



10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER <sup>2</sup>


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New York Times

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A straight report from Craig  
Whitney of your interview.

Rosa Lewis reveals herself  
as a flagwaving European.

 29/9

File  
To File B1

# Thatcher Sees Benefits for West If Gorbachev Reshapes U.S.S.R.

BY FRANK WATKINS  
Special to The Times

LONDON, Sept. 17 — Growing hopes that Gorbachev's reforms in Russia will bring about a new era of peace and stability in Europe have led Margaret Thatcher to say that she sees the West's interests served if the Soviet Union succeeds in its efforts to reshape the U.S.S.R. "It is extremely important to have peace of mind for the West at this time," she said.



Margaret Thatcher

Thatcher said she was pleased to see the Soviet Union's efforts to reform itself. "I think it is a very good sign that the Soviet Union is trying to reform itself," she said. "I think it is a very good sign that the Soviet Union is trying to reform itself."

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"I'm not going to get involved in the decision problems for very obvious reasons," she said. "But after Nov. 9, she said, 'I will struggle to see that close relations can be maintained.'"



# FOREIGN AFFAIRS | Mrs. Thatcher Raise Another Flag

**M**rs. Margaret Thatcher, now in her first full term as Prime Minister, is the dominant European leader. Her complete dominance of the British political scene, her prestige, the force of her personality, have all helped her to carry the Community's consolidated flag to consolidate great new European power.

Yet she doesn't seem tempted. She stresses sovereignty, independence, national identity in Gaullist terms. Just when others are moving at last to revive the unifying aspirations that emerged from World War II

she insists that Britain had been forced in forcing through agreement on the Community's controversial agricultural policy first in attacking its monstrous

first in opening up capital markets, first in attacking its monstrous

the practical steps, in her view, are deregulation, letting money flow. Her

British affairs, is on economic for

When they mean to be taken

aching is beginning to convert Britain's unions from their adamant "not the England" stance to being pro-European. They are coming to see that joining forces with Communist unions would not only help them deal with Europe-wide companies but also with their own Government.

The impression Mrs. Thatcher gives of her idea of Europe is that it should be strictly business, and that politics must be the preserve of national parliaments. Obviously, she isn't ready to join the European Monetary Union and the creation of a central bank, which is thought to be a truly European move.

But she probably has a hunch that she won't be able to hold her own indefinitely. All the major powers are going in that direction and the odds are long against her. She says she supports the

European Community, but she is not a Europeanist. She is a nationalist. She is a Gaullist. She is a Thatcherite.

She is a nationalist. She is a Gaullist. She is a Thatcherite. She is a nationalist. She is a Gaullist. She is a Thatcherite.

She is a nationalist. She is a Gaullist. She is a Thatcherite. She is a nationalist. She is a Gaullist. She is a Thatcherite.

## Thatcher isn't tempted by Europe

It is appropriate that the European ideologist of capitalism should show encouragement to a leader of the Communist superpower.

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It is what makes her reaction about political Europe cumbersome. It is understandable in terms of conditions and emotions of nations she evokes with such ardor. But it is precisely withdrawal from excessive nationalisms that enabled West Europe to achieve so much.

Mrs. Thatcher's intention to keep open economies and the Atlantic relation will doubtless be of use to the U.S. in its struggle to keep a stronger European Community from turning into a Fortress Europe.

There is also a need for action beyond the board rooms. Europe is to maintain the example that has begun to transform the East. Go ahead and wave the flag with one hand.

Thatcher, be it said, has the blue and gold with the EU.







CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

NEW YORK TIMES

I have one or two small points to add to Bernard's note about the new York Times interview.

- I have known Craig Whitney for many years. He is an excellent journalist and has manners;
  
- I think that you want to emphasise your theme that freedom is on the move . Previously insoluble problems - Afghanistan, ( Angola, ( Iran/Iraq, ( Western Sahara, ) Cambodia - are opening up for negotiation. The human rights situation is improving slowly. We have a really solid arms control agreement under our belts (INF) and the prospect of more. Communism is rapidly becoming a discredited and failed system. All this is owed to the West's resolve. It creates tremendous opportunities to scale down confrontation. But the process of unfreezing could create new problems, e.g. in Eastern Europe. The key for the West is to maintain its strength, its unity and resolve. That is the best basis from which to offer hope to the people of the closed societies which are now opening up. Managing this transition to a more open but still competitive world is the most important and delicate task facing the West. It will take great skill and we must always maintain the insurance policy of a strong defence in case it goes wrong. You will want to convey a sense of the tremendous excitement of these developments;
  
- you will want to be careful in describing the economic and military policies you would like to see from the next US President, so as not to seem simply to endorse George Bush's election manifesto. But the sort of remarks suggested above will in fact be a great support to him;

CONFIDENTIAL

- on Northern Ireland you will want to stress the long-term nature of the Government's commitment to a solution, while also mentioning your gratitude to President Reagan for the way he has educated American opinion to the reality of the awfulness of the IRA;
- on Poland, you will want to encourage the emergence of a freer and more open society in which the people have a much greater voice in government, while pointing out that the rebuilding of Poland's economy will require a willingness on the part of everyone to put this goal above sectional interests.

