I AM NOT BEING OVERLY OPTIMISTIC WHEN I SAY TODAY I BELIEVE YOU WILL WORK OUT A PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC RECONCILIATION OF IRELAND'S TWO DIFFERENT TRADITIONS AND COMMUNITIES. BESIDES BEING A LAND WHOSE CONCERN FOR FREEDOM AND SELF-DETERMINATION IS LEGENDARY, IRELAND IS ALSO A LAND SYNONYMOUS WITH HOPE.

3. FCO PLEASE PASS TO NO 10 DOWNING ST.

TATHAM

NORTHERN IRELAND

LIMITED

RID  
NAD  
INFO D  
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NEWS D  
FUSD  
PS  
PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MR WHITNEY  
PS/PUS  
SIR J BULLARD  
MR WRIGHT

SIR W HARDING  
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ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN IRELAND

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No. 10 DOWNING STREET

E.R.

PRIME MINISTER

Visit of President Reagan (Procedure)

We shall follow this procedure unless you object:-

1. You will meet the President at the door. (The U.S. Ambassador will be with him.)
2. You both go to the White Room for photographs.
3. You then both go to the study for your tete-a-tete (Peter Taylor is providing flowers).
4. If you decide to have any part of this talk recorded, you can summon me and the U.S. Ambassador from the ante-room.
5. At about 7.00 p.m. you and the President come to the Blue Room for drinks (list of dinner guests attached).
6. At about 7.30 pm move to the small dining room. Photographs then food.
7. Bernard's note on the detailed media arrangements is attached.

A. J. C.

4 June 1984

LIST OF GUESTS ATTENDING THE DINNER TO BE GIVEN BY THE  
PRIME MINISTER IN HONOUR OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON TUESDAY, 5 JUNE 1984  
AT 7.00 PM FOR 7.30 PM                      LOUNGE SUIT

---

The Prime Minister

The Honorable Ronald Reagan

The Honorable George P. Shultz                      Secretary of State

The Honorable Donald T. Regan                      Secretary of the Treasury

His Excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America

The Honorable James A. Baker III                      Assistant to the President  
and Chief of Staff

The Honorable Robert C. McFarlane                      Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs

Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe, MP

Rt. Hon. Nigel Lawson, MP

Rt. Hon. Norman Tebbit, MP

Sir Oliver Wright

Mr. John Coles

DRAFT SEATING PLAN FOR DINNER ON TUESDAY, 5 JUNE 1984

The Honorable Robert C. McFarlane

Sir Oliver Wright

HE The Ambassador of the  
United States of America

The Honorable Donald T. Regan

Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe

PRIME MINISTER

THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN

The Honorable George P. Shultz

Rt. Hon. Nigel Lawson

Rt. Hon. Norman Tebbit

The Honorable James A. Baker  
III

Mr. John Coles

ENTRANCE

cc Mr Coles

PRIME MINISTER

PRESIDENT REAGAN - MEDIA

I shall put to you each day during the Summit a note on the media arrangements for the following day.

This note sets out those for President Reagan's visit tomorrow. They are in line with what you have agreed.

Arrival

As you will have seen, scaffolding has been erected opposite the front door for photographers. We expect there will be about 75 radio, television and writing journalists on it, half of them from the USA.

You are to receive President Reagan on the doorstep wet or fine. The Americans want shots of him against the background of the famous door. Don't forget that it is the American way of life to shoot questions at the President and for him sometimes to answer. You may become involved.

Inside No 10

In view of the facilities inside, we have dispensed with a pool photocall in the main hall. Instead, as you agreed, we have set up a more formal photocall, involving 26, in the White Room. We propose you should stand in front of the fireplace with President Reagan, but you could also sit down on the settees, one on either side of the fireplace.

Dinner

You accepted that the American way of life requires a photocall before dinner. We shall set up lights in advance for this and they will be quickly removed after the pool, which will come in two waves of 7 or 8 each, has left. *The photographer will enter from the State Dining Room.*

Departure

I assume you will come to the door to see President Reagan off and I am having a microphone on standby just outside the front door if you or President Reagan wish to say anything. I am letting the American Embassy know this facility will be available.

