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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

20 March, 1989.

From the Private Secretary

Dear John,

MR. GORBACHEV'S VISIT

I enclose a copy of a note which I did for the Prime Minister at the weekend about Mr. Gorbachev's visit. She had a word about it with me and with Sir Percy Cradock this morning. She is basically content with it - subject to a few points which I mention below - and has suggested that it would be useful for the FCO to have a copy. It may be helpful in preparing briefing and the Prime Minister's remarks both at the dinner in Mr. Gorbachev's honour and at the Guildhall.

The additional points which came up in discussion were:

- we need to maintain the careful balance between endorsing part of what Mr. Gorbachev stands for, while remaining critical of other aspects of his policies, particularly on the external side. It is not an easy balance to strike, but we have been successful so far.
- we need to get over in public comment that the Soviet Union has to accept certain criteria before it can be treated as a normal country. At the moment Mr. Gorbachev is getting away with a degree of occupancy of the moral high ground which Soviet performance simply does not warrant. Particular emphasis is required on the importance of giving substance to his declarations about freedom of choice.
- we also need to be blunt on the point that, if the Soviet Union really wants a balance of forces, then they must be prepared to make deeper cuts in their own forces than those announced hitherto.
- at the end of the day, even if the Soviets were to do everything which we ask in the arms control area, we would still need to maintain strong defences. This fundamental belief should always be at the back of our minds. It's not just a question of the weapons which they have, but of the sort of society which they are.

SECRET

5

- the line proposed in the minute for the Prime Minister's remarks at dinner needs to be rather more cautionary:
- the question of missile and nuclear weapon proliferation should be added to the list of issues to be tackled in the discussion of arms control.
- on purely practical matters, the talks with Mr. Gorbachev will be in the Prime Minister's Study, the signing of the agreement (or, now that I have seen your letter, agreements) will be in the Pillared Room, and the Prime Minister will take Mr. and Mrs. Gorbachev into the Cabinet Room after lunch to sign the Visitors Book.

You have of course already sent me some material for the Prime Minister's short speech at dinner. I should be grateful if it could now be revised in the light of my minute and the comments above and re-submitted. In general it would be helpful to have as much material as possible before the Prime Minister's departure for Africa.

Yours sincerely,
C.D. Powell

C.D. Powell

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

PRIME MINISTER

MR. GORBACHEV'S VISIT

We have time in the diary tomorrow morning to discuss Mr. Gorbachev's visit, which comes hard on the heels of your return from Africa. There are a number of issues which you may want to cover.

What do we want from the visit?

The fact of his visit to Britain is in itself part of its importance. We shall get credit for the fact that Mr. Gorbachev is coming here for the third time before he has visited any of the other European countries. He is using London as the platform for a major speech. We are seen to be favoured - and the reason is generally recognised to be his special relationship with you.

We want the visit to proceed in a way which underlines this impression of favoured status for the United Kingdom and the importance of your personal role, while making clear that this had not been bought by concessions to Gorbachev and the Soviet Union. Rather it is because you have stood firm on the principles of strong defence and realistic assessment of Soviet motives. We want to draw out and make explicit the contrast with the attitude of the Germans and some other European allies who no longer see a threat from the Soviet Union.

An important part of the relationship is your willingness to give firm and public support for what Gorbachev is doing within the Soviet union. That is a message that you will need to emphasise again during the visit - he needs the support more than ever - while balancing it with firm adherence to our principles and the needs of our defence.

There are unlikely to be any concrete results from the visit. We should play down any expectations of them in advance. The only agreement of much public interest to be signed is that for the school in Armenia. (Indeed, our help to Armenia is a theme which should be played up during the visit.) So far as I am aware, there are no major commercial contracts pending.

The media will certainly look for points of divergence and dispute. You do indeed plan to be quite rough with him on chemical weapons. I imagine he will put pressure on you on SNF modernisation and the human rights conference in Moscow. You will of course stand up robustly for our views and make clear that you have done so. But the overall impression from the talks ought to be of the breadth of the issues discussed, the frankness of the talks and the continuing ability of the two world leaders, who are ideologically as far apart as any, to deal with each other levelly and squarely on a basis of realism. Again the contrast should be with the other Europeans and the Opposition here who act like spaniels when confronted with the new Soviet policies.

