



PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW 13/14 FEBRUARY

EAST/WEST RELATIONS

POINTS TO MAKE

1. Sad occasion. But welcome chance to meet. Provides opportunity to look at some important questions in brief time available.
2. In world in which we live, overriding need to know and understand each other better. Minimise danger of misreading each other's intentions. Increasing level of armaments could lead to mutual destruction. All want to spend less on defence and use resources for other urgent needs. Why not aim for balance at lower levels? First requirement: greater trust and confidence based on mutual knowledge and respect for each others interests, in particular security interests. I am ready.
3. At time of rapid technological advance need for firm political control over both weapons programmes and arms control negotiations. In all our interests to reach really significant agreements in both conventional and nuclear fields. Our peoples expect nothing less.
4. Must restart talks now suspended. No other way to resolve problems except at negotiating table. Soviet Union must return. West completely genuine in its desire for balanced agreements at lower levels of arms. Spoken to President Reagan and recently to Vice President Bush. In no doubt what they want. They will not put obstacles in way of resumption of talks.
5. But arms control not possible without political understanding. Dialogue between East and West needs to be broadened and given more substance.
6. Need to discuss whole range of international and bilateral issues. Many areas of world where your and our interests engaged. Acute need for peace in Middle East, Lebanon needs period of calm and international assistance. UN could play an important role. Hope Soviet Union can agree to this and also exercise moderating influence on Syria.
7. Middle East only one example. Also Southern Africa,

/Afghanistan



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Afghanistan, problems of developing countries. Many others. Glad that Mr Gromyko and Sir G Howe will hold substantive discussion this summer.

8. Critical element is confidence. International confidence no different from personal confidence. Easy to break, difficult to restore. Many elements. More contact and understanding between ordinary people. More trade: Deputy Prime Minister Kostandov spoke recently in London about doubling level in next few years: hope this can be achieved. More information. All these things were agreed in Helsinki Final Act of 1975. Opinion in UK affected more by down-to-earth events than by high sounding communique. Profoundly affected by way in which Soviet Union deals with small minority of people who don't conform with line approved by authorities even though their actions seem normal to ordinary people in the West. Names of Sakharov, Shcharansky, Orlov etc only the best known.

9. Hope it will be possible to improve our bilateral relations so that we can discuss frankly international and bilateral issues of importance to us. Don't expect either side to abandon its principles. Overnight results not to be expected. Problems are difficult and solutions long-term. But essential that we maintain contact so that even when we disagree we know each other's reasons and underlying interests more clearly. Realism and self interest make this necessary.

10. Want to leave you with message of desire for more peaceful and secure future. Better relations between East and West. Fully prepared to play our part. If you do the same, am sure more productive relationship possible.

ESSENTIAL FACTS

East/West Relations

1. The likelihood is that Soviet policy will be marked by continuity in the field of East/West relations. The practice of collective decision making in the Politburo with an inner group comprising Ustinov (Defence Minister), Gromyko (Foreign Affairs), Tikhonov (Government Administration and Economy), Chernenko (Party), will continue.

2. The first indication of the new leader's line will come in the statement probably issued soon after the Central Committee Plenum to elect him, or in his own statement on assuming office. Andropov's first statement was notably hard line. The obituary on Andropov's death issued on 10 February was relatively moderate, and contains the statement that the Soviet Party and State would continue steadfastly to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence. 'We desire to live in peace with all countries, to cooperate actively with those governments and organisations which are ready honestly and constructively to work in the name of peace'.

Soviet Economy

3. One of the first priorities of the new leader will be to increase efficiency of the Soviet economy. Andropov made that and the elimination of corruption, which is widespread, his main priority. Limited measures of change in the economic system were announced at the Central Committee Plenum in December. The 1983 Economic Plan results published on 29 January confirm the improvement in Soviet economic performance over 1982 (a bad year) to more normal levels. National income grew by 3.1%, and industrial production by 4%. Notwithstanding the improvement in 1983, we forecast average national income growth of about 2% per annum for the second half of this decade. For the third year running, no figures for the grain harvest have been published. We estimate about 200 million tonnes, still below the figure set in the 5-year plan.

UK/Soviet Trade

4. The Soviet Union accounts for just under 1% of total UK world trade. In 1983 UK exports were £448 million (£356 million in 1982). UK imports in 1983 £742 million (£645 million in 1982). The

/balance

balance of trade in Soviet favour is mainly caused through UK imports of Soviet oil at competitive prices which is refined in the UK.

