



Prime Minister

This minute covers a comprehensive study of how we might build on your visit to the Soviet Union. It is a thorough piece of work and I recommend that you welcome it (you need read only the summary).

I do not think any of the recommendations are controversial, except possibly the resumption of contacts

PM/87/040

PRIME MINISTER

UK/Soviet Bilateral Relations

1. Your visit to Moscow was a milestone in our relationship with the Soviet Union, which has historically been subject to sharp fluctuation. Together with the prospect - at any rate in the short to medium term - of a continuation of Mr Gorbachev's policies of dialogue and glasnost, it offers a real opportunity to develop a more active and broadly-based relationship.

in the defence field while the Russians are still in Afghanistan. I am not convinced that Ligachev is the right man to invite: Yakovlev would be better.

2. You asked me to bring forward a paper with ideas for following up your visit in practical ways. Officials have, therefore, reviewed our existing contacts with the Soviet Union and looked for ways in which they could be extended with tangible benefit to the UK. Working within the guidelines agreed by OD in 1984, and in particular the point that the main means of influencing developments in the Soviet Union is through the spread of information at all levels, they have suggested that our key objectives should be:

Content to endorse the paper & its recommendations?

(i) to build on and develop high level political contacts, exposing the Soviet leadership to direct questioning and criticism and conveying to them a true picture of Western aims and values;

CDP 10/7
Not content to endorse recommendations

/(ii)

Recommendations - Russians are still in Afghanistan



✓ (ii) to develop bilateral trade on advantageous terms, within the COCOM constraints on export of strategically significant goods;

✓ (iii) to establish a broader dialogue between the two Governments at Ministerial and official level on questions of mutual interest;

✓ (iv) to increase the flow of information about the West and Western policies and ideas to the Soviet leadership and people, through the media and by direct exchanges of persons.

✓ 3. Within these guidelines, officials have come up with number of detailed recommendations which are summarised at the front of the enclosed paper.

4. Developing contacts in the ways recommended carries some risk that the Russians will see it as a further weakening of our expressed disapproval of their occupation of Aghanistan. The original measures taken by NATO allies after the invasion in 1979 have been progressively eroded. Our condemnation is more effectively expressed these days by our support for the resistance and refugees in the Sub Continent and at the UN; and by maintaining a show of disapproval at certain Soviet military and ceremonial events.

5. I find the paper's recommendations a useful guide to action and agree with them. They are agreed at official level and Departments have been invited to submit them to their Ministers. I draw the following main conclusions:

/(i)



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Temporarily retained *Wayland, 22/3/17*

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RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3 (4)
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT

(i) The top level dialogue will remain fundamental to our approach. We should try to consolidate this by getting Mr Gorbachev or Mr Ryzhkov or both to visit the UK next year. You will wish to consider sending Mr Gorbachev soon a substantive message, renewing your invitation to him and our commitment to develop bilateral relations. I aim to take up Mr Shevardnadze's invitation to visit the Soviet Union during this autumn, and have proposed the dates 9-11 November. I agree with the conclusion of the paper that we should aim at at least one further visit at politburo/cabinet level each year. The Parliamentary umbrella might enable us to get Mr Ligachev, number 2 to Mr Gorbachev, to this country in his capacity as Chairman of one of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Supreme Soviet, though we would want to assess carefully whether his relationship with Mr Gorbachev made this desirable.

[I am dubious]
CDD
[Yakovlev might be better]

(ii) The Royal Family has played little part in our relations with the Soviet Union.

But members of the Royal Family, including the Duke of Edinburgh, have made short private or working visits to the Soviet Union. I support the suggestion that we explore with the Palace whether a member of the Royal Family - perhaps the Prince of Wales - should open the British Week in Kiev in 1990.

(iii) The DTI is energetically pursuing the trade target agreed during your visit with Mr Ryzhkov. The next UK/Soviet Joint Commission will take place in Moscow in October, and will be a major opportunity to explore ways of meeting the target. The paper points to the possibility of upgrading the Chairmanship of the Joint Commission to the level of Secretary of State/Soviet Deputy Prime Minister.

/This

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This is something which I know the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry is thinking about. The Russians attach great importance to rank, and deployed at the right time this move could help our trade prospects.

(iv) In energy, agriculture and health, there are active programmes of cooperation developing satisfactorily, all with commercial possibilities. The Chernobyl accident gave an impulse to our cooperation in nuclear matters; we aim now to develop contacts on nuclear safety, radiation protection and disposal of nuclear waste. In health, the Russians are talking seriously about combating AIDS.

(v) The paper recommends that the Department of the Environment should review and explore with the Russians a revival of cooperation in environmental matters. This lapsed after the invasion of Afghanistan. Our experience of cooperation under the 1974 bilateral environmental agreement was not satisfactory. But there are a number of reasons for having another go at this. The Soviet Union has acknowledged that many environmental questions cannot be dealt with on a purely national basis. There is a new seriousness in their approach to their own environmental problems. Our Embassy have identified commercial possibilities in monitoring and control equipment and scientific instrumentation which could be a by-product of renewing expert contacts. I hope therefore that the Secretary of State for the Environment will take a close look at the possibilities, including a renewal of the UK/Soviet Environmental Agreement.