There will as always be interest in the extent to which you are playing a role between the United States and the Soviet Union. Obviously we make no claims to that, indeed disclaim it. But equally there is no harm in letting it be known that you will be passing on your impressions to President Bush before his first official meeting with Gorbachev, and also to your colleagues at the NATO Summit.

What are the issues to discuss?

There will be much less time for discussion than during your visit to Moscow. You have 2½ hours on the first morning, followed by a one hour working lunch. That is it, apart from sitting next to him at dinner. It means that you will need to be selective about the issues discussed and have a clear order of priority.

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I suggest that it should be as follows:

- developments in the Soviet Union. We want him to tell you frankly about progress with reform, his plans for the future and the difficulties which he is encountering. This is an essential part of the 'special' relationship. The problem is that he can talk non-stop for a very long time on this and pre-empt much of the available meeting time. You will need to be ready to move him on, perhaps suggesting that you come back to the subject over lunch or dinner.
- Soviet approach to Western Europe. You will want to find out whether he will be launching any new ideas in his speech the next day. You will also want to counter the impression that he may well have that Europe is going soft.
- regional issues. There is more meat here and I would favour making regional issues a major part of the talks. Your general point of departure might be the more responsible Soviet role and their welcome readiness for serious discussion of international problems in the forum of the Five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council. The two main specific points are the new realism in Soviet policy on Southern Africa, whence you will have just returned: and the prospects in the Middle East, where you will want to mention unsatisfactory Soviet performance over Iran and Rushdie. You might also probe Soviet rapprochement with China and his interpretation of developments there: mention Central America since he will just have come from Cuba (but this is basically an area of American interest): and congratulate him on Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, recognising that this will inevitably lead to reproaches about continuing British support for the Mujaheddin.

- arms control, covering both nuclear chemical and conventional weapons. This is bound to feature substantially. Yet there is not a great deal new to be said and we should not arouse any expectations of progress or breakthroughs. The Americans are still conducting their strategic review. The conventional force reduction talks are just getting under way: there is no point in becoming locked in argument at this stage. This leaves three main points to make:

- welcome for his unilateral reductions in Soviet conventional forces as a positive step;
- criticism of Soviet lack of frankness on chemical weapons;
- reiteration of the requirement to keep weapons up to date and to preserve the full range of weapons necessary to assure credible nuclear deterrence.

The best outcome is probably the impression that both sides are generally satisfied with the steady progress being made, subject to the point about chemical weapons.

- human rights. We should make clear in advance that detailed cases will be discussed between the two Foreign Ministers. I do not see a need to make general human rights matters a major issue this time. Soviet performance has improved markedly. The important thing is that you should be able to say publicly that the issue - particularly the Moscow Conference and the treatment of Soviet Jews - was raised.
- Eastern Europe. It would be quite interesting to feel out his views on Eastern Europe and you have a locus with your recent visit to Poland and visitors from Hungary. But my guess is that he will not be ready to

9

say much. It might best be raised over lunch or dinner.

- Bilateral relations. There is really not a great deal to say here. There is the one family reunification case which you ought to raise. He may mention a possible Royal Visit. Generally, bilateral matters should be left to the two Foreign Ministers.

What should you cover in your speeches?

There will be two occasions on which to speak: the toast at dinner at No. 10 on Thursday night: and after Mr. Gorbachev's speech at the Guildhall on Friday.

We have agreed that the toasts will be kept short, given that Mr. Gorbachev will be making a major speech the next day. Five or six minutes is probably enough. I think it should be upbeat. The main structure might be:

- admiration for the revolutionary changes which he is pursuing in the Soviet Union despite the obstacles;
- recognition of the scale of what still needs to be done and of how difficult it will be to obtain results;
- our readiness to provide any practical help which they want, i.e. through some of our top businessmen demonstrating their management and organisational techniques;
- the evidence of the basic good intentions towards the Soviet Union and its people which the Western response to the Armenian earthquake revealed;
- admiration for his United Nations speech and the more co-operative Soviet approach to international relations which it characterises;