5. When he visited the UK in October 1983, as a guest of ICI, Deputy Prime Minister Kostandov said that he hoped it would be possible to double UK/Soviet trade 'in a relatively short period of time'. At present the UK is ninth on the list of Western industrial countries trading with the Soviet Union below inter alia FRG, France, Italy, and Belgium.

Political Contacts

6. Following Sir G Howe's meeting with Gromyko in Stockholm, on 19 January, we have informed the Russians that, as agreed at Stockholm, we would wish to arrange a more substantial meeting between Sir G Howe and Gromyko, in Moscow if that was convenient, in July. We have offered dates in March for a visit to London by First Deputy Foreign Minister Kornienko for talks with Mr Rifkind in March. We await the Soviet response.

7. Mr Channon will be going to Moscow in May for the annual meeting of the Anglo-Soviet Joint Commission, which on the Soviet side is led by Yuri Brezhnev.

8. CVs for the following six members of the Politburo are attached: Chernenko, Gromyko, Tikhonov, Ustinov, Gorbachev, and Romanov. A list of those attending is also attached.

Soviet Department

FCO

13 February 1984



PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW FOR PRESIDENT ANDROPOV'S
FUNERAL

FOREIGN ATTENDANCE AT FUNERAL

(as at 1830 12 February)

FRG

Chancellor Kohl.

Herr Genscher, Foreign Minister.

CANADA

M. P Trudeau, Prime Minister.

M. de Montigny Marchand, Deputy Minister Foreign Policy.

JAPAN

Mr Abe, Foreign Minister.

Mr Nakajima, Deputy Foreign Minister.

CHINA

Mr Wan Li, Senior Vice Premier and Politburo Member.

Mr Qian Qizhen, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs.
(also leader of Chinese delegation to Sino-Soviet talks).

USA

Vice President Bush.

Senator Baker.

FRANCE

M. P Mauroy, Prime Minister.

M. Cheysson, Foreign Minister.

M. Estier, Chairman, Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee.



ITALY

Mr Cossiga, President of the Senate.

Mr Andreotti, Foreign Minister.

NORWAY

HRH Crown Prince Harald.

Mr K Willoch, Prime Minister.

PAKISTAN

President Zia Ul Haq.

INDIA

Mrs Gandhi

Mr N Rao, Foreign Minister.

CYPRUS

President Kyprianou.

SPAIN

Sr. F Moran, Foreign Minister.

AUSTRALIA

Treasurer Keating.

SWEDEN

HRH Prince Bertil.

SRI LANKA

Mr A C S Hameed, Foreign Minister.



TURKEY

M. T Ozal, Prime Minister.

GREECE

Mr A Papandreou, Prime Minister.

Mr Haralambopoulos, Foreign Minister.

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CHERNENKO, Konstantin Ustinovich

Secretary, CC CPSU 1976 and Member of its Politburo 1978; Member CC CPSU 1971.

Born 1911; Russian.

1929-1941 Head of Agitation and Propaganda Department of a Komsomol raikom, Secretary (1930-1932) of the Party Organisation of a frontier post in Kazakhstan, Head of Department of two raikoms, then Deputy Head of a Department of Krasnoyarsk kraikom.

1931 Joined Party.

1941-1943 Secretary, Krasnoyarsk kraikom.

1945 graduated from Higher School of Party Organisers attached to CC CPSU.

1945-1948 Secretary, Penza obkom.

1948-1956 Head, Department of Propaganda and Agitation CC CP Moldavia.

1953 graduated from Kishinev Pedagogical Institute.

1956-1960 Head of Mass Agitation Sector of CC CPSU Department of Agitation and Propaganda.

1960-1965 Head of the Secretariat of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet USSR.

1965-1976 Head of the CC CPSU's General Department.

1966-1971 Candidate Member, CC CPSU.

1966- Deputy to Supreme Soviet USSR and Member of the Mandate Commission of the Council of the Union.

1971- Member, CC CPSU.

March 1976- Secretary, CC CPSU.

Oct 1977- Candidate Member, Politburo.
Nov 1978

Nov 1978- Member of Politburo.

