

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH MR KENNETH WARREN, MP

Mr Warren is coming to see you in the House tomorrow. He wishes to discuss your visit to the Soviet Union about which he has written to Mr Renton (Flag A). Mr Warren is Joint Secretary of the British/Soviet Parliamentary Group and was a member of the IPU delegation which Lord Whitelaw led to the Soviet Union last May.

You will no doubt want to tell Mr Warren briefly how you see the visit. It will be a chance to make a first hand assessment of what is happening in the Soviet Union and of Gorbachev's intentions. You will need to decide how serious the push for reform is and how far it is likely to go, bearing in mind how Kruschev's earlier efforts were contained and then annulled. So far there is more evidence of willingness to criticise the past than of serious determination to undertake the changes needed to revivify the Soviet economy. While greater openness is welcome, democracy seems to remain pretty much a formality in Gorbachev's thinking. And there is no evidence that the Soviet Union's international ambitions have changed. We must not get carried away simply because some long overdue changes are being made.

You will not in any sense be going as intermediary between the Russians and the Americans. But you will be holding detailed discussion of both arms control and regional problems in which you will base yourself firmly on agreed western positions. You will of course raise the question of human rights where recent Soviet performance offers some hope of real improvements.

You may want to caution Mr Warren against putting too much weight on Zamyatin's claims of intimacy with Gorbachev. All the signs are that he is here because Gorbachev did not want

him there! But he is certainly a more substantial and serious figure than his predecessor. _____

It is possible that Mr Warren will raise GCHQ and NIMROD, both subjects on which he has been active.

C.D.P.

Charles Powell

23 February 1987

MJ2ARP



cc BUP

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

23 February 1987

CDP
23/2.

Dear Charles,

Thank you for your letter of 3 February concerning the call on the Prime Minister by Kenneth Warren MP on 24 February.

I attach a list of points, in tirect form, for the Prime Minister to draw on during the call. They take into account the points in Mr Warren's letter of 23 January to Mr Renton (copy enclosed). There is also defensive briefing on GCHQ, as you and Lyn Parker agreed over the telephone.

Mr Warren has a background in aeronautics. He is Joint Secretary of the British Soviet Parliamentary Group, and was a member of the IPU delegation, headed by Lord Whitelaw, which visited the Soviet Union last May.

Yours ever,

(A C Galsworthy)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street



CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY MR KENNETH WARREN MP: 24 FEBRUARY

Points

Soviet View of UK/Prime Minister's Visit

- Flattered by Zamyatin's remarks about me! But will not get carried away!
- Russians may hope to cast UK in role of mediator between superpowers during my visit. No intention of playing honest broker.
- But consider my visit offers scope for serious discussion of UK views on arms control set firmly in context of agreed NATO positions.
- More generally see my visit as opportunity to develop personal dialogue with Gorbachev; get across our concerns on human rights and regional issues (eg Afghanistan); take forward bilateral relations and advance UK trade interests.
- Must be realistic about what is achievable.

Zamyatin/Gorbachev

- Interested in your account of this relationship.
- Should be cautious however about taking Zamyatin's claims about closeness to leadership at face value. Further from centre of power than he was. But, still a member of Central Committee, and much more plugged in than his predecessor.

Central Committee Plenum

- Significant event. Delay in holding is evidence of sensitivity of issues raised.
- Gorbachev's speech reflected both determination to press ahead with reform, including of party (to make it a more effective vehicle of change) and difficulties/resistance facing him. May have wished to go further than he did.
- Gorbachev's version of democracy limited - but implications of this and other proposed reforms potentially far-reaching. Main aim to motivate workforce and get economy moving.

/Human



Human Rights

- Recent releases a positive step, partly done with eye to impact in West.
- But in view of numbers involved more than just a tactical concession; a significant change in human rights practice.
- But must not overstate this. System still the same (viz handling of recent demonstrations in Moscow).
- We will keep pressing for more.

