

PRIME MINISTER

LUNCH ON MONDAY

You are giving lunch on Monday to Michael Caser (St. Antony's) and Malcolm Mackintosh (Cabinet Office).

I have told Michael Caser that you would like him to organise the meeting of academic experts at Chequers on the morning of Thursday, 8 September. He is delighted to do it.

He would like to discuss with you the questions you want to be covered during the meeting. The attached list may be helpful.

I also attach the list of participants which I showed you the other day. We may want to adjust this in the light of your decisions on the ground to be covered. I wondered whether you would want to add either Brian Crozier or Robert Conquest?

After the lunch I shall, if you agree, invite all the proposed participants on your behalf. I shall then leave it to Michael Caser to organise the proceedings but keep in touch with him.

Michael Caser's speciality is the Soviet economy but I am told that he ranges pretty widely over the whole Soviet/Eastern European field. Malcolm Mackintosh has made a particular study of the Soviet military but again is very knowledgeable about other aspects.

A. J. C.

15 July 1983

Michael CASER	St. Antony's - expert on all aspects of Soviet bloc
Leonard SCHAPIRO	LSE
SCHOEPFLIN	LSE - Eastern Europe
Alec NOVE	Glasgow - Soviet Economy
Philip HANSON	Birmingham - Soviet economy and technology transfer
Archie BROWN	St Antony's - political aspects; the Politburo
Alec PRAVDA	Reading - social aspects, trade unions
Peter WYLES	LSE - economist
Malcolm MACKINTOSH	Cabinet Office
Peter UDELL	BBC External Services to Soviet Union and Eastern Europe
Hugh THOMAS	
Ian ELLIOT	Editor "Soviet Analyst" (also writes for The Times)

SECRET



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

15 July, 1983

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List detached.

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Questions on Soviet Policy

You asked for a list of questions on Soviet policy which the Prime Minister might use with Dr Michael Kaser at lunch on Monday 18 July as an indication of the topics she would like to discuss with him and other academics.

/ I enclose a suggested list of questions.

Handwritten signature of R B Bone

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

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Questions on Soviet Policy

External

1. Is the Soviet Union seeking world domination? Does it have a master plan with this objective? Given the nature of Soviet ideology, national interests and recently acquired super power status, can any Soviet leadership be satisfied merely to preserve the existing status quo?

2. What are the Soviet Union's external priorities? Does its relationship with the US have overriding priority?

Internal

3. What pressures for change exist within the Soviet Union, how strong are they, and is there any way in which the West can increase or channel them?

4. What prospect is there of a less ideological, more pragmatic leadership emerging, and in what timescale?

What is the mechanism for radical change if any.

Military

5. What is the ultimate purpose of the Soviet military build-up? Can the Russians be induced to halt it? Can they be trusted not to cheat on arms control agreements?

Economic

6. Can the Soviet economy be revitalised? In tackling the Soviet Union's economic problems, will Andropov merely try to make the system work better by combatting corruption and inefficiency, or will he attempt more fundamental reform, perhaps on the Hungarian model? What would be the implications of the latter for the West, both politically and commercially? Is there any real prospect that the economic strains caused by strategic competition with the United States will bring the Soviet Union to arms control agreements based on real reductions?



Eastern Europe

7. With the prospect of increasing economic difficulties in meeting its own targets and needs, is there any likelihood of a more tolerant Soviet attitude towards diversity and experimentation in Eastern Europe? In what time scale might this come about?

China

8. Can China and the Soviet Union be reconciled? How big a problem is China for the Russians?