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Series III, Volume XII

Edited by Richard Smith

## **Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989**

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# BRITAIN AND THE REVOLUTIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE, 1989

Documents on British Policy Overseas  
Series III, Volume XII

*Edited by Richard Smith*  
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# CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Abbreviations for printed sources</i>	xxiii
<i>Abbreviated designations</i>	xxiv
<i>List of persons</i>	xxvii
<i>Document summaries</i>	xxxvi
Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989	1
<i>Index</i>	395



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## PREFACE

1989 saw momentous change in Europe. It was the year in which Communist rule in Eastern Europe<sup>1</sup> finally ended: with mass demonstrations, an end to one-Party rule, free elections and the opening of borders. In Poland, the independent trade union Solidarity went from being an illegal organisation to running the country. Vaclav Havel went from being a jailed dissident to President of Czechoslovakia. In October 1989, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) marked the 40th anniversary of the Socialist state, only to see that state collapse a month later following the opening of the Berlin Wall. In December, the Romanian leader Nicolae Ceauşescu saw his near quarter century rule brought to an end in a matter of days. This volume charts the events of an historic year in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and Romania, and looks at British policy towards the Baltic States. It contains reporting from British embassies on the rapidly changing political scene, and documents attempts by the British Government to develop policy against the backdrop of unfolding revolution.<sup>2</sup>

### *Britain and policy towards Eastern Europe*

Since the end of the Second World War the countries of Eastern Europe had been under the political and economic control of the Soviet Union. Soviet dominance was challenged at various intervals—most notably in the GDR in June 1953, Hungary in October 1956 and Czechoslovakia in spring 1968—but unrest was ultimately suppressed by military intervention. The ‘Brezhnev doctrine’ affirmed that the Soviet Union would not allow an Eastern European country to revert to a non-socialist form of government.<sup>3</sup> From the late 1960s the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO) recognised an increasing diversity amongst the countries of Eastern Europe, and decided to pursue better relations by extending existing political bilateral contacts, and also looking to other fields—trade, technology, science and culture.<sup>4</sup> In the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, the culmination of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), the West secured commitments from the Soviet Union relating to respect for human rights, expansion of contacts between Eastern and Western Europe, freedom of travel, cultural exchanges and freedom of the press. The hope was to widen the channels through which Western ideas and objective information could reach the citizens of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.<sup>5</sup> Whilst accepting that change might take a generation to occur, the Government was keen to use the CSCE Final Act to induce it.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We use the term current at the time, which also covered countries in Central and South Eastern Europe. All these countries were handled by the FCO’s Eastern European Department, except the GDR which was covered by the Western European Department.

<sup>2</sup> The volume complements *DBPO: Berlin in the Cold War* and *DBPO: German Unification*. Some of the documents in those volumes are reproduced here.

<sup>3</sup> See *DBPO: Soviet Union, 1968–1972*, No. 62.

<sup>4</sup> *DBPO: Soviet Union, 1968–1972*, No. 11: ‘Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on Relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe’, 17 June 1968 and No. 89: ‘Memorandum by Sir A. Douglas-Home on policy towards the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe’, 29 February 1972.

<sup>5</sup> For the negotiation of the Act see *DBPO: CSCE*.

<sup>6</sup> *DBPO: Détente*, No. 87: Mr Callaghan to Sir H. Smith (Moscow) ‘The Conference of HM Ambassadors in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 17–19 November 1975’, 11 March 1976.

## *Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989*

From 1979, the aim of the new Conservative Government, led by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, was to ‘undermine Soviet power by encouraging the existing tendencies towards diversity within the Warsaw Pact’. Key to achieving this were contacts—to enable the UK to learn more about those countries, to explain its own policies to the East, to broker trade deals and explore shared interests. But the Government had ‘no interest in provoking a crisis in the area, which would again be ended by invasion if the Russians thought it necessary’.<sup>7</sup>

In September 1985, British policy was reassessed following Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe’s visit to Poland in April. The wish was to encourage a gradual evolution away from Soviet influence—‘a quiet, long term challenge to the dominance of the Communist Party’—which meant engaging Western influence ‘in all areas and at all levels’. This required a basic framework of political relations on which other activities could flourish. Countries showing some independence from the Soviet pattern in internal policy (i.e. Hungary) or foreign policy (i.e. Romania), were to be favoured, but other countries should not be ignored, ‘just because they have nasty leaders’. Trade, economic reform, cultural engagement, human contacts and travel were all to be encouraged, and human rights were to be championed, even at the risk of damaging political relations.<sup>8</sup>

This reassessment took place on the eve of change in the Soviet Union following the appointment, in March 1985, of Mikhail Gorbachev to the post of General Secretary of the Communist Party. Popular calls for reform from within Eastern bloc countries were legitimised by Gorbachev’s new policies of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness), and emboldened by the Soviet Union’s increasing reluctance to intervene in the internal affairs of its Warsaw Pact allies. As the decade wore on, this shift in attitude towards political reform began to place pressure on Communist leaders, along with a number of other factors: the failure of centralised planning to maintain living standards; pressure from the West, both from the growing disparity in living standards and implementation of the CSCE framework; the old age of the leadership; dissatisfaction of educated people; and alienation of youth.

### *The scene is set*

At the end of their Annual Reviews for 1988, British Ambassadors to Eastern Europe forecast what the coming year might bring. In Poland, Stephen Barrett thought progress towards dialogue between government and opposition was inching ever closer and 1989 would be ‘an interesting and perhaps turbulent year, calling for firm and sophisticated policies from the West.’ Britain would be in a good position to offer constructive advice following the Prime Minister’s successful visit to Poland in November 1988 which had positively influenced both the government and Solidarity.<sup>9</sup>

In May 1988, János Kádár, General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party since 1956, had been ousted. A new generation of Hungarian leaders, led by Prime Minister Károly Grósz, now had to take tough decisions on reform and channel new political and intellectual freedoms in a constructive direction. However,

<sup>7</sup> See *DBPO: Afghanistan*, No. 1: ‘British Policy in East-West Relations,’ 7 December 1979.

<sup>8</sup> ‘British Policy towards Eastern Europe,’ 5 September 1985, The National Archives (TNA) FCO 28/6650, EN 021/11.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Poland: Annual Review for 1988’ by Stephen Barrett, 10 January 1989, TNA FCO 28/9289, ENP 014/2.

Ambassador Len Appleyard felt that the ‘pragmatic and realistic Magyars’ stood a better chance than most of coping with the dynamic processes of change they had unleashed. ‘They have moved a long way already, but the road ahead is shrouded in uncertainty and risk. 1989 seems destined to test the nerve and moderation of the Hungarian nation to the very limit.’ Meanwhile relations with Britain could not be better, and a visit by Grósz to London in 1988 ‘was seen as a further example of Mrs Thatcher’s talent for picking winners’.<sup>10</sup>

In Czechoslovakia, despite the removal of long-standing Communist Party boss Gustáv Husak and the introduction of successor generation politicians like Štěpán Urbánek, the authorities’ ‘gut instinct remained to crush the opposition rather than come to terms with it’. Head of Chancery, John Macgregor, noted: ‘the ice may have cracked, but no-one has a clear idea of where Czechoslovakia is heading’. But fear of the authorities had diminished and open public debate had increased: ‘And this process is probably unstoppable.’<sup>11</sup>

Bulgaria had seen a partial retreat from glasnost in 1988 with reforms postponed and reform-minded Party leaders dismissed by a leadership wary of disturbing political stability. However, Ambassador John Fawcett thought that dissent was stirring, with the appearance of unregistered human rights groups and discontent amongst the politically minded at the slow pace of change. Bulgaria was ‘small in size and short on political glamour’ and the ill-treatment of its Turkish minority was a continuing strain on relations with Britain.<sup>12</sup>

In East Berlin, Nigel Broomfield did not expect to see any substantive change of course during 1989. The Politburo appeared solidly behind the East German leader, Eric Honecker, and seemed determined to continue their present policies. ‘But it is a steadfastness based on uncertainty and isolation . . . In any other Eastern European country the storm signals would be flying, but not here.’ Mr Broomfield sensed a ‘perceptible increase in discontent’ within the country but thought there would have to be a generational change before any fundamental reconsideration of policy could take place. ‘And even then I would judge that ideological and national characteristics which reinforce each other will prevent any rapid abandonment of present positions.’<sup>13</sup>

Likewise in Romania, the British Ambassador Hugh Arbuthnott saw no prospect of fundamental change whilst Nicolae Ceauşescu was in power: ‘His megalomania and the official adulation needed to feed it have both increased.’ Ceauşescu had no interest in going down ‘the slippery path of reform, which could only lead to a loss of power for himself, his family and his cronies’. Nor was he optimistic that continued pressure, over human rights or reform, would produce any change. Criticism over the policy of ‘systematisation’—the destruction of rural villages—had led to tactical concessions rather than real changes in policy.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> ‘Hungary: Annual Review for 1988’ by Len Appleyard, 29 December 1988, TNA FCO 28/9229, ENH 014/2.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Czechoslovakia: Annual Review for 1988’ by John Macgregor, 11 January 1989, TNA FCO 28/9136, ENC 014/2.

<sup>12</sup> ‘Bulgaria: Annual Review for 1988’ by John Fawcett, 10 January 1989, TNA FCO 28/9183, ENG 014/2.

<sup>13</sup> ‘German Democratic Republic: Annual Review for 1988’ by Nigel Broomfield, 4 January 1989, TNA FCO 33/10150, WRE 014/1.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Romania: Annual Review for 1988’ by Hugh Arbuthnott, 12 January 1989, TNA FCO 28/9409, ENR 014/2.

*The year unfolds*

The FCO Policy Planning Staff thought that the reform movements in 1989 were fundamentally different from Hungary in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968. The governments in Hungary and Poland appeared to be trying to 'ride the wave of reform rather than fighting against it'. The short and medium term aims should be to encourage Poland and Hungary to implement their promised moves towards political pluralism, and to encourage the repressive regimes in other Eastern European countries to move in the same direction: although the chances of seeing a genuine multi-party system with free elections were 'extremely ambitious' (No. 37). Meanwhile, the Cold War was still very much evident. In May, Czech (and Soviet) diplomats were expelled from the UK for spying (Nos. 54, 64) and in Berlin British officials continued to assist those attempting to escape the GDR (Nos. 13, 104).

The Planners identified a range of practical measures to help these countries along the path towards economic efficiency and political liberalisation: encouraging political and economic reform with the promise of increased high-level contacts and economic assistance, and discouraging backsliding by threatening to reverse these incentives; exploiting the attraction of the success of Western societies and economies by increasing awareness of the West in Eastern Europe; helping Eastern Europeans to learn how to change economically and politically, and assisting new informal groups and 'parties' springing up; using the leverage provided by the desire of Eastern European countries to be more closely integrated into world economic institutions, such as the IMF, and viewing sympathetically applications to join existing political Pan-European institutions and conventions; and, using increased trade with individual Eastern European countries to wean them away from dependence on the Soviet Union. However, the Planners also considered it important not to let Eastern European leaders avoid difficult decisions if they wished to catch up with the West (No. 37).

In March, the FCO held a seminar with academics and journalists to gather expert views on the future of Eastern Europe. At the end of the meeting the policymakers concluded that without a massive financial injection into the region the scope for promoting change was limited, but the UK could have an impact through carefully targeted initiatives in key areas (No. 40). The Eastern European Department thought that the best way to pursue this was by transferring expertise over a whole range of subjects in which the UK had vast experience. In the first instance, this could be aimed at the Poles and Hungarians, but expertise should also be made available to other countries when they were ready and willing to benefit from it. Deputy Head, Ann Lewis, commented: 'We are living in exciting times for Eastern Europe. We want to do all we can to give things a push in the right direction' (No. 45). This was the origin of the 'Know-How' Fund, a technical assistance programme designed to transfer knowledge and skills in areas such as governance and management, financial services, law and justice, economic and monetary policy, and also political democracy—teaching the new generation of East European politicians how to run parties, fight elections and build democratic institutions. 'Since we pride ourselves on having the Mother of Parliaments,' noted Department Head Christopher Hulse, 'it seems to me that this is a natural British export' (No. 41).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> For the history of the Fund see: Keith Hamilton, *Transformational Diplomacy after the Cold War: Britain's Know How Fund in Post Communist Europe, 1989–2003* (London: Routledge, 2013).

The rapidly changing political landscape posed new dilemmas for policymakers. By the start of 1989, with two non-Communist Governments in Poland and Hungary, the prospect of reform in GDR, and the Soviet Union no longer able to control events, it was recognised that the 1985 strategy needed updating. However, it was difficult to construct policy when events were so fast moving. Nevertheless, Policy Planning Staff set out to identify possible future scenarios, UK interests and objectives, the attitude of allies, and suggest a new policy towards Eastern Europe—one that made the most of the Prime Minister's popularity in the region (No. 132). Mrs Thatcher was seen as an uncompromising opponent of Communism and a champion of freedom.<sup>16</sup> In February, she gave short shrift to a US proposal to seeking an agreement with Gorbachev, over greater freedoms for Eastern Europe, as 'an unwelcome element of super-power bilateralism, conducted over the heads of the Europeans' (No. 17). She was also seen as influential on the world stage, especially with Gorbachev and the United States. There was also a recognition that the UK had undergone a decade of economic restructuring and the new regimes were keen to learn from the British example.

