

PRIME MINISTER

SEMINAR ON THE SOVIET SYSTEM

You had a number of points on the attached note.

We can certainly try to shrink the numbers further (though prepare for howls from your colleagues), and will eliminate the journalists. We might also drop the businessmen if we are really pressed.

You ask who we had before. I enclose the list. As you will see, it is much the same. I do not think Michael ~~K~~aser, good as he is, is the right person for this seminar. He is basically an expert on East European economies, not that of the Soviet Union. Alec Noye is the great authority on the Soviet economy. I don't think Michael Bourdeaux is necessarily right for this seminar. And Malcolm Macintosh has retired.

✓ You ask what Americans I have in mind. I was thinking particularly of Severin Bialer. You may remember a remarkable article which he wrote in Foreign Affairs earlier this year on the Genesis of Gorbachev's Russia. He has also just produced a book which I have not yet read. The doyen is Marshall Shulman, although he is getting a little elderly. We could ~~x~~ invite Henry Kissinger (although he might try to talk too much). We would have to offer to pay the fares and expenses of any American participants. Would you like me to try ~~to~~ Bialer? And one other? I am keen to get this launched tomorrow if possible. *Robert Longman?*

CDP

CDP

21 December, 1986.

I think we shall have to have Richard Kaser - he would be up to it, wouldn't he?

SEMINAR ON EAST/WEST RELATIONS

MEETING WITH ACADEMIC EXPERTS

The Prime Minister

Mr. Michael Kaser 1

Mr. A.H. Brown 2

Professor A. Nove 3

The Reverend Michael Bourdeaux

Dr. Alex Pravda 4

Mr. C.N. Donnelly 5

Mr. G. Schopflin 6

Dr. Ronald Amman 7

Lord Thomas of Swynnerton 8

Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe, MP

Rt. Hon. Michael Heseltine, MP

Mr. Malcolm Rifkind, MP

Sir Antony Acland

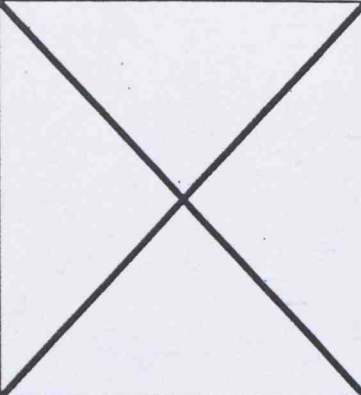
Sir Julian Bullard

Mr. J.M. Mackintosh

Sir Anthony Parsons

Mr. Robin Butler

Mr. John Coles

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>2538</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

18 December 1986

Dear Charles,

Forthcoming Seminar on the Soviet Union

You wrote on 24 and 26 November about the Prime Minister's wish to hold a seminar on the nature of the Soviet system under Mr Gorbachev and the way it is likely to develop.

You asked for some names from which the Prime Minister could choose ten. I enclose a list of fifteen names covering various relevant disciplines, with brief notes on some of them. Two are journalists: both well capable of holding their own with academics, and usually providing fresh insights. Two are businessmen with long experience of the Soviet Union.

Sir Geoffrey Howe has given thought to the scope of the discussion and the best way to structure it, bearing in mind that the Prime Minister wants a paper or papers prepared. I set out at Annex a possible definition of the subject which could be circulated to participants.

The subject divides into two parts, analysis of the system (1-4), and prescription (5 - the role for the UK). To a large extent the latter flows from and should be based on the former, and is what Ministers and officials will be concerned with during the afternoon. You may wish to consider whether to include 5 in the morning's agenda or to leave that as analysis pure and simple. In any case, I am sure the academics will have useful insights to contribute on what the UK role should be.

The subject is a big one and its various parts are interdependent. We think it would be unproductive to commission a number of separate papers on the separate subthemes. Arguably better to get one good attempt on the whole, for participants to get their teeth into. Our candidate to write this would be Peter Frank of Essex University. He has done very good work on the Soviet internal scene, including a stimulating address to Chatham House on the 27th Party Congress.

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If the Prime Minister accepts this approach, we suggest that Frank be invited to write a paper for circulation in advance. He could introduce it very briefly. We suggest that two participants be invited to "respond", again briefly (maximum 10 minutes): Professor Amman on the internal aspects and Edwina Moreton on the external. Both are good, thoughtful speakers, and would be likely to stimulate debate. Others who could do this equally well for the internal aspects, the main theme of the Seminar, are Archie Brown and Mary McCauley.

We well understand why the Prime Minister will want not more than 20 people, but this will obviously pose difficult choices. The Foreign Secretary will want to attend and thinks that at least two senior officials from the FCO should do so too.

He also strongly believes that Sir Bryan Cartledge should attend. Martin Nicholson, our Research Department expert on Soviet internal affairs, who will by the time of the seminar hve taken over from Malcolm Mackintosh, is another strong candidate. The Ministry of Defence and Cabinet Office will of course also have a strong interest.

