

PRIME MINISTERMEETING WITH MR. GORBACHEV

You will have a one hour meeting with Mr. Gorbachev at Brize Norton on Monday, followed by a working lunch.

Programme

The basic elements are as follows. You will arrive at Brize Norton at 1045 a.m. to look over the arrangements. (There have already been two full dress rehearsals.) Mr. Gorbachev's aircraft will arrive at 1135. You will meet him at the foot of the steps with the Foreign Secretary and the Station Commander. There will be a young Russian boy and English girl to present bouquets. The Guard of Honour will present arms and the Soviet national anthem will be played. You will then proceed to the cars and drive to the Mess, you travelling with Mr. Gorbachev, and the Foreign Secretary with Mrs. Gorbachev. At the Mess, Mr. and Mrs. Gorbachev will be offered an opportunity to tidy. You will introduce Mrs. Gorbachev to Mr. Baker who will take her off to visit a school. You and Mr. Gorbachev will go to one room for talks, accompanied by Mr. Chernayev (his Private Secretary) and interpreters. The Foreign Secretary will hold parallel talks with Mr. Shevardnadze. At 1250 you will go to the dining-room for lunch. At 1325 you and Mr. Gorbachev will make short statements to the press from the porch of the Mess. You then drive back out to the aircraft. Mr. Gorbachev will depart at 1335.

We need to decide whether you should then go and give a press conference (there are some 400 accredited journalists). Bernard will let you have a note on this. My own view is that you should do so. It will be an excellent opportunity to underline your role in East/West relations at the highest level.

You then helicopter back to London. You will probably want to telephone the President (and possibly also send him a message on the hot-line).

Tactics

Gorbachev has gone out of his way to be flattering in his comments about you through the official Soviet spokesman. He clearly thinks it serves his ends to be seen to be consulting you. He will portray it as a willingness to pay attention to European not just US concerns. He will also want public support from you for the INF agreement and reassurance that the US will ratify it (no need to overdo this: Soviet worries about ratification are useful leverage for progress on human rights and other issues). He will be interested in any pointers you can give to President Reagan's likely intentions at the Summit. His interest will be in the meeting with you being friendly and successful, as a curtain raiser for the Summit.

From your point of view there is a line to be steered between underlining the degree to which Britain under your leadership is again playing a major role - alone among the European nations - in East/West relations; and allowing Gorbachev to give the appearance of neutralising you as a strong and independent voice counselling caution and scepticism in approaching these relations. You are not a bridge between the Soviet Union and the US but have your own contribution to make which both sides value and have to take into account. This is one reason why a press conference afterwards is important in getting your views on the substance once again on the record, as well as your role in the theatre of it all.

Substance

There is a full brief in the folder. I think that you should focus on arms control, Afghanistan, Middle East, human rights and progress with perestroika. The Foreign Secretary can deal with more detailed points with Shevardnadze. There is one trade point you will want to make.

I suggest that you speak generally on the following lines:

- you are grateful to Mr. Gorbachev for coming. You wish him well at the Summit;
- you hope that he and Mrs. Gorbachev will pay a full dress visit soon, perhaps next year;
 - you are sorry about the entirely unacceptable comments by one irresponsible British newspaper. All you can say is that you have had to put up with worse;
 - you have read with interest his speech on the 70th anniversary of the Revolution and have started on his book (you might have it with you at Brize Norton);
 - you have had very useful talks with Academician Marchuk, Mr. Tolstykh and Academician Aganbegyan. They increased your understanding of perestroika. You have publicly repeated your support for what Mr. Gorbachev is trying to do;
 - you genuinely hope that the Summit will be a success. You have discussed it with President Reagan and have a clear idea of his intentions and priorities: progress on a START agreement, Afghanistan, and human rights;
 - you very much welcome the INF Agreement including in particular the verification provisions. You have made this clear publicly as has NATO as a whole;
 - Soviet spokesmen have talked of NATO circumventing the INF Agreement. We shall abide strictly by the Treaty, although obviously retain the freedom to adjust other parts of our nuclear weapons programme not covered by the Treaty, in just the same way as the Soviet Union does (and they are of course engaged in modernisation of their nuclear weapons);

you see the next steps as a START Agreement, elimination of chemical weapons and establishment of conventional balance. There is no scope for further reductions in nuclear weapons in Europe until there is conventional balance and chemical weapons have been eliminated;