The pace of change quickened with the fall of the Berlin Wall on the evening of 9 November. In Cabinet, there was concern that events might be moving too fast and a desire for the complex questions now arising to be handled carefully by Western governments. For instance, German unification was not be treated as an immediate priority. The general conclusion was: 'Although events were moving in a favourable direction, Europe faced a difficult decade ahead'. Meanwhile the Government was anxious that nothing should undermine President Gorbachev's position. It was thought that a change in the Soviet leadership would inflict major damage on the prospects for the further spread of democracy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (No. 146). In the view of Rodric Braithwaite, the British Ambassador to Russia: 'Gorbachev has lit the touch paper and is standing back', calculating that the Soviet security no longer depended on garrisons in Eastern Europe, the country was better off without the burden of failing Eastern European economies, and perestroika at home stood a greater chance of success if it had already established itself in the former satellites (No. 160).

European Community (EC) Heads of Government met in Paris on the evening of 18 November to discuss developments. There was general agreement on the need to see transition to full democracy, with genuine elections and all the human rights embodied in the Helsinki Final Act. At the same time, change and reform needed stability and security. For this, NATO's importance must be reaffirmed, together with recognition that both Alliances—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—would remain in existence. (No. 152). The FCO then went on to set out how the EC might manage its future relations with Eastern Europe, a plan that was passed to M. Delors, the President of the European Commission. The development of the Community's relationships with Eastern Europe 'should be dynamic and incremental' with political and economic support, and closer forms of association, proportionate to the levels of reform achieved (No. 179). The FCO also developed proposals for further EC economic support in order to 'maintain our role in ensuring the right positive response to the changes in Eastern Europe.' This favoured a 'European Development

<sup>16</sup> Thatcher later wrote that the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe was 'the most welcome political change of my life.' Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (London: HarperCollins, 2013) p. 790.

Commission,' to make available economic advice to Governments undertaking reforms, over a Development Bank for Eastern Europe (No 182).

Finally, 1989 was also a time of change for the FCO itself. After years of continuity, the FCO had three Secretaries of State during the year. Sir Geoffrey Howe, Foreign Secretary since 1983, was removed on 24 July in a reshuffle and replaced by John Major. Major left after only three months to become Chancellor of the Exchequer (following the resignation of Nigel Lawson) and Douglas Hurd took over on 26 October. However, continuity was provided at junior minister level by William Waldegrave, whose portfolio covered Eastern Europe.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile the small team working in the Eastern European Department found themselves increasingly busy with formulating policy and briefing, and dealing with the voluminous amount of reporting from British Embassies in the region.

### *Poland*

In early January, the ruling Communist Party finally agreed to come to terms with Solidarity for the sake of reform, an acknowledgement that it was no longer able to govern effectively or solve Poland's economic problems without the co-operation of independent opposition forces. This quickly paved the way for a far-reaching set of negotiations between the government and opposition figures, headed by Interior Minister General Czesław Kiszczak on the one hand and Lech Wałęsa on the other. Talks took place in three main working groups on the economy and social policy, political reforms, and trade union pluralism, with subgroups on a range of other topics, including agriculture, mining, legal reforms, associations, self-government, the media and youth. The British Ambassador, Stephen Barrett, thought the talks would be tough: 'there is a lot at stake on all sides' (No. 5); but after weeks of discussion, the Round Table produced a package of political and constitutional reforms, including free elections, the creation of an office of President and the legalisation of Solidarity. Barrett called it 'a remarkable and, in East European terms, an unprecedented exercise in political pluralism and democratisation,' and a decisive moment in the post-war history of the country (No. 42).

Future progress depended on how faithfully the agreements were implemented and whether the new fragile democratic system could bear the weight of the economic and social difficulties ahead. As Barrett noted: 'It would be a sad irony (to say the least) if the ballot paper was thrown away because the meat card was worthless' (No. 53). The Prime Minister had promised economic support as a reward for political reform on her visit to Poland in November 1988. Indeed her timely message was credited by Wałęsa and opposition figures as a catalyst for the action that followed (Nos. 27, 53). She now wanted to respond 'rapidly and generously' to Poland and maintain her leadership role amongst Western leaders (No. 49).

The scale of the task facing the Poles was evident to William Waldegrave, the Minister for Eastern Europe, on a visit in May. In pessimistic mood, he reported that forty years of dereliction had left huge industrial, commercial and environmental problems. 'Nonetheless, for our own honour's sake, and because we must not let a myth grow that freedom failed because of our indifference, we must try to help' (No. 58). The issue of aid for Poland had some urgency as General Jaruzelski was

<sup>17</sup> Waldegrave later recalled: 'It was a glorious time . . . I visited Vaclav Havel in the citadel in Prague, and discussed how to make the new state dignified but not militaristic . . . I became friends with Miklos Nemeth . . . I took tea with Lech Walensa [*sic*] in Poland . . .' William Waldegrave, *A Different Kind of Weather* (London: Constable, 2015) pp. 261–2.

due to visit the UK in June. A package of measures was agreed which included support for an IMF adjustment programme and the rescheduling of Poland's payments. Funding was also made available for a 'Know-How' fund. The need for such assistance was endorsed by Alan Clark, Minister for Trade, during a visit in July (No. 101). One immediate area in which Solidarity wanted expertise was in coping with redundancies in the coal and steel sectors, and finding alternative forms of work, where it was thought the British had considerable experience (No. 75.) Jaruzelski welcomed the support when he met Mrs Thatcher but later complained to the Foreign Secretary that the West always toughened its political conditions for economic help each time Poland made a step forward (Nos. 63, 66, 69).

The Round Table process unleashed forces that its participants could not control. Free elections in June saw Solidarity-backed candidates winning 99 of the 100 seats in the upper House and a majority in the lower House (although the Communist Party were guaranteed 65% of the seats by prior arrangement). Meanwhile in July, Jaruzelski was only narrowly elected as President, an office created during the Round Table process with him specifically in mind (Nos. 80, 82, 83, 88). Finally, in August Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a prominent intellectual and adviser to Wałęsa, became Prime Minister—the first non-Communist Prime Minister in Eastern Europe for over 40 years. Barrett reported: 'The West has a clear interest in the success of an enterprise which could have decisive influence on developments elsewhere in Eastern Europe' (No. 98). The message was heeded by the Prime Minister, who wrote to President Bush, President Mitterrand, Chancellor Kohl and M. Delors to urge for greater assistance from the international community, stating she did not want to see such an 'astonishing development of historic significance' fail (Nos. 103, 105). 'The transformation of Eastern Europe is only just beginning. So in helping Poland we should be mindful of other East European countries embarking on similar reforms to escape from the straightjacket of Communism, whether now or in the future.'

When Christopher Hulse visited Poland in October he declared: 'the Communist era is virtually over'. The scope for Western expertise was virtually unlimited 'and the trick will be to provide it in crucial places (which the Poles cannot themselves necessarily identify) before it is too late' (No. 131). A similar message was brought by Wałęsa when he met the Prime Minister at Chequers in December. The problem, he said, was not communism—'a huge balloon which had been punctured and was now slowly collapsing'—but the legacy of communism. Poland needed British business to help create a spirit of enterprise and revival. He wanted Britain to play a major role so that Poland did not just become 'a German backyard'. What the Prime Minister had done in Britain was what Poland now needed to do itself (No. 181).

13 December 1989, the eighth anniversary of the declaration of Martial Law provided a natural occasion for reflection on the past and future. The Head of Chancery, Gordon Wetherell, noted that Jaruzelski was a bogey figure and the personification of repression, but remained an essential figure in the new Poland. Ceauşescu apart, Jaruzelski was the only non-Soviet East European leader at the beginning of this year who was still on top. 'I wonder how many would have put their money on that in January' (No. 192).

### *Hungary*

The other country in the vanguard of change was Hungary but, unlike Poland, the impetus came from the leadership itself rather than from below. At the beginning of 1989, Len Appleyard reported that 'a breathless pace of political change' had swept the country since Kádár's departure. Small political groups were now acting

independently of the Party. Newspapers, including newly formed commercial and non-party organs, were asserting an independent voice. But at this stage 'the future of the current reform process' was 'shrouded in uncertainty and risk' as Hungarians 'headed into uncharted territory' (No. 1). British officials held doubts about the prospects of political transformation in Hungary. The share of power and influence between reformers and traditionalists was 'finely balanced' and Party hardliners might still emerge to quash reform before it was too late. It was hard to predict whether there was enough common ground to manage the present transitional process and there was also 'the problem of inflated expectations'. British hopes for 'a fully-fledged, entirely free multi-party system in our sense' were only tentatively held by British policy-makers (Nos. 2, 10, 29, 31) who feared that the economy could provide 'a flashpoint for open unrest' (No. 10). In March, Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs Péter Várkonyi felt it necessary to reassure Thatcher that though 'ordinary people' were 'experiencing the hardship of change . . . he was confident that the government would keep their support' (No. 35).

British officials preferred a gradualist approach to change in Hungary because they feared the Soviet Union's response to Hungarian debates about the withdrawal of Soviet troops, changing the terms of their bilateral relationship, and withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact. In April, British diplomats in Moscow warned their colleagues in Budapest that: 'The Hungarians might aspire to neutral status within a generation but not within a decade. Our best way of helping them would be not to appear to be pushing for this' (No. 44).

Throughout the year, the Embassy reported on an unrelenting flow of constitutional and political change. In January the Hungarian parliament approved new laws on association and assembly legitimizing political groups, trade unions and their activities (No. 2). In February the Party's draft programme of constitutional reform suggested a political future 'much closer to a normal Western European model' (No. 10). In March Parliament repudiated the 1949 Stalinist constitution and laid the foundations for a state based on the rule of law and centred on the citizen (No. 29). Also that month, the National Convention of the Democratic Forum and the Communist Party both published manifestos that called for 'multiparty democracy, free elections, constitutionally guaranteed human rights and mixed market economy' (No. 31). In October the Communist Party dissolved itself, along with the People's Republic of Hungary, and the Republic of Hungary was reborn (No. 122).

Events in Poland were followed as a guide to the likely outcome in Hungary. In July, following a visit to the latter, William Waldegrave wrote that 'Poles are more romantic; Hungarians may be better at finessing their way to freedom . . . What we need is not romantic defeat, but unromantic success' (No. 86). As in Poland, Hungarian ministers raised the spectre of Hungary being swept away by economic and political crisis to urge the British to provide support. In April, Várkonyi warned Thatcher that 'Hungary's Western friends did not fully appreciate the depth of the problems and the totally uneconomic state of most of Hungary's industry': there was, in fact, 'a crying need for foreign investment—and investment rather than credit' (No. 50). The Hungarians were looking for support from, amongst others, the International Monetary Fund, the European Community and the UK's Know-How Fund. UK officials and ministers were anxious that Hungary remained unprepared for full economic liberalisation, attendant monetary conditions and painful social consequences: 'The Hungarians—understandably—want to have their cake and eat it' (No. 167). The UK offered Hungary the same technical support as it had offered to Poland. Waldegrave argued that Hungary now had 'more chance of a successful

and peaceful transition from communism than Poland' (Nos. 86, 116). British officials were also concerned not to let the West Germans take credit for European assistance to Hungary and Poland.

Throughout the year, history and memory—their contestation and revision—acted as a barometer of change. Hungarians began to openly discuss a whole range of 'previously taboo subjects' including the 1848–9 revolution, the 1867 *Ausgleich*, the seizure of power by the Communists at the end of the Second World War, the Rákosi governments, and the Soviet invasion of 1956 (Nos. 10, 25, 33). The most dramatic illustration of Hungary's transformation was the contrast between the burial of János Kádár and the reburial of Imre Nagy. The mental and physical decline of Kádár symbolised the death of the Party state (Nos. 48, 55, 61). The reinterment of Imre Nagy, and fellow-victims of 1956, marked Hungary's determination to transform itself into a modern civilized multi-party state, based on the rule of law (Nos. 70, 71). The Head of Chancery in Budapest reported: 'Two funerals in four weeks of two dominant figures in post-war Hungary; both founders of the HSWP; the one pre-deceasing the other by over 30 years, judicially murdered with at least his connivance, yet haunting the other for the rest of his life, and through his spectacular rehabilitation, precipitating the other's political collapse' (No. 87).

