

Secretary of State

CCPC

FROM: S N P Hemans, Soviet Dept

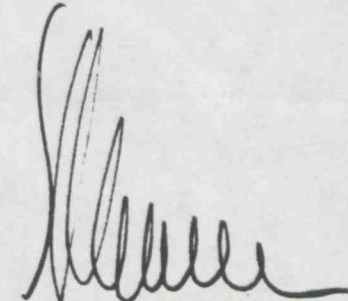
DATE: 6 December 1988

cc: PS/Mr Waldegrave
Sir J Fretwell
Mr Ratford
Mr Burns, News Dept
Mr Dorey, CSCE Unit

Private Secretary

DRAFT TOAST FOR THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE NO 10 DINNER ON
13 DECEMBER

1. As requested I submit a revised and shortened version of the draft together with a draft letter to No 10 Downing Street. It will need further revising once we see what Mr Gorbachev says in his United Nations speech and what emerges from his discussions with President Reagan and President-elect Bush. We are also not clear yet as to whether he has in fact dropped his insistence on a decision being taken on a Moscow Human Rights Conference before the end of the Vienna CSCE meeting.


S N P Hemans
Soviet Department

cc (flash) Mr Powell, No 10

— we spoke.

W. P. Powell
7/xi

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:
Private Secretary

Reference

DEPARTMENT: TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

PS No 10

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PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S VISIT: DRAFT TOAST FOR
DINNER ON 13 DECEMBER

CAVEAT.....

It has been agreed that only short toasts of up to 10 minutes will be exchanged at the dinner on 13 December. I attach a draft. It will need updating once we see what Mr Gorbachev says in his UN speech and in other public statements which he or President Reagan may make in New York. We are also not yet sure that Mr Gorbachev has definitely dropped his insistence of a decision on a Moscow Human Rights Conference being taken before Vienna ends.

As to correct protocol, the Russians are referring to Mr Gorbachev formally by both his titles in full, namely General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet -of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is obviously too much of a mouthful for a toast. In shortened form the Russians are accepting that Mr Gorbachev can be

Enclosures—flag(s).....

referred to as the General Secretary but not as "the President" which is not correct Soviet usage. We have therefore used the Soviet short form at the beginning and the Presidential form at the end on the grounds that toasting the Soviet Head of State would be the correct procedure for such occasions even if Mr Gorbachev was still only General Secretary, and the Head of State (as it was when Mr Gromyko held that office) not even present.

DRAFT TOAST FOR THE PRIME MINISTER AT HER DINNER WITH
PRESIDENT GORBACHEV ON TUESDAY 13 DECEMBER

Mr General Secretary, Mrs Gorbacheva, My Lords, Your
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen

Christmas in Britain just wouldn't be the same without a
visit from Mr and Mrs Gorbachev. You first visited us in
December 1984. You were here briefly in December last year.
And we, the British Government and British people are very
happy to see you here again now.

Mr Gorbachev, you and I have both recently been in the
United States, saying our official farewells to President
Reagan as his term of office draws to a close, and meeting
President-elect George Bush for the first time since he
became America's 41st democratically elected President.

I take great heart from what you and President Reagan have
been able to achieve in the three and a half years since you
became General Secretary. Together you have helped achieve
a break-through in East-West relations from the INF Treaty
to the Geneva Accords, from the Gulf War to Southern Africa
and perhaps most importantly in the increasing freedom with
which the peoples of East and West now exchange ideas,
information and visits. The continuity which the election
of Vice-President Bush will ensure gives us scope for
optimism that these foundations will be rapidly built on.
It is vitally important that they should be.

Your ambitious programme of reform has helped launch this
new era of hope.

You not doubt find results slow in coming. Attitudes and
habits do not change as readily as laws and regulations.
More freedom involves more responsibility. The burden of
the past cannot be lifted at a stroke. There are many who

find the old ways more comfortable than the disruptions along the road to the new.

But it seems to me that, as they used to say about me, there is no alternative. The old ways and the old dogmas, have not delivered a life-style worthy of the people of the Soviet Union nor assured your country its proper place in the family of nations. You have had the vision and foresight to tell your people that they must shape their own destiny. We wish you well.

We in Britain are sometimes criticised for being too traditionalist, and for our devotion to the past. But none of us can deny our history. It has shaped what we are. Three hundred years ago, in what is known as the Glorious Revolution, our country laid the foundations of a Parliamentary democracy which has held good to this day and has served as a model for many others. In your book on perestroika you refer to this and suggest that more than one revolutionary change is necessary along the road to a new life for a nation.

You are opening up your history and laying the terrible ghosts which lurk there so that you can build anew on stronger foundations. This new openness is important in sowing the seeds of greater trust.

I do not intend this evening to speak of the whole spectrum of East-West relations. I do want however to touch on just three areas.

