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10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

30 November 1988

Dear Stephen,

**GORBACHEV VISIT:  
CALL BY HM AMBASSADOR, MOSCOW**

Thank you for your letter of 29 November suggesting that Sir Rodric Braithwaite should seek a meeting with President Gorbachev in order to discuss the programme and agenda for his visit.

I have consulted the Prime Minister about this. She thinks it would be a mistake to seek an appointment with President Gorbachev for this purpose. We should keep our powder dry for some really important occasion on which a meeting would be urgent and substantive. I think she would be content, however, for the material in the draft telegrams enclosed with your letter, dealing with the agenda for the meeting, to be deployed with Mr. Shevardnadze.

Yours sincerely,

(C. D. POWELL)

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

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

29 November 1988

*Dear Charles,*

Gorbachev Visit: Call by HM Ambassador, Moscow

When the Prime Minister saw Sir Rodric Braithwaite before he went to Moscow, she discussed with him the possibility of a suitable occasion being found for him to call on Mr Gorbachev.

In the Foreign Secretary's view, the preparations for Mr Gorbachev's visit provide the best opportunity for such a call that is likely to arise in the foreseeable future. We do not, in fact, rate the chance of securing a call very highly, not least given Mr Gorbachev's current preoccupation with constitutional reform and the upsurge of nationalism. It would, in any event, be only the second time in 25 years that a British Ambassador had been received by the General Secretary. But Sir Geoffrey Howe attaches importance to it being apparent to the Russians that our Ambassador in Moscow enjoys the confidence of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister herself regularly receives the Soviet Ambassador.

I attach a self-explanatory draft telegram to Moscow which includes points to make if the call is granted. With the programme falling into place and with Mr Gorbachev leaving for New York on 6 December, a request for the call would have to be lodged no later than 30 November to have any chance of succeeding.

*James*  
*Stephen Wall*  
(J S Wall)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

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TO DESKBY 300600 MOSCOW

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Following Personal for Ambassador

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S VISIT: A CALL ON THE GENERAL SECRETARY

1. The Prime Minister has agreed that you should now request a call on Gorbachev, making clear that you do so on her instructions. You should say that she attaches importance to personal contacts through Ambassadors and that she regularly receives the Soviet Ambassador. She is particularly keen to ensure that preparations for Mr Gorbachev's visit use the short time available in London to maximum advantage. She would therefore like not only to hear at first hand that Mr Gorbachev is content with what is planned for his programme, but would also like to suggest areas of particular interest to her for discussion between them and to hear from Mr Gorbachev about his own priorities.
2. If a call is granted it could follow quickly on the request. The following are points which you should make to Mr Gorbachev:
  - (a) Warm personal regards from the Prime Minister to Mr and to Mrs Gorbachev. Mrs Thatcher is delighted at the prospect of an early meeting. She sees the timing as particularly significant and well chosen and is glad that it will follow meetings of

both

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both leaders with President Reagan and President-elect Bush, and President Gorbachev's recent meetings with Chancellor Kohl, President Mitterrand and Prime Minister de Mita. The widening of the East-West dialogue which this represents offers welcome new perspectives and opportunities.

(b) The Programme: MIFT sets out the programme in its current form as discussed with Chief of Protocol Chernyshev. Everything on it is firm from the British point of view and has been approved by the Prime Minister and The Queen. Given that the details were in effect chosen by Moscow, they should already be known to Mr Gorbachev. You should express the Prime Minister's pleasure that Mr Gorbachev is able to stay long enough to have lunch with The Queen. You should add that we have followed Mr Gorbachev's wishes in not making any provision for a speech or any contact with the media, but point out that the media will find this unusual and no doubt speculate unhelpfully as to why. You should say that the Prime Minister looks forward to spending as much time as possible during the visit in conversation with Mr Gorbachev, and that she is therefore planning on taking the Gorbachevs sight-seeing after lunch on 13 December herself.

(c) Issues for discussion:

Soviet Union Internal: The Prime Minister will hope to hear from Mr Gorbachev his assessment of the progress of economic, political and social perestroika, the impact of glasnost, the problem areas and his plans for further reform. As someone who has publicly declared her support for perestroika, she takes a particularly keen interest. She will hope to hear Mr Gorbachev's views as to how the Soviet Union's relations with the West and particularly Western Europe are seen by him as interacting with the process of internal reform or affecting its prospects.

