

*cc Blue
CGPC*

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 March 1987

Dear Charles,

Prime Minister's Visit to the Soviet Union :
Meeting with Soviet Ambassador, 10 March

You asked in your letter of 20 February for briefing for the Soviet Ambassador's call on 10 March.

I enclose Points to Make and a Background Note on the state of preparations for the visit.

The main point to press on Zamyatin is the need for early agreement on the programme. So far the Soviet Foreign Ministry have been able to give our Embassy virtually no information on this.

It will be useful for the Prime Minister to go over again with Zamyatin her general conception of the visit : the need for very restricted meetings with Gorbachev : her determination to cover a broad agenda including important regional issues and human rights as well as arms control.

The arms control agenda speaks for itself: the Camp David priorities (strategic arms, INF, CW) including the latest INF developments; and the need to make complementary progress in conventional arms control. Briefing for all these subjects is already in hand. The Prime Minister may also wish to signal to Zamyatin her wish to preface the discussion of specifics (which will also be covered between the Foreign Ministers) with a broader, more philosophical exchange on the respective approaches to security, and ways in which common ground can be established. We are preparing a note for her to use along these lines.

/On



On the more detailed content, we hope that the Prime Minister will flag clearly for Zamyatin her desire to see progress in increasing trade, including the signature of some contracts before or as a result of her visit. I enclose a list of contracts currently under discussion. We hope that she will also press for a response to the draft Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Information and Culture which we have put to the Russians. If this is to be agreed we need to get on with it. We think it will also be useful to repeat to Zamyatin her wish to be interviewed live on Soviet television.

The Prime Minister might tell Zamyatin that much of the interest aroused by the visit in this country is focussed on the possibilities of further movement in the area of human rights, including freedom to travel and emigrate. There have been very numerous letters on the subject from people who are hopeful that the signs of relaxation of controls will be translated into action to release the hundreds of people in prison for their beliefs, and to allow the many thousands who wish to do so to leave the Soviet Union. The interest focusses not only on the position of Jewish refuseniks, but also on those imprisoned for their Christian beliefs, victims of abuse of psychiatric practices and others.

On the "political content" of the visit, we suggest a sceptical approach to any proposal by Zamyatin for a document. As you pointed out in your letter of 12 February, we are all sceptical about whether it is feasible or desirable to have a conventional communique; and we would not want to get locked into negotiation of a text in advance, risking either blandness, or disagreement and reports of "failure". The Foreign Secretary sees dangers also in the idea of negotiating a more limited text on the spot on a particular issue or issues. The Soviet aim in this would, we have no doubt, be to achieve language which they could subsequently

[As he was
at
Camp David!!]

/point



point to to try to embarrass us or the US or to divide us from the US. It is very difficult to envisage language on international issues which would be both of value and acceptable to the two parties. And there is a risk that even fairly bland language could be misinterpreted by allies and partners.

We have been preparing "building blocks" as you suggested for possible use in any discussion of a text in Moscow should an opportunity arise which could be exploited, and will let you have the results of this soon. The exercise tends to confirm the doubts expressed above.

most ever,
L Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
No 10 Downing St



ZAMYATIN'S CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER, 10 MARCH

POINTS TO MAKE

Programme

- Now that dates and places (Tbilisi, Zagorsk) agreed, need to settle programme as soon as possible. Ball in Soviet court.
- Aware of recent appalling weather in Georgia; avalanches, homeless: convey sympathy.
- Grateful Soviet leadership can receive me on a Saturday to enable extended visit.
- Understand normal Soviet practice to make internal flights in Soviet aircraft. Would find it very convenient to use my own VC 10. Perhaps solution to use this for visit to Tbilisi and leave direct from there for UK.

Content

- Want deep, restricted talks with Gorbachev, on developments in Soviet Union; arms control; regional issues (Afghanistan, Middle East, also Southern Africa); human rights and CSCE; bilateral questions.
- Also trade: expect talks with Ryzhkov to concentrate on this. Should be possible to agree contracts now under discussion in time for visit. List of contracts passed to your authorities in Moscow.
- Was glad to send message to CBI-sponsored Anglo-Soviet Economic Conference at end of February. Your view of discussions?
- Much interest here, reflected in my postbag, in prospects for movement on human rights: release of those

.../imprisoned



imprisoned for beliefs (Christians, victims of psychiatric abuses, etc); and freedom to emigrate and travel. Will want to discuss.

- Also to resolve few remaining personal cases (family reunification).

- Foreign Ministers to pursue regional issues, arms control, CSCE and bilateral issues separately in further detail.

Documents and Agreements

- Understand progress being made towards signature (by Foreign Ministers) of agreements on -
 - Space Cooperation
 - Upgrading UK/Soviet "Hotline"
 - Exchange of Sites for new Embassies
- Want to match these with agreement on further cooperation in Information and Culture: important area where greater openness should give new opportunities. Urge rapid response to UK draft Memorandum of Understanding.