- you welcome the progress which has been made towards 50 per cent reductions in US and Soviet Strategic nuclear weapons. The verification measures will need to go even further than in the case of INF. In particular it is up to the Soviet Union to come up with credible proposals for verifying a ban on mobile ICBMs. Otherwise you are sure that the Americans will continue to demand a complete ban on these weapons;

- you were glad to see that the Soviet spokesmen had reiterated the Soviet understanding that British and French nuclear weapons would not be included in the current negotiations. Trident will represent a smaller proportion of Soviet nuclear weapons than did Polaris in 1970, even after 50 per cent reductions;

- as regards SDI, Mr. Gorbachev will know the strength of President Reagan's resistance to new constraints on SDI. You can confirm that remains the President's view. In your view the most promising approach remains that which you outlined in your speech in Moscow in April: an agreed non-withdrawal period from the ABM Treaty together with forecasts by both sides of their intended research activities. This will provide assurance that no break-out is imminent. The Americans have asked you to tell Mr. Gorbachev that, even if the Soviet side are not willing to proceed with strategic arms reductions without a solution on SDI testing, they should put the linkage issue aside for now and get on with the completion of a START Treaty;

Sir Geoffrey Howe will be discussing the details of the chemical weapons negotiations with Mr. Shevardnadze;

- you hope that NATO will soon have a proposal on conventional arms control. But we shall be insisting on explicit exclusion of nuclear weapons from these negotiations;
- on Afghanistan you will want to probe him about any proposals which he may be intending to make in Washington. The President certainly intends to make this a major issue in the discussions. If the Russians are intending to withdraw, the sooner they do so the better. Apart from anything else, this could help INF ratification;
- you might throw in a brief reference to Cambodia. This helps us with the ASEAN countries;
- because President Reagan probably won't say much on Arab-Israel, you should raise it. You see an international conference as the right way forward and are pressing both the Americans and the Israelis to accept this. You could probe him on restoring relations with Israel and on Jewish emigration. You will also want to mention Iran/Iraq and the need to implement SCR 598;
- human rights progress will again be vital to helping ensure ratification of the INF Agreement. You welcome what has been done, but we need more, such as modifications to the Soviet criminal code to abolish the crime of "anti-Soviet agitation", a demonstrable liberalisation of the criteria for applications for exit permission, and a reduction in the denial of exit visas on grounds of "possession of state secrets";
- finally, you will want to recall your discussions in parallel on trade. Despite agreeing to set a target then of a 40 per cent increase by 1990, the figures so far this year are disappointing (our exports are down). The letter of intent signed during your visit for the contract for Simon Carves/GEC to build a process controller

plant in Yerevan has still not been converted into a contract. You hope Mr. Gorbachev will agree to encouraging Soviet officials to give trade relations more impetus.

You will probably want to deal with perestroika and other Soviet internal developments over lunch and try to get some feel for how far Mr. Gorbachev has had to modify his tactics and the speed with which he is moving on reform as a result of recent political setbacks.

Finally at an appropriate moment - possibly at the end of the talk and just before going into lunch - you will want to mention Gordievsky. You still hope that his family could very discreetly be released to join him or at least to pay him a visit.

C.D.P.

CHARLES POWELL

5 December 1987

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PROGRAMME

1135 hours Arrive Royal Air Force Station Brize Norton
by special flight IL 62M aircraft from Moscow

Met by the Prime Minister, The Right Honourable
Margaret Thatcher MP, the Secretary of State
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, The Right
Honourable Sir Geoffrey Howe MP, and the
Station Commander RAF Brize Norton, Group
Captain Chris Lumb OBE RAF
Mrs Gorbacheva will be presented with a bouquet
by Miss

Guard of Honour found by The Queen's Colour
Squadron, Royal Air Force under the command
of Squadron Leader Roger Booth RAF, supported
by the Central Band of the Royal Air Force
under the direction of the Director of Music
Wing Commander Eric Banks MBE FLCM LRAM ARCM
LGSM, Royal Air Force

1140 hours Depart airfield for Officers' Mess

1145 hours Arrive Officers' Mess

Refreshments will be served

1150 hours Talks between the Prime Minister, and The
General Secretary of the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

1150 hours The Secretary of State for Foreign and
Commonwealth Affairs will hold separate
talks with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of
the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics

