

SECRET

PRIME MINISTER

UNITED STATES/SOVIET SUMMIT

President Reagan recently sent you a message about the forthcoming Summit - which has also gone to other NATO Heads of Government - in which he invites a reply. You have traditionally sent him a message on the eve of his meetings with Mr. Gorbachev.

The Foreign Office have prepared a draft. I do not think it has enough substance. I attach an alternative version which has more meat to it even though it is a bit longer. My main worry about the Summit are the hints now coming out from the Soviet side - in particular an interview given by Mr. Arbatov yesterday - to the effect that Gorbachev will be prepared to stay longer in Washington if there were good prospects of reaching agreement on strategic nuclear weapons. This seems altogether too much like a replay of Reykjavik. I think, therefore, that you should try to get the President to commit himself publicly in advance to limiting the scope of the negotiations to 50 per cent reductions in strategic weapons, to refusing to negotiate further about nuclear weapons in Europe and to re-stating the continuing importance of nuclear deterrence in the defence of the West.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office have also prepared a draft message to Gorbachev. I am not convinced that this is strictly necessary since you are seeing him. But I will let you have a version.

C.D.P.

No need to send any message to  
Gorbachev.

(C. D. POWELL)  
27 November 1987

Have very slightly amended version  
own drafts to President Reagan.  
mt

SECRET



~~PRIME MINISTER~~

Decided against a  
message. CD? .27/xi

US/SOVIET SUMMIT: POSSIBLE MESSAGE TO MR. GORBACHEV

I attach a possible message to Mr. Gorbachev, which draws on an FCO draft. The Foreign Secretary thinks it is worth sending a message to get your main concerns across before you see Gorbachev on 7 December. I am less sure, although see something to be said for a steady current of contact to try to dispel the damage done by the Observer article.

edp

C. D. POWELL

27 November 1987



DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MR. GORBACHEV

I am greatly looking forward to seeing you again on your way to Washington. Before then, I thought you might find it helpful to have an indication of my hopes and concerns as you prepare for your meeting with President Reagan.

I warmly welcome the INF agreement which has just been reached. I also strongly support the goal of 50% reductions in the strategic nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States. The reductions now in prospect make it all the more important to pursue vigorously the chemical and conventional arms control priorities on which we are agreed. Our attention should turn to these next.

I hope that you and President Reagan will have a full discussion of other major international issues. I would like to mention three of particular concern.

Ever since we met in April, you have made it clear that you want to withdraw your troops from Afghanistan as soon as possible. We welcome this. What is needed now is a precise timetable for withdrawal and a willingness to work for a transition to genuine self government which is acceptable to all Afghans. We in Europe want to be helpful. The latest UN resolution spells out the principles for a settlement which would harm the interests of no-one. What we cannot do, however, is to dictate to the Afghans what the political balance of their own government should be.

In the Iran/Iraq conflict we share the aim of ending the conflict and preserving freedom of navigation. The most urgent task is for the Five to give the Secretary-General the draft arms embargo resolution for which he has asked. If his efforts do not achieve results soon, the Five Permanent Members must pursue the course indicated in SCR 598 to bring this conflict to an end. I very much hope that you and President Reagan will be able to give a clear lead on this: it could transform the prospects for peace in the region.



F R

A field where governments have it especially in their power to increase the sum of human happiness is that of human rights and contacts. I have noted recent developments in the Soviet Union in this respect with interest and look forward to hearing more about them, and about your future intentions. As I said to you in Moscow, greater openness at home will lead to greater confidence in others. That is the key to progress in all other areas of East/West relations.

I have been following the development of perestroika with very close attention. I have had very good discussions with Academician Marchuk, Dr. Tolstykh and Academician Aganbegyan, all most impressive exponents of the new policies. As I told Mr. Aganbegyan - and as I know from my own experience in government - achieving fundamental reform is a difficult and lengthy process. I admire the courage with which you are tackling the problems. I know that you have the resolution to see them through.

I look forward to discussing these issues with you personally next week.

PMMALW