

cc/c ①



Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Agree to the proposed instructions to our Embassy in Moscow?

17 February 1989

Dear Charles,

The complication over Windsor Castle vs. Buckingham Palace is an absurd one. We need to get over the facts at a high level.

Programme for Mr Gorbachev's visit

COP 18/2

Thank you for your letter of 8 February to Richard Gozney. The Head of Soviet Department had lunch with two members of the Soviet Embassy responsible for arranging Mr Gorbachev's programme, Messrs Karasin and Kossov, on 13 February, for an informal review of the programme as it stood in December, and of our ideas for improving it.

The Russians said that, with only very minor changes, the Gorbachevs themselves would be happy with the December programme which had been arranged largely to suit their wishes. They simply wanted it resurrected. Hemans put forward the Prime Minister's other suggestions. The Russians were, as always, noticeably reticent about anything to do with Mrs Gorbachev's programme and made no comment except to note that Kew Gardens had been badly damaged in the 1986 storm and the Palm House was now empty. The only areas where changes appeared to be envisaged by the Russians were:

- (a) the Russians asked for a more prestigious company visit to be inserted in place of Sortex Ltd. The DTI are looking for a suitable alternative in accordance with the Prime Minister's wishes;
- (b) they thought that Mr Gorbachev might prefer a smaller "meeting" with businessmen to the Mansion House reception proposed in December, but they await instructions in the light of whatever Mr Kamentsev recommends after his visit last week;
- (c) they thought that Mr Gorbachev might well want to make a speech or at least to meet the media. They took careful note when Hemans outlined various possibilities, including the Guildhall's combination of a large invited audience, wide media coverage and panoply of state. They have since asked informally whether an address to Parliament might be possible. Hemans replied that we had not considered it;
- (d) they were attracted to the idea of an Armenia assistance signing ceremony;
- (e) they were also attracted by the suggestion that Mrs Gorbachev might visit the Royal Dress Collection at Kensington Palace and there be shown round by Princess Margaret.

We must pursue immediately (d) as soon as return from the PR.G



The Russians thought that timings would be as in December, except for a slightly later departure to take account of the timing of The Queen's lunch. The delegation too will almost certainly be the same. As last time, the Russians want time kept free on the last morning.

Most of the conversation was taken up with the business of how the Russian public would react to the moving of The Queen's lunch from Buckingham Palace to Windsor. Everyone knew what Buckingham Palace was and would wonder why the Soviet Head of State was being received in what Kossov rather charmingly described as a suburban castle! Hemans spoke as you had done on the subject.

At this stage the Foreign Secretary believes that the best way of making progress with the details of the programme, and of laying to rest the unfortunate Windsor Castle complication, is for Sir Rodric Braithwaite to take action in Moscow. If, as we intend, he speaks to Chernyayev, the head of Mr Gorbachev's Private Office, he will be able to convey the personal interest of the Prime Minister in the details of the programme and try to ensure that Mr Gorbachev himself focusses on our new ideas at an early stage. I enclose a draft telegram of instructions. This incorporates two points suggested by the No 10 Press Office since Hemans' lunch on 13 February.

I am copying this letter to Tom Jeffrey (DES), Neil Thornton (DTI) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

James Stephen Wall
 (J S Wall)
 Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
 10 Downing Street

OUT TELEGRAM

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10 Following Personal for Ambassador

11 MR GORBACHEV'S VISIT: THE PROGRAMME

12 1. Head of Soviet Department held preliminary discussions with

13 Karasin and Kossov of the Soviet Embassy on 13 February. They

14 had little concrete information to offer and few opinions.

15 2. In the light of your conversation on 8 February with the

16 Prime Minister please now seek an early appointment with

17 Cherynayev. You should say that the Prime Minister is very

18 much looking forward to welcoming Mr and Mrs Gorbachev to

19 London and to the talks which will be the centre-piece of

20 the visit. She wants to make the visit as interesting and

21 enjoyable as possible and to this end has instructed you to go

22 over the programme with Chernyayev to ensure that everything is

23 as Mr and Mrs Gorbachev would like it. You should say that

24 with the visit now taking place in spring rather than winter, it

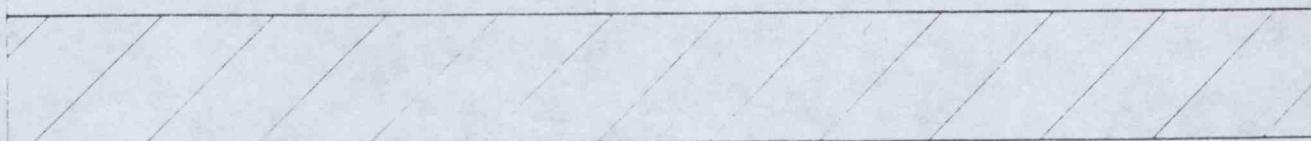
25 should be possible to build in some more variety and interest.

