

PRIME MINISTER

MR. GORBACHEV'S VISIT

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

What do we want from the visit?

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

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

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

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

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

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

What are the issues to discuss?

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

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I suggest that it should be as follows:

- developments in the Soviet Union. We want him to tell you frankly about progress with reform, his plans for the future and the difficulties which he is encountering. This is an essential part of the 'special' relationship. The problem is that he can talk non-stop for a very long time on this and pre-empt much of the available meeting time. You will need to be ready to move him on, perhaps suggesting that you come back to the subject over lunch or dinner.

- Soviet approach to Western Europe. You will want to find out whether he will be launching any new ideas in his speech the next day. You will also want to counter the impression that he may well have that Europe is going soft.

- regional issues. There is more meat here and I would favour making regional issues a major part of the talks. Your general point of departure might be the more responsible Soviet role and their welcome readiness for serious discussion of international problems in the forum of the Five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council. The two main specific points are the new realism in Soviet policy on Southern Africa, whence you will have just returned: and the prospects in the Middle East, where you will want to mention unsatisfactory Soviet performance over Iran and Rushdie. You might also probe Soviet rapprochement with China and his interpretation of developments there: mention Central America since he will just have come from Cuba (but this is basically an area of American interest): and congratulate him on Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, recognising that this will inevitably lead to reproaches about continuing British support for the Mujaheddin.

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- arms control, covering both nuclear chemical and conventional weapons. This is bound to feature substantially. Yet there is not a great deal new to be said and we should not arouse any expectations of progress or breakthroughs. The Americans are still conducting their strategic review. The conventional force reduction talks are just getting under way: there is no point in becoming locked in argument at this stage. This leaves three main points to make:
 - welcome for his unilateral reductions in Soviet conventional forces as a positive step;
 - criticism of Soviet lack of frankness on chemical weapons;
 - reiteration of the requirement to keep weapons up to date and to preserve the full range of weapons necessary to assure credible nuclear deterrence.

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

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

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

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

What should you cover in your speeches?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What about the practical aspects of the visit?

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

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

C.D.?

CHARLES POWELL

19 March 1989