My advice would be for both you and President Reagan to say a few words (which could make the ITN 10 o'clock news). But not to answer questions.

Briefing

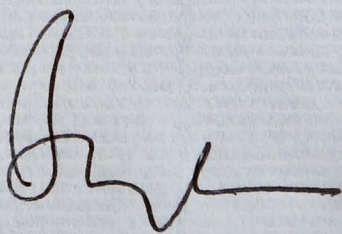
I face two urgent demands for briefing:

- first, after your bilateral discussions with President Reagan; with first editions already gone in some cases I am being pressed for a quick run-down as soon as possible. It is also important to get the radio and television news bulletins right
- second, after the dinner

I would be obliged if you would give me a quick run-down after each, and especially after the bilateral talks. The media's interest will concentrate upon:

- US deficit, interest rates and international indebtedness
- the Gulf
- President Reagan's approach to Ireland
- East/West relations

Content?



BERNARD INGHAM  
4 June 1984

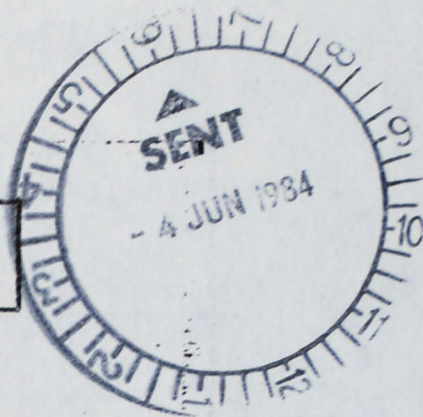
~~NORTHERN IRELAND:~~

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30

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PS/LADY YOUNG  
PS/MR. WHITNEY

PS/S of S  
PS/ MR R. ANDREW  
OAB 1/56

PS/PUS

MR BRENNAN

) NIO

SIR J BULLARD

MR ANGEL

J LYON

MR BOYS SMITH

MR JENKINS

Sir W. Harding  
Mr D. Thomas

HD/MCAD

HD/SAMD

HD/FID

ED/RID

SIR R ARMSTRONG

) CABINET OFFICE

ED/PUSD (2)

DIO

ED INFO D

ED/NEWS D

HD/NAD ...

PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET (3)

RESIDENT CLERK

UNCLASSIFIED

FM DUBLIN 041315Z JUN 84

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 246 OF 4 JUNE 1984

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, PRIORITY UKMIS GENEVA

M3IPT (NOT TO ALL): REAGAN SPEECH TO IRISH PARLIAMENT  
LATIN AMERICA

"ON THIS POINT OF DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT, I THINK IT IS VITAL TO APPRECIATE WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, PARTICULARLY LATIN AMERICA. GREAT STRIDES HAVE BEEN MADE IN RECENT YEARS. IN FACT, 26 OF 33 LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES TODAY ARE DEMOCRACIES, OR ARE STRIVING TO BECOME DEMOCRACIES. I THINK IT IS ALSO IS VITAL TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE UNITED STATES' CURRENT PROGRAM OF ASSISTANCE TO SEVERAL CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES IS DESIGNED PRECISELY TO ASSIST THIS SPREAD OF DEMOCRATIC SELF-RULE.

NOW I KNOW THAT SOME SEE THE UNITED STATES - A LARGE AND POWERFUL NATION - INVOLVED IN THE AFFAIRS OF SMALLER NATIONS TO THE SOUTH, AND CONCLUDE THAT OUR MISSION THERE MUST BE SELF-SEEKING OR INTERVENTIONIST. WELL, THE IRISH PEOPLE, OF ALL PEOPLE, KNOW AMERICANS WELL; WE STRIVE TO AVOID VIOLENCE OR CONFLICT....