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- we are not afraid of new ideas. But we have to base policies on reality not on wishful thinking. It is better to recognise honestly that changing our preception of each other's intentions, security interests, policies and societies is bound to be a long process on both sides. Certainly there is a place for boldness and vision and you pay tribute to Mr. Gorbachev for this. But in practice we shall proceed carefully and methodically, making sure we are secure at each stage. The most important thing is that we have started to travel;

- confidence between East and West is greater than when you visited Moscow two years ago. But it cannot depend only on personalities, on speeches, even on agreements. It will depend in the end on how we each view the other's society, its goals and ambitions and the way it treats its citizens;

- you particularly welcome the vastly greater exchange of people between the Soviet Union and Britain than two years ago. That is one of the most effective ways of creating confidence;

- decades of suspicion and hostility cannot be erased in a year or two. But every step towards better understanding, every sign of willingness to work together rather than to intimidate and subvert, every step towards democracy and human rights is a step in the right direction of creating a better world for our children. Mr. Gorbachev's visit has been another step, and an important one, in that direction.

At the Guildhall, you will no doubt want to follow the pattern of President Reagan's address last year, and respond for about five minutes. We shall have to see what Mr. Gorbachev intends to say: all we know so far is that he intends an important speech on Europe, one which he had in mind to deliver to the European Parliament in Strasbourg later in the year. But I

imagine that some of the points suggested above will be appropriate for you to make in reply, to a much wider audience.

What about the practical aspects of the visit?

The Soviet advance team are here at the moment but the broad shape of the programme is agreed. Your involvement is:

- meeting Mr. and Mrs. Gorbachev on the first evening, accompanying them to the Soviet Embassy and going in for a short talk;
- greeting Mr. Gorbachev at the front door of No. 10 the next morning, the talks, the signing of the Armenian agreement and a working lunch (with Mrs. Gorbachev). We need to decide where you hold the talks - Study, Cabinet Room or White Room? and where you sign the agreement - Pillared Room or Cabinet Room? I think you should have him in the Cabinet Room at some stage;
- doing a five minute impromptu press conference with him in Downing Street after lunch;
- accompanying him to Westminster Abbey after lunch;
- giving dinner for him at No. 10 that evening;
- greeting him at the Guildhall the next morning and replying to his speech;
- attending The Queen's lunch at Windsor Castle;
- seeing him off at Heathrow;
- giving a press conference and TV interviews after his departure.

C.D.P.

CHARLES POWELL

19 March 1989

MR. TAYLOR

MR. AND MRS. GORBACHEV'S VISIT

You may find it helpful to have a note of how we envisage Mr. and Mrs. Gorbachev's programme at No. 10 taking shape.

It is all concentrated on Thursday 6 April and looks like this:

- 1000 Mr. Gorbachev arrives at No. 10 for talks with the Prime Minister.
After the usual press photographs, the Prime Minister will take him to the Study for talks. There will be a total of six people present. The Prime Minister would like the matching chair to hers moved from beside her desk to beside the fireplace, so that she and Mr. Gorbachev are sitting in exactly similar chairs.
- 1045 Coffee to be served by GHF.
- 1230 Talks end.
Mrs. Gorbachev arrives to be met by Mr. Thatcher. Both parties proceed to Pillared Room for signing ceremony of various agreements.
There are likely to be 30/40 people present and we shall need to have a substantial press pool.
Following this signing GHF will serve champagne.
- 1250 All except those attending the working lunch will leave.
- 1255 Working lunch in the Small Dining Room for 10 people.

1355 The Prime Minister takes Mr. and Mrs. Gorbachev into the Cabinet Room to sign the Guest Book.

1400 The Prime Minister and Mr. Gorbachev give impromptu press conference in Downing Street.

1405 The Prime Minister and Mr. and Mrs. Gorbachev depart No. 10 for Westminster Abbey.

1930 Mr. and Mrs. Gorbachev arrive for dinner

2000 Dinner in Large Dining Room.

2215 Mr. and Mrs. Gorbachev depart.
approx

I will be most grateful if you could find a table for the signing ceremony in the Pillared Room, bearing in mind that we shall be using the Small Dining Room immediately after for lunch.