#### *Czechoslovakia*

January 1989 marked the 20th anniversary of the death of Jan Palach, the student who set fire to himself in protest against the crushing of the 'Prague Spring' of 1968 by Soviet troops. Demonstrations to mark the occasion met with an aggressive response by the police but the protestors showed they were not cowed (No. 7). However, the British Ambassador Laurence O'Keeffe found the vast majority of the population, although thoroughly disillusioned with the current regime, sullenly resigned to it. Active opposition centred on the dissident group Charter 77 and the playwright Vaclav Havel. O'Keeffe's initial impression of Havel was of someone 'more comfortable with a pen than a platform' but he did not think it 'outside the bounds of possibility that he could emerge from the ruins of party rule as the philosopher king in the role that Thomas Masaryk had before him' (No. 79).

May Day saw unofficial protests in which a BBC journalist, Misha Glenny, was assaulted and detained by the police (No. 52). The 21st anniversary of the Warsaw Pact invasion in August and the 71st anniversary of Czechoslovakian independence brought people onto the streets (Nos. 97, 123). O'Keeffe thought it was becoming increasingly hard for people to ignore developments in Poland and Hungary. Meanwhile in May the Foreign Secretary cancelled a visit to Prague, planned for July, when the Czech government retaliated in equal measure following the UK's expulsion of diplomats for spying (No. 64).

The tipping point came on 17 November when the authorities used force against students taking part in an officially permitted demonstration. Waldegrave called in the Czechoslovak Ambassador to complain about the use of violence against peaceful demonstrators and warned against trying 'to deflect the inevitable tide of the future' (No. 154). An umbrella group—Civic Forum—was established to unite the community of dissidents (No. 155) and demonstrations, by ever-increasing numbers, became a daily occurrence. The Permanent Under-Secretary (PUS), Sir Patrick Wright (on a visit to Prague on 21/22 November), and the Ambassador joined the crowds to hear people still officially branded enemies of the state addressing huge crowds (No. 158). On 25 November, student representatives approached the British Embassy for help in securing supplies of paper for printing posters. The Embassy

could not assist directly but asked that the request be passed to any non-official organisations willing to help (No. 169).

A general strike on 27 November exceeded all expectations. Members of the Embassy posted around town, including in the industrial area, witnessed the immediate emptying of offices, shops and factories: 'It seemed as though virtually the entire population was turned out on to the streets'. Crucially, the strike united the workers with the students and dissidents. Metro construction workers turned up, 'pulling a lorry they had converted into a float with a model of a policeman hitting a woman with a truncheon on the top of it'. The few policemen who were present wore the badge of protest—the national tricolor (No. 172).

The growing confidence and expectation from all sections of society outstripped the Government's ability to respond with meaningful concessions. By the end of the month the President and the entire Presidium of the Communist Party had resigned, one-party rule had ended, and an interim government had been established with a majority of non-communists. The Ambassador met the new Prime Minister, Marián Čalfa, to pass on a letter of congratulation from Mrs Thatcher at the peaceful nature of the changes. Čalfa requested Western help to reintegrate Czechoslovakia into the society of European states. He hoped that the UK would take a leading part in training Czechoslovak administrators, managers and technologists. In particular, he thought the UK could assist in the restructuring of the mining and heavy industry sectors where Czechoslovakia faced problems similar to those the UK had overcome. 'He and his government had a profound admiration for the Prime Minister and for the manner in which she had tackled these tasks', and he hoped an early meeting with her might be possible (No. 213). Finally, on 29 December, Vaclav Havel was elected President to vast popular demonstrations of affection and relief. The inauguration proceedings were rounded off by a *Te Deum* at the cathedral, the first since 1948 (No. 215).

### *Bulgaria*

UK-Bulgarian relations for most of the year could be summed up as cool. In January, Mrs Thatcher declined President Zhivkov's invitation of December 1988 to visit Bulgaria. The decision reflected a major policy disagreement between the Ambassador in Sofia and the FCO in London. Mr Fawcett had argued, for the duration of his posting, that the UK should pay more attention to Bulgaria in an attempt to encourage reform there. He cited high level visits from other Western leaders, such as President Mitterrand, as a justification for a visit from the Prime Minister. However, officials in London disagreed, and argued that Bulgaria's human rights record, including the persecution of its Turkish minority, could not justify a visit by Mrs Thatcher. The differences played a role in Mr Hulse deciding not to send Mr Fawcett's valedictory despatch for printing and wider circulation, contrary to usual practice (Nos. 21, 57).

The few high-level bilateral meetings that did take place saw analogous arguments rehearsed by both sides. When the Foreign Secretary met the Bulgarian Ambassador in April, Mr Zhulev suggested that more could be done to enhance relations between the two countries, with Zhivkov visiting London if Mrs Thatcher could not go to Bulgaria. Responding, the Foreign Secretary raised the Bulgarian's treatment of the Turkish minority as 'casting a shadow' between the two nations (No. 46). When the new Ambassador, Richard Thomas, presented his credentials in June, Zhivkov reiterated that relations with the UK could be 'friendlier' and suggested that, as a result of economic perestroika, commercial opportunities existed for Britain in Bulgaria

(No. 74). Whilst Bulgaria had introduced some economic reforms, the same was not true in the political sphere, in spite of claims by the leadership. Dissidents and opponents of the regime were kept firmly in check by short-term detentions and tight control of the press, as Mr Thomas's 'first impressions' despatch highlighted. He saw Zhivkov as a 'stopper' to change: only following his removal could genuine reform occur. Thomas also candidly reminded London just how little access he and the Embassy had to the political elite in Bulgaria, unlike other Eastern European countries (No. 106).

A change in leadership did occur, somewhat surprisingly, in November, when, at the Bulgarian Communist Plenum it was announced that Zhivkov had resigned as President and had been replaced by Petar Mladenov. This was a bloodless coup that, as the Embassy reported, saw Zhivkov outmanoeuvred by his colleagues who sought to blame him for all of Bulgaria's ills. Whilst seen by the Embassy as a compromise candidate, Mladenov, in his closing speech, stressed his commitment to glasnost and perestroika, including the possibility of 'pluralism of opinions' (Nos. 140, 141). With the change of leader, the UK's policy towards Bulgaria began to thaw over high-level contacts and visits. Given the rapidly evolving developments in Eastern Europe, the PUS visited Sofia between 22–24 November. He was warmly received by the new leadership and the Ambassador hoped that, with growing signs of nascent reform under Mladenov, William Waldegrave could visit Bulgaria in 1990 (No.162). However, in spite of improving relations the fate of Georgi Markov, the dissident killed in London in 1978, remained a source of irritation on both sides. Mr Waldegrave, a good friend of the Markov family, used a House of Commons debate on Eastern Europe on 1 December to blame the Bulgarian Government for his murder. The Bulgarian Embassy in London raised its concerns with Mr Hulse that the issue may hinder the reset in high-level contacts (No. 186).

By the end of the year it was clear that Bulgaria, like all the other Eastern European countries, was being swept up by the 'winds of change' in the region: a phrase used by Sir Geoffrey Howe when he wrote to Mladenov congratulating him on his appointment as President (No. 195). The emerging opposition in Bulgaria was surprised at the pace of change, though this came with its own risk, as an early election in 1990 would allow them little time to mobilise (No. 201). However, compared with the start of the year, very few Bulgarians could have dreamt their country would have been in such a position by its conclusion.

#### *German Democratic Republic*

At the concluding sessions of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting in January 1989, Western statesmen, including Sir Geoffrey Howe, George Shultz and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, appealed for an end to the Cold War division of Europe and the removal of the Berlin Wall. However, in East Berlin the UK Ambassador, Nigel Broomfield, was cautious about any concerted public demand from the West for the immediate demolition of the Wall, which he thought might increase the intransigence of the GDR leadership. Although hated, its sudden removal would have very practical consequences for Berlin and both Germanies. The general line was that calls for the removal of the Wall, as an affront to human rights, should continue but without any specific timeframe (Nos. 6, 8, 22). For much of the year Berlin was not a concern for officials. At a Berlin meeting of Foreign Ministers in May, there were no pressing issues concerning the city on the agenda and it was hoped to move quickly to issues of greater importance (No. 62).

The dismantling of Hungary's border with Austria in May led to attempts by the GDR to restrict travel to Hungary, an act thought bound to add to the feeling of claustrophobia in the GDR and give rise to further dissent (No. 71). By September thousands of East Germans were flooding across the border to the West and taking refuge in West German embassies. As Colin Munro reported from East Berlin, the GDR leadership seemed duped by their own propaganda and genuinely surprised by the numbers taking the opportunity to flee: 'The exodus has illustrated unmistakably what people actually think of those who claim to lead them. Only a significant change of course at the top might restore some confidence in the GDR's future' (No. 109). The problems anticipated by Broomfield, earlier in the year, if the Wall were breached in any significant way, were now materialising. The influx of refugees into Berlin led to requests to the British, and other Allied powers, for extra land on which to provide additional housing (No. 110, 128).

On the eve of a visit by Gorbachev to East Berlin in October, to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the GDR, British military authorities drew up contingency plans in the event of an attempted mass breakout by East Germans (No. 114). Ever bigger demonstrations were now becoming commonplace in East Berlin, Leipzig and other German cities, eventually forcing the resignation of Erich Honecker on 18 October (No. 121). His successor, Egon Krenz, attempted to open a dialogue with protesters and reform groups, but the Embassy could see little sign that the regime wanted genuine political reform (No. 124). After half a million people had demonstrated in Alexanderplatz on 4 November (No. 134) the government imploded and the East German cabinet resigned *en masse* a few days later (No. 137). The new government, in an attempt to gain support, announced on 9 November the opening of the East German border with the West. That evening thousands of East Berliners gathered at crossing points in Berlin and the border guards let them through. Broomfield described 'extraordinary scenes of emotion' as 'thousands drove, walked and ran over the border, some still in their night clothes, hardly believing their eyes, to be reunited with friends or relatives, but mostly just to see what the West was like'. It was, he said, the underlying unity of the city reasserting itself (No. 138).

The Foreign Secretary visited Berlin on 16 November where, accompanied by a media scrum, he visited Potsdamer Platz and the Brandenburg Gate, and side-stepped questions beginning to surface about the unification of Germany (No. 149). Following the widespread euphoria, the realities of the GDR's economic and political weakness compared to the Federal Republic set in. The Party continued to lose what little authority it had left. In early December, corruption scandals and charges of abuse of power led to mass resignations and arrests. Broomfield reported that the mood in the country had become a lot uglier: 'In the political and moral vacuum which now exists in this country, it is not surprising that an increasing number of people see unity with the FRG as the best way out of the mire into which the SED has led them' (No. 184).

On 22 December, the ceremonial opening of the Brandenburg Gate took place. A band of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, accompanied by the regimental goat, performed valiantly in the pouring rain to the appreciation of the crowds. To British observers posted on both sides of the Wall, the appearance of the Mayors of East and West Berlin and the leaders of the GDR and FRG together in East Berlin in a joint ceremony to open the Gate would have seemed, even six months earlier, a simply incredible proposition (Nos. 205, 214).

*Romania*

Of all the Soviet satellite countries, Romania appeared the least likely to experience change during 1989. At the start of the year, Elena Ceauşescu was seen by the Embassy as the natural successor to take over from her husband Nicolae (No. 3). The security state apparatus, helping to underpin Ceauşescu's iron grip on Romania, showed no sign of wavering, as was conspicuously ably demonstrated by a census of typewriters and photocopiers, initiated at the start of the year, to prevent dissidents from producing underground publications (No. 20). This is not to say that the Embassy ruled out a regime change. Hugh Arbuthnott, in his valedictory despatch at the end of April, raised the possibility of Ceauşescu being overthrown. He had, however, little confidence that this could happen soon (No. 51). In London, Policy Planning Staff went further, declaring that the chances of political reform were practically non-existent and that under Ceauşescu 'Romania appears to be heading back towards the dark ages' (No. 37).

For most of 1989 bilateral relations were fairly limited and strained. Events in Cluj on 27 January, when the Ambassador was forcibly prevented from seeing a dissident, set the tone. High-level ministerial meetings were infrequent and, when they happened, the Romanians were seen by the British as being 'thoroughly disagreeable' (No. 24). On the Romanian side, there was annoyance at high-profile criticism of its internal policies. The Prince of Wales spoke out against the process of 'systematisation', a cause of concern in the West (No. 12). Relations were further exacerbated when the UK co-sponsored a UN Human Rights Commission Resolution to investigate human rights violations in Romania (No. 56).

Occasionally rumours of dissent would surface, but few could be substantiated (No. 107). At the Communist Party Plenum, held in the summer, the Embassy noted that it was very much business as usual: 'nothing is slated to change in Romania' (No. 81). However, in October the new Ambassador, Michael Atkinson, noted in his first impressions despatch that whilst the cult of adulation surrounding Ceauşescu and his wife remained strong, there were strains emerging, with younger Party officials appearing tacitly to understand Britain's criticism of the regime. Like his predecessor, Mr Atkinson presciently, and with more conviction, forecast that Ceauşescu could be toppled in months rather than years and that 'spontaneous protest [was], in spite of the prevalent fatalism, easier to foresee than a palace coup' (No. 126).

