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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

16 March 1987

Dear Charles,

ENAP 17/3

Prime Minister's Visit to Moscow:  
Article for New Times

The Soviet foreign affairs weekly "New Times" have asked the Foreign Secretary to contribute an article setting the scene for the Prime Minister's visit to Moscow. This would cover the equivalent of a complete page and be accompanied by a photograph of the Foreign Secretary. "New Times" have undertaken to publish the article in full without accompanying commentary.

The Foreign Secretary believes this is a useful opportunity to put our views to the readership of "New Times", which is international as well as Soviet. It will also be another test of glasnost (openness). He believes that it should complement the Prime Minister's plans to give interviews and briefings.

I should be grateful for early confirmation that you are content. We need to get the final text to Moscow by 18 March.

*Handwritten:* I will not say what we are going to say before we get there.

*Handwritten:* Yours ever,  
Tony Galsworthy

(A C Galsworthy)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
PS/10 Downing Street

*Handwritten:* No "we"

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SECRETARY OF STATE'S ARTICLE FOR "NEW TIMES"

MRS THATCHER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW: THE BRITISH VIEW

1. I am grateful to "New Times" for its initiative in inviting me to offer some thoughts to its leaders on the eve of the visit to Moscow by the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. It can do nothing but good for leaders of each country to speak through the columns of the press to the people of the other country. Indeed I hope this will happen more frequently.

2. Relations between our two countries go back at least to the 16th century, when Richard Chancellor, an emissary of King Edward IV, was courteously received at the Russian Court by Tsar Ivan the Terrible. As a British visitor to the Soviet Union I am conscious of the long stream of history that links our two proud countries in war and peace. In war through the Arctic convoys in which Britain provided 5000 tanks and 7000 aircraft to help Soviet soldiers in the last Great War. In peace through trade - growing now, I am glad to say - and through shared interest in the culture of Shakespeare and Shaw, Tolstoy and Pushkin (150th anniversary of whose death this year was marked in Britain as well as the Soviet Union).

3. Margaret Thatcher's visit to the Soviet Union, which begins on 28 March, will add a further strand to the tapestry of our contacts. I shall accompany her. Such visits have been rare - the last official visit by a British Prime Minister was in 1975 - and present opportunities which must not be missed. What do we expect from this one ?

4. I hope for three things:

- to deepen and strengthen our personal dialogue with the Soviet leadership. Mrs Thatcher's discussions with Mr Gorbachev in London in December 1984, and my regular meetings with Mr

cf Gorbachev?





Shevardnadze, have provided a good foundation to build on. through that, to seek Soviet understanding and where possible agreement to our views on the vital arms control, regional and humanitarian questions of today.

- at the same time, we want ourselves to understand the interesting changes taking place in the Soviet Union - the meaning of 'restructuring', and its impact on foreign policy.

*but its only two!*

If we can do these three things, we shall find it easier to do a fourth:

- advance our bilateral co-operation into new areas, and make it easier for our peoples (especially the young) to make contact; and easier for them to learn about each others' country.

Bilateral Relations

5. We start from a good base. Since 1984 the rhythm of contacts between Britain and the Soviet Union has increased. Highlights were the visit to Moscow last May of a parliamentary delegation led by Lord Whitelaw, the deputy Prime Minister, and Mr Shevardnadze's visit to Britain last July. On that occasion we signed agreements on the prevention of incidents at sea, on the settlement of longstanding claims, and on long-term economic and industrial co-operation. We have also strengthened our co-operation in the fields of agriculture and energy, in ways which should produce real economic benefits for both our countries. They should be felt, for instance, in higher yields of grain as a result of the work on farms managed by the British company ICI in the Soviet Union.

Timely Opportunity

6. Mrs Thatcher and I see this visit as an important opportunity to continue our dialogue with the Soviet leadership, at an important juncture in international affairs. We have been following attentively the changes under way in the Soviet Union. We will want

*Handwritten notes:*  
 - *No no no*  
 - *Britain*  
 - *time*  
 - *junction*  
 - *we have*



to hear about them at first hand; and to gain a fuller understanding of Mr Gorbachev's objectives and policies.