There is bound to be quite a lot of press participation. I think we envisage television cameras preceding the Prime Minister and Mr. Gorbachev up the corridor to the Cabinet Room and possibly up the stairs to the entrance to the Study. We shall probably need to let in two small press pools to the Study before the talks start. There would be a larger press pool at the signing ceremony and possibly (though not certain) a smaller one at the start of the lunch. There might be a press pool in the Cabinet Room for the signing of the Guest Book. In the evening there will be a substantial press pool to cover the receiving line and the toasts at dinner will be televised.

C. D. POWELL
20 March 1989
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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 March 1989

Dear Charles,

*CDP
24/3.*

Mr Gorbachev's Visit

Free on BLUE

Thank you for your letter of 20 March. I enclose briefing for the Prime Minister's talks with Mr Gorbachev.

We hope to hear in advance what Mr Gorbachev will say in his Guildhall speech and at that stage will produce a five-minute draft reply for the Prime Minister. We shall include the points in your letter. We agree that we want to demonstrate the realism of our approach. But the Foreign Secretary does not think we should "make explicit the contrast with the attitude of the Germans". The aim should be to present our position as the standard for the Alliance without giving Gorbachev the impression that we are divided and open to wedge-driving.

Whilst there is meat in regional issues and in arms control, the Foreign Secretary believes that human rights remain an important feature and that there are also important bilateral matters to cover, not least in the field of commerce. The briefing picks this up. A separate short letter will cover the question of the unacceptable level of visa applications from Soviet intelligence officers which also falls under the bilateral heading.

I am writing separately with a revised wording for the toast at dinner on 6 April.

Copies of the briefing go to Neil Thornton (DTI), Tom Jeffrey (Dept of Education), Shirley Stagg (MAFF), Brian Hawtin (MOD), Alison Smith (Lord President's Office) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Jans,
Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 March 1989

*cc/PC
CDP*

Dear Charles,

Mr Gorbachev's Visit: Draft Toast

Am on BUP.

In your letter of 20 March you asked for a revised version of the toast to be submitted, taking into account the points from your discussion with the Prime Minister and in general more cautionary than the first draft.

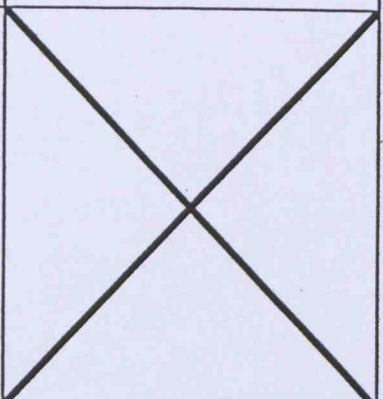
I attach a new version which seeks to blend support for perestroika and for Mr Gorbachev personally with practical realism and the need for Mr Gorbachev's pledge of good faith in his December UN speech to be matched by actual progress in the key areas of the East-West dialogue.

*Yours,
Stephe Wall*

(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

A The National Archives

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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London SW1A 2AH

17 March 1989

CCP
22/3

Dear Charles,

Mr Gorbachev's visit: Toast for Dinner on 6 April

As Mr Gorbachev will be making a speech at the Guildhall on 7 April we have agreed with the Russians that five minute toasts will be given at the Prime Minister's dinner on 6 April. I enclose a draft.

Our aim has been to make the toast both personally warm and supportive of perestroika at a time when lack of economic progress in the Soviet Union has brought increasingly open domestic criticism. The use of the word "revolutionary" to describe Mr Gorbachev's reforms is a term of art in Soviet parlance and will go down well (and is nothing short of the truth in any event). At the same time it is only fair if the Prime Minister points out that there is much on the East-West agenda still requiring attention and stresses the importance of Europe and its future not being determined for all time by "post-war realities."

The Prime Minister will speak at the Guildhall in reply to Mr Gorbachev. We shall draft something for your when we know what he intends to say. So far we have only Mr Zamyatin's word for it that it will be on a European theme. We are assuming that, as on the occasion of President Reagan's speech last year, the Prime Minister will wish to speak for about five minutes.