/// 26 In particular you should go on to cover the following ground:

// 27 (a) Will Gorbachev want to make a speech? The Prime Minister

/ 28 is keen on a colourful ceremony in the City with

29 appropriate pomp and ceremony. The Guildhall is available



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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

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2 on 7 April. It offers, in addition to colour and
3 tradition, a space for a large invited audience which
4 would comprise Cabinet Ministers, leading editors,
5 academics and industrialists, and excellent media coverage.
6 President Reagan's programme incorporated arrival/
7 departure formalities and a 25 minute speech within one
8 hour. But the City will need to know very soon ie by
9 22 February if possible if Mr Gorbachev would like something
10 on these lines. A London University forum would also be
11 possible. Will Gorbachev want to make a full speech at the
12 No 10 dinner? In December ten minute toasts were agreed.
13 A television interview would be another possibility.

14 (b) The Prime Minister is keen to arrange some kind of small
15 ceremony recroding the British undertaking to provide
16 reconstruction assistance for Armenia. This could take the
17 form of a signing by Ministers in front of the Heads of
18 Government of a Protocol, perhaps with some Armenians and
19 relief workers present.

20 (c) The Prime Minister hopes Gorbachev will agree to a short
21 conversation in front of the media at the start of the
22 talks on 6 April. Conversation would be of a general
23 nature and the object would be simply to show the two
24 leaders talking together. It would last no more than five
25 minutes.

26 Note: This proposal and the following one have arisen
27 since Hemans's conversation with Kossov.

28 (d) The 'Today' programme on BBC Radio 4 has chosen Gorbachev
29 as man of the year and the Prime Minister as woman^a of the
30 year. The Prime Minister thinks it would be nice if the
31 BBC were to present the awards to them together at No 10
32 Downing Street. The ceremony could be very short and
33 could perhaps be done just before the working lunch on
34 6 April when Mrs Gorbachev would also be present.

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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

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2 (e) Does Gorbachev still want a Mansion House/Guildhall

3 reception for upwards of 100 businessmen? An alternative

4 if Kamentsev has recommended in the light of his own

5 visit that a smaller, less formal, session be organised,

6 would be for the CBI to arrange a meeting at a suitable

7 venue, perhaps Lancaster House.

8 Note: Kossov offered no steer except to confirm that the

9 City arrangements had been rather too formal for a business

10 meeting.

11 (f) For flight scheduling purposes we need the proposed

12 arrival and departure times soonest. Please ensure that

13 Chernyayev realises that there is no flexibility in the

14 timing of The Queen's lunch which cannot be earlier than

15 1300 on 7 April as the Duke of Edinburgh is taking the

16 salute at the Sovereign's passing out parade at Sandhurst

17 and cannot return earlier.

18 Note: Kossov expects the arrival time to be as for

19 December at 2300 and expects that the later departure

20 caused by the lunch timing will not be a problem.

21 (g) Location of The Queen's lunch:

22 Kossov and Karasin made very heavy weather of the holding

23 of The Queen's lunch at Windsor. Claiming that they

24 themselves perfectly well appreciated that The Queen would

25 be in residence at Windsor at the time and that it was

26 also a singular honour to be entertained by The Queen

27 there, they nevertheless insisted that in Moscow the move

28 would not be understood. All Russians knew about

29 Buckingham Palace and would expect The Queen to receive the

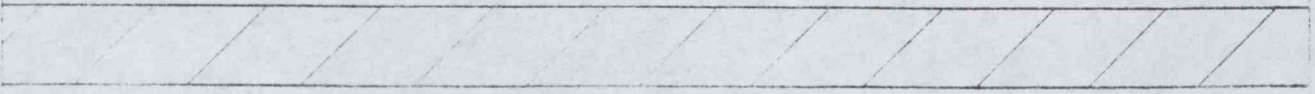
30 Gorbachevs there. Any alternative venue would look to them

31 as it would to us if a Soviet Head of State received a

32 visiting Head of State at a dacha instead of in the Kremlin.

33 Kossov repeated this argument to Powell at No 10. Despite

34 vigorous counter-arguments he would not be shifted. Indeed



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OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

	Classification	Caveat	Precedence
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2 with Hemans both Kossov and Karasin switched to crude

3 bullying tactics by implying that the visit could come

4 unstuck on this point and that there were those in Moscow

5 who would be happy to revert to the old idea of postponing

6 the visit to Britain by a year. We do not want to bring

7 high level retribution down on Kossov but we do wish most

8 firmly to rebut Soviet moves in this area and leave them

9 in no doubt whatsoever that the Windsor arrangement stands.