/(vi)



(vi) We should continue, together with our main NATO allies, to restrict attendance at certain occasions such as Soviet armed forces day, to show our disapproval of the continuing occupation of Afghanistan. But we should now consider a gradual resumption of working contacts in the defence field.

(vii) Much of the paper concentrates on culture, information and education, the areas in which there are the best possibilities of developing exchanges of persons, and of increasing the flow of information to Soviet people. We need to follow up vigorously the Memorandum of Understanding signed during your visit to Moscow. Of the many recommendations in these areas, I would single out the proposed British Council Study Tour programme for Soviet experts to visit the UK; the expansion of the British Council and the Great Britain/USSR Association programmes of colloquia in various professional areas; the development of cooperation in Adult Education and in information technology in schools; the development of secondary school exchange visits; and the creation by the COI of a showpiece travelling exhibition on Britain Today to be shown in major Soviet cities over a period of years.

6. The presumption must be that costs of new activity will in each case be a charge to the relevant Department's expenditure programme and will have to be accommodated within the provision which will be agreed in the current Public Expenditure Survey (PES). I hope that colleagues will feel able to implement the suggestions which fall within their areas, and to accommodate costs in this way. For the most part, they are not very substantial.

/(7.)



7. In the case of culture and information, I am diverting some FCO resources to enable us to start work on the ideas in the paper; and I have made a case in the PES for additional funds for 1988 on. I hope you and colleagues will agree that in these areas the case for building on your visit in the practical ways outlined in the paper is a compelling one.

8. I am copying this to colleagues in OD and to Cecil Parkinson, George Younger, John MacGregor, Nicholas Ridley, Norman Fowler, Kenneth Baker and Paul Channon, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'G. Howe', written in a cursive style.

(GEOFFREY HOWE)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

10 July 1987

mt

PRIME MINISTER

There are two proposals here, foreshadowed in your brief talk with Bryan Cartledge:

(i) you should agree to send a message to Gorbachev after your visit to Washington. There should be ample substance. You ought also to renew the invitation to him to come here. We need to decide in principle now whether to send a message, so that Bryan Cartledge can book an appointment with Shevardnadze to deliver it.

I would rather not decide yet.

(ii) you should also communicate with Ryzhkov about trade, and renew (in lower key) the invitation to him to visit us in due course.

Agree?

CDP.

CDP

10 July, 1987.

Exclude Press
① for Royal Family & ② for Defence



And
Not info related
technology in

Should not require
extra money
for Brit Council

10 DOWNING STREET

(vii)

Prime Minister

I am not
quite clear whether
you are blocking
all the recommendations
in this paper, or
just those relating to
the Royal Family & to
defence contacts.

It might be best to
limit it to the latter, or
we shall lose the advantage
of your visit. Agree? COP



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

13 July 1987

Dear Lyn

UNITED KINGDOM/SOVIET BILATERAL RELATIONS

The Prime Minister has considered the Foreign Secretary's minute of 10 July, covering a paper by officials, about how we should follow-up her visit to the Soviet Union in practical ways. She is grateful for the work which has been done.

In general, the Prime Minister is content with the recommendations in the minute and the accompanying paper, and action should now be taken to implement them. But she would not wish to see consideration given to visits by members of the Royal Family or to a resumption of contacts in the defence field so long as there is no agreement to end the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. In addition, the Prime Minister questions the wisdom of proposing co-operation on information technology in schools. She also doubts whether we should invite Mr Ligachev, whose star seems to be on the wane. Would it not be better to invite Mr Yakovlev?

The Prime Minister notes the Foreign Secretary's intention to make extra funds available to the British Council to support an increase in cultural and educational exchanges. She has commented that the money will have to be found within the existing programme.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to members of OD, to the Private Secretaries to the Secretaries of State for Energy, Environment, Employment, Education and Transport, and the Private Secretary to the Minister for Agriculture, and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours sincerely,
C D Powell

C D POWELL

Lyn Parker, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
 MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1
 Telephone 01-~~930 7022~~ 218 2111/3

MO 14/10V

21st July 1987

CDP 24/7.

Dear Lyn,

UK/SOVIET BILATERAL RELATIONS

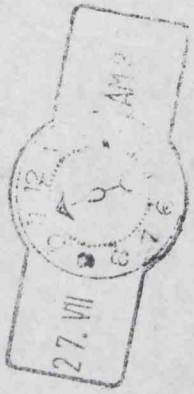
Mr Younger has seen Charles Powell's letter to you recording the Prime Minister's response to the Foreign Secretary's minute of 10th July about bilateral relations with the Soviet Union. He agrees that we should not significantly enhance contacts in the defence field in present circumstances. As described in the paper by officials, bilateral military contacts are currently permitted where we have important and directly useful business to transact, and contacts in this category, which were addressed briefly in an exchange of correspondence between the Defence and Foreign Secretaries last year (7th August and 14th September), will continue to be important to us. But they will need to satisfy the same stringent conditions as hitherto.