IT IS FREEDOM AND PEACE THAT THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AMERICA SEEK TODAY. THREE TIMES IN LITTLE MORE THAN 2 YEARS, THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR HAVE VOTED IN FREE ELECTIONS. EACH TIME, THEY HAD TO BRAVE THE THREATS OF GUERRILLAS SUPPORTED BY THE SANDANISTA REGIME IN NICARAGUA, AND BY CUBA AND THE SOVIET UNION. THESE GUERRILLAS USE VIOLENCE TO BACK THEIR THREATS: "VOTE TODAY, DIE TONIGHT." YET THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR, 1.4 MILLION OF THEM, HAVE BRAVED AMBUSH AND GUNFIRE AND TRUDGED FOR MILES TO VOTE FOR FREEDOM.

ALL THE UNITED STATES IS ATTEMPTING TO DO - WITH ONLY 55 MILITARY ADVISORS AND DOLLARS 474 MILLION IN AID, THREE-FOURTHS OF WHICH IS EARMARKED FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT - IS GIVE THE SALVADORIANS THE CHANCE THEY WANT FOR DEMOCRATIC SELF-DETERMINATION - WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

BUT THIS THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA HAS BEEN DETERMINED NOT TO PERMIT. BY THEIR OWN ADMISSION THEY HAVE BEEN SUPPLYING AND TRAINING THE SALVADORIAN GUERRILLAS; IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY THEY HAVE NEVER HELD ELECTIONS; THEY HAVE ALL BUT CRUSHED FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND MOVED AGAINST LABOR UNIONS, OUTLAWED POLITICAL FREEDOMS; AND EVEN SPONSORED MOB ACTION AGAINST NICARAGUA'S INDEPENDENT HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND IMPRISONED ITS DIRECTOR.

DESPITE THIS REPRESSION, 100,000 NICARAGUAN CATHOLICS ATTENDED A RALLY ON GOOD FRIDAY THIS YEAR TO SUPPORT THEIR CHURCH, WHICH HAS BEEN PERSECUTED BY THE SANDANISTAS' COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP. IN A HOMILY TO 4,000 NICARAGUANS PACKED INTO DON BOSCO CHURCH SEVERAL WEEKS AGO, THE HEAD OF THE NICARAGUAN BISHOPS CONFERENCE, BISHOP PABLO ANTONIA VEGA, SAID, "THE TRAGEDY OF THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE IS THAT WE ARE LIVING WITH A TOTALITARIAN IDEOLOGY THAT NO ONE WANTS IN THIS COUNTRY."

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THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA AND EL SALVADOR HAVE A RIGHT TO RESIST THE NIGHTMARE OUTSIDE POWERS WANT TO IMPOSE ON THEM; JUST AS THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO RESIST EXTREMIST VIOLENCE FROM WITHIN, WHETHER FROM THE LEFT OR THE RIGHT. THE UNITED STATES MUST NOT TURN ITS BACK ON THE DEMOCRATIC ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AMERICA."

FCO PLEASE REPEAT AS NECESSARY.

TATHAM

NNNN

SENT AT 04/1520Z AJM

DISARMAMENT

ADVANCE COPIES - 11

13  
TYPING  
IMMEDIATE  
ADVANCE COPY

/ PS

PS/MR CUCE

PS/PUS

MR WRIGHT

MR GILLMOORE *CAN LADDER*

MR ADAMS

HD/ACDD

HD/UND

HD/DEF D

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*M*

UNCLASSIFIED

DESKBY 041100Z

FM DUBLIN 040920Z JUN 84

TO IMMEDIATE FCO DESKBY 041100Z

TELEGRAM NUMBER 244 OF 4 JUNE 1984

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BUT I BELIEVE TODAY IT IS STILL POSSIBLE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT  
LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT IN BOTH THE START AND INF TALKS WE WANT  
HEAR SOVIET PROPOSALS, WE WANT THEM TO HEAR OUR OWN, AND WE ARE  
PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE TOMORROW IF THE SOVIETS SO CHOOSE. I AM  
PREPARED TO HALT, AND EVEN REVERSE, THE DEPLOYMENT OF OUR  
INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES FROM EUROPE AS THE OUTCOME OF A  
VERIFIABLE AND EQUITABLE AGREEMENT. BUT FOR SUCH AN OUTCOME TO  
BE POSSIBLE, WE NEED TO HAVE THE SOVIETS RETURN TO THE BARGAINING  
TABLE. BEFORE THIS BODY AND THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE, I CALL ON THEM TO  
DO SO. INDEED, I BELIEVE WE MUST NOT BE SATISFIED, AND WE DARE NOT  
REST, UNTIL THE DAY WE HAVE BANISHED THESE TERRIBLE WEAPONS OF  
WAR FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH FOREVER.