1250-1320 hours Luncheon

1322 hours Press statement

1330 hours Depart Officers Mess

RAF Ceremonial Carpet Guard

1335 hours Depart Royal Air Force Brize Norton
The Prime Minister and The Secretary of State
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs will bid
farewell

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CAR PLAN - 7 DECEMBER 1987
1ST CONVOY

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>VEHICLE NUMBER</u>	<u>PASSENGERS</u>
RAF	1	RAF Provost 2 Soviet Protection Officers
Hired Daimler (No 10 Driver)	2	PM, Mr Gorbachev, 1 MPSB 1 Interpreter, 1 Soviet Protection Officer
MPSB Police Back Up	3	1 MPSB 2 Soviet Protection Officers
Hired Daimler	4	Chief Soviet Security Officer 1 MPSB 2 Soviet Doctors 1 Soviet Communications Officer
Hired Daimler (Police Driver)	5	Mrs Gorbachev, Sir Geoffrey Howe 1 MPSB, 1 Soviet Protection Officer
MPSB Police Back Up (Armoured RR)	6	1 MPSB 2 Soviet Protection Officers
RAF	7	RAF Provost

CAR PLAN - 7 DECEMBER 1987 (Cont'd)
2ND CONVOY

RAF	8	RAF Provost
Hired Daimler	9	Mr Shevardnaze Soviet Ambassador 1 MPSB
MPSB	10	PMs Car
Hired Daimler	11	Mr Yakovlev 1 MPSB
Hired Daimler	12	Mr Dobrynin 1 MPSB
Hired Daimler	13	Marshal Akhromeev 1 Soviet Protection Officer
RAF	14	RAF Provost 2 Soviet Protection Officers

CAR PLAN - 7 DECEMBER (Cont'd)
3RD CONVOY

RAF	15	RAF Provost
Hired Daimler	16	1 Soviet Protection Officer
Hired Daimler	17	1 Soviet Protection Officer
Hired Daimler	18	1 Soviet Protection Officer
RAF Bus	19	Academicians Interpreters Officials
RAF	20	RAF Provost

SECRET

1. Human Rights:

It would be helpful for Mrs. Thatcher to stress to Gorbachev that further Soviet movement on human rights is essential to a sustained improvement in East-West relations, and will be vital to the INF Treaty ratification process. (FYI: The U.S. is still pressing the Soviets for the establishment of some formal institutional mechanism for resolution of individual cases. But even more significant would be modifications to the Soviet criminal code to abolish the crime of "anti-Soviet agitation," a demonstrable liberalization of the criteria for applications for exit permission, and a marked reduction in the denial of exit visas on grounds of "possession of state secrets." End FYI)

2. Afghanistan:

We would also appreciate it if the Prime Minister placed similar emphasis on the need for tangible steps toward a withdrawal from Afghanistan. The Thatcher-Gorbachev meeting will take place just after the release of the EC statement on Afghanistan. We would suggest that the Prime Minister not only reinforce the strong message in that statement, but also emphasize the importance of Afghanistan to the entire civilized world. It would be helpful for Mrs. Thatcher to make the point that, if the Soviets are going to withdraw -- as they keep saying they are -- then they should do it soon and quickly; it is not in their own interest to prolong either the occupation or the period of withdrawal.

We would also suggest one additional point: like human rights improvements, concrete moves toward withdrawal from Afghanistan could have a major impact on prospects for INF ratification.

3. Verification:

We suggest that the Prime Minister, in welcoming Soviet agreement to extensive on-site inspection measures in the INF Treaty, underscore the need to go even further in the case of START. In particular, it is essential that the Soviets present proposals for the verification of mobile ICBM deployments. In Washington's view, the ball is in the Soviets' court on mobiles; without a proposal, the U.S. will persist in demanding a complete ban on these systems.

4. START/SDI Linkage:

We would also appreciate the Prime Minister reinforcing the current U.S. position on START/SDI linkage: Even if the Soviets are not willing to proceed with strategic arms reductions without a solution on SDI testing, they should put the linkage issue aside for now and get on with the completion of a draft START Treaty.

SECRET

Mr. Powell

GORBACHEV VISIT

Ann Nomisai (Fco Protocol) asked me to let you know that there is now a small change of plan on departure procedure.

The cars will now pull up at the end of the red carpet, and the PM and Gorbachev will walk along the carpet to the plane. Some of the senior Soviet delegates will take their leave at the foot of the steps.