One solution might be, as in the case of the last major East/West seminar, for a small number of officials for whom room cannot be found in the morning to join the afternoon discussion.

I should be grateful to know whether you would like us to take further action, for example approaching those whom the Prime Minister selects to write papers.

I am copying this letter to Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office) and John Howe (Ministry of Defence).

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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✓ Professor Ronald Amman

Director
Centre of Russian & East
European Studies
Birmingham University
Birmingham

Soviet internal:
industry, technology etc

✓ Mr Archie Brown

Fellow of St Antony's College
62 Woodstock Road
Oxford OX2 6JF

Soviet internal:
strong on leadership

✓ Mr Chris Donnelly (Sandhurst)

✓ Department of Soviet Studies
✓ Royal Military Academy Sandhurst
✓ Camberley
Surrey GU15 4PQ

Soviet military and
defence
0276 63344 X 346
(info 337)

✓ Mr Peter Frank

Snr Lecturer in Soviet Government
& Politics
University of Essex
Wivanhoe Park
Colchester CO4 3SQ

Soviet internal

Professor Lawrence Freedman

X Professor of War Studies
Kings College
London

X Professor Geoffrey Hosking

School of Slavonic & East European
Studies (SSEES)
University of London
Senate House
Malet Street
London WC1E 7HU

Strong on Culture and
Society: author of good
recent History of the
Soviet Union

✓ Professor Michael Howard CBE

✓ Regius Professor of Modern
History and Fellow of Oriel College
Oxford OX1 4EW



✓ Mr Michael Kaser

Fellow of
St Antony's College
62 Woodstock Road
Oxford OX2 6JF

CMEA economics

✓ Dr Martin McCauley

School of Slavonic & East
European Studies (SSEES)
University of London
Senate House
Malet Street
London WC1E 7HU

Soviet politics &
military doctrine

✓ Mrs Mary McAuley

Fellow of
St Hilda's College
Oxford

Soviet labour affairs
and internal politics

✓ Professor Alec Nove

Senior Research Fellow
Institute of Soviet and East
European Studies
University of Glasgow
29 Bute Gardens
Glasgow G12 8RF

Soviet economy: very
stimulating 'grand old
man', of Russian origin

JOURNALISTS

X Mr Mark Frankland
The Observer

Long-standing observer
of Soviet scene:
expelled from Moscow
September 1985

X Dr Edwina Moreton
The Economist

Soviet Union, Eastern
Europe and China
correspondent;
previously academic
specialising in Soviet
relations with Eastern
Europe



BUSINESSMEN

✓ Mr Ralph Land OBE
General Manager (Eastern
Export Operations)
Rank Xerox

Long experience in
market, member of
E European Trade Council
(EETC)

✓ Dr Norman Wooding CBE
Deputy Chairman
Courtaulds

Deputy Chairman, EETC,
some 30 years experience
of trading with Soviet
Union.

DRAFT AGENDATHE SOVIET SYSTEM UNDER GORBACHEV:
TERMINAL CASE, OR RIPE FOR REVIVAL?1. Political

- How much does it matter to the elite that the main elements of the present system (political, military, intellectual/doctrinal) should survive unchanged? Do they believe in it? Could it survive loss of faith? Is its survival a Soviet or Russian requirement?
- Alternatively, how much change; openness; "democratisation"; economic liberalisation can the system allow? Room for human rights? Market forces?
- Is proselytising and triumph of Communism worldwide still important? Has its importance increased or decreased?
- How far can the Russians be satisfied with improved security alone?

2. Economic

- Will Gorbachev secure major improvement in economic performance? Does he need to? Does he really want to? What are the obstacles - technical, political, intellectual, bureaucratic?
- Why have the Russians not so far been able to work out and implement appropriate policies for themselves? Are they likely to look to other systems for models (PRC; Hungary; GDR; Yugoslavia; the West)?

3. The Gorbachev Factor

- What is his impact on all this?

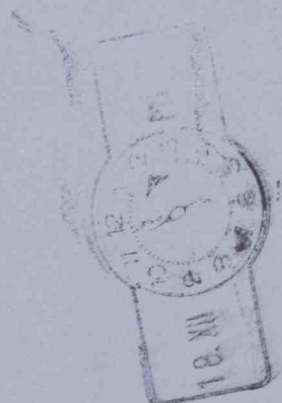
4. The External Factor

- What has been the impact on Soviet policies of the US (Reagan) and Western Europe? How do they view Reagan and post-Reagan? How do they plan to influence political developments in Western Europe?

5. UK Role

- What role for the UK, and the Prime Minister, and the EC/Twelve, in the next 5 years?
- Can we, or should we, do anything to promote the success of the process of economic improvement? If so how?
- How can we influence Gorbachev/the elite/the Soviet people? Does influencing the people matter when they have no voice?

SOVIET
UNION
RELATIONS



7.