C.D.P.

CHARLES POWELL

26 September 1988

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CCB/P

PRIME MINISTER

NEW YORK TIMES

You are to give an interview tomorrow for an hour from 10-11am to the New York Times.

Your principal interviewer will be Craig Whitney, their new London correspondent who has had the good fortune to pick up the interview bequeathed to him by his predecessor. Mr Whitney will be joined by Flora Lewis, their veteran foreign affairs columnist, who has interviewed you before and who has been seeking an interview with you for many months. She is particularly interested in East-West and defence questions.

They will be accompanied by a photographer, Jonathan Player.

COI will record and I will accompany you.

Craig Whitney

First, I should say I am very impressed with Craig Whitney who has been here little over a month. He was previously a long-standing editor in New York. He strikes me as a very balanced and rational chap. Indeed, I rather warmed to him when he said he thought the media in the USA had got way above itself in rather setting itself up as arbiter of who should and should not be a presidential candidate.

They know that you can't - and won't - get involved in the US Presidential election.

Areas for Discussion

That said, I do not think you will have much difficulty with their range of questions which are broadly summarised under the following points:

1. Mrs Thatcher is the senior Prime Minister in the Western Alliance, and after President Reagan leaves, its senior statesman. What does she think the Alliance must do over the next few years to cope with the appeal that Mr Gorbachev and his talk of living in a "single European house" undoubtedly have for public opinion in European countries.



2. What does Mrs Thatcher hope to accomplish when she goes to Poland next month?
3. What kinds of economic and military policies would Britain like to see from the next United States President, whoever he turns out to be?
4. What does Mrs Thatcher want to accomplish in domestic politics over the next few years? What are her plans for the health service, education, housing, etc? She has said she wanted to change the way Britons think about themselves and their country - has she succeeded? What remains yet to be done? How to narrow the gap between the part of British society that shares the values she stands for - and the wealth those values help create - and the part that does not, or feels left out and on the dole?
5. Mrs Thatcher has spoken of rooting out the idea of socialism in Britain, and of the possibility of a realignment in British politics. How does she see the proper role of the Opposition in the system?
6. How solid are the foundations of the new economic prosperity in Britain? When and how will the manufacturing trade deficit be brought down, and how long can interest rates remain high without causing a recession?
7. Can a political dialogue between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland ever really start as long as violence and terrorism perpetrated by both sides continue? And what realistic prospect does Britain have of stopping the violence? What is the way out of the dilemma, in Mrs Thatcher's view?
8. What will British defence policy for the foreseeable future be? (Flora Lewis will probably ask about Trident, the reason for the continuing reliance on an independent British nuclear deterrent, etc).
9. Mrs Thatcher has discouraged visions of a United States of Europe with one central bank and a common currency. How does she see Europe in 1993 and Britain's role in it?



Briefing

We have obtained briefings as follows:

Annex I	- East-West, Poland, Europe	(FCO)
Annex II	- Northern Ireland	(NIO)
Annex III	- Defence policy	(MoD)

I would add that this is an opportunity to put over first-hand your views on Europe, taking account of the follow up to the Bruges speech, and on Northern Ireland.

You need to show resolution on both issues.

On Europe, I think you can reasonably say that, having now read the Bruges speech instead of reacting to incomplete reports, your impression is that more and more people are acknowledging there is a lot in what you say. Your concern was to set out a practical programme for action and to get your European partners to think seriously about it. You believe there are signs of a successful mission.

FCO believe it would be helpful to make the point that you work with whoever the American people elect as their president. They feel that Dukakis' camp is still unhappy on this account (no doubt because of the Foreign Secretary's remarks).

Finally, you should be aware that last week a black woman New York Times correspondent was denied admission to Britain and put on a plane back to New York because she arrived at Heathrow without a required document. The woman subsequently wrote about her experience (cutting at Annex IV). What she does not make clear is that she declined temporary admission on a visitor's basis.

You should not, however, get involved in this.

Content?

pp  
 Allan  
BERNARD INGHAM

26 September 1988

Extra  
 note  
 attached  
 EDD.



Q: What do you think the Alliance must do over the next few years to cope with the appeal that Mr Gorbachev and his talk of living in a "single European house" undoubtedly have for public opinion in European capitals ?