The first is ideology. You and I look at this from opposite philosophical viewpoints. But we can I think agree not to let ideology interfere in the practice of international relations. I was much struck by what Mr Shevardnadze said at the UN in September about taking ideology out of foreign policy. He will perhaps forgive me if I say that so far the words are sometimes louder than the actions. But they are

welcome words: and they are fundamentally new words. You may call them new political thinking. To me they are practical politics - the stuff of Western international relations for many years. I hope that we may now look forward to new political action, particularly in Europe where excessive Soviet security concerns for too long have divided our continent and its peoples and have sown a dreadful legacy of fear and mistrust.

A truly common European home does not just mean that East and West should smile more politely at each other across the divided hall. We should sit down together at the table and get on with the business of living. You and I can manage this. Why should all the peoples of the East not enjoy this freedom too?

A particular area where words need to be matched by action is that of chemical and conventional weapons. The British position is straight forward. We have no chemical weapons. We do not make them. On your side we see a formidable capability, and a formidable secrecy. If we are to reach agreement to ban these terrible weapons you have to be more open about your capability, and more ready to back what you say with hard demonstrable fact. That is the essential first step.

In the conventional debate we look forward to an early start to the Conventional Stability Talks in Vienna. We have heard much about changes in Soviet military thinking. You yourself have several times said that the side with the greater number of weapons should be the one to reduce. I regard this area as the acid test of the changing pattern of Soviet foreign policy. In India recently you remarked that you had studied the Buddha's admonition not to take anything on faith. I too am happy to adopt this admirable Buddhist principle.

But we cannot start the talks in Vienna until the CSCE meeting is over. And that depends on reaching agreement in the vital area of human rights.

But you are asking us to take a great deal on trust in inviting us now to accept your invitation to a Moscow Conference in 1991.

I accept your word when you tell me that sweeping changes in law and practice are in prospect. A lot has already been done but practical politics is about implementing undertakings. And human rights is about people - brave people who have dared to stand up for basic freedoms. I have met many of them myself, and many more write to me with tragic stories of suffering and separation. They and we are looking to your Government for the legislation to make permanent the very welcome changes already apparent.

I have spoken frankly to you all day and I have done so again now. It is my way. It is also yours. You will find that the British government is in the forefront of those who want to grasp the historic chance for change on our continent with both hands. As I have said to you before, we can only do this successfully when both sides feel secure.

Our ability to speak frankly to each other also reflects the increasing warmth in Anglo-Soviet relations. These are better than ever before. And our nations touch no longer as in the past just when leaders meet, but at all levels and in all areas of life. There is a long way to go before we can match the huge flows of people and information between the countries of Western Europe. But an encouraging start has been made.

We want to see much more contact, very much more trade, more cultural exchange, more cooperation, more meetings between ordinary people. To coin a phrase you are someone I want to do much more business with.

I therefore raise my glass to you, to Mrs Gorbacheva and to your colleagues here this evening. I take the opportunity to wish you a very happy Christmas and a prosperous, successful and peaceful New Year.

The Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

10 6. XII 1958 PM 8

Mr. General Secretary, Mr. Garbadeva, My
Lords, the Excellence, Ladies & Gentlemen,

You know, Christmas ~~is~~ just wouldn't
be the same without you! Your firm
visited to Britain was in ~~last~~ December

1974. You were ~~here~~ here again being in

December last year. And now you are

~~here again~~ on a more with us ~~visit~~

for the first time at No. 10 Downing

St. — and we extend to you both

a warm welcome to all your delegation, in a very warm

welcome indeed.

You ~~can't~~ come in the world of a
very busy & difficult world to now
what else you made a most important
speech to the United Nations — and we

Congratulate you on this.

You have also visited Cuba

from the
members,
regarding
them
[unclear]

Your visit that was also a

done to bid farewell to President
Since you heard some things since to add to you
Rogers. And ~~that~~ I think that all

of to us he would want to make
of our appreciation of what ~~you~~ President

learned and you, Mr. General Jerny have
achieved in ~~the~~ last are the last 3 1/2

years. Pres. that Mr. G.

For the last undoubtedly been great
papers, [unclear] out here:

- the IN R Agreement
- the negotiations, still complete for
to well advanced. [unclear]

- Hoffman
- the connection between [unclear]
- ~~the~~ aspects - People & Nations
very considerable part of

Full credit for the very
of course and [unclear]
clearly [unclear] - ideology -
other [unclear] since
can't wait to be [unclear]

Also pay tribute to what achieved on
 level. We can go well. There is a
 section attached to the phrase: there is
 no alternative. Persepolis is a necessity
 better life for people.

Am. Culture
 - elegance, ^{what}
 value.
 Alignment ^{with} values
 in my yr. (perhaps)
to go to

Internal side = That.

Reps

See me do things it
 See we want to do and
 are given