Dec 1982 Chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Council of the Union
Chernenko holds the title of Hero of Socialist Labour (twice) and three Orders of Lenin; a bronze bust was unveiled at his birth place in Krasnoyarsk in September 1982. He has also received a number of high awards from E European leaders. Chernenko accompanied Brezhnev to Helsinki in 1975 for the signing of the CSCE Final Act and went with him to Bucharest in 1976 and to Sofia, Budapest and East Berlin in 1979; he also went with Brezhnev to Vienna for the Soviet US summit talks in June 1979. In December 1979 he visited Sofia to be presented with the Order of Georgi Dimitrov. He led CPSU delegations to Denmark (1976), Greece (1978), Cuba (1980) and

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France (1982) for the local CP Congresses. He also accompanied Brezhnev (then President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet) to Morocco, Guinea and Ghana in 1961. He was a member of the Soviet delegation at the meetings of the Warsaw Pact Consultative Committee in Bucharest (November 1976), Moscow (November 1978) and Warsaw (May 1980), and attended the UNGA Special Session in New York in April 1974.

As Party Secretary, Chernenko appears to carry overall responsibility for the efficient functioning of the Party and government machine. He evidently still also supervises the General Department which acts as the Secretariat for the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat.

Chernenko is a prolific writer, without, however, displaying any originality. He has written many articles on questions of Party and State work, and also several on the Helsinki conference and European security. His book "Soviet Democracy: Principles and Practice" was published (apparently at Soviet expense) in Washington in 1977. Other works include "Questions of creative development of style of Party and state work" (1977 and re-issued 1978), "Questions of work of the Party and State Apparatus" (1980 re-issued 1982), and "The CPSU and Human Rights" (1981 re-issued 1982). A number of other works have been published under Chernenko's general Editorship.

Chernenko has close links with Brezhnev, under whom he worked directly in Moldavia (1950-1952) and in the Supreme Soviet (1960-1964). He shares something of Brezhnev's vanity. Despite his increasing prominence in recent years he remains an enigmatic figure whose real authority is difficult to distinguish from that derived from his association with Brezhnev. He is a poor public speaker.

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GORBACHEV, Mikhail Sergeevich

Secretary, CC CPSU 1978; Member of Politburo CC CPSU 1980; Member, CC CPSU 1971.

Born 1931, near Stavropol.

- 1946-1950 assistant combine-harvester operator in Stavropol krai.
- 1950-1955 studying law at Moscow State University; graduated 1955.
- 1952 joined Party.
- 1956-1958 First Secretary, Stavropol gorkom of VLKSM.
- 1958-1962 Deputy Head of a Department, then Second and First Secretary, Stavropol kraikom of VLKSM.
- 1962 Party organiser of a territorial-production kolkhoz-sovkhoz administration.
- 1963-1966 Head of a Department, Stavropol kraikom.
- 1966-1968 First Secretary, Stavropol gorkom.
- 1967 graduated (by correspondence) from Stavropol Agricultural Institute.
- 1968-1970 Second Secretary, Stavropol kraikom.
- 1970-1978 First Secretary, Stavropol kraikom.
- 1970- Deputy to Supreme Soviet USSR; Chairman of Legislative Proposals Commission, Council of the Union 1979.
- 1971- Member CC CPSU.
- Nov 1978- Secretary, CC CPSU.
- Nov 1979-
Oct 1980 Candidate Member of Politburo.
- Oct 1980- Member of Politburo.

Gorbachev has led Party delegations to Belgium 1972, West Germany 1975, France 1976 and Czechoslovakia 1979 and Hanoi 1982. He has 3 Orders of Lenin. In December 1978 he was presented by Brezhnev with the Order of the October Revolution for "his work in one of the country's main granaries, the Stavropol region". Gorbachev succeeded F D Kulakov as Central Committee Secretary for agriculture and the light and food industry, following the latter's death at the age of 60. He had served under him in the early 1960's when Kulakov was First Secretary of Stavropol Kraikom.

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GROMYKO, Andrei Andreevich

Minister of Foreign Affairs USSR 1957; Member, CC CPSU 1956 and of its Politburo 1973.
First Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers, 1982
Born 1909, Belorussia; officially described as "Russian".

