

Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

A.F.C. $\frac{16}{4}$

16 April 1984

John John,

mb.

UK/Soviet Relations

I am sending to you separately, and copied to all Ministerial offices, revised guidelines for contacts between British Ministers and Soviet representatives in London. The general aim of these is to permit a gradual expansion of the level and range of our contacts with the Russians - who have since the Prime Minister's visit to Moscow been distinctly more forthcoming with invitations - while maintaining a certain reserve appropriate to the fact that Soviet military activity in Afghanistan continues unabated.

The Prime Minister may also wish to know of other areas where we are moving forward, bearing in mind the goal of working for a programme of increased contacts at all levels of which she spoke in Moscow.

Social Contacts with the Russians Abroad

For third countries, our guidelines will reflect those in my separate letter to you governing contacts in London. Wider discretion will be given in Moscow, where contacts are more difficult to make, and all can be said to serve our national interests.

Military Contacts

While Soviet activity in Afghanistan remains at the present level, this will continue to be a difficult area. The following considerations apply:

- (a) we need to be in a position to do business with the Russians over military matters and should ensure that there are adequate contacts at all levels to facilitate this;
- (b) however, the Foreign Secretary believes that we should stay closely in step with our major allies on attendance at public Soviet manifestations with obvious military connotations. At present there is no indication of a disposition to move from the present position of token representation at Soviet Armed Forces Day and at the military parades associated with the October Revolution.

We shall be in separate correspondence with the MOD about how to put (a) into practice.



Technical Co-operation

Activities under our four Technical Co-operation Agreements with the Soviet Union were reduced following the imposition of martial law in Poland. Sir Geoffrey Howe considers that these political constraints should now be lifted, but that the criterion of national interest should in future be more rigorously applied. We should therefore avoid meetings for meetings' sake at Soviet behest.

Trade

Bearing in mind the criteria set out in the annex to the Foreign Secretary's paper on East/West relations (I enclose a copy) we should seek to expand trade with the Soviet Union. Mr Channon will be going to Moscow and possibly Kiev in May for the Annual Joint Commission, accompanied by a party of businessmen. Mr Walker is likely to be taking up his invitation from Mr Kostandov later this year. Mr Channon has invited Mr Bratchenko, the Coal Minister, to Britain this year, and ICI are hoping to extend an invitation to the Deputy Prime Minister Nuriev (who has general responsibility for the agricultural sector). If he accepts then like deputy Prime Minister Kostandov, we would envisage Nuriev calling on British Ministers.

It would not be the Foreign Secretary's intention to recommend any formal announcement of these modifications to our existing guidelines. We shall, however, keep in close touch with our NATO allies and Community partners, a number of whom are already considering, or have put into effect, similar modifications with the general goal of expanding contacts with the Soviet Union.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Secretaries of State for Defence and Trade and Industry, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Two copies
R B Bone

(R B Bone)
 Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
 10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

FLF

84



cc: S. P. Crook

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

24 April, 1984

UK/Soviet Relations and Ministerial
Contacts with the Soviet Union

The Prime Minister saw over the Easter weekend your letter of 16 April to John Coles about UK/Soviet relations, together with your letter of the same date about Ministerial contacts with the Soviet Union.

The Prime Minister has noted with approval what is proposed.

DAVID BARCLAY

R. B. Bone, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

5. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary might invite Mr Gromyko to visit the UK during 1984.

Information

6. The most effective means of getting information into the Soviet Union at present is by radio transmissions. The role of the BBC External Services should be re-examined.

7. Other opportunities arising from our bilateral cultural agreement and the CSCE process for exposing Soviet people to Western ideas and ideals should be exploited.

Economy

8. Western policy should be guided by the following:

- (a) East/West economic relations should be compatible with our security interests;
- (b) The nature of the Western free market system and the widespread availability of technology rule out a total ban on the transfer of technology;
- (c) Strategically significant exports should continue to be identified and embargoed under effective COCOM procedures;
- (d) Governments should exercise financial prudence in trading with the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries and avoid granting preferential treatment;
- (e) The West should avoid over-dependence on imports from or exports to the Soviet Union in all trade sectors, including energy (imports) and grain (exports);

CONFIDENTIAL

- (f) Although trade may have certain desirable political effects (eg contacts with Western methods and standards) this can seldom justify conducting trade on economic or commercial terms disadvantageous to the Western partner.

Eastern Europe

9. We should continue the policy of differentiating between Eastern European states on the basis of their willingness and ability to move away from the Soviet pattern of internal development (like Hungary) or from the Soviet line in foreign policy (like Romania).

10. The BBC External Service's broadcasts to Eastern Europe should be maintained at the highest level compatible with the resources available.

11. The British Council's programme of exchanges, particularly academic and youth exchanges, should be maintained. Other major cultural exchanges should be considered selectively.

12. Economic assistance is what the Eastern Europeans most want. But this will be hard to provide. Access to Western economic institutions, in particular the IMF, might be one of the best ways of introducing Western standards and ideas into the Eastern economies.

Third World

13. Western policy should be guided by the following:
- (a) The Russians are facing increasing problems in responding to developing countries' real needs. Even where Soviet/Cuban influence has been established (Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia) countries are increasingly turning to the West for assistance. We should take advantage of this;

...with the ...
...with the ...
...with the ...

Section 1

1. The ...
...with the ...
...with the ...

16 APR 1964
11 12 1
10 11 12
9 10 11
8 9 10
7 8 9
6 7 8
5 6 7
4 5 6
3 4 5
2 3 4
1 2 3

2. The ...
...with the ...
...with the ...

3. The ...
...with the ...
...with the ...

4. The ...
...with the ...
...with the ...

Section 2

5. The ...
...with the ...
...with the ...