A: Mr Gorbachev has moved towards us on important external issues (INF, Afghanistan), while many of his proposed domestic reforms take their cue from the success of the Western political and economic model. The Alliance is doing well. It will continue to do so as long as it remains united, does not lose sight of the need for secure defence, and pursues with determination agreed objectives in arms control, human rights and solutions to regional conflicts.

- In contrast, Gorbachev faces huge problems at home; a constant dilemma about how to deal with Eastern Europe; and a major task in reconciling Soviet foreign policy and defence spending with real Soviet resources. He may have succeeded in obscuring these realities by seeming to take the initiative in some areas. But public opinion in the West will stand up well so long as we do not hesitate to make our case openly and directly.

- As far as the common European house is concerned, Western governments and public opinion have long campaigned for a Europe without artificial barriers such as the Berlin Wall and the massive and unwanted presence of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe; a Europe where people and ideas can move as freely as they do between the countries of the West; and where the peoples of Eastern Europe can choose their future freely. The challenge is for Mr Gorbachev to allow progress in that direction. The Alliance will be more than ready to help him if and when he does so. The best way to build houses is with solid building blocks of achievement, not with declaratory proposals of good intent.

Q: What do you hope to accomplish when you go to Poland next month ?

A: I hope to press on General Jaruzelski the inevitability of economic and political reform. Economic reform will not work unless the Polish people are offered a vision of a better future. This requires reform to enable all Poles to participate in the political process. I shall also press for genuine dialogue in



the current round-table discussions with Solidarity and representatives of other groups. Without it the country's problems cannot be solved.

Q: What kinds of economic and military policies would Britain like to see from the next United States' President, whoever he turns out to be ?

A: I look forward to working with whoever wins. Both Vice-President Bush and Governor Dukakis are committed to NATO, and the preservation of Western values. Our two countries have a particular closeness - partly the result of history, partly because we are working for the same sort of better world. I am sure that we shall continue to have a shared view of international priorities including the need for strong defence, open trade and a realistic approach to East-West questions. [If appropriate: Conservative Prime Ministers have worked happily and constructively with Democratic Presidents in the past (Churchill/Truman; Macmillan/Kennedy; and President Carter and myself).]

- I would like to see the new President maintaining the existing unity and cohesion with America's transatlantic partners and with Japan; strengthening the voice of those who share our economic and moral values; and ensuring that there is no mistaking the resolve of the NATO Alliance. Only from such a strong political base, and with ever closer dialogue on sharing the burdens can we work together for real and positive change in the world.
- I would like to see the President maintaining the positive momentum that has been built up, not only in East-West relations but also in the search for solutions to regional conflicts. As we have seen, progress in one can lead to progress in the other.
- We have consistently made clear our support for efforts to reduce the Federal budget deficit. We shall look to the new President to promote free trade. With the recent signature of the US Trade Act, it is more important than ever that the new Administration administer US law in a manner consistent with the your international obligations. The multilateral negotiations in the Uruguay Round of GATT offer the best opportunity available to



strengthen the open international trading system. It is essential to avoid action which could threaten the prospects for success in GATT. We shall be looking for a constructive and flexible American contribution in the agriculture negotiation. The complete elimination of all agricultural support and protection by the year 2000 would be unrealistic. I hope the new US Administration will be prepared to show the flexibility necessary to encourage other participants to contribute further to the reform process.

Q: How do you see Europe in 1993 and Britain's role in it ?

A: First and foremost, I do not see a "Fortress Europe" as some in the United States seem to fear these days. I said in my speech in Bruges on 20 September that it would be a betrayal if, while breaking down constraints on trade to create the single European market, the Community were to erect greater external protection. We must ensure that our approach to world trade is consistent with the liberalisation which we preach at home.

I want to see an outward-looking Europe which can effectively compete with the other powers on the world stage. I want to see a Europe which can ensure the prosperity and security of its people. Of course each country will maintain its national characteristics and traditions. Diversity is a great strength of Europe. It will contribute to our success.

- To achieve that, the Community, must develop on the very firmest foundations. I want practical steps and solid achievements. Completion of the Single European Market, on which we have already made very good progress, is our priority task to 1992. The motivating force behind this is enterprise: enterprise must be allowed to flourish. Regulation and bureaucracy must be kept to a minimum, so that we really can have the open market from which Europeans, all of us, will benefit as consumers. Part of this process will be ensuring that goods can pass more easily through frontiers. And our people must be able to travel easily throughout the Community. But we shall have to retain controls too, to protect against terrorists, drug smugglers and illegal



immigrants. This is perfectly compatible with a strong, prosperous outward-looking and competitive Europe. Britain is committed to playing a full part in bringing this about, not only until 1992 but beyond.

## Policy and Politics

PRINCETON, N.J. European officials, East as well as West, are unusually relaxed about American elections this year. They don't feel they have a big stake in the outcome, not because U.S. decisions are any less vital to them nowadays but because they don't expect much change whoever wins.