No 7. In turn, we will be speaking about developments in our own society: our Government's achievements of increased economic growth, higher productivity and lower inflation; wider ownership by individuals of their own homes and shares in companies; the information technology revolution transforming our industries and our daily lives; and the ever-closer co-operation with our partners in the European Community on the creation of a truly common market in goods and services and on foreign policy.

8. One of our major purposes will be to explore how our two countries can enhance international security, peace and prosperity. We will be putting forward our own independent British views, from our position as a member of the North Atlantic Alliance, an important European power, a nuclear weapon state with the responsibilities that go with that status.

#### Working for Arms Control

9. I want to emphasise that the British Government is resolutely committed to working for balanced and verifiable measures of arms control and disarmament. Our objective is to keep Europe stable and secure, at lower levels of armaments. We play our full part in the negotiations at Geneva and Vienna, in close consultation with our NATO allies. All of us, East and West, have an interest in enhanced security with fewer weapons and less cost.

10. That is why we have welcomed the Soviet recognition, in Mr Gorbachev's statement of 28 February, that an INF agreement can and should be reached, separately from agreements on strategic arms or defensive systems. Linkage of one to the other was unhelpful. We believe in making progress step by step wherever it is possible. We hope that the Soviet negotiators in Geneva will work with determination and flexibility to achieve an early INF agreement.





11. Mrs Thatcher and I will be putting forward a practical and realistic three point action programme for arms reductions, which was endorsed by all the Nato countries in December:

- an agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) with restraints on shorter range systems. We are glad that the Soviet Union has accepted NATO's idea of eliminating longer range INF in Europe. An agreement must also incorporate constraints on certain Soviet shorter-range missiles which could circumvent such an agreement, and a US right to match such systems. The problem of the Soviet superiority in these and <sup>other</sup> new shorter-range INF should be addressed in follow-on negotiations.
- 50% reduction over 5 years in US and Soviet strategic offensive weapons.
- a world-wide ban on chemical weapons.

In each case, as your government also recognises, effective verification is essential. Recent developments have moved us forward on the first of these priorities. We must work with equal determination on the second and third.

12. We shall want to discuss this programme with Mr Gorbachev and Mr Shevardnadze. We shall also want to discuss how to eliminate the East's superiority in conventional arms, which becomes more important as nuclear weapons are reduced. With our allies, we proposed in December - in the Brussels Declaration - negotiations both on the levels of NATO and Warsaw Treaty forces in Europe and on further confidence and security-building measures, reinforcing the Stockholm agreement. Initial discussions have begun in Vienna. At the same time, we want a substantial, and not merely symbolic, outcome to the Vienna talks on mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR).



### Concern over Afghanistan

13. Arms control is not the only important factor in relations between East and West. We will want to discuss regional sources of tension. Top of the list will be the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan with a total troop strength of more than 100,000 men. This has severely damaged confidence between East and West. A year ago Mr Gorbachev described Afghanistan as a "bleeding wound"; he has spoken repeatedly of the Soviet Union's wish to withdraw its troops and desire for a political settlement. What is needed now is action. Year after year, by overwhelming majorities, the international community has called for the withdrawal of all Soviet forces, and for Afghanistan to resume its place as an independent and non-aligned nation. We ask the Soviet leadership now to show the statesmanship needed to solve this tragic problem.

### Mutual Understanding

14. We need to work at the business of understanding each other's societies, culture and policies - understanding at all levels. That is why I welcome any step which helps, such as the publication of this article, and the Soviet Government's recent decision to stop jamming the BBC Russian Service. We would like to see more exchange of information about each other's country through television, radio, newspapers and publications. For example, although Pravda and New Times are freely available in Britain, British newspapers cannot be freely bought in the USSR. Best of all is for more people to be able to come and see for themselves. Toleration of different points of view is one of the hallmarks of a mature and self-confident society.