Mike Bates
(M.C. BATES) ^{4/12}

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VISIT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION
AND
MRS. GORBACHEVA

RAF Brize Norton
7 December 1987

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PROGRAMME

1135 hours Arrive Royal Air Force Station Brize Norton by special flight IL 62M aircraft from Moscow

Met by the Prime Minister, The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher MP, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, The Right Honourable Sir Geoffrey Howe MP, and the Station Commander RAF Brize Norton, Group Captain Chris Lumb OBE RAF

Bouquets will be presented to Mrs Gorbacheva by a pupil from the Soviet Embassy School and Miss Emma Palmer from the Carterton Primary School

Guard of Honour found by The Queen's Colour Squadron, Royal Air Force under the command of Squadron Leader Roger Booth RAF, supported by the Central Band of the Royal Air Force under the direction of the Director of Music Wing Commander Eric Banks MBE FLCM LRAM ARCM LGSM, Royal Air Force

1140 hours Depart airfield for Officers' Mess

1145 hours Arrive Officers' Mess

Refreshments will be served

(See following page for Mrs Gorbacheva's programme)

1150 hours Talks between the Prime Minister, and The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

1150 hours The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs will hold separate talks with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1250-1320 hours Luncheon

1322 hours Press statement

1330 hours Depart Officers Mess

RAF Ceremonial Carpet Guard

1335 hours Depart Royal Air Force Brize Norton The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, accompanied by the Station Commander, Group Captain Lumb, will bid farewell

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PROGRAMME FOR MRS GORBACHEVA

1135 hours Arrive Royal Air Force Station Brize Norton

Please see programme for the General Secretary until:

1150 hours Depart Officers' Mess accompanied by Secretary of State for Education and Science, Mrs Zamyatina, Miss Horner, Mr Lagutin and Mr Krasnov

1200 hours Arrive Edith Moorhouse Primary School, Carterton

Met by Headmaster: Mr Brian McCutcheon

1205-1215 hours View Christmas Play and meet the children and teachers

1215 hours Visit classrooms to see various activities

1235 hours Depart School

1245 hours Arrive Officers' Mess

Please see General Secretary's programme for luncheon and departure arrangements

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ПРИНИМАЮЩИЕ УЧАСТИЕ С АНГЛИЙСКОЙ СТОРОНЫ

Госпожа МАРГАРЕТ ТЭТЧЕР, Премьер-министр
Сэр ДЖЕФФРИ ХАУ, Министр Иностранных Дел и по делам Содружества

Господин Дж. Янгер, Министр Обороны

Господин К. Бейкер, Министр Образования и Науки

Господин А.Кларк, Министр Торговли

Господин Д. Мэллор, Заместитель министра иностранных дел

Сэр Джон Фильдхаус, Начальник комитета начальников штабов

Сэр Джон Фретуэлл, Политический Директор, МИД

Сэр Брайен Картледж, Посол Великобритании в Москве

Господин Ч.Пауэлл, Советник Премьер-министра по внешней политике

Господин В.Фулл, Старший советник по вопросам контроля над вооружениями, МИД

Господин Д. Рэтфорд, Старший советник по европейским делам, МИД

Господин С.Химанс, Глава Советского Отдела, МИД

Господин Х.Мейер, Глава Отдела Печати, МИД

ПРОГРАММА

11.35

Прибытие из Москвы в авиационную станцию Королевских ВВС "Брайз Нортон" советским спетссамолетом ИЛ 62М

Гостей встречают их Превосходительства госпожа Маргарет Тэтчер, Премьер-министр Великобритании, сэр Джеффри Хау, Министр Иностранных Дел и по делам Содружества, и Полковник авиации Лэм, Командир станции

Гостям преподносят букеты ученик школы советского посольства и госпожа Э.Палмер, ученица из начальной школы села Картертон

Почетный караул Королевского авиационного полка во главе с Майором авиации Буф, с главным оркестром Королевских ВВС во главе с Подполковником авиации Бэнкс

11.40

Отъезд из аэродрома

11.45

Прибытие в офицерскую столовую
Предлагаются освежающие напитки

(Программа госпожи Горбачевой на следующей странице)

11.50

Беседа Премьера-министра Великобритании с Генеральным секретарем ЦК КПСС

11.50

Отдельная беседа Министра Иностранных Дел и по делам Содружества с Министром Иностранных Дел СССР