Despite the candidates' efforts to sharpen their profiles, foreign policy is not a major issue in the broad sense. That's one reason Vice President Bush keeps harping on "experience" rather than on anything substantive, although it comes a bit oddly from Ronald Reagan's running mate in 1980. They made no point of it then.

In any case, it's misleading. Mr. Bush has had a lot of foreign exposure, but that's not at all the same as grappling with decisions.

People who were at the U.N. when he was Ambassador there saw an energetically back-slapping lobbyist, which is a part of the job, but say he didn't seem well informed on U.S. plans nor did he try to influence them. Foreign diplomats who watched him in Beijing say he had no grasp of what was going on. And a Washington Post inquiry on the impression he made at the C.I.A. reported people who worked with him there saying that he never took a stand or made a recommendation when controversies arose.

It is true that with the exception perhaps of Latin America, U.S. opinion and circumstances have set the likely course of foreign policy for some years ahead. There will be negotiations with the Soviet Union and with America's trading partners, continued troubles in the Middle East, attempts to contain and if possible resolve regional conflicts. The options for Washington are narrow on these issues. There is no question of isola-

tionism or dramatic new initiatives.

A Republican President who takes care to assuage hard-liners might have an easier time getting new arms control treaties ratified, although the really hard ones will fight any agreements with the Soviets, and a Democratic President is likely to establish better working relations with Congress.

But the foreigners overlook two important points that influence policy.

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### Presidential style is one factor.

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One is Presidential style, not only in presenting issues to the public and in personal encounters with other leaders, but also in facing decisions. A large part of policy trouble in the Reagan Administration comes from leaving issues open, so that fights between the State and Defense Departments, for example, went on until events imposed the choice.

The other key difference is in the people whom the President names to carry out the policy. Mr. Reagan put an unprecedented number of political appointees in ambassadorial and ranking departmental jobs, many without government or foreign experience. The foreign service suffered considerably. Some nonprofessionals bring an incisive, fresh approach, others have made dreadful gaffes in recent years.

Gov. Michael Dukakis's big foreign policy speech last week was evidently

based on ideas articulated by Graham Allison Jr., dean of the Kennedy School at Harvard. Critics hinted that that smacked of plagiarism, but it's nonsense. Of course a President has to rely on advisers, and it matters that he choose knowledgeable and sound ones, not just slick media consultants. If Mr. Allison was an example of where Mr. Dukakis looks, he was a good one.

It would be interesting to know who advised Mr. Bush to use the line of attack blaming Mr. Dukakis for failing to attribute all the changes in the Soviet Union and the Communist world to the Reagan Administration. Mr. Dukakis has endorsed current Reagan policy on dealing with Mikhail Gorbachev, while Mr. Bush seems to be backing away a bit to please the ultra-right.

But of course Mr. Dukakis is right in analyzing Moscow's extraordinary shifts as the result primarily of Soviet internal problems and wise to show he understands the limits of U.S. influence. The facts are that Mr. Gorbachev's attempts at transformation are the cumulative result of two generations of general success in the West and undeniable failure in the East. Even Czechoslovak officials, the hard-liners of the East, now concede that central planning doesn't work and that the problem is how to reform it without getting into worse trouble.

Mr. Dukakis is right in pointing out that the defense budget can no longer be increased. It is "soft on defense" to try to solve all questions by throwing money at them. Now, the difficult choices, evaded during the Reagan buildup, will have to be made.

Naturally, foreigners don't see anything serious in a debate about pledging allegiance to the flag and counting diplomatic handshakes. □

NYT 15/9/88



E.R.

Northern Ireland

Question: Can a political dialogue between Protestants and Catholic in Northern Ireland ever really start as long as violence and terrorism perpetrated by both sides continues? What realistic prospect does Britain have of stopping the violence? What is the way out of the dilemma, in your view?

Answer

1. The vast majority of people in Northern Ireland reject violence as a means of settling political problems. All the people of Northern Ireland are entitled to the protection of the law and the opportunity to live their lives peacefully in a democratic society, without fear of religious or political discrimination, as anywhere else in the United Kingdom. And it is clearly the democratically expressed wish of a majority to remain part of the United Kingdom.
2. Dealing with the terrorists themselves requires firm action by the security forces, always operating within the law. No one should doubt our determination to eradicate terrorism; and the Irish Government are working with us to improve our security operations through the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Despite recent activities by the IRA, we are improving our ability in a number of ways to deal with the terrorists who can never be allowed to succeed.



3. But terrorism thrives in a political vacuum. There needs to be dialogue between the politicians of both sides of the community who reject violence. It must be for the politicians to set the agenda for political progress. The terrorists cannot. That is why we are seeking to bring about a dialogue between the politicians, to find ways of devolving responsibilities to them and enabling the two communities to work and live together. That is the way to achieve the peace, stability and reconciliation which we all seek in Northern Ireland.