Foreign Policy: Mrs Thatcher will be interested in a general

expose of the background to the Soviet decision to deideologise foreign policy and in the practical effects this is intended to have - how will this redefine the concept of peaceful coexistence? What changes does it imply in the perceptions the Soviet Union has of the West's intentions? What changes does it suggest in the Soviet Union's vision of the future, of the relationships in Europe or on a wider scale?

Arms Control: The Prime Minister is particularly keen to focus on prospects in the conventional and chemical <sup>weapons</sup> negotiations with a view to substantive progress in 1989.

Regional: Without playing down the importance of progress in other areas, Mrs Thatcher will want particularly to explore prospects for progress in the Middle East in the light of all recent developments.

Human Rights: The Prime Minister regards progress already made and intentions announced as highly significant. She would like to review these and the degree to which a way can be found to ensure that there can be no repetition of the tragedies of the past. She also wishes to consider the role of public opinion and the proposed Moscow Human Rights Conference.

Bilateral: The Prime Minister wishes to consider how to consolidate the present excellent state of Anglo-Soviet relations and broaden them as widely as possible throughout the different interest groups in both societies and in to areas of practical interest to both sides whether bilateral or multilateral (eg drugs, terrorism, environment) whilst eliminating remaining areas of difficulty.

(d) Mr Gorbachev's Priorities: You should ask Mr Gorbachev not only about his priorities for his talks in London but also for his meetings in New York and Cuba. Would he be ready to give Mrs Thatcher a confidential preview of his UN speech and any new initiatives he wishes to launch there in order that she has time to consider them before he arrives?

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3. See MIFT.

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MIPT: A CALL ON THE GENERAL SECRETARY

1. Following is the outline programme as it stands as discussed with Chief of Protocol Chernyshev. Changes are unlikely to affect the substance but may affect timings. In some cases it remains to be seen who will be in the party from the British side.

Monday 12 December

2300: Arrive Heathrow.

Met by the Prime Minister and Mr Thatcher who will escort the General Secretary and Mrs Gorbachev to their residence at 13 Kensington Palace Gardens, and there have a short conversation with them.

Tuesday 13 December

1000: Talks at No 10 Downing Street on a restricted basis: the General Secretary, the Prime Minister plus one interpreter and note-taker per side. Working lunch for those involved in the talks plus Mrs Gorbachev, Mr Thatcher, the Soviet Ambassador in London and HM Ambassador Moscow. After lunch the Prime Minister will escort Mr and Mrs Gorbachev on a sight-seeing tour of London to include laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown

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Warrior, Parliament Square, Whitehall, Trafalgar Square, Embankment, the City, Dockland, St Paul's Cathedral and Fleet Street.

Note: If the Chief of Protocol advises that this programme is too heavy, one or more items may have to be dropped. The list of places to be included came from Moscow.

1630: Return to 13 Kensington Palace Gardens.

1700: The Leader of the Opposition calls.

1800: Reception given by the Lord Mayor of London for 100-150 leading British business representatives.

1930: Dinner at No 10 Downing Street in honour of the General Secretary and Mrs Gorbachev. Extended toasts (10 minutes maximum). Note: 66 guests - Downing Street's maximum.

Wednesday 14 December:

Representatives of the British Communist Party to call on the General Secretary at 13 Kensington Palace Gardens.

1015: Talks at No 10 Downing Street on the same restricted basis as on 13 December.

1130 Guard of Honour ceremony at Buckingham Palace. Viewing of some of The Queen's pictures. Lunch given by Her Majesty The Queen.

1300: Depart Buckingham Palace for airport.

Programme for Mrs Gorbachev:

Monday 12 December:

As for the General Secretary.

Tuesday 13 December:

1000: Depart 13 Kensington Palace Gardens for visit to Windsor Castle.

1225: Return to 13 Kensington Palace Gardens.

1300: Lunch at No 10 Downing Street.

1400-1630: As for the General Secretary.

1645: Leave for the Museum of London.

1815:



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1815: Return to Kensington Palace Gardens.

1920: Leave Kensington Palace Gardens with the General Secretary for dinner at No 10 Downing Street.

Wednesday 14 December:

Private until 1130 arrival at Buckingham Palace with the General Secretary. Remainder as for the General Secretary.

Note: Some of the timings on both programmes are tight. The Chief of Protocol may recommend changes. We shall advise you urgently of any alterations.

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