- 1931 Joined Party.
- 1932 Graduated from an Economics Institute.
- 1936 Completed post-graduate course at All-Union Scientific-Research Institute of Agricultural Economics.
- 1936-1939 Worked in Institute of Economics, Academy of Sciences, USSR.
- 1939 Began diplomatic work as Head, Department of American Countries of MFA.
- 1939-1943 Counsellor, Washington.
- 1943-1946 Ambassador, Washington and concurrently Envoy to Cuba.
- 1946-1948 Permanent Soviet Representative in UN Security Council.
- 1946-1949 Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- 1946-1950 Deputy, Supreme Soviet USSR.
- 1949-1952 First Deputy Foreign Minister.
- June 1952-
April 1953 Ambassador, London
- 1952-1956 Candidate Member, CC CPSU.
- 1953-1957 First Deputy Foreign Minister.
- 1956- Member, CC CPSU.
- 1957- Minister of Foreign Affairs USSR.
- 1958- Deputy to Supreme Soviet USSR.
- 1973- Member, Politburo CC CPSU.

1982 First Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers
Gromyko led the Soviet delegation at Dumbarton Oaks, was present at the Potsdam and Crimea conferences, and has been Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union for over 30 years. In addition to this unrivalled experience, he has very considerable ability; a methodical and accurate mind; a good

Command of English; and rather more charm than is apparent on his greyer days. He is beginning to look his age. But, since his elevation to the Politburo, he has appeared increasingly relaxed and confident. He has a close relationship with Brezhnev and considerable authority in his field.

Gromyko is the author of works on international relations and is Chairman of the Commission for Publishing Diplomatic Documents. Twice Hero of Socialist Labour; six Orders of Lenin.

Mrs Gromyko is friendly and on occasion indiscreet in her conversation. Their son Anatoly, after a few years in diplomatic work, has become Director of the Institute of Africa of the Academy of Sciences; Anatoly's son, Igor, is a post-graduate student at the Moscow State Institute of Foreign Relations.

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ROMANOV, Grigory Vasilevich

Secretary, CC CPSU, 1983; Member of Politburo, CC CPSU 1976; Member, CC CPSU 1966.

Born 1923; Russian.

- 1938 student at a technical college.
- 1941-1945 in the Army.
- 1944 joined the Party.
- 1946-1954 designer; head of sector of Central Design Bureau at A A Zhdanov Shipbuilding Works (in Leningrad).
- 1953 graduated from Leningrad Shipbuilding Institute (by correspondence).
- 1954-1957 Secretary of Party Committee, then CC CPSU Party Organiser at the Zhdanov Works.
- 1957-1961 Secretary, then First Secretary, of Kirov raikom (Leningrad).
- 1961-1962 Secretary of Leningrad gorkom.
- 1962-1963 Secretary of Leningrad obkom.
- 1963-1970 Second Secretary, Leningrad obkom.
- 1966- Member, CC CPSU.
1970-83 First Secretary, Leningrad Obkom
1966- Deputy to Supreme Soviet USSR.
- 1971- Member of Presidium, Supreme Soviet USSR.
- April 1973- Candidate Member of Politburo.
March 1976
- March 1976- Member of Politburo.
1983 - Secretary, CC CPSU
- Romanov has two Orders of Lenin. His travels include China and Italy (1966), Norway (1967) and Finland, France and Cuba, which he has visited several times. He also led a delegation to Vietnam in 1978.

Romanov is popularly thought of as a hard liner in the arts but relatively adventurous in economic management; he has a high handed manner towards his subordinates, and overrode all opposition to holding his daughter's wedding reception at the Hermitage - an ostentatious affair at which priceless Tsarist porcelain is said to have been smashed. Despite reports that Romanov was sharply reprimanded by Suslov, his standing and authority do not appear to have suffered significant damage.

Western politicians who have met him in Leningrad have found him singularly unimpressive, never going beyond a prepared script even on local questions.

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TIKHONOV, Nikolai Aleksandrovich

Chairman, Council of Ministers USSR 1980; Member of Politburo CC CPSU 1979; Member, CC CPSU 1966.

Born 1905, Kharkov, Ukrainian.

1924 graduated from Dnepropetrovsk Railway Technical School.

1924-1930 worked as an assistant to an engine driver and as a factory technician.

1930 graduated from Kharkov Metallurgical Institute.

1930-1940 engineer, section head, chief engineer at metallurgical plant in Dnepropetrovsk.

1940 joined the Party.

1940-1947 involved in evacuation of the plant in Dnepropetrovsk to Pervouralsk in Sverdlovsk oblast; continued to work in the plant as chief engineer, then deputy director.

1947-1950 Director, Southern Pipe Plant in Nikopol.