Such a protest occurred in mid-December in Timisoara following the authorities' attempts to remove a Hungarian Reform Church Pastor, László Tőkés, from his post and property. Demonstrations quickly turned against Ceauşescu's rule and the security services responded with lethal force. On 19 December, the Romanian Ambassador was summoned to the FCO where the authorities' response was condemned in the strongest terms (No. 193). Mrs Thatcher went further by calling for the withdrawal of Ceauşescu's GCB, bestowed in June 1978 during a state visit to the UK. Mr Hulse reasoned that 'the political arguments for removing the decoration are now overwhelming' (No. 199) and on 21 December, the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary formally recommended to HM The Queen that the honour be withdrawn (this happened on 24 December). Fearing further large-scale casualties, Mrs Thatcher sent a private message to Gorbachev asking him to use his influence to end the bloodshed (No. 200).

In Romania itself events were moving at a fast pace. Ceauşescu, who had been out of the country visiting Iran, returned on 20 December. The Embassy reported that an unpublicised state of emergency was probably in force to quell disturbances and prevent further disorder (No. 197). The next day, there were demonstrations in the capital and fighting broke out. Embassy staff reported seeing dead bodies on the

streets as troops opened fire on protesters (No. 203). However, in an astonishing turn of events, Ceaușescu's rule effectively ended on 22 December, only a day after the first tangible signs of protests in Bucharest. One of the casualties of the brief, but intense, fighting was the British Ambassador's residence, which caught on fire after being used by government forces to target revolutionaries in the nearby TV station.<sup>18</sup>

Ceaușescu and his family were captured whilst trying to escape, and he and Elena were executed on Christmas Day after a swift trial by a military court (No. 210). Bucharest was described as being 'like a liberated city' and the (very) nascent leadership, whilst far from secure in the role of leading Romania, showed enough signs to Embassy officials, in initial meetings, to suggest a new dawn was emerging in Romania.

#### *Baltic States*

British diplomats discussed Baltic nationalism throughout the year. The dilemma for British policy here was to balance sympathy and support for the Baltic States' desire for self-determination, expressed in the UK's policy of denying *de jure* recognition of their incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1940, against a desire not to jeopardise Gorbachev's position, taint Baltic nationalism with Western support or precipitate an East-West crisis. (Nos. 15, 38, 95, 166).

#### *Acknowledgements*

In accordance with the Parliamentary announcement cited in the Introduction to this Series, the editors have had the customary freedom in the selection and arrangement of documents, including full access to all classes of documentation. There has been no instance in this volume where it has been necessary for security reasons to excise any passages from selected documents.

For FCO documents already transferred to The National Archives (TNA), both the TNA and the original FCO file references are given. FCO documents that have yet to be transferred to TNA have only an FCO file reference. Documents quoted or cited in footnotes have only been accorded a file reference where it differs from that of the printed document to which they refer. Telegrams have been given the date on which they were sent. Omitted from the headings and formulations at the end of documents are some classifications regarding administration and circulation but the main security classifications are included. The spelling and punctuation of most names in the documents remain as in the original. Some minor typing errors have been corrected.

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RICHARD SMITH

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<sup>18</sup> <https://blogs.fco.gov.uk/paulbrummell/2014/12/16/romanian-revolution-through-british-eyes-michael-atkinson-bucharest-during-the-1989-revolution/>

## ABBREVIATIONS FOR PRINTED SOURCES

Cmnd.	Command Paper (London)
<i>DBPO: Afghanistan</i>	<i>Documents on British Policy Overseas: Series III, Volume VIII: The Invasion of Afghanistan and UK-Soviet Relations, 1979–1982</i> (London: Routledge, 2012)
<i>DBPO: Berlin in the Cold War</i>	<i>Documents on British Policy Overseas: Series III, Volume VI: Berlin in the Cold War, 1948–1990</i> (London: Routledge, 2009)
<i>DBPO: CSCE</i>	<i>Documents on British Policy Overseas: Series III, Volume II: The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, 1972–1975</i> (London: Routledge, 1997)
<i>DBPO: Détente</i>	<i>Documents on British Policy Overseas: Series III, Volume III: Détente in Europe, 1972–1976</i> (London: Frank Cass, 2001)
<i>DBPO: German Unification</i>	<i>Documents on British Policy Overseas: Series III, Volume VII: German Unification, 1989–1990</i> (London: Routledge, 2009)
<i>DBPO: Polish Crisis</i>	<i>Documents on British Policy Overseas: Series III, Volume X: The Polish Crisis and Relations with Eastern Europe, 1979–1982</i> (London: Routledge, 2017)
<i>DBPO: Soviet Union, 1968–1972</i>	<i>Documents on British Policy Overseas: Series III, Volume I: Britain and the Soviet Union, 1968–1972</i> (London: Routledge, 1997)
<i>Parl. Debs., 6th ser., H. of C.</i>	<i>Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), Sixth Series, House of Commons, Official Report</i> (London, 1909f.)
<i>Public Papers: Reagan (1981, 1982)</i>	<i>Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan</i> (Washington, 1982–83)

## ABBREVIATED DESIGNATIONS

<b>ACP</b>	African, Caribbean and Pacific
<b>ADN</b>	<i>Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst</i> (GDR news agency)
<b>AFD</b>	Alliance of Free Democrats (Hungarian Liberal party)
<b>AFP</b>	<i>Agence France-Presse</i> (French Press Agency)
<b>AL</b>	<i>Alternative Liste</i> (FRG)
<b>APC</b>	Armoured Personnel Carrier
<b>APS</b>	Assistant Private Secretary
<b>AUS</b>	Assistant Under-Secretary of State
<b>BASC</b>	Berlin Air Safety Centre
<b>BBC</b>	British Broadcasting Corporation
<b>BCP</b>	Bulgarian Communist Party
<b>BIS</b>	Bank for International Settlements
<b>BMG</b>	British Military Government
<b>BRIXMIS</b>	British Commanders'-in-Chief Mission to the Soviet Forces in Germany
<b>BSSO</b>	British Security Services Organisation
<b>BZ</b>	<i>Berliner Zeitung</i>
<b>CBM</b>	Confidence building measures
<b>CC</b>	Cabinet Conclusions
<b>CC</b>	Central Committee
<b>CDH</b>	Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE
<b>CEH</b>	Common European Home
<b>CFE</b>	Conventional Forces in Europe
<b>CIA</b>	Central Intelligence Agency
<b>CICC(G)</b>	Commanders-in-Chief Committee (Germany)
<b>CKD</b>	<i>Českomoravská-Kolben-Daněk</i> (Czechoslovakian aircraft manufacturer)
<b>CMEA</b>	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
<b>CNS</b>	Committee for National Salvation (Romania)
<b>COCOM</b>	Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls
<b>COE</b>	Council of Europe
<b>COI</b>	Central Office of Information
<b>COMECON</b>	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
<b>COREU</b>	EU Telegram
<b>CP</b>	Communist Party
<b>CPSU</b>	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
<b>CRD</b>	Cultural Relations Department, FCO
<b>CRS</b>	<i>Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité</i> (reserve of the French national police)
<b>CSCE</b>	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
<b>CTK</b>	<i>Ceská Tisková Kancelár</i> (Czechoslovakian news agency)
<b>DA</b>	Defence Attaché
<b>DKP</b>	<i>Deutsche Kommunistische Partei</i> (German Communist Party, FRG)
<b>DM</b>	Deutsche Mark
<b>DTI</b>	Department of Trade and Industry
<b>DUS</b>	Deputy Under-Secretary of State
<b>EC</b>	European Community
<b>ECGD</b>	Export Credit Guarantee Department
<b>ECU</b>	European Currency Unit
<b>EEC</b>	European Economic Community
<b>EED</b>	Eastern European Department
<b>EESD</b>	Eastern European and Soviet Department, FCO
<b>EFTA</b>	European Free Trade Area
<b>EIB</b>	European Investment Bank
<b>ELT</b>	English Language Teaching
<b>ERASMUS</b>	European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students

## Abbreviated Designations

<b>EUREKA</b>	European Research Cooperation Agency
<b>FCO</b>	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
<b>FCOSAS</b>	FCO Scholarships Awards Scheme
<b>FDJ</b>	<i>Freie Deutsche Jugend</i> (Free German Youth movement)
<b>FDP</b>	<i>Freie Demokratische Partei</i> (Free Democratic Party, FRG)
<b>FRG</b>	Federal Republic of Germany
<b>GATT</b>	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
<b>GCB</b>	Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath (order of chivalry)
<b>GDR</b>	German Democratic Republic
<b>GNA</b>	Great National Assembly (Romania)
<b>GNP</b>	Gross National Product
<b>GOC</b>	General Officer Commanding
<b>GRU</b>	<i>Glavnoye razvedyvatel'noye upravleniye</i> (foreign military intelligence agency of the Soviet army)
<b>GSP</b>	Generalised Scheme of Preferences
<b>HDF</b>	Hungarian Democratic Forum
<b>HE</b>	His Excellency
<b>HM</b>	Her Majesty
<b>HMA</b>	Her Majesty's Ambassador
<b>HMG</b>	Her Majesty's Government
<b>HSP</b>	Hungarian Socialist Party
<b>HSWP</b>	Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party
<b>IBRD</b>	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
<b>ICJ</b>	International Court of Justice
<b>IFC</b>	International Finance Corporation
<b>IFT</b>	Immediate Following Telegram
<b>IISS</b>	International Institute for Strategic Studies
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>IPPA</b>	Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement
<b>JAROC</b>	Joint Allied Refugee Operations Centre (US operated)
<b>JIC</b>	Joint Intelligence Committee
<b>KGB</b>	<i>Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti</i> (Committee of State Security)
<b>KOR</b>	<i>Komitet Obrony Robotników</i> (Workers' Defence Committee)
<b>KPN</b>	<i>Konfederacja Polski Niepodległej</i> (Confederation of Independent Poles)
<b>LDC</b>	Less developed countries
<b>LDPD</b>	<i>Liberaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> (Liberal Democratic Party, GDR)
<b>LE</b>	Locally engaged staff
<b>LMG</b>	Light Machine Gun
<b>MAFF</b>	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
<b>MEP</b>	Member of European Parliament
<b>MFA</b>	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
<b>MFN</b>	Most Favoured Nation
<b>MIFT</b>	My Immediately Following Telegram
<b>MIGA</b>	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
<b>MIPT</b>	My Immediately Preceding Telegram
<b>MOD</b>	Ministry of Defence
<b>MRS</b>	Management Review Staff (FCO)
<b>MTI</b>	<i>Magyar Távirati Iroda</i> (Hungarian News Agency)
<b>MVD</b>	Migration and Visa Department
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
<b>ND</b>	<i>Neues Deutschland</i>
<b>NIC</b>	National Infrastructure Commission
<b>OD</b>	Cabinet's Oversea and Defence Committee
<b>ODA</b>	Overseas Development Administration
<b>OECD</b>	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
<b>OKP</b>	<i>Obywatelski Klub Parlamentarny</i> (Citizens' Parliamentary Party, Poland)
<b>OPZZ</b>	<i>Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych</i> (All Poland Alliance of Trade Unions)

*Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989*

<b>ORMO</b>	<i>Ochotnicza Rezerwa Milicji Obywatelskiej</i> (Polish Voluntary Reserve Militia)
<b>PAP</b>	<i>Polska Agencja Prasowa</i> (Polish News Agency)
<b>PES</b>	Political Executive Committee (Romania)
<b>PES</b>	Public Expenditure Survey
<b>POD</b>	Personnel Operations Department
<b>PPF</b>	Patriotic People's Front (Hungary)
<b>PPS</b>	Principal Private Secretary
<b>PQ</b>	Parliamentary Question
<b>PRON</b>	<i>Patriotyczny Ruch Odrodzenia Narodowego</i> (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, Poland)
<b>PS</b>	Private Secretary
<b>PUS</b>	Permanent Under-Secretary of State
<b>PUWP</b>	Polish United Workers' Party
<b>PZPR</b>	<i>Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza</i> (Polish United Workers' Party)
<b>QR</b>	Quantitative Restrictions
<b>RCP</b>	Romanian Communist Party
<b>RMP</b>	Royal Military Police
<b>SBA</b>	Stand-By Arrangement
<b>SD</b>	<i>Stronnictwo Demokratyczne</i> (Alliance of Democrats, Poland)
<b>SED</b>	<i>Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands</i> (Socialist Unity Party of Germany, GDR)
<b>SERB</b>	Soviet External Relations Branch
<b>SEW</b>	<i>Sozialistische Einheitspartei Westberlins</i> (Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin)
<b>SNF</b>	Short-range nuclear forces
<b>SPD</b>	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> (German Social Democratic Party, FRG)
<b>SSEES</b>	School of Slavonic and East European Studies
<b>START</b>	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
<b>STASI</b>	<i>Ministerium für Staatssicherheit</i> (Ministry for State Security, GDR)
<b>TASS</b>	<i>Informatsionnoye agentstvo Rossii</i> (Russian News Agency)
<b>Telno</b>	Telegram number
<b>TUR</b>	Telegram under reference
<b>UDF</b>	Union of Democratic Forces (Bulgaria)
<b>UKDEL</b>	United Kingdom Delegation
<b>UKMIS</b>	United Kingdom Mission
<b>UKREP</b>	United Kingdom Permanent Representative
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>USSR</b>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
<b>VONS</b>	<i>Výbor na obranu nespravedlivě stíhaných</i> (Committee for the Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted)
<b>VS</b>	Verbatim Series, COI
<b>VSE</b>	<i>Vysoká škola ekonomická</i> (University of Economics Prague)
<b>WED</b>	Western European Department
<b>WEU</b>	Western European Union
<b>WGF</b>	West German Forces
<b>WRON</b>	<i>Wojskowa Rada Ocalenia Narodowego</i> (Military Council of National Salvation, Poland)
<b>ZNAK</b>	Association of lay Catholics in Poland
<b>ZOMO</b>	<i>Zmotoryzowane Odwoły Milicji Obywatelskiej</i> (Polish Motorized Reserves of the Citizens' Militia)
<b>ZSL</b>	<i>Zjednoczone Stronnictwo Ludowe</i> (Polish United Peasants' Party)