4. It is the policy supported by the Irish Government in the Anglo-Irish Agreement and I believe that the constitutional politicians in Northern Ireland will see the good sense of it, as I hope our American friends will too.



PRIME MINISTER'S INTERVIEW WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES

Defence Policy - points to make

NATO - General

British defence policy will continue to be centred on the collective defence afforded by the NATO alliance.

Britain is committed to the NATO strategy of flexible response and to forward defence - eg our 70000 servicemen in Continental Europe.

The health and unity of NATO is essential to the security of all its members. Solidarity of NATO was crucial to the realisation of the INF Treaty.

The US contribution is vital to NATO and is enormously valued.

Burdensharing

Appreciate US concerns about the relative share of the burden borne by the US. Fully understand feeling that some NATO members could do more, but must avoid a damaging row in Alliance.

Burdensharing issue is being examined by NATO; exercise must lead to more effective defence overall.

UK contributes to all aspects of NATO deterrence.

Note that UK budget is nearly 20% higher than in 1979.

Arms Control

(General) Arms control not an end in itself - must maintain and, if possible, enhance security. Adequate defences to deter are essential for arms control. Verification is essential.

Support NATO programme of seeking progress on chemical weapons and conventional forces after a START agreement.

Modernising forces - eg Trident - does not undercut arms control; we maintain minimum forces necessary to deter.

(SNF) Nuclear weapons will be essential to deterrence for foreseeable future.

Oppose denuclearisation of Europe.

Must modernise NATO nuclear weapons.

(Soviet forces) Warsaw Pact has large superiorities in offensive weapons and in aircraft. USSR spends much more on defence (relatively) than any NATO country and is modernising vigorously.

(START) Support reducing superpower strategic arsenals by 50%. Trident cannot be considered for inclusion until substantial further reductions beyond START.

(Conventional) Aim is to eliminate WP superiority, especially by focussing on their offensive capability -eg tanks and artillery.

Soviet capability now remains threatening whatever changes in policy may suggest for longer-term.

(Chemical) UK playing large part in seeking verifiable global ban. But no early or easy solution in sight.

USSR has largest capability in world, and is understating its stockpile. US restraint in not producing CW 1969-87 not matched by USSR

(Test Ban - if raised) Since NATO security will rest for foreseeable future on nuclear weapons, need to ensure that these are effective; this can only be done by testing. So a Test ban can only be a long-term goal.

Nuclear Modernisation



All of NATO agrees that nuclear weapons will be necessary for security of W Europe for foreseeable future, and that these must be modern so as to deter credibly, especially when they are the minimum necessary for deterrence, as ours are.

(if pressed on FRG views) Appreciate concerns and special position of FRG. But FRG government has supported NATO statements on modernisation; confident that they will take necessary decisions in due course.

Britain playing its part in modernisation, both for strategic and substrategic deterrent.

Note that NATO has reduced its nuclear stockpile in Europe by some 35% since 1979.

#### Trident

Reason for UK deterrent is that it contributes crucially to Alliance security by creating uncertainty for potential aggressor about reaction to attack by two nuclear powers rather than just one. This complication reduces chances of any attack.

Programme itself is well on course both in terms of time and of cost. Represents outstanding value for money in providing deterrence.

(if raised) Sure that US will honour obligations to supply us with the missiles, whatever happens in Election. (if pressed: note with satisfaction that Mr Dukakis supports Trident programme)

#### Out-of-area commitments

UK recognises that Western interests extend outside the NATO area, and plays a full part in supporting those interests, and will continue to do so.

Best example is the ARMILLA patrol in Gulf which has been there since 1980 and will remain. Recently it has escorted more ships than all other navies put together. Note also UK leadership and coordination



mine-clearance operations.

UK also makes substantial contribution to other areas - eg:

- Caribbean (our garrison in Belize, West Indies Guardship, and support for the Regional Security System).
- Our garrisons in Hong Kong and Brunei afford visible support to our commitment, under the Five Power Defence arrangements, to the stability of that part of SE Asia.
- Our territory of Diego Garcia is made available for use of US naval forces.
- We have other garrisons overseas (Cyprus, Falklands, Ascension).
- We have a substantial programme of military assistance to other countries (40 outside NATO) to improve their defences, and many overseas students receive military training in the UK.



# In Heathrow Holding Room: Reporter's Ordeal

There was some comment in the British press this week when a correspondent of *The New York Times* was denied admission to Britain and put on an airplane back to New York because she had arrived at Heathrow Airport without a required document. Her editors asked her to write a narrative of her experience, which follows:

By SHEILA RULE  
Special to *The New York Times*

LONDON, Sept. 23 — The man from Trinidad, having changed out of his Bermuda shorts and straw hat and into jeans and a T-shirt, settled into a chair for what he predicted would be a long wait at Heathrow Airport. He was a veteran of sorts, having been through a similar wait at the airport about two months earlier.