(REGIONAL CONSULTATION WITH SOVIET UNION)  
IN ADDITION TO THE ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS, I WANT TO STRESS  
TODAY THAT THE UNITED STATES SEEKS GREATER DIALOGUE IN TWO OTHER  
CRITICAL AREAS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. JUST AS WE SEEK TO REDUCE  
THE BURDEN OF ARMAMENTS, WE WANT ALSO TO FIND WAYS TO LIMIT THEIR  
USE IN TROUBLESOME OR POTENTIALLY DIFFICULT REGIONAL SITUATIONS.  
SO WE SEEK SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS TO GUARD AGAINST  
MISCALCULATION OR MISUNDERSTANDING IN TROUBLED OR STRATEGICALLY  
SENSITIVE AREAS OF THE WORLD. I WANT TO STRESS AGAIN TODAY THE  
SERIOUS COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO SUCH A PROCESS.

(THE NON-USE OF FORCE)

IN THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE I MENTIONED A MOMENT AGO, THE UNITED  
STATES AND 34 OTHER NATIONS ARE NEGOTIATING MEASURES TO LESSEN  
EAST-WEST TENSIONS AND REDUCE UNCERTAINTIES ARISING FROM MILITARY  
ACTIVITIES IN EUROPE, THE AREA WITH THE GREATEST CONCENTRATION OF  
ARMED FORCES IN THE WORLD. THE 16 NATIONS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE  
HAVE ADVANCED CONCRETE PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD MAKE CONFLICT IN EUROPE  
LESS LIKELY. THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT ACCEPTED THESE PROPOSALS BUT  
HAS FOCUSED UPON A DECLARATION ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE.

HERE RESTATEMENT OF A PRINCIPLE ALL NATIONS HAVE AGREED TO IN THE  
UN CHARTER AND ELSEWHERE WOULD BE AN INADEQUATE CONCLUSION TO A  
CONFERENCE WHOSE MANDATE CALLS FOR MUCH MORE. WE MUST TRANSLATE THE  
IDEA INTO ACTIONS WHICH BUILD EFFECTIVE BARRIERS AGAINST THE USE  
OF FORCE IN EUROPE. IF THE SOVIET UNION WILL AGREE TO SUCH CONCRETE  
ACTIONS, WHICH OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE ALREADY  
SEEM PREPARED TO ACCEPT, THIS WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD  
IN CREATING A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD.

IF DISCUSSIONS ON REAFFIRMING THE PRINCIPLE NOT TO USE FORCE,  
A PRINCIPLE IN WHICH WE BELIEVE SO DEEPLY, WILL BRING THE SOVIET  
UNION TO NEGOTIATE AGREEMENTS WHICH WILL GIVE CONCRETE NEW MEANING  
TO THAT PRINCIPLE, WE WILL GLADLY ENTER INTO SUCH DISCUSSIONS.  
I URGE THE SOVIET UNION NOW TO JOIN ALL OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE  
STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE TO MOVE PROMPTLY TO TAKE THESE STEPS WHICH  
WILL HELP ENSURE PEACE AND STABILITY IN EUROPE.