12.50-13.20

Завтрак

13.22

Сообщение для прессы

13.30

Отъезд из офицерской столовой

Гостей к трапу самолета провожает почетный караул Королевских ВВС

13.35

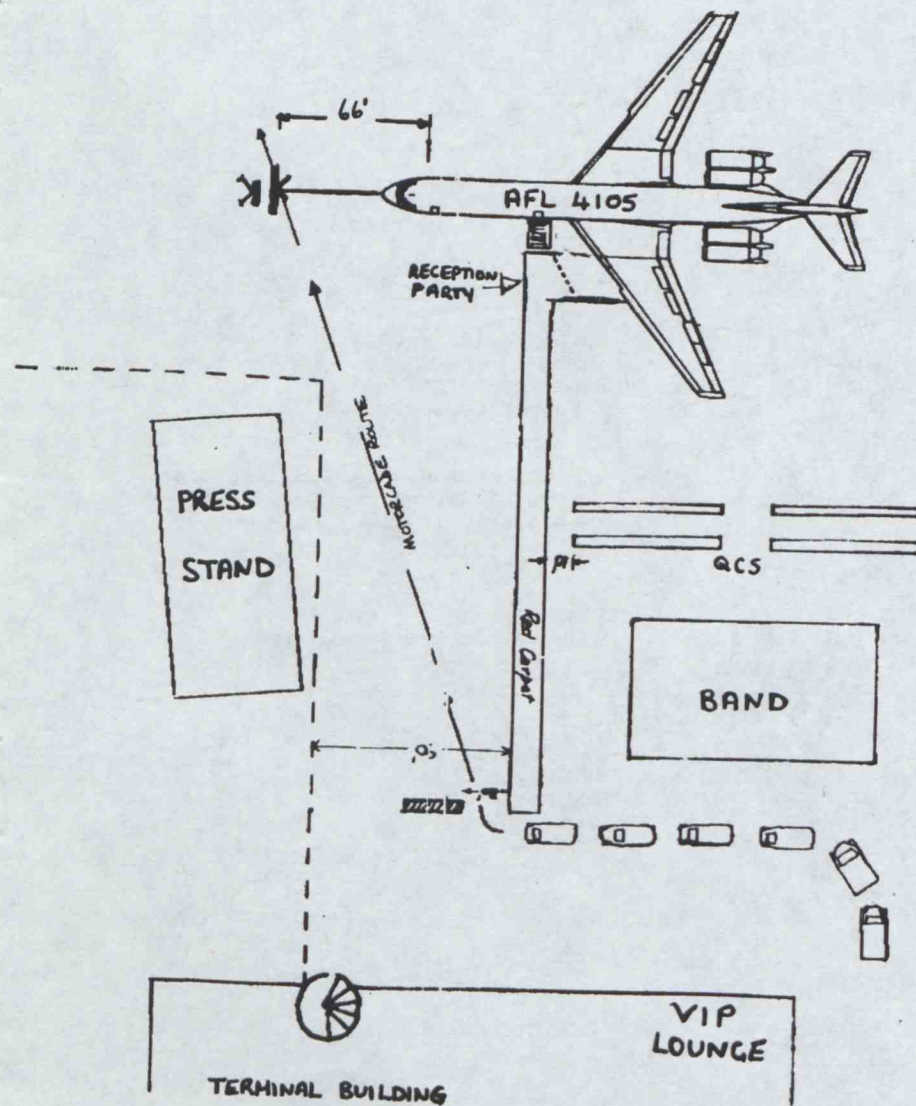
Отлет из авиационной станции "Брайз Нортон" после официальной церемонии проводов с участием Премьер-министра, Министра Иностранных Дел и по делам Содружества, и Полковника авиации Лэм

ПРОГРАММА ГОСПОЖИ ГОРБАЧЕВОЙ

- 11.35 Прибытие в авиационную станцию "Брайз Нортон"
- Дальше по программе Генерального секретаря вплоть до:
- 11.50 Отъезд из офицерской столовой в сопровождении Министра Образования и Науки Великобритании, госпожи Замятиной, госпожи Хорнер, и господина Лагутина
- 12.00 Прибытие в начальную школу имени Эдит Мурхауз, в селе Картертон
Гостей встречает Директор школы господин Брайен МкКэтчен
- 12.05-12.15 Посещение рождественского спектакля, исполняемого учениками школы. Встречи с учителями
- 12.15 Посещение различных занятий в школе
- 12.35 Отъезд из школы
- 12.45 Прибытие в офицерскую столовую
- Организация завтрака и отлета-- по программе Генерального секретаря