The faces of the several people in the same predicament — except for an American student, all of us were nonwhites — were painted in brushstrokes of bewilderment, dismay, anxiety and fatigue. I sat among them because I arrived from New York to begin a tour of duty in *The Times's* London bureau without having secured a required document called a "letter of consent" from the British Consulate in New York. We were being held by immigration officers in a holding room because of questions about our proposed entry into the United Kingdom.

"This is insane," said the Trinidadian, sipping tea provided by a security guard. "I've traveled all around to other countries and never had this problem. When they held me in July they said I would have no problem when I came back. But here I am. They haven't even told me why I'm here."

The British Airways flight from New York had arrived in London shortly after 9 A.M. on Tuesday and the hodgepodge of passengers had lined up to go through immigration procedures. An immigration officer asked me how long I intended to remain in Britain. Told that I planned to live and work in London as a correspondent for *The New York Times*, he asked if I had "an entry clearance" for this purpose.

### Learned About Residence Rule

American travelers can land at Heathrow without a visa, as I had done twice in the past, but now I learned for the first time that requirements were different for anyone coming to take up residence in Britain.

The official politely tried to nudge me into the category of a transient. Was I planning to return to New York soon? he asked. No, I was there to report on the United Kingdom and travel to other world points for the newspaper.

Had I ever visited London before? Yes, as a tourist, without incident.

The young immigration officer asked several other questions, including the telephone number and names of supervisors of *The New York Times* bureau in London. After scribbling some notes, he went away. Moments later, he returned and said that the bureau had verified my identity. But there was still the matter of the letter of consent.

The officer said I would have to go through customs. He escorted me there. Two customs officers meticulously went through my three bulging suitcases, carry-on bag and handbag, spreading out on their table a journalist's belongings and a woman's personal things. Until that moment, I had been unruffled, sensing that the problem could be resolved. But now seeing my belongings spread out before me, the feeling that I was truly unwelcome, a target of suspicion, came crashing in.

In the cluttered handbag were bits of paper with the names and addresses of people living in the United Kingdom. Who were these people,

## A new London correspondent is sent back to New York.

the immigration officer asked. Did I know them? No, the names represented a security blanket of friendship. They were friends of friends I had been told to contact, people who could provide a laugh, a good conversation, a supportive shoulder.

The customs officers came across press cards, letters from the London bureau of *The Times* and other papers that further verified my identity. They dutifully handed them to the immigration officer, who took them and then deposited me in the holding room.

A security guard went to exchange some of my dollars for pounds so that I could make a telephone call to the London bureau. This was about an hour after I had first approached the immigration desk. Until then, I had not been allowed access to a phone.

The *Times* bureau chief, Craig R. Whitney, said the staff was making telephone calls to the British authorities and others in an attempt to secure my entry. Failing that, he said, perhaps immigration officials would allow me to go to a closer country to sort out the paperwork rather than return me to New York.

Later, an official of the United States Embassy consular section told Mr. Whitney that the British authorities used to be more flexible, particularly with Americans, Canadians and Australians on business who arrived without the proper papers. But they tightened their procedures about two years ago after they were criticized for discriminating in favor of them while being tough on visitors from the third world. One immigration officer told Mr. Whitney that because I had said that I had no plans to return to New York anytime soon, immigration felt it had to abide by the instructions in its rulebook.

As I was talking to the Trinidadian, the immigration officer came in and took me to one of several tiny interviewing rooms within the holding area. He handed back several pieces of correspondence, newspaper clippings and identification — but not my passport — and said that I would be put on the 2 P.M. flight to New York. The idea of going to a closer country did not appear to be feasible, he said, because all paperwork would have to be referred back to New York.

"Good luck," the Trinidadian told me as I prepared to leave the holding room. "I just want to turn around and go back home, too. I'm ready to get a flight back to Trinidad. It's a free country there."

Along with a white American student, who said he was told that he did not have "enough money" to remain in the country, I was escorted onto the plane by two security guards, who handed over the passports to flight attendants. I learned later that the British Consul in Düsseldorf, West Germany, had tried to get immigration authorities at Heathrow to allow me to go there to apply for the letter of consent, but I had boarded the plane to New York about 20 minutes too soon.

### Escorted From Plane

A British Airways representative escorted the student and me from the airplane after it landed in New York, and it was only then that our passports were returned. A final request to use the phone to call my office in New York had been denied, on grounds that there was not enough time. The next day, I visited the offices of the British Information Service in Manhattan and, within minutes, received the letter of consent.