(OTHER AREAS)

WE SEEK TO BUILD CONFIDENCE AND TRUST WITH THE SOVIETS IN AREAS  
OF MUTUAL INTEREST BY MOVING FORWARD IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS  
ON A BROAD FRONT. IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, WE ARE TAKING A NUMBER  
OF STEPS TO INCREASE EXCHANGES IN NON-STRATEGIC GOODS. IN OTHER  
AREAS WE HAVE, FOR EXAMPLE, EXTENDED OUR VERY USEFUL INCIDENTS AT  
SEA AGREEMENT FOR ANOTHER TERM AND WE HAVE PROPOSED DISCUSSIONS  
FOR SPECIFIC STEPS TO EXPAND AND MULTIPLY CONTACTS OF BENEFIT TO  
OUR PEOPLE. I MIGHT ADD HERE THAT THE DEMOCRACIES HAVE A STRONG  
MUTUAL OBLIGATION TO WORK FOR PROGRESS IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS,  
AND POSITIVE SOVIET STEPS IN THIS AREA WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY THE  
UNITED STATES A SIGNIFICANT SIGNAL.

IN SUMMARY THEN, WE ARE SEEKING INCREASED DISCUSSION AND NEGOTIATION  
TO REDUCE ARMAMENTS, SOLVE REGIONAL PROBLEMS, AND IMPROVE BILATERAL  
NEGOTIATIONS. PROGRESS ON THESE FRONTS WOULD ENHANCE PEACE  
AND SECURITY FOR PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.

(THE SOVIET RESPONSE)

I AM AFRAID THE SOVIET RESPONSE HAS BEEN DISAPPOINTING. RATHER  
THAN JOIN US IN OUR EFFORTS TO CALM TENSIONS AND ACHIEVE AGREEMENTS,  
THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO HAVE CHOSEN TO WITHDRAW, AND TO TRY TO  
ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVE THROUGH PROPAGANDA, RATHER THAN NEGOTIATIONS.

THE SOVIETS SEEK TO PLACE THE BLAME ON THE AMERICANS FOR THIS  
SELF-IMPOSED ISOLATION, BUT THEY HAVE NOT TAKEN THESE STEPS BY  
OUR CHOICE. WE REMAIN READY FOR THEM TO JOIN WITH US AND THE REST  
OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY TO BUILD A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD. IN SOLIDARITY  
WITH OUR ALLIES, CONFIDENT OF OUR STRENGTH, WE THREATEN NO NATION.  
PEACE AND PROSPERITY ARE IN THE SOVIET INTEREST AS WELL AS OURS.  
LET US MOVE FORWARD.

2. FCO PLEASE ADVANCE TO NO 10.

TATHAM

NNNN

SENT AT 04/1038Z AJM



YOU ARE AWARE, MR PRESIDENT, OF THE WORK OF THE NEW IRELAND FORUM LAUNCHED IN THIS GREAT HALL, AND YOU HAVE COMMENTED SUPPORTIVELY ON IT. THE NEW IRELAND FORUM MADE ONLY ONE SET OF PROPOSALS IN ITS REPORT: IT USED THE WORD 'PROPOSES' ONLY ONCE. IT PROPOSES, AS NECESSARY ELEMENTS OF A FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH A NEW IRELAND COULD EMERGE, A SET OF REQUIREMENTS, A LIST OF 'MUSTS', CENTRED ON THE NEED TO ACCOMMODATE EACH OF THE TWO IRISH TRADITIONS EQUALLY SATISFACTORILY IN NEW STRUCTURES. I AM DELIBERATELY AVAILING OF THIS IMPORTANT OCCASION TO EMPHASISE THIS POINT BECAUSE IT HAS, PERHAPS, NOT BEEN FULLY UNDERSTOOD.

THE FORUM GOES ON TO EXPRESS THE BELIEF - THE BELIEF, NOT THE DEMAND - OF NATIONALISTS THAT UNITY OFFERS THE BEST SOLUTION AND OUR FURTHER PREFERENCE THAT THE PARTICULAR FORM OF UNITY WE WOULD WISH TO SEE ESTABLISHED IS A UNITARY STATE, ACHIEVED BY AGREEMENT AND CONSENT. THAT IS OUR BELIEF, OUR STRONG PREFERENCE - IT IS NOT (UNDERLINED) A DEMAND. WE SET OUT OUR BEST ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THIS PREFERENCE, BUT WE ALSO SET OUT THE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF TWO QUITE DIFFERENT ALTERNATIVES THAT WE HAD CONSIDERED, A FEDERAL/CONFEDERAL STATE AND JOINT AUTHORITY. MOST SIGNIFICANTLY OF ALL, WE COMMIT OURSELVES TO 'BEING OPEN TO DISCUSS OTHER VIEWS WHICH MAY CONTRIBUTE TO POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT'. NOTHING COULD BE MORE OPEN THAN THAT APPROACH. THE REPORT OF THE NEW IRELAND FORUM IS, AS I HAVE SAID, AN AGENDA, NOT A BLUEPRINT.