## LIST OF PERSONS

- Abbott-Watt, Thorda**, First Secretary, British Embassy, Bonn, 1988–91
- Adamec, Ladislav**, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Oct 1988–10 Dec 1989
- Adams, Geoffrey**, Private Secretary to the Permanent Under-Secretary of State, FCO 1987–91
- Adenauer, Konrad**, Chancellor of the FRG, 1949–63
- Aleksandrov, Chudomir**, Bulgarian Politburo member and Chairman of the Committee for Geology
- Andriessen, Frans**, European Commissioner for External Relations and Trade, 1989–1992
- Andreotti, Giulio**, Prime Minister of Italy, 1989–92
- Andropov, Yuri**, Chairman of the KGB, 1967–82; General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1982–84
- Apostol, Gheorghe**, Romanian politician; former General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (1954–55) and critic of Ceauşescu
- Appleyard, Leonard**, HM Ambassador, Budapest, 1986–July 1989; Deputy Secretary, Cabinet Office, July 1989–91
- Arbuthnott, Hugh**, HM Ambassador, Bucharest, 1986–February 1989
- Arnold, Anthony**, First Secretary, British Embassy, Prague, 1986–90
- Atanasov, Georgi**, Prime Minister of Bulgaria, 1986–90
- Atkinson, Michael**, HM Ambassador, Bucharest, September 1989–92
- Baka, Wladyslaw**, President of the National Bank of Poland, 1985–88 and 1989–91
- Baker, James**, US Secretary of State, 1989–92
- Balcerowicz, Leszek**, Polish Finance Minister, Sept 1989–Dec 1991
- Balev, Milko**, Bulgarian Politburo member
- Banks, Joseph**, Senior Principal Research Officer, FCO
- Bârlădeanu, Alexandru**, Romanian politician and economist; member of the HSWP CC 1955–69
- Barrett, Stephen**, HM Ambassador, Warsaw, 1988–91
- Bayne, Nicholas**, Deputy Under-Secretary of State, FCO, 1988–92
- Beel, Graham**, Senior Principal Research Officer, FCO
- Beneš, Edvard**, President of Czechoslovakia, 1939–45 (in exile), 1945–48
- Benn, Tony**, Labour MP for Chesterfield, 1984–2001; former Cabinet minister
- Bentkowski, Aleksander**, Polish lawyer and politician; Member of the United Peasant Party
- Berecz, János**, HSWP CC secretary for ideology and propaganda
- Beron, Professor Petar**, member of Ekoglasnost; secretary of the Union of Democratic Forces
- Birch, John**, HM Ambassador, Budapest, Aug 1989–95
- Bird, Michael**, Assistant Director, British Council, Moscow
- Bobu, Emil**, member, Romanian Great National Assembly, 1961–89; former minister and part of the Ceauşescu inner circle
- Bogomolov, Oleg**, Soviet politician and academician; spokesperson on relations with other socialist countries
- Bohley, Bärbel**, co-founder of New Forum, GDR, 1989
- Brayne, Mark**, BBC World Service Diplomatic Correspondent, 1988–92

*Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989*

- Brazauskas, Algirdas**, First Secretary, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, 1988–89
- Brezhnev, Leonid**, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1964–82
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew**, National Security Advisor to President Carter, 1977–81
- Broomfield, Nigel**, HM Ambassador, East Berlin, 1988–90
- Brucan, Silviu**, Romanian Communist supported by the Kremlin and opponent of Ceauşescu
- Burton, Michael**, Minister and Deputy Commandant, BMG Berlin, 1985–90
- Bush, George H.**, US Vice President 1981–89; President, 1989–93
- Čalfa, Marián**, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, 1989–92
- Camdessus, Michel**, Managing Director of the IMF, 1987–2000
- Cargill, Angus**, member of the Conservative Council for Eastern Europe
- Čarnogurský, Ján**, Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, 1989–90
- Carter, Andrew**, Counsellor and Head of Chancery, UKDEL NATO, 1986–90
- Cassell, Frank**, UK Executive Director, IMF and World Bank, 1988–90
- Castro, Fidel**, President (Prime Minister before 1976) of Cuba, 1959–2008
- Cavaco Silva, Aníbal**, Prime Minister of Portugal, 1985–95
- Ceauşescu, Elena**, First Lady of Romania, 1967–89; Deputy Prime Minister of Romania, 1980–89
- Ceauşescu, Nicolae**, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, 1965–89; President of Romania, 1967–89
- Ceauşescu, Nicu**, son of Nicolae and Elena; member of the Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and leader of Sibiu County, 1987–89
- Celac, Sergiu**, Foreign Minister of Romania, 26 Dec 1989–June 1990
- Černý, Jiri**, music critic and Civic Forum member
- Charlton, Alan**, First Secretary and Deputy Political Adviser, BMG Berlin, 1986–91
- Chernyaev, Anatoly**, Foreign Policy Adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev
- Chňoupek, Bohuslav**, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, 1971–88
- Ciosek, Stanislaw**, Secretary, PZPR CC, 1986–89
- Clark, Alan**, Minister for Trade, DTI, 1986–24 July 1989
- Clark, Alan**, Counsellor and Head of Chancery, British Embassy, Bucharest, 1986–90
- Cooper, Robert**, Head of Policy Planning Staff, FCO, 1989–93
- Corbett, Maj-Gen Robert**, GOC, Berlin (British sector) and British Commandant, Berlin 1989–90
- Cornea, Doina**, Romanian dissident
- Cradock, Sir Percy**, Foreign Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister, 1984–92
- Czyrek, Józef**, Polish Politburo member and aide to Jaruzelski
- Dain, David**, Head of Western European Department, FCO, 1985–89
- Dăscălescu, Constantin**, Prime Minister of Romania, 21 May 1982–22 Dec 1989
- Deane, Geoffrey**, First Secretary (Chancery), British Embassy, East Berlin, 1988–91
- De Gaulle, Charles**, President of France, 1959–68
- Delors, Jacques**, President of the European Commission, 1985–94
- Deşliu, Dan**, Romanian poet and long-standing critic of Ceauşescu
- Devátý, Stanislav**, Charter 77 spokesman
- Dienstbier, Jiří**, Charter 77 spokesman

- Diepgen, Eberhard**, Mayor of West Berlin, 1984–89
- Dimitrov, Boiko**, Bulgarian Foreign Minister, Nov 1989–Sept 1990
- Dinescu, Mircea**, Romanian poet, journalist and writer
- Dlouhý, Vladimír**, Czech academic and economist; Deputy Prime Minister and chairman of the State Planning Commission, Dec 1989–92
- Dubček, Alexander**, General-Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, 1968–69
- Dumas, Roland**, French Foreign Minister, 1984–86 and 1988–93
- Dzhurov, Dobri**, Bulgarian Defence Minister, 1962–90
- Edes, Michael**, HM Ambassador, UKDEL Vienna, 1989–90
- Edgar, Christopher**, Soviet Department, FCO, 1988–92
- Eggar, Tim**, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1985–89
- Evans, Julian**, Assistant Private Secretary to Mr Waldegrave, FCO, 1987–89
- Fawcett, John Harold**, HM Ambassador, Sofia, Aug 1986–March 1989
- Fidler, Jan**, Czechoslovak Ambassador, London, 1986–89
- Field, Catherine**, Berlin correspondent for *The Observer*, 1986–93
- Filippov, Grisha**, leading member of the Bulgarian Communist party
- Fischer, Oskar**, Member of the Central Committee of the SED, 1971–89; Foreign Minister of the GDR, 1975–90
- Fojtik, Jan**, Czechoslovak Communist Party ideology chief
- Fraser, Maurice**, Special Adviser to the Foreign Secretary, 1989–95
- Fraser, Simon**, Private Secretary to Mr Waldegrave, FCO, March 1989–90
- Frasyniuk, Władysław**, Solidarity Committee member
- Fretwell, Sir John**, Political Director, FCO, 1987–89
- Gensher, Hans-Dietrich**, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Deputy Chancellor, FRG, 1974–92
- George, Kester**, Department for Trade and Industry
- Gerasimov, Gennadiy**, Head of Information Section, Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1986–90
- Geremek, Bronisław**, Polish historian, trade union activist and adviser to Solidarity
- Geró, Ernő**, First Secretary of the Hungarian Worker's Party, July–25 Oct 1956
- Gheorghiu-Dej, Gheorghe**, Communist leader of Romania, 1947–65
- Gimes, Miklós**, Hungarian journalist, politician and 1956 revolutionary
- Giosan, Nicolae**, President of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies, 1974–89
- Glenny, Misha**, Central Europe correspondent for the BBC
- Glover, Audrey**, First Secretary (Legal Adviser), BMG Berlin, 1985–89
- Glynn, Vanessa**, Second Secretary, UKREP Brussels, 1988–90
- Gocłowski, Tadeusz**, Polish bishop
- Gooch, Anthony**, Eastern European Department, FCO, 1988–91
- Gorbachev, Mikhail**, General Secretary of the CPSU, 1985–91; President of the USSR, 1990–91
- Gotsev, Lyuben**, Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister
- Gowan, David**, Assistant Head, Soviet Department, FCO, 1989–90
- Gozney, Richard**, Assistant Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1989–90
- Griffiths, Nicholas**, Second Secretary, Moscow, 1988–90
- Grinin, Vladimir**, Counsellor, Soviet Embassy, East Berlin

*Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989*

- Grósz, Károly**, General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, 1988–89
- Gwiżdza, Andrzej**, Polish co-founder of the Baltic Free Trade Unions
- Hajdú, János**, Hungarian Ambassador in Berne
- Hájek, Jiří**, co-founder & spokesman of Charter 77
- Halatchev, Christo Vassilev**, Minister-Counsellor, Bulgarian Embassy, London
- Hall, Alexander**, Polish political activist; member of the Social Council of the Primate of Poland, 1986–89; deputy chairmen of the Dziekania Political Thought Club, 1988–89
- Harborne, Peter**, Counsellor and Head of Chancery, British Embassy, Budapest, 1988–92
- Harford, Charlotte**, Eastern European Section, Research Department, FCO
- Harrison, David**, First Secretary (Economic/Financial), British Embassy, Paris
- Haughey, Charles**, Taoiseach of Ireland, 1987–92
- Havel, Vaclav**, Czech playwright, co-founder of Charter 77 and VONS
- Hay, Barbara**, First Secretary, British Embassy, Moscow, 1988–91
- Hedley, Bill**, Ministry of Defence
- Heisbourg, François**, Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies, 1987–92
- Hemans, Simon**, Head, Soviet Department, FCO, 1987–90
- Hermlin, Stephan**, East German writer
- Heym, Stefan**, German writer and critic of the GDR
- Holland, Patricia**, Third Secretary, British Embassy, Prague, 1988–89
- Holmes, John**, Assistant Head, Soviet Department, FCO 1987–89
- Honecker, Erich**, General Secretary of the SED, 1971–89; Chairman, GDR Council of State, 1976–18 October 1989
- Horn, Gyula**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hungary, May 1989–May 1990
- Howe, Sir Geoffrey**, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1983–24 July 1989; Lord President of the Council, 1989–90
- Hulse, Christopher**, Head, Eastern European Department, FCO, 1988–92
- Hurd, Douglas**, Home Secretary, 1983–89, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 26 October 1989–95
- Husak, Gustáv**, First Secretary, Czechoslovak Communist Party, 1969–87; President of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1975–89
- Iliescu, Ion**, President of Romania, 22 December 1989–96
- Indra, Alois**, member, Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and President of the Federal Assembly, 1971–89
- Jakeš, Miloš**, First Secretary, Czechoslovak Communist Party, 1987–89
- Jankowski, Henryk**, Provost of St Bridget's Church in Gdansk, Lech Wałęsa's priest, member of Solidarity
- Jaruzelski, General Wojciech**, Prime Minister of Poland, 1981–85; First Secretary, PUWP, 1981–89; Chairman, Council of State, 1985–19 July 1989; President of the Republic of Poland, 19 July 1989–22 Dec 1990
- Jędykiewicz, Jerzy**, Governor of Gdansk, 1988–90
- Jenkins, Richard**, Research Department, FCO (expert on Poland); Deputy Head and Special Adviser Know How Fund, 1989
- Jopling, Michael**, Member of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee, 1987–97; Conservative MP for Westmorland and Lonsdale, 1983–97
- Józwiak, Franciszek**, Deputy Prime Minister, Poland, 1955–56
- Kádár, János**, General Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, 1956–88

