

CONFIDENTIAL  
FM MOSCOW  
TO DESKBY 201800Z FCO  
TELNO 92  
OF 201723Z JANUARY 89

*Pl. file  
en*

FOR HEMANS, SOVIET DEPT

MY TELNO 91: PREPARATIONS FOR GORBACHEV'S VISIT

1. IN VIENNA THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND SHEVARDNADZE AGREED THAT WE SHOULD PREPARE THOROUGHLY FOR THE APRIL SUMMIT. SHEVARDNADZE FLOATED THE IDEA OF USING SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVES.
2. THE INSTRUCTIONS IN YOUR TELNO 75 HELPFULLY ENABLED ME TO OPEN A DIRECT LINK WITH GORBACHEV'S OFFICE. ALTHOUGH DETAILED LOGISTICAL PLANNING WILL OBVIOUSLY BE CONDUCTED IN LONDON, AS OVER THE PLANNED DECEMBER VISIT, I COULD MAKE FURTHER USE OF THE CHERNYAYEV CHANNEL TO DEVELOP THEMES FOR THE SUMMIT.
3. I HAD IN FACT ALREADY INITIATED SOME LONG RANGE PLANNING BY HOLDING AN INFORMAL DISCUSSION OVER LUNCH ON 13 JANUARY WITH THE HEAD OF SECOND EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT, USPENSKY. WE AGREED TO HAVE A FURTHER SUCH MEETING SOON. USPENSKY HAD RECENTLY CONVENED A SEMINAR OF OVER 60 SOVIET ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED IN BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE UK. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE FRENCH AND GERMANS HAD TAKEN THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS INTO NEW AREEAS. WHAT NEW AREAS COULD WE DEVELOP? HE OFFERED NO IDEAS OF HIS OWN, AND DID NOT SAY WHAT HAD COME OUT OF HIS SEMINAR.

#### TIMETABLE

4. THE PRIME MINISTER WILL NOT WANT TO HAVE HER DISCUSSIONS OVER-PREPARED BY OFFICIALS. NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP A SUMMIT AGENDA IN COOPERATION WITH THE RUSSIANS. THIS COULD HELP TO GIVE US THE KIND OF ADVANCE INSIGHT INTO GORBACHEV'S THINKING THAT WE WERE UNABLE TO EXTRACT BEFORE DECEMBER. YOU MAY WISH TO THINK ABOUT THE FOLLOWING TIMETABLE:

(A) 2ND WEEK IN FEBRUARY: I PROPOSE TO VISIT LONDON WITH KAMENTSEV. THIS WILL BE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER WITH THE DEPARTMENT THEMES FOR THE SUMMIT, (SOME OF WHICH WE CAN DEVELOP OVER THE NEXT FORTNIGHT, AND SOME OF WHICH ARE RELEVANT TO THE VISITS OF ADAMISHIN



AND KAMENTSEV HIMSELF).

(B) 2ND HALF OF FEBRUARY: ON RETURN TO MOSCOW, I PUT PROPOSLS TO THE RUSSIANS, PERHAPS IN A SECOND MEETING WITH CHERNYAYEV.

WE MIGHT ALSO NEED A SECOND MISSION TO ARMENIA IN THIS PERIOD.

(C) 6 MARCH: PREPARATIONS REVIEWED AT BILATERAL MEETING BETWEEN YOU AND SHEVARDNADZE IN THE MARGINS OF THE OPENING OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES TALKS?

(D) 2ND HALF OF MARCH: FURTHER PREPARATORY WORK AT BOTH ENDS. I MIGHT TRY FOR A CALL ON GORBACHEV IN THIS PERIOD.

#### THEMES

5. IN OUR DISCUSSION ON 13 JANUARY I WARNED USPENSKY NOT TO THINK IN TERMS OF A GRANDIOSE BILATERAL DECLARATION OR COMMUNIQUE. THIS WAS NOT OUR STYLE. I ASSUME THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO HEAD THIS OFF? BUT SUBJECTS WHICH COULD PROVIDE A BASIS FOR RESULTS AT THE SUMMIT INCLUDE:

- ARMANIAN RECONSTRUCTION: I SHALL BE DEBRIEFING THE VISITING MISSION ON 21 JANUARY. MY IMPRESSION THUS FAR IS THAT SOVIET DECISION MAKING ON ARMENIA IS CONFUSED. THE ITALIANS, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE BEEN TOLD TO PUT A PROPOSAL FOR A PREFABRICATED VILLAGE ON HOLD TO ALLOW CENTRAL MINISTRIES MORE TIME TO MAKE UP THEIR MINDS. IF WE ARE TO HAVE SOMETHING TO BRANDISH DURING THE SUMMIT, WE SHALL HAVE TO DEVELOP OUR OWN THOUGHTS URGENTLY, AND PERHAPS SEND A CLOSELY-TARGETTED FOLLOW-UP MISSION IN FEBRUARY.

- TRADE: KAMENTSEV'S VISIT WILL HELP TO IDENTIFY THE MOST PROMISING PROSPECTS: MY IMPRESSION IS STILL THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE ANXIOUS FOR PROGRESS, AND THAT WE CAN EXPLOIT THIS. AS IN 1986, WE SHOULD TRY TO USE THE SUMMIT TO HELP PROGRESS TOWARDS SPECIFIC TARGETS.

- THE ENVIRONMENT: PAST EFFORTS AT ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION HAVE BEEN A MIXED BLESSING. BUT WE MIGHT CONSIDER MAKING A JOINT EFFORT ON THE OZONE LAYER. WE ARE TRYING TO GET DR IZRAEL TO THE LONDON CONFERENCE. IF WE SUCCEED, IS THERE SCOPE TO PUT PROPOSALS TO HIM THERE WHICH COULD BE WORKED UP FOR THE SUMMIT.

- SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE SECRETARY OF STATE IDENTIFIED NAMIBIA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA AS AN AREA FOR FURTHER COOPERATION IN HIS MEETING

WITH SHEVARDNADZE. THIS ALSO CAME UP IN MY BILATERAL LUNCH. NOW THAT SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS CHANGED, OUR INTERESTS IN THE SUB-REGION ARE MORE NEARLY COMPLEMENTARY. WHAT SPECIFIC PROPOSALS CAN BE MADE TO ADAMISHIN NEXT WEEK FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT BY APRIL?

- MIDDLE EAST: IS THIS IN THE SAME CATEGORY? WE HAVE PROPOSED TALKS IN FEBRUARY BETWEEN GORE-BOOTH AND POLYAKOV.

- CHEMICAL WEAPONS: OUR EXCHANGE OF BILATERAL VISITS HAS PRODUCED ONLY MODERATE BENEFITS, BUT AT LEAST PROVIDES A BASIS FOR FURTHER WORK.

- MILITARY EXCHANGE: ALREADY IN VIEW AFTER COMPLETION OF SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN. AT THE SUMMIT THESE COULD BE MOVED TO A HIGHER LEVEL.

BRAITHWAITE

YYYY

DISTRIBUTION

11

MAIN 11

NO DISTRIBUTION  
HD/NEWS  
HD/PUSD  
HD/PLANNERS  
PS  
PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

PS/MR WALDEGRAVE  
PS/PUS  
PS/SIR J FRETWELL  
MR BOYD  
MR RATFORD  
MR HERVEY

NNNN