BY ANY STANDARDS THIS REPORT IS COURAGEOUS, REALISTIC, COMPASSIONATE: I AM PROUD TO COMMEND IT TO THOSE DIRECTLY INVOLVED, TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AND TO OUR UNIONIST FRIENDS WITH WHOM WE SHARE THIS ISLAND, AS WELL AS TO THOSE WHO WOULD WISH TO HELP US ALL TO MAKE PROGRESS, PARTICULARLY THE GOVERNMENT, CONGRESS AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WE KNOW THAT YOU, AND OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS, WANT IN AN APPROPRIATE WAY TO HELP TO END THIS TRAGEDY. THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND HAVE SUFFERED FAR TOO MUCH. THEY DESERVE AND THEY NEED OUR HELP AND YOURS.'

#### COMMENT

2. THE REFERENCE TO A LIST OF 'MUSTS' IS TO PARA 5.2 OF THE FORUM REPORT, WHICH DR FITZGERALD IS HERE GIVING PRE-EMINENCE OVER PARA 5.1 WITH WHICH IT HAS HITHERTO GENERALLY BEEN LINKED.

TATHAM

LIST OF GUESTS ATTENDING THE DINNER TO BE GIVEN BY THE  
PRIME MINISTER IN HONOUR OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON TUESDAY, 5 JUNE 1984  
AT 7.00 PM FOR 7.30 PM LOUNGE SUIT

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The Prime Minister

The Honorable Ronald Reagan

The Honorable George P. Shultz Secretary of State

The Honorable Donald T. Regan Secretary of the Treasury

His Excellency the Ambassador of the United States of America

The Honorable James A. Baker III Assistant to the President  
and Chief of Staff

The Honorable Robert C. McFarlane Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs

Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe, MP

Rt. Hon. Nigel Lawson, MP

Rt. Hon. Norman Tebbit, MP

Sir Oliver Wright

Mr. John Coles

DRAFT SEATING PLAN FOR DINNER ON TUESDAY, 5 JUNE 1984

The Honorable Robert C. McFarlane

Sir Oliver Wright

HE The Ambassador of the  
United States of America

The Honorable Donald T. Regan

Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe

PRIME MINISTER

THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN

The Honorable George P. Shultz

Rt. Hon. Nigel Lawson

Rt. Hon. Norman Tebbit

The Honorable James A. Baker  
III

Mr. John Coles

ENTRANCE

19.11.

L. COLES

Tête-à-tête with President Reagan  
Tuesday, 5 June

The American Embassy have telephoned to say that their notetaker at the tête-à-tête will be Mr. Peter Sommer, National Security Council instead of Mr. McFarlane. but Mr. McFarlane will be at the dinner.

Sue Goodchild

—

1 June 1984

OVO



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

SUBJECT FILED ON:  
USA: Visit of Pres. Reagan  
Pt 3

1 June 1984

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

Dear John,

SUMMIT: GREETING ARRANGEMENTS FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN

1. I attach notes for the Prime Minister for the greeting ceremony for the Reagans on 4 June. She has already seen and approved the more detailed protocol plan.

Yours sincerely,

N J Barrington

copy to:

PS/Sir R Armstrong  
Sir C Tickell, FCO

(I hope this is under 1000)



Permit

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 June 1984

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

*See John,*

SUMMIT: KENSINGTON PALACE GARDENS ENTRANCE

1. The Orme Square entrance is a fairly narrow turn to the left off Bayswater Road beyond the Broad Walk and just before a car park sign. It is some way short of the entrance to Ambassador's residences in Kensington Palace Gardens.