I am copying this to Charles Powell at No 10 and to Trevor Woolley in the Cabinet Office.

Yours sincerely,
John Howe.

(J F HOWE)
 Private Secretary

Lyn Parker Esq
 Foreign and Commonwealth Office



SOVIET UNION

RELATIONS

OTV

LCR

2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB
01-212 3434

My ref:

Your ref:



The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

17 July 1987

Dear Geoffrey

*CDP
12/17*

UK/SOVIET BILATERAL RELATIONS - ENVIRONMENT

Thank you for copying to me your minute of 10 July to the Prime Minister.

I do, of course, recognise the importance of building on the success of the Prime Minister's visit to Moscow. You will, however, recognise that, in terms of the objectives of my Department, I see little attraction in the idea of renewing contacts with the Soviet Union in the environmental field. You suggest that the costs of your proposals are not very substantial; but there are, of course, many competing pressures, and it will not be easy to find additional resources for an activity which is not a high-priority one from a DOE point of view.

Nonetheless, I am certainly prepared, as you request, to take a close look at the possibilities and, in this context, to consider the possible renewal of the Agreement. I have asked my officials to consider how to achieve this in the most cost effective way, and they will be in touch with yours when their review is complete.

I am copying this to the Prime Minister, and to the other recipients of your minute.

John
Nicholas

NICHOLAS RIDLEY



CF/PC



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

10 July 1987

*Dear Charles,*UK/Soviet Relations: Message to Mr Gorbachev

The Foreign Secretary has been thinking about how to carry forward the Prime Minister's dialogue with Mr Gorbachev, and move him on towards taking up her invitation to visit the UK.

It is clear that dialogue at the top level is an essential motor of our relations with the Soviet Union. Our aim should be to get Mr Gorbachev to come here if possible by the end of 1988.

The next step in high level contacts is likely to be Sir Geoffrey's visit to Moscow at Mr Shevardnadze's invitation some time this autumn. We have proposed the dates 9-11 November to the Russians.

Sir Geoffrey believes that it would be right to make an early approach to Mr Gorbachev, designed to re-engage his interest. There has been no substantive exchange between the Prime Minister and the General Secretary since her visit to Moscow, though she replied to the brief message of congratulation conveyed after the election through Mr Zamyatin. The time is right for the Prime Minister to send a message in which she would:

- renew her commitment, following the elections, to the development of bilateral relations, and to the improvement of East/West relations;

- offer some thoughts on the way forward in arms control, following her visit to Washington;

- renew the invitation to Mr Gorbachev to visit this country, and say that she hopes that Mr Gorbachev will receive the Foreign Secretary when he visits Moscow in order to discuss his visit further.

We have discussed with Sir Bryan Cartledge how and when such a message could best be delivered. Our recommendation is that Sir Bryan should be instructed to request a call on Mr Shevardnadze shortly before he goes on leave on 27 July.



We do not on this occasion see a case for instructing Sir Bryan to request a call on Mr Gorbachev in person. It would probably be refused, and there is no point in using up credit unnecessarily. To engineer a call on Mr Shevardnadze will itself require at least 10 days' notice. If the Prime Minister agrees, we would instruct Sir Bryan to put in a request for a call. We would then aim to draft a message immediately after the Prime Minister's return from Washington.

You will also wish to consider how and when the Prime Minister should next communicate with Mr Ryzhkov, both about the invitation to him to visit the UK, and about trade matters. I understand that Tim Walker will be writing to you soon about the letter. There would be advantage in stating firmly to Ryzhkov soon that, while we will make a major effort to reach the level of trade he proposed by 1990, there is no question of our relaxing the COCOM rules or policies on QRS agreed with our partners in order to achieve this.

The Foreign Secretary does not recommend a personal message to Mr Ryzhkov on this occasion. He thinks that Sir Bryan Cartledge should be instructed to take action with Mr Ryzhkov's office, making clear that he is doing so on the Prime Minister's personal instructions. As well as making the necessary points about trade, he would say that the Prime Minister looks forward to seeing Ryzhkov in this country when he is able to take up his invitation.

I am copying this to Tim Walker (DTI).

Yours ever,
L. Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/No 10 Downing Street



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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

12 July 1987

From the Private Secretary

Dear Lyn,

UK/SOVIET RELATIONS: MESSAGE TO MR GORBACHEV

Thank you for your letter of 10 July conveying the Foreign Secretary's advice that the Prime Minister should send Mr Gorbachev a message following her return from Washington. Although the Prime Minister is willing to consider this, she does not wish to be absolutely committed to it until she sees how her talks in Washington turn out. It would be possible for Sir Bryan Cartledge nonetheless to seek an appointment with Mr Shevardnadze but he should not in doing so indicate firmly that there will be a message. No doubt there will be adequate substance for a call without it.

We await the letter from DTI about trade matters and further communication with Mr Ryzhkov.

I am copying this letter to Tim Walker (Department of Trade and Industry).

yes search
Charles Powell

Charles Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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