[If Zamyatin suggests signature of Air Services Agreement during visit.]

- Will have to consider.

Publicity

- Would like to be interviewed live on Soviet television.



MR ZAMYATIN'S CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER, 10 MARCH

BACKGROUND NOTE

Programme

- Dates: 28 March to 1 April agreed by Russians and made public here.

- No draft programme yet provided by Soviet side. We have asked for: 2 restricted meetings, Prime Minister and Gorbachev; meeting with Ryzhkov; separate meetings of Foreign Ministers; final Plenary.

- Embassy pursuing Zagorsk arrangements with Patriarchate. Russians have ruled out Novosibirsk. Tbilisi acceptable in principle; we have invited them to go firm on this. (Torrential rain, floods in Georgia January/February: 16,000 evacuated, some deaths, millions of roubles of damage.)

- Other proposed elements: walkabout, possibly with Eltsin; visit Institute of Crystallography; open British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce offices; reception for British community at Embassy; Soviet hospitality; press conference.

- Elements not to be disclosed yet to Russians: meeting with Sakharovs at Embassy; possible meeting with refuseniks.

Documents and Agreements

- Space Cooperation Agreement: UK counter-draft to be put to Russians as soon as possible. Talks in Moscow to finalise text on 11 March.

- "Hotline" Agreement: Soviet team arriving in London for talks to finalise text 10-13 March.

.../Memorandum



- Memorandum on Information and Culture: still awaiting Soviet reaction. Ready to negotiate in Moscow or London.

- Embassy Sites: aiming for signature of Agreement during visit, on basis of our securing our two sites in Moscow; Russians to secure 1-7 Kensington Palace Gardens plus undertaking by us to look for alternative to Warwick Road site.

- Air Services: Memorandum additional to existing Agreement may be agreed in talks the week before the visit: Russians pressing for signature, possibly by Mr Spicer, during visit. Mr Spicer is seeking advice on this new development.

Contracts

- We are aiming to have at least one large or several smaller contracts ready for signature during the visit. DTI have provided a list of possibilities (attached). The post in Moscow have been asked to put this to the Russians.

Publicity

- Prime Minister's speech at main Soviet meal will probably be published in Pravda (as is normal).

- We have put in for a TV interview by the Prime Minister: no response.

- In advance understand the Prime Minister may brief Soviet correspondents in London and give interviews to BBC Russian Service and Soviet television.

- The foreign affairs weekly New Times have offered to print an article by the Foreign Secretary.

.../Special



- Special supplement on UK/Soviet trade will appear in Soviet journal Economic Gazette to coincide with visit, with foreword by Mr Clark.

- Mr Horne (No 10 Press office) to go to Moscow in week beginning 8 March to discuss press arrangements.

Security

- Russians have said their protocol requires Prime Minister to travel in Soviet aircraft for visit outside Moscow. If programme envisages departure from Soviet Union immediately afterwards (ie visit on final day) it would be logical to press for VC10 to be used. Gorbachev while in UK travelled in a Soviet aircraft from London to Edinburgh and thence direct to Moscow.



<u>Company</u>	<u>Project</u>	<u>Location</u>
Davy McKee	Polyester fibre plant	Blagoveshchensk
John Brown	Polypropelene plant	Budyennovsk
GEC/Simon Carves	Programmable logic controller plant	Yerevan
Courtaulds	Acrylic fibre plant refurbishment	Seratov
GEC	Railway signalling	Moscow-Kalinin
Case Communications	Railway communications equipment	N/A
GEC	Paint spraying robots	Gorki
Rieter Scragg	Equipment for textile mill	Kalinin
Taylor Woodrow	Rehabilitation of two clothing factories	Talinn, Riga

SOVIET UNION

CALL BY

SOVIET AMBASSADOR

9/79

MEETING WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR

1. Thank him for message of sympathy on Herald of Free enterprise sinking.
2. Emphasise importance of forthcoming visit and thorough preparations for it. Want it to contribute in practical ways to progress in East/West relations.
3. Do not rule out trying to set down points of agreement on some issues if talks warrant it. Not interested in statements for form's sake.
4. See main issues as arms control, regional problems (Afghanistan, Middle East, Southern Africa), bilateral issues and human rights.
5. On arms control, points for discussion will be INF agreement and link with shorter-range systems, SDI and cuts in strategic weapons. Less to say on chemical and conventional.

6. In bilateral field, hope a number of agreements will be ready for signature. Would also hope that some substantial contracts might be finalised.

7. On human rights, propose to raise discreetly. Would help atmosphere of visit if some cases with which UK and you personally have been associated could be settled in advance.

8. Hope Ambassador will have details of programme. Need to know well in advance, so that can prepare properly. Look forward to very restricted discussion with Mr. Gorbachev, on same basis as he had here. Would very much like to see Mrs. Gorbachev separately if possible.

9. Urge Ambassador to ensure that our small advance team (Mike Horne and Mike Waller) be enabled to travel out next weekend.