10 You should make the following points:

11 (i) The misgivings of which the Soviet Embassy have told

12 us informally and in strict confidence are based on a

13 misunderstanding.

14 (ii) There is no question of a lower status attaching to

15 Mr Gorbachev being received at Windsor rather than

16 Buckingham Palace. It is unthinkable that The Queen, who

17 is much looking forward to entertaining Mr and Mrs Gorbachev

18 to lunch, would contemplate according such important

19 visitors a subordinate status.

20 (iii) The Queen invariably spends several weeks at Windsor

21 before Easter.

22 (iv) The Queen regularly receives official visitors

23 including Heads of State at Windsor as well as Buckingham

24 Palace. She received President and Mrs Reagan at Windsor

25 recently. Bulganin and Kruschev were also received there.

26 It is a particular honour for entertainment to be held

27 there, given its status as the Royal Family's private

28 residence.

29 (v) Windsor is in any event closer to Heathrow for

30 departure than central London.

/// 31 (vi) We hope that this clarifies any misunderstanding.

// 32 Soviet persistence in this area would be ill received when

/ 33 The Queen, the Prime Minister and the Government are doing

34 everything possible to accord Mr Gorbachev a full and

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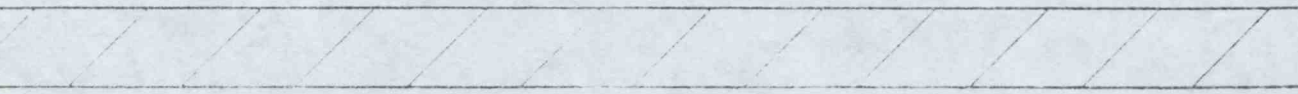
will, with her agreement, plan on the appropriate involvement of children at one or more stages of her programme.

(d) The Prime Minister thinks that Mrs Gorbachev would find a visit to Kew Gardens enjoyable.

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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

20 February, 1989.

PROGRAMME FOR MR. GORBACHEV'S VISIT

Thank you for your letter of 17 February about the programme for Mr. Gorbachev's visit, with which you enclosed some draft instructions to Sir Rodric Braithwaite in Moscow. The Prime Minister is content with what is proposed, and the draft telegram can issue. She notes, however, the indications of Soviet interest in Mr. Gorbachev addressing Parliament, and has commented that we must be ready to pursue this urgently if the Russians confirm their interest. This will no doubt become apparent in their reaction to the proposal for a speech at the Guildhall. You will want to give some thought, on a contingency basis, to the arrangements for an address to both Houses of Parliament in the event that the Russians press this, and Ministers and the Parliamentary authorities agree.

I am sending copies of this letter to Tom Jeffery (Department of Education and Science), Neil Thornton (Department of Trade and Industry), and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

C.D. Powell

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

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22/2.

J S Wall Esq
PS/Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London
SW1

Dear Stephen

PROGRAMME FOR MR GORBACHEV'S VISIT

My Secretary of State has seen your letter to Charles Powell of 17 February. He is glad that we are going to press for Mrs Gorbachev to visit a school, or otherwise to agree to children being a feature of her programme.

The programme for Mrs Gorbachev originally included a visit to the Museum of London. Having recently visited both himself, however, Mr Baker thought that it would be rather more interesting for Mrs Gorbachev to visit the newly opened Museum of the Moving Image on the South Bank, which is a much livelier and more exciting place. It has the particular attraction of including a carriage from a Russian train which travelled around the country in the Revolutionary period showing films about the Revolution.

I understand that the idea has been put to the Russians here and that they are not enthusiastic. Mr Baker has written to Mr Zamyatin setting out the proposal: I attach a copy of that letter. He would also be grateful if Sir Rodric Braithwaite could be asked to put the suggestion forward in Moscow.

I am copying this letter to Charles Powell.

Yours,

Tom,

T B JEFFERY
Private Secretary



ELIZABETH HOUSE
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HE Mr L Zamyatin
Ambassador of the USSR
13 Kensington Palace Gardens
London W8

21 FEB 1989

L. Zamyatin

As you know, I am very much looking forward to escorting Mrs Gorbachev when she accompanies President Gorbachev on his visit to this country in April. The programme for Mrs Gorbachev originally included a visit to the Museum of London. I have been giving the matter further thought and believe that it might be rather more interesting for Mrs Gorbachev to visit the newly opened Museum of the Moving Image on the South Bank, which she may find a much livelier and more exciting place. It has the particular attraction of including a carriage from a Russian train which travelled around the country in the Revolutionary period showing films about the Revolution.

I understand that some of our officials have considered this idea. I was so impressed by the MOMI that I thought I should put the proposal directly to you.

I am of course very happy to discuss this particular idea and Mrs Gorbachev's programme in general if that would be helpful.

[Signature]

[Signature]

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