I returned to Heathrow today. Another immigration officer, friendly and courteous, quickly processed my papers and stamped a one-year entry permit into my passport, with the usual condition that I promptly register with the police.

"You should have come to me the first time," the officer said, chuckling.

## Fear of Civil War Grows in Lebanon. Divided by 2 Cabinets



CASE OF MISS  
RULE

From



HOME OFFICE  
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE  
LONDON SW1H 9AT

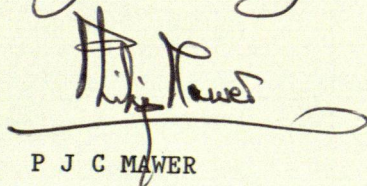
26 September 1988

Dear Nigel,

MISS RULE: REFUSAL OF ENTRY  
AT HEATHROW

I understand that the Prime Minister is to be interviewed by the Bureau Chief of the "New York Times" some time in the next fortnight. You may have seen reports in the "Daily Telegraph" and other newspapers on 21 September about the case of Miss Sheila Rule, a journalist on the "New York Times", who was refused entry to Britain on 20 September and sent back to the United States. Miss Rule was refused entry because she lacked the prior clearance which is required under the Immigration Rules. I attach a background note and line to take which you may wish to include in the Prime Minister's <sup>brief</sup> ground brief for her forthcoming interview.

Yours sincerely,

  
P J C MAWER

Nigel Wicks, Esq. CBE.



## CASE OF MISS SHEILA RULE

### Background

Miss Rule was refused entry to the UK when she arrived from New York on 20 September. She had come to work as a journalist for the New York Times for 2 years. Under the Immigration Rules, representatives of overseas newspapers on long-term assignment to the United Kingdom do not need work permits, but may be admitted if they hold an entry clearance granted for the purpose. Although her employers were aware of the requirement, Miss Rule lacked the necessary clearance and was refused entry.

Before her return to New York, Mr Craig Whitley, the Bureau Chief of the New York Times in London enquired whether Miss Rule could travel instead to Frankfurt to apply there; he was told clearances were usually issued in the country in which the applicant was living.

The case was reported in the Daily Telegraph <sup>2 other papers</sup> on 21 September,

### Line to take

Miss Rule was properly refused entry under the Immigration Rules because she lacked the required prior clearance. I understand there were no exceptional circumstances which would have justified special treatment in her case. We must be seen to apply the immigration law fairly and consistently.

[IF REQUIRED: Miss Rule was removed to New York because that was her home and the place from which she had embarked to the UK].



transfusions and placed on an intravenous drip. A swelling pancreas is reported to be preventing him eating solid food.

The state broadcasting station NHK reported that the Emperor vomited blood again during the day and had developed symptoms of jaundice.

The vigil began late on Monday night when court physicians hurried to the palace to treat the Emperor who had taken a turn for the worse a year after he had an intestinal bypass operation which gave rise to complications.

At the time, there was speculation that the Emperor was suffering from cancer of the pancreas.

A stream of official cars took other members of the imperial family, political leaders and foreign ambassadors to the tightly-guarded palace after an early

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decisions to be taken by an appointed bureaucracy.

"It is ironic that, just when those countries such as the Soviet Union, which have tried to run everything from the centre, are learning that success depends on dispersing power and decisions away from the centre, some in the Community want to move in the opposite direction."

She continued: "We want to see Europe more united and with a greater sense of common purpose. But it must be in a way which preserves the different traditions, parliamentary powers and sense of national pride in one's own country."

Mrs Thatcher also signalled her determination to force the EEC to make further cuts in agricultural subsidies, branding the Common Agricultural Policy

immigrants."

This had been underlined by the trapping of IRA terrorists by a German Customs officer.

Later Mrs Thatcher had dinner and talks with the Belgian Prime Minister, Mr Martens, and members of his government. She was said to have reiterated the views expressed in her speech "very vigorously".

Her speech is certain to appeal to a large contingent of the Conservative party. She does, however, risk provoking outbursts from her pro-European backbenchers, such as Mr Edward Heath.

Her remarks are almost certain to be seized upon by the Labour party, at its conference in a fortnight's time, since Labour have been moving towards

Continued on Back Page

Only one major postal sorting office, Coventry, has still to reach a back-to-work deal in the 21-day dispute, the Post Office said last night.

The 2,000 workers at Manchester and Stockport voted to return to work last night, and Liverpool post strikers meet today to consider a local agreement.

## Argentinian wins

By Our United Nations Correspondent

Argentina won a major diplomatic victory in New York last night when its Foreign Minister, Senor Dante Caputo, was elected president of the UN General Assembly despite British opposition. Senor Caputo beat Dame Nita Barrow, of Barbados, by 91 votes to 66.