- Kaser, Professor Michael**, St Antony's College, University of Oxford
- Kershaw, Roger**, Eastern European Department, FCO, 1987–91
- Khrushchev, Nikita**, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, 1953–64; Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, 1958–64
- Kincl, František**, Minister of the Interior, Czechoslovakia, Oct 1988–3 Dec 1989
- Kiszczał, Czesław**, Polish general; Minister of the Interior, 1981–90; Prime Minister of Poland, 2–19 August 1989
- Klaus, Václav**, Finance Minister, Czechoslovakia, 1989–92
- Kohl, Dr Helmut**, Chancellor of the FRG, 1982–98
- Komárek, Valtr**, Civic Forum member
- Kovács, László**, Hungarian politician; founder of the Hungarian Socialist Party in October 1989
- Krack, Erhard**, Mayor of East Berlin, 1974–90
- Krassó, György**, Hungarian journalist and political activist
- Krenz, Egon**, member, SED Central Committee, 1973–90; Secretary, Central Committee, 1989–90, Politburo member, 1983–90; Politburo Secretary, 1989–90; Deputy Chairman, GDR Council of State, 1984–89, Chairman, Council of State, 1989–90
- Król, Marcin**, Editor of *Respublica*, Polish *samizdat* journal
- Kubadinsky, Pencho**, Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo member
- Kubišova, Marta**, popular Czechoslovakian singer from the 1960s
- Kuczka, Ernest**, head, foreign affairs department the Central Committee of the PUWP
- Kulcsár, Dr Kálmán**, Hungarian Minister of Justice, 1988–90
- Kuperman, Agota**, Press and Cultural Attaché, US Embassy, Bucharest
- Kuroń, Jacek**, Polish co-founder of KOR, main adviser to Solidarity and Lech Wałęsa
- Kushlukov, Emil**, Bulgarian Student Union leader
- Kwaśniewski, Aleksander**, Chair, Committee for Youth and Physical Culture, 1987–90
- Laffey, Sue**, Second Secretary (Chancery), British Embassy, Bucharest, 1989–92
- Lamb, Jonathan**, First Secretary (Economic), British Embassy, Bucharest, 1988–91
- Lamont, Donald**, Counsellor and Head of Chancery, BMG Berlin, 1988–90
- Lance, Andrew**, East European Section, Research Department, FCO
- Lawson, Nigel**, Chancellor of Exchequer, 1983–October 1989
- Lenárt, Jozef**, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, 1963–68
- Lenin, Vladimir**, Russian revolutionary leader; Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Soviet Russia, 1917–24
- Le Tissier, Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony**, Protocol Officer, BMG Berlin
- Leslie-Jones, Philippa**, Second Secretary, British Embassy, Warsaw, 1986–89
- Lewis, Ann**, Deputy Head, Eastern European Department, FCO, 1988–91
- Lewis, Dr Paul**, Open University, UK
- Ligachev, Yegor**, Communist Party of the Soviet Union
- Long, Christopher**, HM Ambassador, Berne, 1988–92
- Longrigg, Tony**, Counsellor, British Embassy, Moscow, 1987–90
- Losoncy, Géza**, member the government of Imre Nagy during the 1956 Hungarian uprising; died in custody in 1957 whilst awaiting trial
- Lubbers, Ruud**, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, 1982–94
- Lúčan, Matej**, Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia

*Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989*

- Luka, Vasile**, leading member of the Romanian Communist Party from 1945 until his imprisonment in 1954
- Lukanov, Andrei**, Bulgarian Minister for Foreign Economic Relations, 1987–89
- Lyne, Roderic**, Counsellor and Head of Chancery, British Embassy, Moscow, 1987–90
- Macgregor, John**, Counsellor and Head of Chancery, British Embassy, Prague 1986–89
- Macgregor, Judith**, First Secretary (Political/Information), British Embassy, Prague, 1989–90
- Macharski, Franciszek**, Archbishop of Krakow, 1979–2005
- MacRae, Christopher**, Chief of Assessments Staff, Cabinet Office
- McCauley, Dr Martin**, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London
- Maléter, Pál**, Hungarian general; military leader during the 1956 Revolution
- Malý, Václav**, Catholic priest and supporter of Charter 77
- Mandlíková, Hana**, Czechoslovak tennis player
- Mănescu, Corneliu**, Romanian Foreign Minister, 1961–65; Head of the Front of National Salvation, 22 December 1989–90
- Măneasa, Manea**, Prime Minister of Romania, 1974–79
- Manolov, Nikola**, Secretary of the Council of State, Bulgaria
- Markov, Georgi**, Bulgarian dissident
- Martens, Wilfred**, Prime Minister of Belgium, 1981–92
- Masaryk, Tomáš**, President of Czechoslovakia, 1918–35
- Masaryk, Dr Anna**, granddaughter of Tomáš Masaryk
- Masaryk, Herberta**, granddaughter of Tomáš Masaryk
- Maxwell, Robert**, publishing and media mogul
- Mazilu, Dumitru**, UN Rapporteur on Human Rights, detained by Romanian authorities from 1986, Vice President of Romania, December 1989–January 1990
- Mazowiecki, Tadeusz**, Polish intellectual and adviser to Solidarity, Prime Minister of Poland, 1989–91
- Mécs, Imre**, Hungarian political activist and founding member of the Alliance of Free Democrats
- Medgyessy, Péter**, Hungarian Minister of Finance, 1987–89; Deputy Prime Minister, for economic liberalisation and privatisation, 23 Nov 1989–3 May 1990
- Mehmet, Alp**, Second Secretary, British Embassy, Bucharest, 1986–89
- Meierovics, Gunārs**, Head of the World Federation of Free Latvians, 1988–89
- Merry, David**, Head of Chancery, British Embassy, East Berlin, 1985–89
- Michelfeit Josef**, Sudeten Germany prelate
- Michnik, Adam**, political activist, *samizdat* publisher and adviser to Solidarity
- Milea, General Vasile**, Romanian Defence Minister, 1985–22 Dec 1989
- Militaru, Nicolae**, Romanian Defence Minister, 22 December 1989–1990
- Miller, Leszek**, PUWP CC Secretary and Head of the Commission for Youth and Social Organisations
- Miodowicz, Alfred**, Polish Communist trade-unionist
- Miroslav, Jarinsky**, Solidarity representative
- Mittag, Günter**, SED Politburo member, 1966–89; Secretary for Economics, SED Central Committee, GDR, 1976–89
- Mitterrand, François**, President of France, 1981–95

- Mladenov, Petar**, Bulgarian Foreign Minister, 1971–24 Oct 1989
- Modrow, Hans**, SED Central Committee member and First Secretary of the Dresden regional leadership, 1973–89; Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, 1989–90
- Momper, Walter**, Mayor of Berlin, 1989–91
- Moreton, Dr Edwina**, correspondent for *The Economist*
- Mortimer, Edward**, foreign affairs commentator for the *Financial Times*, 1987–98
- Morton, Ralph**, Third, later Second, Secretary (Chancery), British Embassy, East Berlin, 1987–90
- Mountfield, Peter**, HM Treasury, 1980–91
- Mruchkov, Vasil**, Chief Prosecutor, Bulgaria
- Münnich, Ferenc**, Hungarian Minister of the Interior, 1956; Chairman of the Council of Ministers, 1958–61
- Munro, Colin**, Counsellor, British Embassy, East Berlin, 1987–90
- Murrell, Geoffrey**, Research Department, FCO
- Nagy, Imre**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Hungary, July 1953–April 1955 and Oct 1956–Nov 1956; executed for treason, 1958
- Navrátil, Augustin**, Czechoslovak Catholic activist
- Németh, Miklós**, Prime Minister of (Communist and post-Communist) Hungary, 1988–23 Oct 1989, and 23 Oct 1989–23 May 1990
- Nyers, Rezső**, Hungarian author of the New Economic Mechanism of 1968; Minister of State for coordinating economic reforms, 1988–June 1989; President of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, June–Oct 1989; Chair of the Hungarian Socialist Party, Oct 1989–May 1990
- O'Keeffe, Laurence**, HM Ambassador, Prague, 1988–91
- Olechowski, Tadeusz**, Polish Deputy Foreign Minister, 1980–83
- Onyszkiewicz, Janusz**, Solidarity spokesman
- Orbán, Viktor Mihály**, co-founder in 1988, and later chairman, of the Alliance of Young Democrats (Fidesz)
- Orszulik, Alojzy**, Polish bishop
- Pitra, František**, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, 1988–90
- Panek, Jiri**, Czechoslovak student leader
- Pauker, Ana**, Romanian Communist; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1947–1952
- Popieluszko, Jerzy**, Polish priest associated with Solidarity and murdered in 1984 by security service
- Powell, Charles**, Private Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the Prime Minister, 1983–91
- Powell, Jonathan**, Assistant Head, Policy Planning Staff, FCO, 1989–91
- Pozsgay, Imre**, Deputy President of the Hungarian Socialist Party, October 1989–90
- Pravda, Dr Alex**, Head of the Soviet Foreign Policy Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1986–89; Fellow of the Russian and East European Centre, Oxford University
- Pugh, Helen**, East European Department, FCO, 1988–89
- Purdon, Anderson**, First Secretary (Information), BMG Berlin, 1986–89
- Rákosi, Mátyás**, General Secretary of the Hungarian Workers Party, 1945–56; Prime Minister of Hungary, 1952–53

*Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989*

- Rakowski, Mieczysław**, Prime Minister of Poland, Sept 1988–Aug 1989; First Secretary of the PZPR, July 1989–Jan 1990
- Ratford, David**, Assistant Under-Secretary of State (Europe), FCO, 1986–90
- Renton, Tim**, Minister of State, Home Office, 1987–89
- Reykowski, Janusz**, member of the Politburo of the CC of the PZPR, 1988–90
- Roland, Peter**, Principal Research Officer, Research Department, FCO
- Ryzhkov, Nicholai**, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, 1985–91
- Sakharov, Andrei**, Russian scientist and dissident
- Sands, Richard**, First Secretary and Head of Chancery, British Embassy, Berlin, May 1989–92
- Santer, Jacques**, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, 1984–July 1989
- Sartzetakis, Christos**, President of Greece, 1985–90
- Schabowski, Günter**, First Secretary of the SED in East Berlin, 1986–89
- Schlüter, Poul**, Prime Minister of Denmark, 1982–93
- Schröder, Professor Klaus**, Head of the Senate Chancellery, Berlin
- Schwarzenberg, Karel**, Chairman of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, 1984–91
- Scruton, Professor Roger**, Birkbeck College, University of London, co-founder of the Jan Hus Educational Foundation
- Seiters, Rudolf**, Head of the Office of the German Chancellery, FRG, April 1989–91
- Shevardnadze, Eduard**, Soviet Foreign Minister, 1985–91
- Shultz, George**, US Secretary of State, 1982–89
- Sikorski, Władysław**, Prime Minister of the Polish Government in Exile and Commander of the Polish Forces, 1939–43
- Siwicki, Florian**, Polish Minister of Defence, 1980–90
- Smith, Alan**, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London
- Soare, Stan**, Romanian Ambassador to the UK
- Soros, George**, Hungarian financier and philanthropist
- Spencer, Rosemary**, Assistant Under-Secretary of State, FCO
- Stagg, (Charles) Richard**, Soviet Department, FCO, 1988–91
- Stalin, Joseph**, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1922–52
- Stelmachowski, Andrzej**, Polish academic and politician; Marshal of the Senate, 1989–91
- Štěpán, Miroslav**, member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, 1988–89
- Stoneman, Jonathan Frederic**, Second Secretary (Information), British Embassy, Budapest, 1986–89
- Stoyanov, Petar**, Bulgarian lawyer who in 1989 became a member of the Club for the Support of Glasnost and Perestroika and a member of the Union of Democratic Forces
- Straub, Brunó Ferenc**, Chairman of the Presidential Council, Hungary
- Štrougal, Lubomír**, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, 1970–88
- Sullivan, Michael**, Counsellor, British Embassy, Moscow, 1988–89
- Synnott, Hilary**, Head, Western European Department, FCO, 1989–91
- Szilágyi, József**, Hungarian revolutionary (executed in 1958)
- Tanev, Georgi**, Bulgarian Minister of the Interior, Dec 1988–Dec 1989

