

CONFIDENTIAL

5-6 seminar
4
CCPC



Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Agree to

London SW1A 2AH

invite those listed
to a discussion for
an hour over a
drink? (There are no
free lunches except the
day before the
Gorbachev lunch,
at Chequers)

28 November 1984

Agree to proposed
structure of discussion?

Dear Charles,
Gorbachev's Visit

C.D.P. 20/11

In your letter of 21 November you said that the Prime Minister would like to have a meeting with four or five Soviet experts before her talks with Mr Gorbachev on 16 December.

The choice of experts will depend to some extent on how widely the Prime Minister wishes to range. We would suggest the following names:

- (a) Mr Malcolm Mackintosh (Cabinet Office);
- (b) Dr Archie Brown (St Antony's College, Oxford. Recently returned from a month in Moscow. Expert on Soviet political personalities. Attended the Prime Minister's discussions on East/West relations at Chequers in 1983);
- (c) Dr Lawrence Freedman (Expert on strategic studies, in particular arms control. Professor of War Studies at King's College, London. Took part in a television debate on arms control in Moscow in June this year);
- (d) Professor Alec Nove (Glasgow University. Attended the Prime Minister's meeting at Chequers last year);
- (e) Dr Norman Wooding (Deputy Chairman of Courtaulds. Long experience of trading in the Soviet Union).

Michael Kerr

In considering the handling of the talks it will be important to bear in mind that Gorbachev will come with a prepared statement which he will wish to make at some point. It would be helpful, therefore, if at an early stage the Prime Minister would indicate to him in general terms how she wishes to use the time available. Our suggestion for this would be that she might wish to use the lunch for discussion of general themes and as a way of establishing personal contact. After lunch there might be a rather more structured discussion covering a short agenda.

/The sort

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



The sort of general points which might be discussed over lunch would be mutual perceptions. Mr Gorbachev might be asked what struck him most about the West (Belgium 1972, FRG 1975, France 1976, Canada and Portugal in 1983 and Italy early this year); general economic and social developments in a rapidly evolving technological world up to the end of this century. (This could provide the opportunity to ask Mr Gorbachev about some subjects which are his responsibility e.g. how the Soviet Union intends to deal with its internal economic problems including its agriculture.) The Prime Minister might also touch on the question of mutual perceptions of threat. She could deal with the standard Soviet allegation that the West, and the US in particular, wish to conduct their relations with the Soviet Union "from a position of strength" which the Russians always interpret as meaning military superiority while we mean equal security.

After lunch the Prime Minister might wish to concentrate more formally on three points:

- (a) East/West relations generally (our desire for better relations, our sincerity and willingness to discuss a wide range of international questions and our desire, notwithstanding fundamental political differences, to look for mutually acceptable solutions or at least the avoidance of military conflict);
- (b) Arms Control (to indicate the areas in which we hope progress might be made and to welcome US/Soviet agreement that their Foreign Ministers should meet at Geneva in January);
- (c) Bilateral relations (the Soviet suggestion that Komarov should accompany Gorbachev may indicate some interest in discussing trade).

Gorbachev does not speak English although he may understand some. Discussion will therefore be slowed down by interpretation.

The Soviet Embassy have been told that Gorbachev can be accompanied by two or at the most three advisers (your letter of 29 October). They have indicated that they expect Gorbachev to be accompanied by the Ambassador (Popov), Zamyatin, Head of the International Information Department of the Central Committee and an interpreter. I enclose their CVs. The Embassy have asked that Komarov (First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade) should also accompany Mr Gorbachev. We have told them that it is for Gorbachev to choose the party but that the limit is four.

/If the

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



If the Russians decide that Komarov should accompany Mr Gorbachev, then the Prime Minister may wish to invite Mr Channon to join the lunch. If not, the Foreign Secretary recommends the enclosed guest list for the British side. If the Prime Minister is content with these suggestions we will set briefing in hand to cover some of the general points that she might wish to raise over lunch and the detailed issues for discussion after lunch.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (MOD), Steve Nickelen (DTI), Ivor Llewellyn (MAFF) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

L V Appleyard

(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL



PRIME MINISTER'S LUNCH FOR MR GORBACHEV ON 16 DECEMBER
AT CHEQUERS

POSSIBLE GUEST LIST:

Prime Minister	Mr Gorbachev
Private Secretary	Soviet Ambassador
Secretary of State	2 Advisers
Mr Rifkind	
Sir I Sutherland	
Sir A Acland	
Mr Bishop (Interpreter)	



GORBACHEV Mikhail Sergeevich

Secretary of the CC CPSU 1978; Member of the Politburo 1980; Member of the CC CPSU 1971; Deputy to USSR Supreme Soviet 1980; Chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union, Supreme Soviet 1984.

