

PRIME MINISTER

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YOUR PRESS CONFERENCE

You are to give a joint press conference with Mr Gorbachev at 5.45pm. It is important you do not run beyond 6.20 pm because changing time for dinner is tight. I will try to ensure that whoever is in charge of the press conference knows this.

NB. You are to give British radio and TV interviews after dinner at the Embassy.

In many respects, a joint press conference comes at a difficult time for both you and Mr Gorbachev. But failure to appear together would have been critically contrasted with the recent treatment, for example, of M. Mitterrand.

A Gorbachev-Thatcher press conference at this time is a major event and theatre in itself. It does not take a genius to write the media script.

They will concentrate their critical faculties on:

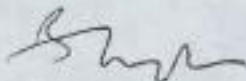
- i. how Mr Gorbachev looks to be bearing up under the weight of his problems;
- ii. the atmospherics and body language between you; they will seize on the slightest sign of cooling, distance or disagreement;
- iii. the degree to which, and the warmth with which, you continue to support Gorbachev;
- iv. the issues.
  - a. Germany and NATO - the extent to which you have succeeded or failed in allaying Mr Gorbachev's fears. Your talks with Yazov.

- b. Trident and non-circumvention - who raised it? How much it figured in the talks?
- c. Lithuania - and other troubles in the Republics.
- d. Middle East - Jewish emigration and settlements in the occupied territories.
- e. Offers of British help - what kind? Economic talks with Ryzhkov.
- f. Your impressions of your fourth visit as Prime Minister. Can Gorbachev succeed? The Yeltsin phenomenon - Did you discuss him with Mr Gorbachev?
- v. Domestic issues - it is possible they will raise the Gallup poll and BSE.

Finally, I cannot stress too strongly how the media want to write down the Gorbachev-Thatcher relationship. In my view, your best hope, given all the circumstances, is to emerge as a Gorbachev loyalist - supporting him, encouraging him and offering him reassurance and practical help - on the basis that he is an enormous force for good in the world.

Content?

I attach a draft speaking note, written in total ignorance of what you have discussed today.



**BERNARD INGHAM**

8 June 1990

DRAFT SPEAKING NOTE: YOUR PRESS CONFERENCE

Mr Gorbachev and I have just spent some four hours in fascinating and valuable discussions, and we shall continue our talks over dinner this evening.

I have also spent an hour each with Prime Minister Ryzhkov and Marshal Yazov, the Soviet Defence Minister, and the top military commanders in the Soviet Union.

It has been an extremely rewarding and constructive day which has underlined the increasingly close relationship between our two countries.

First, I want to congratulate Mr Gorbachev on a most successful summit with President Bush. The agreements which you reached - and which have done so much to raise the spirit of people across the world - testify to the phenomenal change you have helped to bring about in international relations.

The progress made in reducing tension and charting a new course for peace, freedom, democracy and co-operation is truly remarkable, and no one should forget it.

I would just like to say one other thing on this - and it is something I shall deal with in my speech at dinner this evening. Prosperity in the Soviet Union will not be achieved by the Government alone but by the efforts of the people - by hard work and the acceptance of responsibility.

In the course of our talks, Mr Gorbachev and I took stock of East/West relations following the successful summit in Washington and the prospect of a number of arms control agreements soon.

I sought to make two points:

Our objective in the West is to bring the Soviet Union into the process of shaping the future of Europe. I want to see a great alliance stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals and beyond.

We see a unified Germany in NATO, with arrangements taking account of Soviet concerns, as a contribution to the security which we understand only too well the Soviet Union seeks.

We have also discussed, as you would expect, defence and regional issues and the progress of reform in the Soviet Union.

My visit comes at a time when Anglo/Soviet relations, by mutual consent, have never been better. The Princess Royal's very successful tour, including her opening of the 'British Days in Kiev' festival, which I shall visit tomorrow, are a demonstration of that.

On Sunday I shall open a school in Armenia which the British people have contributed to Armenia's reconstruction after its terrible earthquake.

Today I have signed several memoranda of understanding to develop our co-operation. And I am delighted to be able to announce some ten new lectureships at British Universities in Soviet and Eastern European studies. This will develop still further the Anglo-Soviet relationship which, as Mr Gorbachev and I can warmly testify, is indeed very well founded.

## THOUGHT FOR THE TV INTERVIEW

1. A time of great change is bound to be a time of great ferment, full of new ideas, new ways of doing things. And especially when one is trying to change attitudes after a very long period in which they have become entrenched.
2. That is what we see in the Soviet Union at present. One senses it very strongly everywhere one goes. The desire to move to a market economy with all the prosperity it can bring - but only if you are prepared to work for it. The desire for greater democracy - but carrying with it greater responsibility. The desire of the different republics to express their identity and take an increasing number of decisions for themselves.
3. All that is understandable - and of course it creates difficulties which have to be surmounted. That is what President Gorbachev is trying to do. Always to move forward with economic reform and greater democracy, while keeping the country together.
4. There is a tremendous fund of goodwill for the Soviet Union abroad in this rather difficult stage. We are willing you to succeed and we want to help in various ways: but above all by creating a more stable and secure Europe, so that you can free all your energies to deal with building a new society at home. That is a tremendous task, and we all wish you well in it.