*Yours*

*N J Barrington*

N J Barrington

*(Petition showed, of course, to be on hand to direct)*

SUMMIT: GREETING ARRANGEMENTS FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN AT THE ORANGERY ON 4 JUNE

SCENARIO FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

1. The Prime Minister and Mr Thatcher, with one Private Secretary, should come to the Kensington Palace Orangery by car, entering from Bayswater Road by the Orme Square entrance. She is expected at the Orangery at 5.35 p.m. at the latest. . If she wished to come five minutes earlier and look over the arrangements it would be welcome.
2. The Prime Minister will be met at the West End of the Orangery terrace by myself and General Eyre, GOC London District. Sir R Armstrong should also be there.
3. Assuming that President Reagan is on time (and we shall be in touch by radio) the Guard detachment will march into place at about 5.40 p.m.
4. The car convoy of President and Mrs Reagan is due to arrive from Winfield House at 5.45 p.m. It is hoped that Mrs Thatcher can greet them just at the foot of the steps as they come out of the car. The President should then introduce Mr Shultz and Mr Regan, who will come up together in the second car. The Ambassador and Mrs Price will also be in the President's car.
5. The Prime Minister should then take the President alone along the carpet to the centre of the terrace. There she should present General Eyre and turn with them to face the Guard in front of the awning with the President in the centre, the Prime Minister slightly behind to his right and General Eyre slightly behind to his left.
6. In the meantime Mr Thatcher and the Private Secretary, who should be at the back of the terrace nearby during the initial greeting, will collect Mrs Reagan, the two Ministers and the Prices and take them along the back of the terrace to a point at the West of the Orangery door. They should be in position there before the anthem is played.

7. When the Present Arms and anthem is over the Guard Commander will invite the President to inspect the Guard and he will go down to do this, going along the front rank to the right and then back along the rear rank to the left. He will be followed at a few paces distance by General Eyre and the President's ADC. The Prime Minister herself should stay on the terrace during the inspection.

8. The President will come back to the central position on the terrace with General Eyre and turn to face the Guard while they march off and give him an eyes left, followed by the band. The President will then take leave of General Eyre and the Prime Minister will lead the President into the Orangery and to the left, to the area where tea is to be served. They will be followed by Mr Thatcher escorting Mrs Reagan, the Ministers and the Prices.

9. There will be one TV camera taking a shot as the Prime Minister leads the President down the Orangery to get a view of the interior of the building. When the party settles down for tea the cameramen will leave.

10. Senior members of the President's suite, who will have been standing on the corner of the terrace during the ceremony, will follow in to the other end of the Orangery for a brief refreshment before being taken out to their cars. Sir Robert Armstrong, Sir Crispin Tickell and myself will assist them, and the Private Secretary could help too.

11. After 10 to 15 minutes - there should be no need for hurry at all in the ceremonies - ie at about 6.05 p.m. the Prime Minister should lead the President and Mrs Reagan and their party out of the main entrance of the Orangery, back along the terrace to their cars and see them off at the steps. The ceremony should be over by 6.10 to 6.15 p.m.

12. The Prime Minister's car will be ready to take her to Buckingham Palace as soon as the American motorcades have departed.

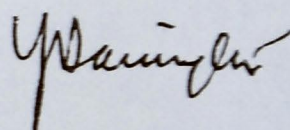
/Wet weather

Wet weather

13. In case of wet weather we are told that the President is still likely to want to go through with the ceremony. The differences will be that the party of three facing the Guard would be under the end of the awning instead of in front of it. Mrs Reagan and her party would be taken inside the Orangery by a door at the West end, to watch through the windows. If the rain was extremely heavy the President would have the option of declining to do the actual inspection of the Guard.

7 June

14. The ceremonies on 7 June will follow the same pattern, except that since Mr Thatcher will not be there Sir Robert Armstrong would be available to help the Prime Minister entertain her guests at tea. The six ceremonies will be at half-hour intervals with 8 to 10 minutes in between each one.



N J Barrington

Economic Summit Co-ordinator  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

1 June 1984

PART 2 ends:-

AJC to U.S. Ambassador 1.7.82

PART 3 begins:-

fco to AJC 1.6.84