Gorbachev was born in February 1931 in the Stavropol region of southern Russia. He began work at the age of 15 as an agricultural machinery assistant in the Stavropol region (a major grain-producing area north of the Caucasus), and at 19 achieved the unusual distinction of entry to Moscow University, where he graduated in law and joined the Party. After two or three years' further legal training he returned to Stavropol in 1956 to run the town's, then the region's, Komsomol organisation, then the regional Party organisation (First Secretary of Stavropol krai Committee), at the same time taking a correspondence course at Stavropol Agricultural Institute. Gorbachev's predecessor as First Secretary of the Stavropol regional Party organisation, F D Kulakov, had by 1971 become a full member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary responsible for agriculture. Following Kulakov's death in 1978, Gorbachev himself, at the unusually early age of 47, was made CC Secretary for agriculture in his place, becoming a member of the Politburo in 1980.

While he is still the Party Secretary in overall charge of agriculture, Gorbachev has acquired further Party responsibilities in the economic field, together with foreign relations, cultural and ideological questions. In April this year he was elected Chairman of one of the two Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Supreme Soviet, and it is in this capacity that he will lead the Supreme Soviet delegation to the UK.

Gorbachev holds three Orders of Lenin and the Order of the October Revolution. He has visited Belgium (1972), West Germany (1975), France (1976), Vietnam (1982), Canada and Portugal (1983) and Italy (1984).

CONFIDENTIAL



ZAMYATIN, Leonid Mitrofanovich
Head of the CC CPSU's International Information Department

Zamyatin (62) is a former diplomat who for many years headed the MFA's Press Department. He was Director-General of TASS from 1970 until 1978 when he was appointed head of the newly formed Central Committee Department for International Information. He has travelled widely in the West, particularly in the FRG putting over the Soviet view on questions of international relations, but has occasionally startled or enraged his audiences by his aggressive and undiplomatic approach.

He is a member of the CC CPSU, and speaks English. He and his wife visited London in 1978 as guests of the previous Soviet Ambassador, Mr Lunkov.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



KOVALEV, Anatoly Gavrilovich
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Kovalev (61) has specialised in Western Europe for most of his career, and has been a Deputy Foreign Minister since 1971. He is also responsible for CSCE, and led the Soviet side at the Madrid Conference in 1983. Kovalev also supervises the MFA's Policy Planning Directorate. He speaks little English.

CONFIDENTIAL



KOMAROV, Nikolai Dmitrievich
First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade

Komarov (66) has spent many years in the Ministry of Foreign Trade; he was a Deputy Minister from 1965, and became a First Deputy Minister in 1980. He is responsible for business with Western countries, and has often been a member of the Soviet delegation to the Anglo-Soviet Joint Commission; it appears that he is to replace Yuri Brezhnev as the head of the Soviet side at next year's session. He is a candidate member of the CC CPSU.

Komarov is a formidable figure, well-briefed and tough, occasionally to the point of arrogance. He speaks little English.

CONFIDENTIAL



POPOV, Viktor Ivanovich
Ambassador to the UK

Popov (66) is a Doctor of History. He taught at the Moscow Institute of International Relations, and spent a year at St Antony's College, Oxford, doing research work (1957-1958). He served in Canberra, then London, returning to Moscow in 1968 to become Rector of the MFA's Diplomatic Academy. In 1980 he was appointed Ambassador to London. He is not a member of the CC CPSU, but is a member of the CPSU's Revision Commission.

Popov has been married twice (his first wife died), and has two sons. He speaks good English, and has an affable manner.

CONFIDENTIAL



Soviet Union PT 3

Relatias



28 NOV 1984