# Britain sends back American journalist

By John Harlow

THE United States Embassy in London is investigating why a senior American journalist, Miss Sheila Rule of the New York Times, was refused entry to Britain and sent back to the United States yesterday.

Miss Rule, 38, had arrived at Heathrow Airport without work papers, which the newspaper admitted it had "forgotten" to arrange.

But Immigration broke with tradition by not sending her to a nearer country to sort out the matter.

Last night the American Embassy in London said the Home Office had "acted most unusually" by not sending her to Brussels or Paris rather than back to New York.

"If the reporter had arrived as a tourist she would not have needed even a visa. It is a very strange reaction," said an embassy spokesman.

Earlier this year American Immigration lifted visa restrictions for most British visitors.

Mr Joseph Lelyveld, New York Times foreign editor, described as "inflexible" the way Miss Rule was treated.

"She could have been put up in an hotel on a visa or sent to a closer country," he said.

"She was our Nairobi bureau chief for four years and travelled around Africa without any such difficulties."

Mr Lelyveld added: "A previous Times correspondent arrived in Britain without a Let-

ter of Consent and was allowed to stay while he sorted it out.

"But we understand over the last couple of years the regulations have been tightened up to avoid charges of double-standards when dealing with Third World countries.

"I knew about the Letter of Consent, but I forgot to tell her about it.

"We made all the protests we are going to when she was on the ground at London."

He said Miss Rule would return to London this week after obtaining the necessary papers.

Home Office sources were last night defensive about the incident, but denied it was embarrassed by an over-zealous Immigration official.



Sheila Rule

"The reporter arrived without her papers and was treated as anyone else would be in her position," a spokesman said.

"I'm just surprised that an organisation as world-wise as the New York Times would make such a fundamental mistake."

Telegraph

21/9/88





Evening  
Standard

WEDNESDAY, 21 SEPTEMBER, 1988

## Ms Rule overruled

IT IS hard to see how officials at Heathrow can justify the sending back to America yesterday of New York Times reporter Sheila Rule because she did not have the necessary work papers. As the US Embassy in London points out: "If the reporter had arrived as a tourist she would not have needed even a visa". The suspicion must be that Immigration officials at Heathrow interpreted the rules too strictly. Some may think that Ms Rule's colour—she is black—played a role in the drama. There is little risk that she will allow this little setback to colour her reporting of British affairs. However, just to be on the safe side, Douglas Hurd should send a Home Office minion to Heathrow with a bunch of flowers the next time she comes in.

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**British Embassy**

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Telephone (202) 462-1340

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Michael Bates Esq  
Press Office  
10 Downing Street

Your reference

Our reference

Date

9 September 1988

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*Dear Mike.*

**PRIME MINISTER'S INTERVIEW WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES:  
27 SEPTEMBER**

1. We were glad to learn that the Prime Minister has agreed to give an interview to the New York Times. The Times (circulation 1.04 million daily) remains the best and most important newspaper in the United States. It still tends to set the tone and style for all other US newspapers; to a large extent its front page defines America's news agenda.
2. You told me on the telephone that you needed no assistance on the substance. Please let me know if this changes. You will have seen my letter of 7 September to Andrew Burns about Northern Ireland.
3. Like you, we understand that the interview will be conducted by Craig Whitney, the new London bureau chief (for background see my letter to Bernard Ingham of 13 July and Mike Horne's letter to Mike Price of 27 June copied to you), and Flora Lewis, the paper's foreign affairs columnist.
4. Flora Lewis has held that position since June 1980. Born in Los Angeles in 1920, educated at the University of California (Los Angeles) and Columbia University, she has spent her entire career as a diplomatic correspondent in Europe and the US. She served with the Associated Press in New York, Washington and Warsaw; with the Washington Post in Bonn, London, Washington and New York, before joining the New York Times in 1972. She was Paris bureau chief to 1976; and then European diplomatic correspondent until 1980.





5. Within the paper, the foreign affairs column is regarded as the prestige column, allowing the writer to cover the full range of international affairs, albeit with a strong European bias. Lewis has visited Moscow on several occasions recently and has been writing primarily on East-West relations; arms control (including SDI), and the future of NATO.

*you ever*  
*Francis*

FRANCIS CORNISH  
Counsellor, Information

cc: Mr Andrew Burns, News Dept, FCO  
Mr D Snoxell, BIS, New York





10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Press Secretary*

14 September 1988

*Mr Craig,*

Thank you very much for inviting me to lunch so early in your tour of duty in London. It was very good to find that we have similar views on a number of subjects.

I do hope you enjoy it in London and I look forward to seeing you again when you come to interview the Prime Minister. I will have a word with you a day or so before just to tie up the arrangements.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Bernard Ingham'.

BERNARD INGHAM

Craig Whitney Esq  
New York Times