- Tatham, Michael**, Third Secretary (Chancery), British Embassy, Prague, 1989–90
- Teltschik, Horst**, Chief Adviser to Chancellor Kohl on Foreign Policy and Inner-German Relations, 1982–91
- Thatcher, Margaret**, Prime Minister of the UK, 1979–90
- Thomas, Richard**, HM Ambassador, Sofia, May 1989–94
- Todd, Damian**, Consul and First Secretary, British Embassy, Prague, 1987–89
- Tomášek, František**, Cardinal Archbishop of Prague, 1977–91
- Trzeciakowski, Witold**, Polish academic and adviser to Solidarity
- Uhl, Petr**, Czech activist and co-founder of VONS
- Urban, George**, Hungarian writer and broadcaster with Radio Free Europe
- Urban, Jan**, Czechoslovak journalist and writer, dissident and founder of the Citizens' Forum
- Urbánek, Stěpán**, member, Czechoslovak Communist Party CC Presidium, 1988–89; Secretary General, Czechoslovak Communist Party, 24 Nov 1989–21 Dec 1989
- Várkonyi, Péter**, Hungarian Foreign Minister, 1983–89
- Vodenicharov, Rumen**, founder member of the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Bulgaria
- Waldegrave, William**, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1988–90
- Wałęsa, Lech**, co-founder and Head of Solidarity, Chairman of its National Coordination Committee
- Wall, Stephen**, Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1988–91
- Wallace, Professor William**, Glasgow University, Director of Studies of the Royal Institute of International Affairs 1978–90
- Wicks, Nigel**, Second Permanent Secretary, HM Treasury; UK Sherpa to the G7
- Williams, G.**, Private Secretary to Alan Clark, DTI
- Williamson, David**, Secretary-General, Commission of the European Communities, 1987–97
- Wetherell, Gordon**, Counsellor and Head of Chancery, British Embassy, Warsaw, 1988–92
- Wordsworth, Stephen**, Western European Department, FCO, 1988–90
- Wright, Sir Patrick**, Permanent-Under Secretary of State, FCO, and Head of the Diplomatic Service, 1986–91
- Yakovlev, Alexander**, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1987–90
- Young, Lord**, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, 1987–89
- Žalman, Zbyněk**, Chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party
- Zavadil, Miroslav**, Politburo member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party
- Zhivkov, Todor**, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, 1954–89; President of Bulgaria, 1971–89
- Zhivkov, Vladimir**, son of Todor Zhivkov and prominent member of Bulgarian Communist Party
- Zhulev, Dimitar**, Bulgarian Ambassador to the UK, 1987–90

## DOCUMENT SUMMARIES

	NAME	DATE	MAIN SUBJECT	PAGE
<b>1989</b>				
<b>1</b>	MR APPLEYARD Budapest	9 Jan	Letter to Mr Long (Berne) on Imre Pozsgay and the evolution of the Hungarian internal situation.	1
<b>2</b>	MR APPLEYARD Budapest Tel. No. 19	12 Jan	Reports new laws on association and assembly: 'first step in the process of basic constitutional reform'.	3
<b>3</b>	MR MEHMET Bucharest	12 Jan	Letter to Mr Kershaw on Elena Ceausescu's birthday and her future leadership prospects.	4
<b>4</b>	MR O'KEEFFE UKDEL CSCE Vienna Tel. No. 75	18 Jan	Reports a meeting between Sir G. Howe and the Polish Foreign Minister focusing on bilateral relations.	5
<b>5</b>	MR BARRETT Warsaw Tel. No. 34	20 Jan	Reports on the 10th Plenum in which the PZPR agree to accept the existence of Solidarity for the sake of reform.	7
<b>6</b>	MR BROOMFIELD East Berlin	25 Jan	Teleletter to Mr Ratford recommends combining pressure on GDR for improvements in human contacts with public reminders that Berlin Wall must go.	9
<b>7</b>	MR MACGREGOR Prague Tel. No. 55	27 Jan	Reports on demonstrations to mark the 20th anniversary since the death of Jan Palach.	10
<b>8</b>	MR BURTON BMG Berlin	27 Jan	Teleletter to Ratford endorsing and amplifying views in No. 6.	11
<b>9</b>	MR BARRETT Warsaw Tel. No. 45	30 Jan	Reports that a date for the start of Round Table talks between the Polish Government and Solidarity has been set.	13
<b>10</b>	MR APPLEYARD Budapest Tel. No. 47	1 Feb	Reports on the rapid momentum of political reform in Hungary.	14
<b>11</b>	MR BARRETT Warsaw Tel. No. 68	6 Feb	Reports on the internal scene in Poland as Round Table talks get underway.	16
<b>12</b>	MR ARBUTHNOTT Bucharest	9 Feb	Despatch on the process of 'Systematisation' in Romania where traditional villages were being destroyed to create new urban centres.	18
<b>13</b>	MAJ-GEN CORBETT BMG Berlin Tel. No. 21 to Bonn	15 Feb	Reports an escape attempt from the Soviet to British sector of Berlin across the River Spree near to the Reichstag.	25

*Document summaries*

	NAME	DATE	MAIN SUBJECT	PAGE
14	MAJ-GEN CORBETT BMG Berlin Tel. No. 22 to Bonn	16 Feb	More on the escape incident near the Reichstag.	26
15	MR LYNE Moscow	17 Feb	Letter to Mr Hemans on policy towards the Baltic States.	27
16	MR O'KEEFFE Prague	23 Feb	Despatch: 'Demonstrations on the 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's death'.	31
17	MR POWELL 10 Downing Street	25 Feb	Letter to Mr Wall expressing the Prime Minister's scepticism towards US plan to allow greater political and economic freedom in Eastern Europe against an assurance there would be no political or security risks for the USSR.	34
18	TO SIR C. MALLABY Bonn Tel. No. 175	1 Mar	Instructions to seek a coordinated response by Bonn Group to Berlin Wall escape incidents.	35
19	TO MR POWELL 10 Downing Street	1 Mar	Letter from Mr Gozney requesting that Mrs Thatcher see Dr Várkonyi, Hungarian Foreign Minister, during his visit in March.	36
20	MS HARFORD Research Department	1 Mar	Note to Mr Kershaw on Romanian census of typewriters and photocopiers.	37
21	MR HULSE EED	1 Mar	Minute to Mr Ratford covering a valedictory despatch from Mr Fawcett (Sofia) expressing disagreement with British policy.	37
22	MR WORDSWORTH WED	2 Mar	Minute to Mr Dain covering a paper on the implications of dismantling the Berlin Wall.	40
23	MR WETHERELL Warsaw	3 Mar	Letter to Ms Lewis offering general impressions at the half way stage of the Round Table.	44
24	MR O'NEILL Vienna Tel. No. 67	6 Mar	Reports a meeting between Sir G. Howe and the Romanian Foreign Minister in Vienna.	48
25	MR STONEMAN Budapest	6 Mar	Letter to Ms Pugh (Bonn) reporting on the report of the HSWP's Historical Review Committee: '1956 and All That'.	50
26	MR ARKWRIGHT BMG Berlin	7 Mar	Letter to Ms Abbott-Watt (Bonn) reporting the doubling of resettlers and asylum seekers in West Berlin.	52
27	MR WETHERELL Warsaw	9 Mar	Minute to HMA detailing a visit to Gdańsk and meetings with Lech Wałęsa and others.	53

*Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989*

	NAME	DATE	MAIN SUBJECT	PAGE
28	MR BARRETT Warsaw Tel. No. 143	10 Mar	Reports proposals from a Round Table working group for potentially far-reaching political reforms.	54
29	MR APPEYARD Budapest Tel. No. 120	10 Mar	Outlines a new Hungarian constitution creating 'a state based on the rule of law and centred on the citizen'.	56
30	MR COOPER Policy Planning Staff	10 Mar	Minute to Mr J. Powell reporting a conversation with Hungarian Ambassador about internal changes in Hungary and relations with the Soviet Union.	57
31	MR APPEYARD Budapest Tel. No. 126	13 Mar	Reports on the 'astonishing pace and scope of the political reform process' in Hungary demonstrated in the manifestos of the Democratic Reform and Communist Parties.	58
32	MR MORTON BMG Berlin	14 Mar	Teleletter to Mr Wordsworth reporting a peaceful demonstration by would-be emigrants in Leipzig.	59
33	MR HARBORNE Budapest Tel. No. 131	15 Mar	Reports first official celebration of Hungary's national day commemorating the 1848-49 uprising against the Hapsburgs.	60
34	MR BANKS Research Department	15 Mar	Minute to Mr Hulse in response to Mr O'Keefe's despatch about the Jan Palach anniversary.	62
35	MR POWELL 10 Downing Street	16 Mar	Letter to Mr Gozney reporting on a meeting between the Prime Minister and Dr Várkonyi, the Hungarian Foreign Minister.	64
36	MR BEEL Research Department	16 Mar	Minute to Ms Lewis covering a paper on the Soviet attitude to political reform in Eastern Europe.	65
37	Policy Planning Staff	17 Mar	Commentary on an FRG Planning Paper on influencing change in Eastern Europe.	68
38	TO MR LYNE Moscow	20 Mar	Letter from Mr Hemans in reply to No. 15 regarding policy towards the Baltic States.	72
39	MR BROOMFIELD East Berlin	21 Mar	Minute to Mr Deane reporting a conversation with Stefan Heym on the internal situation in the GDR.	75
40	RECORD OF MEETING	21 Mar	Summary record of a seminar held in the FCO on Eastern Europe.	76
41	MR HULSE EED	22 Mar	Minute to Mr J. Powell on transferring 'political know-how' to Eastern Europe.	85

*Document summaries*

	NAME	DATE	MAIN SUBJECT	PAGE
42	MR BARRETT Warsaw Tel. No. 203	6 Apr	Reports substantive achievements of the Round Table: 'unprecedented exercise in political pluralism and democratisation'.	86
43	MR BAYNE DUS	6 Apr	Minute to Sir J. Fretwell recording the unhelpful position adopted by HMT over the issue of economic help for Poland.	89
44	MR LYNE Moscow	6 Apr	Letter to Mr Harborne (Budapest) on the current state of the 'Brezhnev doctrine'.	90
45	TO MR HARBORNE Budapest	12 Apr	Letter from Ms Lewis on current thinking on policies and priorities for Eastern Europe.	91
46	TO MR THOMAS Sofia Tel. No. 87	13 Apr	Readout of a meeting between Sir G. Howe and the Bulgarian Ambassador.	93
47	MR BARRETT Warsaw	14 Apr	Letter to Mr Ratford expressing concern that 'we are about to be swept away by the rising tide of Polish applications for visas to the UK'.	94
48	MR APPELYARD Budapest	17 Apr	Letter to Mr Hulse reporting that Janos Kadar's physical and intellectual health is deteriorating rapidly.	96
49	MR POWELL 10 Downing Street	19 Apr	Letter to Mr Wall conveying the Prime Minister's fear that the UK was losing the leadership role it had established in relation to Poland and her wish for early action.	97
50	MR POWELL 10 Downing Street	25 Apr	Letter to Mr Gozney reporting a meeting between the Prime Minister and the Hungarian State Minister.	98
51	MR ARBUTHNOTT Bucharest	27 Apr	Valedictory despatch: 'Ceaşescu, Eroism: Romania, Communism'.	99
52	MR O'KEEFFE Prague Tel. No. 232	2 May	Reports on unofficial protests during the May Day parade, including the assault of a BBC correspondent.	105
53	MR BARRETT Warsaw	4 May	Despatch: 'The Round Table in Poland'.	106
54	TO MR POWELL 10 Downing Street	5 May	Letter from Mr Wall concerning the expulsion of members of the Soviet and Czech Embassies.	114
55	MR APPELYARD Budapest Tel. No. 225	9 May	Reports on the removal of János Kádár from his senior Party posts in advance of the reburial of Imre Nagy.	116
56	TO MR CLARK Bucharest Tel. No. 132	11 May	Readout of a call by the Romanian Ambassador on Sir G. Howe to protest about an unfriendly British stance.	118

*Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989*

	NAME	DATE	MAIN SUBJECT	PAGE
57	MR HULSE EED	16 May	Minute to Mr Gozney regarding forthcoming call on Foreign Secretary by Mr Fawcett, who holds strong views on Bulgaria (see No. 21).	120
58	MR WALDEGRAVE Minister of State FCO	18 May	Minute to Sir G. Howe entitled 'Poland 1989: Hopes and Fears', recording impressions following a visit to the country.	121
59	MR WALDEGRAVE Minister of State FCO	19 May	Minute to Sir G. Howe advocating the encouragement of political change in Eastern Europe.	123
60	MR RENTON Home Office	19 May	Letter to Mr Eggar regarding problems faced by the Embassy in Warsaw in dealing with large number of requests for visas.	124
61	MR APPEYARD Budapest Tel. No. 253	23 May	Reports on the fall of Kádár and the passing of political power in Hungary to the next generation.	126
62	MR SYNNOTT WED	24 May	Submission to Sir G. Howe on issues for consideration at forthcoming Ministerial meeting in Berlin.	128
63	TO MRS THATCHER 10 Downing Street	29 May	Minute from Sir G. Howe outlining plans to help Poland including the setting up of a 'Know-How' Fund.	129
64	MR HULSE EED	30 May	Submission recommending cancellation of Sir G. Howe's planned visit to Prague in light of the Czechoslovak expulsion of British officials.	132
65	SIR P. CRADOCK 10 Downing St	8 June	Brief for Mr Powell on the outcome of the Polish elections.	134
66	MR POWELL 10 Downing Street	8 June	Letter to Mr Wall on offering economic assistance to the Polish Government during General Jaruzelski's forthcoming visit.	136
67	SIR C. MALLABY Bonn Tel. No. 616	9 June	Reports impressions of the West German Chancellor's diplomatic adviser on impact of Polish elections across Eastern Europe.	137
68	TO MR POWELL 10 Downing street	9 June	Letter from Mr Gozney on problems of increased visa requirements from Poland.	138
69	TO MR BARRETT Warsaw Tel. No. 250	12 June	Reports General Jaruzelski's visit to the UK, 10-11 June.	139
70	MR ADAMS PS/PUS	12 June	Reports the PUS's views on the dramatically differing reactions in the Soviet bloc to events in China.	141

*Document summaries*

	NAME	DATE	MAIN SUBJECT	PAGE
71	MR LANCE Research Department	12 June	Reports indications that GDR authorities are restricting travel to Hungary.	142
72	MR HARBORNE Budapest Tel. No. 307	16 June	Reports on the formal re-interment of Imre Nagy, his four co-defendants and 'The Unknown Martyrs'.	144
73	MR HARBORNE Budapest Tel. No. 308	16 June	Comment on the formal re-interment of Imre Nagy, his four co-defendants and 'The Unknown Martyrs'.	145
74	MR THOMAS Sofia Tel. No. 262	19 June	Report on presenting credentials to President Zhivkov.	146
75	MR POWELL 10 Downing Street	21 June	Letter to Mr Gozney recounting a talk between the Prime Minister and Professor Geremek of Solidarity.	148
76	MAJ-GEN CORBETT BMG Berlin Tel. No. 102 to Bonn	22 June	Reports the release of Martin Notev, who was caught trying to escape the Soviet sector of Berlin.	150
77	MR BURTON BMG Berlin	23 June	Teleletter to Sir C. Mallaby (Bonn) reporting a meeting with Martin Notev following his release.	151
78	MR BARRETT Warsaw TEL. No. 383	29 June	Increased demand for visas puts the Embassy in a difficult position.	152
79	MR O'KEEFFE Prague	29 June	Despatch giving his first impressions of Czechoslovakia: 'in a way, the vast majority of the population is dissident.'	153
80	MR BARRETT Warsaw Tel. No. 387	30 June	Reports the latest twists in the Polish presidential election.	158
81	MR CLARK Bucharest	3 July	Teleletter reporting on the Romanian Communist Party plenum held on 27/28 June; tough messages from Ceauşescu.	159
82	MR MACRAE Assessments Staff Cabinet Office	4 July	Briefing note to Mr Powell (No. 10) on uncertainty over the election of a Polish President.	162
83	MR BARRETT Warsaw Tel. No. 397	5 July	Reports on delays in electing a new President of Poland and the absence of effective government.	163
84	MR HARBORNE Budapest Tel. No. 344	7 July	Sets the scene ahead of Mr Waldegrave's visit to Hungary, 9-11 July; 1989 a year of 'breakneck political change'.	165

*Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989*

	NAME	DATE	MAIN SUBJECT	PAGE
85	MR HULSE EED	7 July	Submission to Mr Ratford on how to respond to a letter from President Bush proposing G7 economic assistance for Poland and Hungary.	167
86	MR WALDEGRAVE Minister of State FCO	17 July	Minute to Sir G. Howe reporting on his visit to Hungary, 9-11 July.	168
87	MR HARBORNE Budapest	19 July	Letter to Mr Hulse reporting on the political significance of the passing and funeral of János Kádár.	171
88	MR BARRETT Warsaw Tel. No. 433	20 July	Reports the election of General Jaruzelski as President of Poland.	174
89	MR BURTON BMG Berlin Tel. No. 126 to Bonn	27 July	Soviet response to Western démarche shows a reluctance to engage over Berlin.	176
90	MRS THATCHER 10 Downing Street	31 July	Letter to the Polish President on economic aid agreed at the Paris summit.	178
91	MR STONEMAN Budapest	1 Aug	Letter to Mr Hulse offering 'some departing thoughts after five years spent in Eastern Europe', with recommendations for 'pushing through' the Iron Curtain.	179
92	MR MACGREGOR Prague Tel. No. 431	9 Aug	Reports on increasing tensions ahead of the anniversary of the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion.	182
93	MR BAYNE DUS	10 Aug	Minute to Mr Hulse recording the concerns of HM Treasury over the inexperience of a possible Solidarity government in Poland.	184
94	MAJ-GEN CORBETT BMG Berlin Tel. No. 133 to Bonn	13 Aug	Soviet protests over the installation of ladders on the bank of the River Spree in the British sector of Berlin.	185
95	TO HM REPRESENTATIVES OVERSEAS Guidance Tel. No. 45	14 Aug	Sets out policy towards the former Baltic States: must tread softly to avoid trouble for Gorbachev.	187
96	TO MR BARRETT Warsaw Tel. No. 339	16 Aug	Considers the implications of a warning from the Polish government that the opposition are about to violate Round Table agreements.	189
97	MR MACGREGOR Prague Tel. No. 463	22 Aug	Reports demonstrations on the 21st anniversary of the Warsaw Pact invasion.	190
98	MR BARRETT Warsaw Tel. No. 513	22 Aug	Reports the appointment of the first non-Communist Prime Minister in Eastern Europe for over 40 years.	193

*Document summaries*

	NAME	DATE	MAIN SUBJECT	PAGE
99	MR MUNRO East Berlin	22 Aug	Two reports looking at the experience of GDR holiday-makers.	196
100	MR GRIFFITHS Moscow	23 Aug	Letter to Mr Edgar: Soviet press reporting on the 1968 invasion anniversary stresses the rejection of use of force.	198
101	MR WILLIAMS Department of Trade and Industry	23 Aug	Sends to Mr Powell (No. 10) a report by the Minister for Trade on a visit to Poland to identify investment opportunities.	199
102	MR HULSE EED	29 Aug	Submission commenting on the draft manifesto of the Hungarian Socialist Party; a 'remarkable document' providing for 'a Western-style democracy.'	202
103	MR POWELL 10 Downing Street	29 Aug	Letter to Mr Wall expressing the Prime Minister's desire to take a fresh look at the level of Western assistance to Poland.	203
104	MR ARKWRIGHT BMG Berlin	1 Sept	Teletype to Mr Dinwiddie (Bonn) describing a successful escape from the GDR.	204
105	MRS THATCHER 10 Downing Street	4 Sept	Letter to President Bush outlining ideas for international help to Poland.	205
106	MR THOMAS Sofia	5 Sept	Despatch: 'First impressions of Bulgaria'; an 'old-fashioned and hardline totalitarian state'.	207
107	TO MR ATKINSON Bucharest Tel. No. 214	8 Sept	Requests corroboration of reports received of dissent against the Romanian regime.	214
108	MR GLOVER BMG BERLIN	8 Sept	Minute to Mr Synnott rejecting the idea of including GDR in talks on Berlin.	215
109	MR MUNRO East Berlin Tel. No. 261	13 Sept	Reports that the GDR is seeking a reversal of Hungary's decision to open its border.	215
110	MR LAMONT BMG Berlin	22 Sept	Letter to Mr Dinwiddie (Bonn) proposing that Britain helps the Berlin authorities with the influx of resettlers.	217
111	SIR C. TICKELL UKMIS New York Tel. No. 1308	26 Sept	Reports a meeting between Mr Major and the Hungarian Foreign Minister.	220
112	MR MUNRO East Berlin Tel. No. 276	26 Sept	Reports official reactions to a major demonstration and arrests in Leipzig.	223
113	MR BIRCH Budapest	27 Sept	Despatch: 'Second Impressions of Hungary.'	224

*Britain and the Revolutions in Eastern Europe, 1989*

	NAME	DATE	MAIN SUBJECT	PAGE
114	MAJ-GEN CORBETT BMG Berlin Tel. No. 161 to Bonn	5 Oct	Reports Allied contingency plans for Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to East Berlin in case of an attempted mass breakout.	227
115	MR BROOMFIELD East Berlin Tel. No. 299	9 Oct	Reports a second night of major anti-government demonstrations in East Berlin and Dresden.	229
116	MRS THATCHER 10 Downing Street	9 Oct	Letter to President Bush on support for reform in Eastern Europe.	230
117	MR HARBORNE Budapest Tel. No. 479	11 Oct	Reports the formal winding up of the Communist Party and the founded of a democratically oriented socialist party.	232
118	TO MR HARBORNE Budapest Tel. No. 237	11 Oct	Secretary of State to announce the intention to set up a 'Know-How Fund' for Hungary.	233
119	MR CORDERY BMG Berlin	12 Oct	Minute giving a Soviet view of events in the GDR.	234
120	MR BROOMFIELD East Berlin Tel. No. 316	17 Oct	Reports biggest demonstration of the year in Leipzig.	235
121	MR BROOMFIELD East Berlin Tel. No. 318	18 Oct	Matters come to a head in GDR; Erich Honecker steps down and is replaced by Egon Krenz.	236
122	MR HARBORNE Budapest Tel. No. 487	19 Oct	Reports on Hungary's new democratic constitution abolishing the People's Republic Party and State.	237
123	MR O'KEEFFE Prague Tel. No. 574	20 Oct	Reports the campaign of official harassment of dissidents ahead of the 71st anniversary of Czechoslovakian independence.	239
124	MR BROOMFIELD East Berlin Tel. No. 329	23 Oct	Reports internal developments in the GDR; Krenz summoned to Moscow.	240
125	MR HARBORNE Budapest Tel. No. 495	23 Oct	Reports the declaration of the Republic of Hungary, on the 33rd anniversary of the beginning of the Hungarian uprising.	242
126	MR ATKINSON Bucharest	25 Oct	Despatch: 'First impressions of Romania'.	243
127	CABINET CONCLUSIONS CC(89)31st	26 Oct	Discussion of developments in GDR and Hungary.	247
128	MAJ-GEN CORBETT BMG Berlin Tel. No. 174 to Bonn	27 Oct	Mayor of West Berlin says developments in central Europe means the city must 'think and plan as if the wall no longer existed'.	248

*Document summaries*

	NAME	DATE	MAIN SUBJECT	PAGE
129	MR POWELL 10 Downing Street	27 Oct	Letter to Mr Gozney reporting the Prime Minister's meeting with the Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister, to whom she stressed importance of Hungary and Poland breaking away from Communism.	250
130	MR THOMAS Sofia Tel. No. 459	31 Oct	Reports lack of progress in Bulgarian constitutional and party reforms.	251
131	MR HULSE EED	31 Oct	Minute to Mr Ratford with his impressions of a recent visit to Poland, which was 'barely recognisable'.	253
132	Policy Planning Staff	[31] Oct	Draft paper on UK policy towards Eastern Europe, reviewing possible scenarios.	255
133	MR BROOMFIELD East Berlin Tel. No. Misc 43 to BMG Berlin	1 Nov	500,000 people are expected to attend a demonstration in Alexanderplatz.	261
134	MR BROOMFIELD East Berlin Tel. No. 356	5 Nov	Reports that that will of the people expressed at Alexanderplatz is for 'democratic transformation of the GDR'.	262
135	MR BROOMFIELD East Berlin Tel. No. 359	7 Nov	Reports developments in the GDR: pressure for reform and an exodus of people leaving for the FRG through Czechoslovakia.	263
136	MR COOPER Policy Planning Staff	7 Nov	Minute to Mr Gozney recommending assistance to Herr Genscher: new Foreign Secretary (Mr Hurd) agrees.	264
137	MAJ-GEN CORBETT BMG Berlin Tel. No. 186 to Bonn	8 Nov	Resignation of the GDR Government; press speculation about how long the new GDR leader Krenz can last.	265
138	MR BROOMFIELD East Berlin Tel. No. 371	10 Nov	Describes a 'historic night' of free travel between East and West Berlin.	266
139	MAJ-GEN CORBETT BMG Berlin Tel. No. 77	10 Nov	Reports that the next four days 'could be testing'.	267
140	MR FROST Sofia Tel. No. 486	11 Nov	Report on the change of leadership in Bulgaria; Zhivkov forced out.	269
141	MR FROST Sofia Tel. No. 487	11 Nov	Speech by Mladenov, the new BCP General-Secretary; a difficult balancing act between Warsaw Pact and international community.	270