Jans.
Stephen Wall
(J S Wall)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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DRAFT TOAST FOR THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE DINNER FOR
MR GORBACHEV AT NO 10 DOWNING STREET ON 6 APRIL

- Mr General Secretary and President, Mrs Gorbachev,
Distinguished Visitors, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen.
- This is the third visit which Mr and Mrs Gorbachev have
paid to Great Britain. As the British saying would have
it, you are thrice welcome - and very warmly so.
- I am told that in Russia you have a rather more practical
expression - BYEZ TROYITSY DOM NYE STROYITSYSA (without a
third you cannot build a house).
- And I believe that the saying has a sequel requiring a
fourth corner to ensure that the building stands firm.
Firmness, stability, durability, warmth, comfort and,
yes, the conviviality conveyed by these sayings - these
are the qualities people value in their houses
- They are the same qualities which we wish to see in our
relations with the Soviet Union. To ensure that they
take firm root and flourish, we hope you will remain
regular visitors to our shores.
- I am particularly glad that you have taken up my proposal
to give an address tomorrow in the City of London to
leaders of all walks of life in our nation. Through the
media you will reach a global audience.
- Since you, Mr Gorbachev, launched your revolutionary
programme of reform a multitude of opportunities have
opened up. We welcome this whole-heartedly.



- We want the foundations of your relationship with the outside world to be strong enough to withstand the inevitable ups and downs of a complicated and highly competitive world. But of our determination to build that building with you, let there be no doubt.
- We have talked intensively for several hours today. And as our guests this evening will have noticed we have not even begun to run out of things to say to each other.
- You have told me about the successes and the problems of perestroika.
- You know how difficult it is to persuade the people that the future is not a promised land. Or, at any rate, it is a promised land that has to be created by their own enterprise and initiative.
- We in Britain have passed along this way too. It is hard and at times a lonely road. But there is no other way.
- I believe that the Soviet people are beginning to accept that an open and diverse society, unfamiliar and even frightening as it may at first appear, is the only true source of individual fulfilment, prosperity and strength.
- And as we hope for a brighter future for your people, we welcome the changes also for their effect on the international community.
- Problems there certainly still are. There are parts of the world where greater cooperation could bring speedier progress and an earlier end to tension and suffering.



- Peoples and families remain divided and the quality of human life still fails to meet the standards which the world has long set itself.
- In arms control, whilst hopes have been aroused for real and early achievement, glasnost is still a tender plant and verification a major hurdle.
- But in all areas there is movement and in all areas there is hope. I am a practical politician. So I believe are you. But I am also an optimist and I believe that you share that quality with me as well.
- We have much which we can do together. Earlier today bilateral agreements were signed marking further steps forward in the fields of investment, nuclear safety, Armenian reconstruction and visas.
- So much more remains to be done. The peoples of the world have long needed and wanted change from their leaders. Now they have reason to expect it.
- Tonight, in London, it is natural to speak of our bilateral dialogue.
- But London is not just our capital city. We are a leading member of the European Community, of the North Atlantic Alliance and of the UN Security Council. We are an active participant among 35 countries at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
- Our discussions today have ranged over issues at all these levels.



- We particularly welcome the greatly improved links which you, Mr Gorbachev, are establishing for your country with Western countries as a whole. This can only benefit both the climate of East-West relations and the daily practice of contacts between the people of our various countries.
- The measure of our success here is that our officials are no longer able to keep track of them all.
- We have spoken much about Europe. Europe need not live for ever in the shadow of the fear of war nor remain divided and distrustful. The security of some need not threaten that of others.
- There is a new wind of change, a gentler, warmer breeze than our continent has felt in many years.
- Freedom is a better guarantee of economic progress and political stability than military might.
- The warm breeze has yet to penetrate a few icy corners. But your new approach has been a source of hope for many.
- We have had you in our midst for all too short a time. But you have met Government and Opposition leaders, Churchmen, business management, workers, captains of industry, academics, the media and men and women in the street.
- I hope that you have seen how warm is our country's welcome for you both and how much this reflects the respect and affection which we have for you both personally and as leading representatives of a great nation which we much admire.



- We wish you and your many peoples success, prosperity and happiness.

- We hope that Anglo-Soviet relations will contribute to the fulfilment of that wish for your peoples, for ours, and for the wider world.

- I ask you to rise and drink the toast "The 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 USSR".