15. I hope that Mrs Thatcher's visit will mark a step forward in mutual understanding. We shall not shrink from discussing difficult issues, such as human rights and fundamental freedoms. These questions are being discussed at the Vienna follow up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, where we have been re-examining how the 35 participating states have lived up to





their commitments under the 1975 Helsinki Final Act: commitments relating to freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief; to freedom of movement and <sup>contact</sup>~~constraint~~ between people, to family reunification, free dissemination of information and many others. It is no secret that we and our Western partners believe that there is a long way to go before the Soviet Union and some other countries can be said to comply fully with those commitments. We wholeheartedly welcome the progress that has been made - in the moves towards greater openness, and the release of some prisoners of conscience. We hope to see further moves in the direction of Mr Gorbachev's aim of "free labour and free thought in a free country". Above all we want to see the CSCE Vienna Meeting produce results of tangible benefit to the peoples affected by the CSCE process.

#### Economic Co-operation

16. Last but not least, economic co-operation will be another important subject for our forthcoming visit. Mrs Thatcher and I will be looking for ways to implement the objective of 40-50% growth in UK/Soviet trade which Mr Gorbachev identified in December 1984. Mrs Thatcher will be opening the new Moscow office of the British/Soviet Chamber of Commerce. British companies are ready to do business with the Soviet Union. We hope that the changes in the Soviet foreign trade system will help them to do so.

#### Our Vision

17. In these ways Margaret Thatcher's visit will play a part in creating a relationship of greater confidence and trust between East and West, and thus securing a safer and better future for our children and grandchildren. A future of peace with fewer weapons; of greater trade and economic co-operation; of increased cultural and information exchanges and contacts between ordinary people. In short, a future in which East and West, the Soviet Union and Britain, no longer feel threatened by each other but can co-operate to solve common problems.







10 DOWNING STREET

Time ~~minutes~~ <sup>and me</sup>  
Words fail me! ~~It~~  
~~deletion~~

feels to be an  
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visit to the Soviet  
Union to his visit. The  
text strikes me as  
mundane. And I don't  
see what is to be  
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print in advance what  
you might - or might  
not - say when you

get the .

But I suppose  
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row to cancel it.

Agree to let it  
issue with some  
editorial changes (what I  
will negotiate)?

CDP

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file.  
bcpc



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

17 March 1987

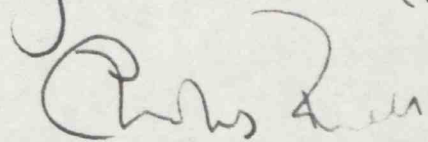
From the Private Secretary

Dear Tony,

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW: ARTICLE FOR NEW TIMES

Thank you for your letter of 16 March enclosing a draft article by the Foreign Secretary for the Soviet publication "New Times", to appear ahead of the Prime Minister's visit to Moscow.

The Prime Minister was not keen on the text. In particular she does not want to spell out in advance what she may or may not say in Moscow. I have not had time to rewrite the draft but enclose an amended version which does at least present it in a way which I think that the Prime Minister would find acceptable. You may like to have a word once you have read it.

Yours sincerely,  
  
(C. D. POWELL)

A. C. Galsworthy, Esq., C.M.G.  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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## SECRETARY OF STATE'S ARTICLE FOR "NEW TIMES"

### ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS: THE BRITISH VIEW

1. I am grateful to "New Times" for its initiative in inviting me to offer some thoughts to its leaders on the eve of the visit to Moscow by the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher. It can do nothing but good for the people of each of our two countries to speak through the columns of the press to the people of the other. Indeed I hope this will happen more frequently.
  
2. I am conscious of the long stream of history that links our two proud countries in war and peace. In war through the Arctic convoys in which Britain provided 5000 tanks and 7000 aircraft to help Soviet soldiers in the last Great War. In peace through trade - growing now, I am glad to say - and through shared interest in the culture of Shakespeare and Shaw, Tolstoy and Pushkin (the 150th anniversary of whose death this year was marked in Britain as well as the Soviet Union).
  