DETAILED PARKING PLAN

FOR VVIP AIRCRAFT



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REVISED

CAR PLAN - 7 DECEMBER 1987
1ST CONVOYCAR PLAN - 7 DECEMBER 1987 (Cont'd)
2ND CONVOY

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>VEHICLE NUMBER</u>	<u>PASSENGERS</u>
RAF	1	RAF Provost 2 Soviet Protection Officers Mr Powell
Daimler (No 10 Driver)	2	PM, Mr Gorbachev, 1 MPSB Mr Uspensky (Interpreter) 1 Soviet Protection Officer
MPSB Police Back Up (Armoured RR)	3	1 MPSB 2 Soviet Protection Officers
Hired Daimler	4	Chief Soviet Security Officer 1 MPSB 2 Soviet Doctors 1 Soviet Communications Officer
Daimler (Police Driver)	5	Mrs Gorbacheva, Sir Geoffrey Howe 1 MPSB, 1 Soviet Protection Officer Interpreter (Soviet) Miss Horner
MPSB Police Back Up	6	1 MPSB 2 Soviet Protection Officers
RAF	7	RAF Provost Mr Smagin Mrs Morrison Mr Chernyaev

RAF	8	RAF Provost
Hired Daimler	9	Mr Shevardnaze Soviet Ambassador 1 MPSB 1 Soviet Protection Officer
MPSB	10	PMs Car
Hired Daimler	11	Mr Boldin Mr Yakovlev 1 MPSB 1 Soviet Protection Officer
Hired Daimler	12	Mr Dobrynin 1 MPSB Mrs Zamyatina 1 Soviet Protection Officer
Hired Daimler	13	Marshal Akhromeyev 1 Soviet Protection Officer
Hired Daimler	14	1 Soviet Protection Officer Mr Kamentsev
Hired Daimler	15	1 Soviet Protection Officer Mr Kruchina Mr Gusenkov
Hired Daimler	16	Spare

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RESTRICTED

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CAR PLAN - 7 DECEMBER 1987
2ND CONVOY (Cont'd)

Hired Daimler

17

Spare

RAF

18

RAF Provost
2 Soviet Protection Officers

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PRESS FACILITIES

1. Admission by accreditation only.
2. Press Centre established at Airport Terminal.
3. Fixed position photocall for arrival and departure of aircraft.
4. Limited fixed position photocall (pool arrangement) inside Officer's Mess before talks begin.
5. Fixed position photocall (pool arrangements) outside Officers' Mess with stand-up microphone for end of talk statements

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MEDICAL ARRANGEMENTS

An emergency medical facility will be established in one room of the Officers' Mess VIP suite. There will be a medical team present with comprehensive resuscitation equipment. The team will consist of a Senior Medical Officer, Consultant Anaesthetist, Nursing Officer, Operating Theatre Technician, Flight Nursing Attendant plus a doctor from the visiting party in attendance.

In the event of an emergency requiring transfer to hospital a Puma helicopter parked on the hard-standing outside the mess will be used. A back-up Puma and a Chinook will be held in reserve near the Air Terminal.

PA RAF Hospital Wroughton will be the hospital of choice but should the nature of the emergency be such that highly specialised treatment (eg neurosurgery) is required, the John Radcliffe Hospital Oxford will be used. The decision as to which hospital will be chosen will be taken at the time by the Senior Medical Officer.