GCHQ Deunionisation (only if raised)

- No reasons to reverse policy, which is based on sound security needs.
- GCHQ has settled down well. Almost 50% of staff now members of Staff Federation. Restructuring of grades widely welcomed.



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

CONFIDENTIAL

23 January 1987

My dear Tim,

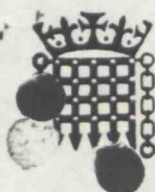
Yesterday, I gave a brief review to Mr Kim Darroch of your office, of the discussion that day with the Soviet Ambassador, Mr Zamyatin, his Charge d'Affaire and Mr Valeri Krasnov, Counsellor, over lunch in the House with the other Officers of the British-Soviet Parliamentary Group. I followed this up by telling Michael Alison that I would like a few minutes' of the Prime Minister's time because of certain important references to her forthcoming visit. My detailed comments are as follows:

1. The Ambassador said 'Mrs Thatcher is the only person to whom we can speak now to be sure we are heard in the West She is the political leader of Western Europe'. I am not surprised by his statement as this opinion of the UK has been coming clearly since our meetings in Moscow last summer and at my meetings with the Charge d'Affaires on the 23 September and the 17 December. It is typical of the Soviet machine to portray and set up those with whom they want to do business in a derogatory manner. They simply cannot help it I suppose! (Note my comments in Item 2 of my notes of the 22 December).

Noting also my comments in Item 1 of that letter I was intrigued to be told by the Ambassador that he had heard from one of those present at the negotiating table 'that President Reagan had slept for some 10 minutes' during the negotiations during which time Mr Schultz had taken the lead!'

2. I was surprised to learn that the Ambassador had only known Mr Gorbachev intimately for three years. He had only met him once before and that was when Mr G was in his agricultural management job in Stavropol and Zamyatin was on a Party speaking tour. What is clear is that Zamyatin saw the main chance, as one saw in the intimacy of his jocular close conversations with Mr G during their visit to the UK in December 1984.

over/



3. Zamyatin said there would be significant Ministerial and management changes announced in the Secretary General's report to the Praesidium on the 27 January. There would be a catalogue of progress against targets set the year before. He said 'Gorbachev is a manager' so it looks as if we can expect some hard facts for a change.

4. On Human Rights I returned to the theme that what is a small matter to them is a big one in the West and the benefits they could achieve etc. He told me that they were going to make more progress, but that there is a lot of what sounded to me like Party-reaction jealousies among ordinary citizens about the responsibilities for families which emigres leave behind ie, 'why should we support families whose bread-winners have walked out on us'? He told me this had been a problem, also reaction against the requirements of the families who recently returned from the USA! - an interesting peep into traditional, non-political Russian social psychology.

5. Zamyatin was very relaxed & clearly believes he is in the main-stream of Soviet leadership. He told me how he had learned in his six years in the USA the importance of personal contact and how he wanted to develop that with me. He said 'we know we can talk to you, that we are heard and this we value'. He said he wants to set up a range of contacts in each direction as his personal endeavour, again arising from his US experience. I did notice throughout that Gherman Gventsadze did not really appear happy with the rather free-wheeling 'Gorbachev style' of Zamyatin. Perhaps this is just the jealousy of a professional diplomat. (May-be he had been given some bad news about his performance). On the other hand Valeri Krasnov was the life and soul of the party.

Zamyatin

Ker

Timothy Renton Esq MP
Minister of State
Foreign & Commonwealth Office
Whitehall
London SW1

cc Rt Hon Michael Alison MP





10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

3 February 1987

I enclose a copy of a letter from Mr. Kenneth Warren MP to Mr. Renton which he has sent to the Prime Minister's Parliamentary Private Secretary, with a request to see her before she goes to Moscow. We have arranged for Mr. Warren to come on 24 February. It would be helpful by then to have briefing on the points raised in his letter.

Charles Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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LONDON SW1A 0AA

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Yamens
Ken

Timothy Renton Esq MP
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cc Rt Hon Michael Alison MP ✓