3. Mrs. Thatcher's visit to the Soviet Union, which begins on 28 March, will add a further strand to the tapestry of our contacts. Such visits have been rare - the last official visit by a British Prime Minister was in 1975 - and present opportunities which must not be missed. What do we expect from this one?
  
4. I hope for three things:
  - to strengthen our dialogue with the Soviet leadership. Mrs. Thatcher's discussions with Mr. Gorbachev in London in December 1984 and in Moscow in February 1985, have provided a good foundation to build on
  
  - through that, to seek understanding and where possible



agreement on the vital arms control, regional and humanitarian questions of today

- to understand better the interesting changes taking place in the Soviet Union - in particular the meaning of 'restructuring', and its impact on foreign policy
- on this basis to advance our bilateral co-operation into new areas, and make it easier for our peoples (especially the young) to make contact; and easier for them to learn about each others' country.

#### Bilateral Relations

5. We start from a good base. Since 1984 the rhythm of contacts between Britain and the Soviet Union has increased. Highlights were the visit to Moscow last May of a parliamentary delegation led by Lord Whitelaw, the deputy Prime Minister, and Mr. Shevardnadze's visit to Britain last July. On that occasion we signed agreements on the prevention of incidents at sea, on the settlement of longstanding claims, and on long-term economic and industrial co-operation. We have also strengthened our co-operation in the fields of agriculture and energy, in ways which should produce real economic benefits for both our countries. They should be felt, for instance, in higher yields of grain as a result of the work on farms managed by the British company ICI in the Soviet Union.

#### Timely Opportunity

6. This visit is an important opportunity to continue discussions with the Soviet leadership, at an important time in international affairs. Britain has been following attentively the changes under way in the Soviet Union. Our people want to understand Mr. Gorbachev's objectives and policies better. At the same time, the Prime Minister's visit will be a chance to explore how our two countries can enhance international security, peace and prosperity. Britain has its



own independent views to put forward from its position as a member of the North Atlantic Alliance, an important European power, a nuclear weapon state with the responsibilities that go with that status.

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8. That is why we have welcomed the Soviet recognition, in Mr. Gorbachev's statement of 28 February, that an INF agreement can and should be reached, separately from agreements on strategic arms or defensive systems. Linkage of one to the other was unhelpful. We believe in making progress step by step wherever it is possible. We hope that the Soviet negotiators in Geneva will work with determination and flexibility to achieve an early INF agreement.

9. Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan agreed at Camp David last November a practical and realistic three point action programme for arms reductions, which was endorsed by all the NATO countries in December:

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13. The Vienna follow up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has been re-examining how the 35 participating states have lived up to their commitments under the 1975 Helsinki Final Act: commitments relating to freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief; to freedom of movement and contact between people, to family reunification, free dissemination of information and many others. It is no secret that we and our Western partners believe that there is a long way to go before the Soviet Union and some other countries can be said to comply fully with those commitments. We welcome the progress that has been made - in the moves towards greater openness, and the release of some prisoners of conscience. We hope to see further moves in the direction of Mr. Gorbachev's aim of "free labour and free thought in a free country". Above all we want to see the CSCE Vienna Meeting produce results of tangible benefit to the peoples affected by the CSCE process.

### Economic Co-operation

14. Last but not least, we want to see economic co-operation between Britain and the Soviet Union developed and the objective of a 40-50% growth in UK/Soviet trade, which



Mr. Gorbachev identified in December 1984, achieved. During her visit, Mrs Thatcher will be opening the new Moscow office of the British/Soviet Chamber of Commerce. British companies are ready to do business with the Soviet Union. We hope that the changes in the Soviet foreign trade system will help them to do so.

#### Our Vision

15. We hope that Mrs Thatcher's visit will be a contribution to creating a relationship of greater confidence and trust between East and West, and thus securing a safer and better future for our children and grandchildren. A future of peace with fewer weapons; of greater trade and economic co-operation; of increased cultural and information exchanges and contacts between ordinary people. In short, a future in which East and West, the Soviet Union and Britain, no longer feel threatened by each other but co-operate to solve common problems.