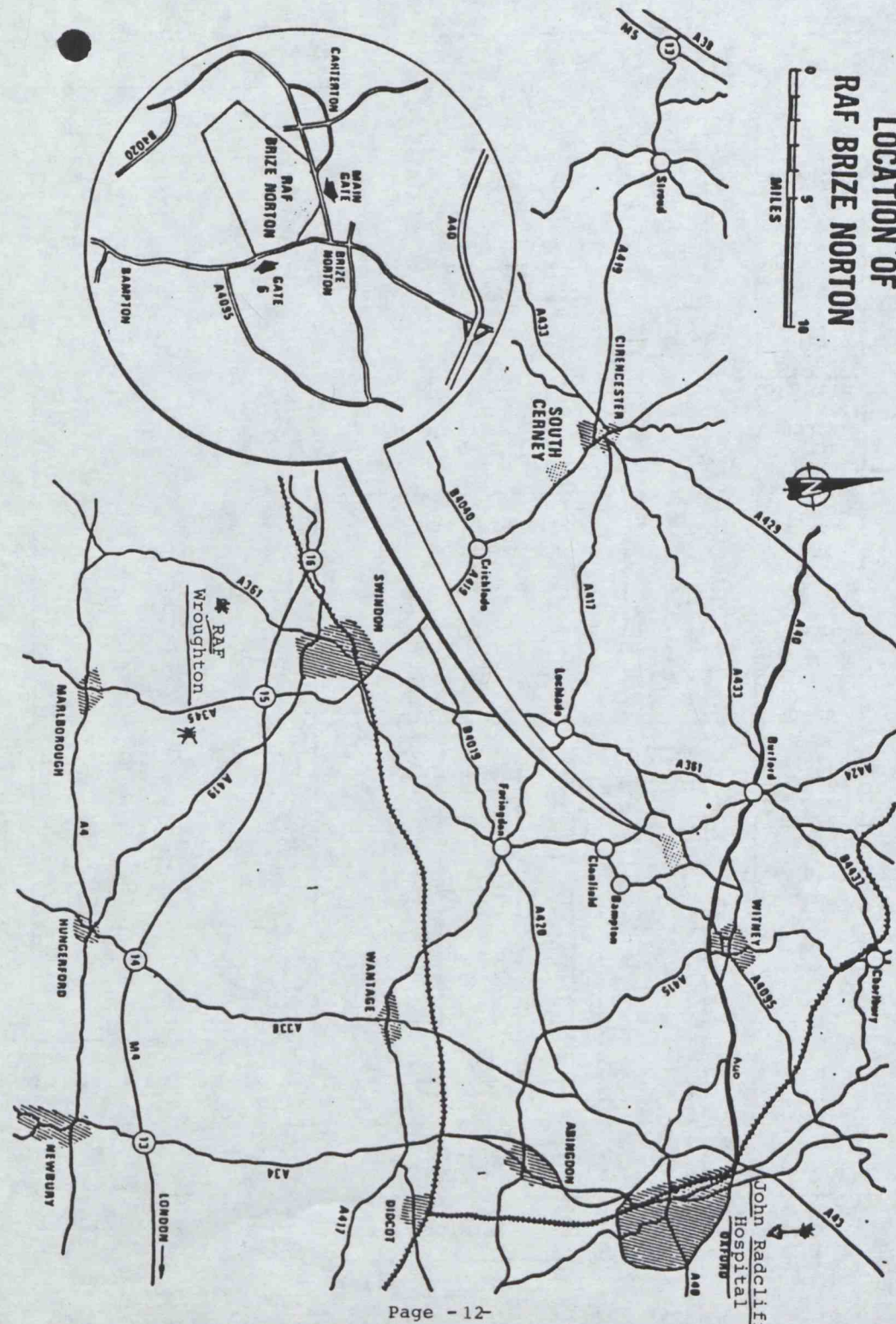
The senior staff at both hospitals will be briefed by the Senior Medical Officer. Landing sites have already been reconnoitred by the helicopter aircrew.

There will also be 2 ambulances on standby behind the Officers' Mess.

Additionally, SMO RAF Brize Norton will maintain the station medical services at an increased alert state during take offs and landings.

If a disaster occurs, the Station disaster plan will be activated.

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DISTRIBUTION

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Private Secretary (2)
Press Office (10)

Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (40)

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PS/Sir John Fretwell (2)
Sir D Miers (2)
Mr Ratford
Mr Fall
Mr Hemans
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Research Department (Mr Bishop) (2)
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Resident Clerk (2)
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Department of Trade and Industry

PS/Mr Clark (2)

Department of Science and Education

PS/Mr Baker (2)

Ministry of Defence

PS/Mr Younger (2)
PS/Chief of Defence Staff (2)
Gp Capt Dillon (Protocol) (4)
Wing Commander McLaughlin, P&SS, RAF (6)

RAF Brize Norton (15)

Metropolitan Police Special Branch

Det Supt Butler, No 10 (4)
Det Chief Insp Blackmore (10)

Thames Valley Police

Chief Supt Poole (4)