1950-1955 Head, Chief Administration for Pipe-rolling and Casting, Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy USSR.

1955-1957 Deputy Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy USSR.

1957-1960 Chairman of Dnepropetrovsk CNE.

1958- Deputy to Supreme Soviet USSR.

1960-1963 Deputy Chairman, State Scientific-Economic Council of USSR Council of Ministers – rank of USSR Minister.

1961 Dr Technical Sciences.

1961-1966 Candidate Member, CC CPSU.

1963-1965 Deputy Chairman of Gosplan – USSR Minister.

1965-1976 Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers USSR.

1966- Member, CC CPSU.

1976-1980 First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers USSR.

Nov 1978-
Nov 1979 Candidate Member of Politburo.

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Nov 1979- Member of Politburo.

Oct 1980- Chairman, Council of Ministers USSR.

Tikhonov was awarded State Prizes in 1943 and 1951, on the latter occasion for developing production of large-diameter seamless pipes. He holds the title of Hero of Socialist Labour, 7 Orders of Lenin, 2 Orders of the Red Banner of Labour, the Order of the October Revolution, and the Red Star. He has travelled relatively widely, and accompanied Khrushchev to the USA in 1959 and Podgorny to Iran in 1970; he has also visited Austria (most recently in April 1981), Canada, Japan, and Finland. Before assuming his present post he travelled frequently to Berlin and Bonn as head of the Soviet sides of the Soviet-GDR and Soviet-FRG intergovernmental commissions for economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Speaks some German and some English. He was Chairman of the Soviet Commission for the International Year of the Child in 1979.

Tikhonov has a reputation as a dry and colourless technocrat. His association with Brezhnev dates back at least to the 1930s when both were working in Dnepropetrovsk. Tikhonov became Chairman of the Council of Ministers on Kosygin's retirement on health grounds. He had been under-studying Kosygin since 1976, and his promotion to full Politburo member in 1979 made him the obvious successor.

Tikhonov is said to have chaired the session of the Council of Ministers that authorised the decision to deprive Academician Sakharov of his titles and exile him to Gorky.

His wife died in October 1980.

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USTINOV, Dmitri Fedorovich

Minister of Defence USSR 1976; Member of Politburo CC CPSU 1976.

Born 1908; Russian.

- 1927 graduated from a professional-technical school; joined Party.
- 1927-1929 fitter at Paper Combine in Gorky oblast and at factory in Ivanovo-Voznesensk.
- 1934 graduated from Leningrad Military Technical Institute.
- 1934-1941 engineer in Artillery Research Naval Institute; head of experimental bureau in a factory; deputy chief designer, then Director, of "Bolshevik" factory in Leningrad.
- 1941-1946 People's Commissar for Armaments.
- 1944-1976 Colonel-General.
- 1946-1953 Minister of Armaments.
- 1946-1950 Deputy to Supreme Soviet USSR.
- 1952- Member CC CPSU.
- 1953-1957 Minister of Defence Industry.
- 1954- Deputy to Supreme Soviet USSR.
- 1957-1963 Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers.
- 1963-1965 First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers, and Chairman Supreme CNE.
- 1965-1976 Secretary, CC CPSU responsible for heavy industry and armaments.
- 1965-1976 Candidate Member of Presidium (from 1966 Politburo) CC CPSU.
- March 1976- Member of Politburo.
- April 1976- Minister of Defence and Army General.
- July 1976- Marshal of Soviet Union.

Apart from frequent travels within Eastern Europe, Ustinov has visited Vienna (for the Brezhnev-Carter summit in 1979) and India (on an official visit in March 1982). He holds ten Orders of Lenin and the titles of Hero of the Soviet Union (1978) and Hero of Socialist Labour (1942, 1961). He was awarded a State Prize in 1953.

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Ustinov has a reputation as an extremely hard worker with an unrivalled knowledge of his subject, but never anxious to push himself or his views forward. His health is generally fair although in spring 1980 he was ill (according to one report, with a bladder complaint) and made no public appearances for nearly 2½ months. Western observers have found him capable of displaying bonhomie.

His wife Taisiya died in 1975.

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PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW FOR PRESIDENT ANDROPOV'S
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LONDON/MOSCOW EMBASSY SITES

POINTS TO MAKE (DEFENSIVE)

1. Still find it difficult to see why Soviet authorities are insisting that we should leave present Embassy in Moscow.

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